

# Somalia's Barre fights to the death

Star 2/1/71

LONDON — Fierce street fighting resulting in heavy civilian casualties is reported to be raging in Mogadishu, the Somali capital, as a remnant of loyal government troops makes a last stand to defend President Siad Barre, said to be hiding in a bunker at the military airport.

The United Somali Congress, one of three main rebel movements, says its forces have taken over the rest of the capital.

The claim has not been confirmed.

A British Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday

reports indicated the USC forces were attacking government troops throughout the capital but that the government retained overall control.

Telephone and telex links to the city were cut off yesterday, prompting speculation that the telecommunications building in Corso Somalia had been damaged.

A USC statement issued in London yesterday said Mr Barre was being defended by tanks and artillery in a bunker in the military section of the international airport, but that USC forces had control of the rest of the area.

"Siad Barre cannot, repeat cannot, escape under any circumstances," the statement said.

Destruction seems to have been particularly severe in Wardigley, west of the city centre, and near the presidential palace, which some reports say is a smoking ruin.

Casualties, especially among civilians, are said to number in the hundreds and hospitals are full.

This appears to be the end of President Barre's rule, but the man who has ruled Somalia since 1969 is going down fighting.

He retains the loyalty only of the paramilitary Kotiyas, the Red Berets, drawn almost exclusively from his own Marehan and Dolbe-hante clans.

Rejoicing in the Somali traditional values of courage and killing, they are unlikely to surrender.

For several months the government's writ has barely run beyond the capital, but lack of rebel unity has prolonged the civil war.

Fighting began in the capital at the end of November and has steadily increased. — The Independent News Service.

Issue a positive statement meeting...



## A former shepherd who ruled by terror and guile

NAIROBI — Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre rose from his origins as an orphaned shepherd boy to rule his East African nation for more than two decades through a mixture of terror and guile. ①

Since staging a bloodless coup in 1969, Siad Barre has led the country through a succession of droughts, survived defeat in a lengthy desert war with Ethiopia, and manoeuvred the country through alliances with the Soviets and the US. *510ay 3/1/71*

A member of the Marehan clan, which makes up less than 1% of the population of 8-million, Siad Barre kept power in a land of anarchic nomads by playing off a myriad of squabbling clans against one another.

Siad Barre, orphaned at 10, scratched a living as a shepherd before joining the police force, where he rose to the rank of chief inspector. Largely self-taught, he gained a secondary school equivalency and went on to study at an Italian army college.

At Somalia's independence in 1960 he was appointed the new nation's army vice-commander. Five years later, he became commander-in-chief.

After leading a coup in 1969 Siad Barre went about unifying the predominantly Muslim nation with a blend of Marxist doctrine, Somali traditions and Islamic precepts termed "scientific socialism". Under his leadership, the nation adopted a modified Roman alphabet in 1972 and had its language translated into written form.

The Soviet Union formed a close alliance with Siad Barre in 1974, but three years later abandoned him for Ethiopia after the two nations went to war.

Ethiopia's pro-Western Emperor Haile Selassie had been overthrown in 1974 by Marxists, and the US switched support to Somalia. But interest in Siad Barre's government waned with diminishing Cold War rivalries and because of his government's brutal treatment of its opponents. — Sapa-AP.



# Evacuations begin as war in Somalia kills hundreds

NAIROBI — Italy and the UN were moving to evacuate foreigners from Somalia's capital, Mogadishu, yesterday as fighting between rebels and troops loyal to President Mohamed Siad Barre moved into its fourth day.

Hundreds were reported dead, many of them civilians.

Gunfire could be heard throughout the city, but the battle appeared to be concentrated on the airport, an Italian diplomat said.

United Somali Congress (USC) rebels claimed on Tuesday to have cornered Siad Barre in a bunker at the airport. It appeared the airport and state radio were still in government hands.

The rebels said more than 500 people had been killed and many others wounded in the fighting.

In Nairobi, Kenya, an aid official said colleagues evacuated to the Kenyan capital by plane on Tuesday night said an unknown number of government soldiers had defected to the opposition. But he said Siad Barre's Marehan tribe did not seem to have lost all control.

It had been reported that all the largely Marehan red beret presiden-

tial guards captured by the rebels were being summarily executed.

"If that is the case, the Marehan will fight to the last man," the official said.

Mogadishu's water system had broken down for lack of fuel, and there were food shortages.

Somalia's telecommunications were cut on Tuesday and it was not possible to get independent comment from Mogadishu.

But Italian diplomatic sources said indiscriminate shooting made traveling by road dangerous.

Despite the danger, 30 Italians had made their way to the Italian embassy and were awaiting evacuation, they said.

Italy, a former colonial power in Somalia, was sending two air force transport planes to Kenya yesterday for the possible evacuation by air of about 500 foreigners remaining in Mogadishu.

An Italian warship operating in the Gulf to help maintain the UN embargo against Iraq had also been ordered to sail to Somalia to help.

All evacuation plans rested on whether a truce between the warring elements could be obtained, the

sources said.

The UN, which managed to fly about a dozen of its staff members to Nairobi on Tuesday night, sent a small plane back to Mogadishu yesterday in the hope of evacuating the fewer than 10 who still remained.

Observers said Somalia's clan-based warfare could develop into a Liberia-like situation.

The USC is a recently formed force of insurgents drawing strength from the large Hawiye tribe.

"Siad Barre, using his last card, could convince his clan this war is a war against the Hawiye, provoking widespread clan reprisals," said Abdul Mohamed, a Nairobi-based expert on regional conflicts.

A peaceful settlement was possible if the president's removal could be negotiated in a way that guaranteed the Marehan a role in a post-Siad Barre government. If efforts failed, "the Liberia scenario is in the making", he said.

The USC is one of three loosely coordinated opposition groups including the Somali National Movement and the Somali Patriotic Front. — Sapa-AP.

BIDAN  
3/11/91

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# Vicious Somali tribalism may create a

8 Feb 4/1/91

## new Liberia

**R**EPORTEDELY holed up in an underground bunker near the airport, President Mohamed Siad Barre is desperately trying to cling on to power in the disintegrating Somali capital, Mogadishu.

Few observers give the 80-year-old president much chance of surviving.

His 21 years of rule began with promises of democracy and justice, and deteriorated into anarchy and tribal warfare, with government soldiers going on a spree of rape, pillage and murder.

These are the terminal throes of a bankrupt regime, said one Western diplomat.

Somalia is poised to become another Liberia, with violently antagonistic clans pursuing deep-seated rivalries and ven-

dettas, threatening the region. It is a blood-stained legacy that any future administration will find hard to overcome.

The Somalia that Mr Barre, then army commander, seized in a bloodless coup in 1969 was already beset with tribalism and political instability.

Independence in 1960 had thrown together two separately administered territories, Italian Somalia in the south and British Somalia in the north.

In an attempt to forge a sense of national unity, Mr Barre declared the establishment of scientific socialism under the slogan "Tribalism divides, socialism unites".

He courted the communist bloc, and allowed the Soviet Union to establish a naval base at Berbera and to train and supply his army.

But the goal of national unity was elusive.

In an attempt to tap the deep strain of greater Somali nationalism, President Barre declared an ill-fated war against Ethiopia in 1977, in which he hoped to annex the mainly ethnic Somali region of the Ogaden.

With the backing of Saudi Arabia, he cut diplomatic relations with Cuba, withdrew his offer of military facilities and expelled 6 000 Soviet troops.

But Western promises of military assistance failed to materialise and with Soviet and Cuban backing, the Ethiopian government routed the Somalis. Mr Barre's humiliating defeat undermined his credibility and popularity.

In 1978 a group of tribal dissidents and disgruntled army officers tried to overthrow his re-

### JULIAN OZANNE reports from Nairobi on the death throes of a blood-stained regime.

The coup was crushed easily, but the Ogaden defeat marked a fundamental turning point.

Severe reprisals against the Majeerteen clan, many of whom were implicated in the coup, alienated an important group.

Ethiopia gave support to rebel groups operating in northern Somalia, and Mr Barre turned increasingly inwards to his own clan to maintain his shrinking power base.

The US moved into the vacuum left by the departing So-

viet, now entrenched in Ethiopia.

But the relationship with the West was always uneasy, marred further by the president's links with Libya.

At home, Mr Barre's attempt to forge a Somali nation also failed.

While he talked about eliminating tribalism, he packed senior positions in the army, civil service and government with members of his Marehan clan and his immediate family.

The years of violent behaviour by the government have eroded public confidence in the efficacy of working within the system as a means to bring an institutionalised dictatorship to an end, said a recent report by Africa Watch, an international human rights organisation. Dissidents who tried to lobby

within the system were detained, tortured or killed.

Several massacres were reported in the past two years, including an incident last July when more than 100 people were shot dead at a soccer stadium after shouting anti-government slogans at Mr Barre.

In the north, at least 50 000-60 000 people died of war-related causes between May 1988 and January 1990.

More than 400 000 Somalis have fled across the borders to escape government retaliation, as rebels took control of most of the country, the president became dismissively dubbed the mayor of Mogadishu.

But until last weekend the rebels seemed reluctant to push into the city.

Now Mr Barre's chances of survival are poor.

The rebels have refused to negotiate with him.

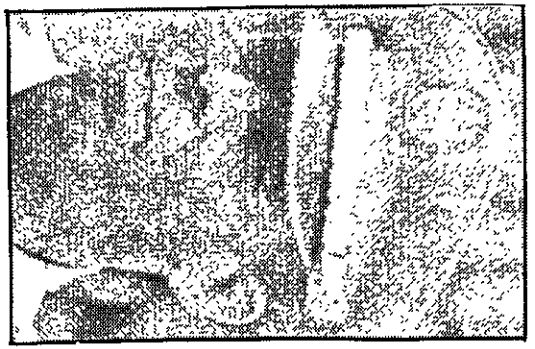
But he remains trapped in a stronghold protected by his presidential bodyguard and tribal militias who have no option but to keep on fighting if they are to save their lives.

For Somalis, the tragedy, which has already claimed 500 lives in the last four days, may be prolonged.

If so, the chances of instability flowing over into neighbouring Ethiopia and Kenya will increase.

Superpower interest in the country is now minimal.

The US, which still has a military access agreement to use the ports of Berbera and Mogadishu, has completely shunned its Somali assets in the build-up to the Gulf crisis. — Financial Times News Service. □



Mohamed Siad Barre ... former commander-in-chief of armed forces.

# Plea to end Somalia strife

NAIROBI.- Somalia President Mohamed Siad Barre urged rebels seeking his overthrow to agree to a ceasefire yesterday and end the five-day-old bloodbath in Somalia's capital, Mogadishu.

His prime minister said talks could follow. *Sowelan 4/1/91*

The rebels have consistently rejected talks, saying no negotiations are possible until Siad Barre steps down or is removed at gunpoint.

People fleeing Mogadishu said the rattle and crash of light and heavy weapons could be heard throughout the

capital as rebels fought loyalist troops on Wednesday. ①

"It seems that at times these people do not know what they are running from," Radio Mogadishu said of the refugees. Others remaining face starvation, it said. Hundreds have been killed, many of them reportedly civilians.

United Somali Congress rebels want to topple what they call the "cruel, corrupt" government of Siad Barre, a former army commander who has ruled the Horn of Africa nation since seizing power in a coup in 1969. - Sapa-AP.

# Funds drive for Africa's desperate 20 million

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4/1/91

By Garner Thomson  
Star Bureau

LONDON — British aid agencies are to launch an appeal next week for funds for African famine victims.

But in spite of the agencies' efforts, they fear as many as 20 million people — at least 4 million of them in Angola and Mozambique — could still die.

Drought has devastated many African countries. The added factor of civil war in at least five — Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Sudan and Liberia — gives special urgency to the appeal.

Peace moves are under way in all five countries, but volunteer workers believe Western nations are still not committed enough to aid and regeneration to halt the collapse into disintegration and mass starvation.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation recently estimated about 20 million people were at risk, as many as 15 million in Sudan and Ethiopia. One agency says some regions face the annihilation of entire generations.

Persistent drought has worsened conditions since Africa's last major famine in 1985, but it is war in all the most vulnerable regions that has damaged the fragile coping strategies, possibly beyond repair.

Millions of people have been displaced within their countries, and many more have fled over borders in search of food and work.

Armies in Ethiopia and Mozambique have pressed hundreds of thousands of able-bodied people, many of them children, into service, further reducing the indigenous agricultural workforces, while others, such as Angola's Unita, have heavily mined arable land, making farming too dangerous.

In addition, the fall in commodity prices and the increase in international interest rates have forced African countries deeper into debt with the West. The World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes have also demanded cuts in health and educational services, adding to regional debilitation.

All five countries have seen

their government institutions dramatically weakened, and are gradually surrendering their sovereignty to a disorganised melee of non-government and aid organisations.

Veteran Africa commentator Victoria Brittain observed in a recent Guardian survey of the crisis: "The donors, by their backing of World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes, have forced reverses on the political philosophy of Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia. And the food corridors, or 'corridors of tranquillity', which the donors organised first in Sudan, then in Eritrea and Tigray and most recently in Angola, are the international community's effective recognition of the contestants for power on an equal basis with the government."

"In Angola and Mozambique, the years of South African destabilisation, plus the US military aid to Unita, have brought to the brink of power two movements whose sole political goal has been to cripple the post-independence government by bleeding their countries' population and stemming any chance of development."

## Sole hope

She adds: "A future of contested power in a multi-party system is no guarantee of the democracy which development needs to flourish."

Further north, at least, a UN referendum offering independence, regional autonomy or federation — to follow America's acceptance that an independent Eritrea and a democratic Ethiopia are the best safeguards of peace — could be "the international community's greatest contribution towards Africa's 20 million victims of war-related famine".

Until then, Africa's sole hope lies in mass fund-raising appeals.

But even here there are problems. Britain's Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) fears that the Gulf crisis and the deteriorating situation in the Soviet Union could force its cause into the background, making the appeal for what amounts to millions of tons of food difficult, if not impossible.

# Rebels reject Somali leader's ceasefire<sup>1</sup> call

NAIROBI — Rebels fighting to overthrow President Mohamed Siad Barre rejected his plea for a ceasefire yesterday, throwing in doubt an international effort to rescue foreigners from the embattled Somali capital of Mogadishu.

"A ceasefire only for evacuation of foreigners has no meaning," Abdul Kadir, the foreign secretary of the insurgent United Somali Congress, said in Rome.

"This just makes it easier for Siad Barre to organise another counter-attack," he said.

People fleeing Mogadishu on Wednesday said the rattle and crash of light and heavy weapons could be heard throughout the capital as rebels fought loyalist troops.

"It seems that at times these people do not know what they are running from," Radio Mogadishu said of the refugees. Others remaining face starvation, it said. Hundreds have been killed, many of them reportedly civilians.

The Somali president, the European Community and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt all appealed for a ceasefire on Wednesday. Somali's prime minister said talks could follow.

But Kadir said that while the United Somali Congress is willing to talk with other opposition factions about a provisional government, it seeks one in which "Siad Barre has no influence at all".

The rebel spokesman said fighting was continuing in Mogadishu, where five days of combat with loyalist forces have left hundreds dead.

Kadir reiterated opposition to the use of Italian or other foreign military units for evacuations. He said they should be carried out by the International Red Cross.

Government sources in Bonn said Germany, France and Italy were trying to arrange a halt to the fighting in an attempt to get their nationals out of the country.

The State Department said in Washington it was ordering the evacuation of all US citizens and diplomats in Somalia, numbering about 85, but did not yet have any concrete plans on how to do it.

All have said a halt in the fighting must precede any evacuation.

Italy, a former colonial power in Somalia, sent four military planes to Kenya, Somalia's western neighbour, for the evacuation effort.

A French frigate was cruising off the Somali coast, but a navy spokesman in Paris said it had not received any orders to aid in an evacuation.

The Italians also ordered a frigate and a supply ship assigned to the UN embargo of Iraq to leave the Gulf for Somalia, but they were believed to be at least four sailing days away. The Italians also said they were considering the possibility of using a cargo ship at the bay of Mogadishu.

## Contrary

The last six UN staff members were flown out of Mogadishu to Nairobi on Wednesday. Their pilot described a chaotic situation in the capital.

"It's hard to say what's happening or who's in control. We only know there's a lot of firing going on," he said.

Siad Barre's appeal for a ceasefire was broadcast by Radio Mogadishu, which remained in government control despite rebel claims to the contrary.

In his plea, he urged the soldiers to restrict themselves to their barracks and the rebels to lay down their arms. There was no indication the call was heeded.

The rebels seek to topple what they call the "cruel, corrupt" government of Siad Barre, a former army commander who has ruled the horn of Africa nation since seizing power in a coup in 1969. — Sapa-AP.

**NAIROBI** — Rebels in Somalia said they were preparing a final offensive against President Mohamed Siad Barre after gathering reinforcements in the nation's embattled capital.

Earlier yesterday, the rebels of the United Somali Congress rejected President Barre's call for a ceasefire, and dashed the hopes of Italy, the United States and other Western nations for a quick evacuation of their citizens.

# Somali rebels prepare for 'final offensive'

Somalia yesterday by boat from Brava, 80 km south of the capital, Mogadishu, a Canadian diplomat in Nairobi said.

They included an unknown number of Britons, Americans, Australians and other nationals as well as 17 Canadian diplomats, said the diplomat.

Government sources in Bonn said Germany and France had joined Italy in trying to arrange a halt to fighting to get their nationals out of Somalia.

There are believed to be about 500 foreigners remaining in Somalia, including about 350 Italians and 38 Swiss members of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

In Washington, the State Department called for a ceasefire and said it was trying to figure out how to evacuate all US citizens and diplomats, about 85 people.

In a communique issued in Rome, the insurgent group said 10,000 more rebel soldiers had arrived in Mogadishu from the hinterland to join in a battle against President Barre's loyalists that has already cost hundreds of lives.

The communique said the new fighters had taken positions at strategic points around the capital and its airport.

"The capture of Siad Barre is only a matter of time," the statement said.

President Barre was believed to be holed up in a fortified bunker at the seaside international airport south of Mogadishu.

In Nairobi, a Western diplomat said the government had moved tanks, armoured personnel carriers and reinforcements to the airport on Wednesday.

Telecommunications with Somalia have been cut for three days and there was no way to confirm the rebel claim of heavy reinforcements.

In an earlier statement from Rome, the United Somali Congress said it accepted the need for evacuation of foreigners, "but only under the supervision of the International Red Cross or similar bodies".

It said plans by Italy and several other Western nations to rescue the approximately 500 remaining foreigners "could be interpreted as an intervention on behalf of the Barre government — Saps-AP.

# Devastating famine looms for Africans

GENEVA — A devastating famine is looming in Africa, leading relief organisations warned yesterday.

They said unless food aid was provided immediately, about 20 million people in Africa would face starvation this winter as a result of failed rains and civil wars.

"We are fearful that other interests are leading to a situation where the needs of Africa will be forgotten," said Paer Stenbaeck, secretary-general of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.

## Priority

Mr Stenbaeck told a news conference Africa was the world's top priority in terms of food aid.

"There are (food) needs in the Soviet Union but no traces of famine," he said.

He said increased aid to East Europe and the Soviet Union was expected to cut donations to Africa, though it was too early to assess the real impact of this.

Mr Stenbaeck, who heads a special Steering Committee for Disasters, said if war broke out in the Gulf, the deteriorating conditions in Africa would likely be forgotten by the world community.

A joint statement issued by the six organisations represented on the committee said Africa faced a famine "as bad or worse" than the one in 1984-85, when up to 40 million people were

affected in 22 countries. An estimated one million died, the majority of whom were in Ethiopia.

Turning to the countries most affected, the statement said in Ethiopia, 2.5 million people were at increasing risk of death from hunger and thirst. The provinces of Eritrea and Tigray, where rebels are fighting government forces, were worst hit.

It said the civil war hindered delivery of aid and planting crops in areas where some harvests might have been expected.

The statement said in Sudan several million faced hunger because of drought and civil war, and 1.9 million people in Angola risked starvation.

The long conflict in Mozambique had displaced more than three million people, many of whom lived in appalling conditions without adequate food. Conditions were likely to worsen in the coming months, the statement said.

## Displaced

It said in Liberia, the year-long civil war had forced 700 000 people to flee into neighbouring countries, while a further million had been displaced within Liberia.

The Geneva-based steering committee comprises representatives of the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Caritas International, Catholic Relief Services, the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation and Oxfam. — Sapa-Associated Press.

# Millions face starvation

# Siad Barre offers to meet rebels

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5/11/91

## Somali president makes bid for peace

NAIROBI— Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre, fighting rebels bent on ending his 21-year rule, said yesterday he was ready for peace talks with all opposition groups and would accept whatever the outcome of negotiations.

State-run Radio Mogadishu quoted Said Barre, who has been in power since a 1969 coup, as calling on Egypt and Italy to act as observers in talks.

"He said whatever the outcome of peace negotiations, the government will abide by it," said the radio, monitored by the British Broadcasting Corporation.

It was also reported yesterday that delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the embattled capital Mogadishu are apparently being held hostage.

An ICRC spokesman said one of the organisation's delegates in Mogadishu was talking to the humanitarian agency's Geneva headquarters in a radio link

when he was forced to break off the conversation.

He reported that "armed elements" had entered the building. "I have a gun against my head so I can't talk any more," the spokesman quoted him as saying.

She said there was no information on the identity or number of people involved.

Since the incident there had been no more contact with the 10-person delegation in Mogadishu, she said.

The spokesman, who asked not to be named, said Pierre Gassmann, chief ICRC delegate for Africa, had issued an appeal to all parties in the conflict in

Somalia to respect international humanitarian law.

He has asked them to allow the neutral all-Swiss ICRC to carry out its work.

France has decided to evacuate its diplomats and other citizens from Mogadishu as soon as warring government and rebel forces agree to a ceasefire, official sources said yesterday.

The move would not amount to a closure of the embassy, the sources said.

Local staff would run the mission after the departure of ambassador Roland Barraux and about five other diplomats.

France has sent two naval ships to the Somali coast to evacuate the diplomats and about 15 of her nationals as well as several foreigners wishing to flee the fighting.

Paris took a similar measure when the Liberian capital of Monrovia was devastated by civil war late last year.

International pressure has been mounting for a ceasefire to allow the departure of foreigners but the fighting, particularly around the capital, has continued unabated.



# WHITE FLIGHT FROM AFRICA

SITWes 6/1/91

**WILLIE BREYTENBACH** tracks down  
the fate of a continent's lost tribes

AT the time of decolonisation there were nearly three million whites in Africa north of South Africa and Namibia. A decade after independence more than two million of them — just over three quarters — had left.

The majority headed for Europe — mainly France, Portugal and Belgium — Britain, other Commonwealth countries, South Africa and Israel. A large number of Asians also left Kenya, Uganda and Malawi.

The phenomenon of "Euro-flight" was not universal, however. Four African countries — Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Djibouti and Senegal — increased their white populations after independence.

In a number of others, the white populations increased after some time had lapsed following independence. These replacement gains represent considerable white population growth.

In addition to the four cases of uninterrupted gains referred to earlier, "replacement gains" occurred in Algeria, Mozambique, Zaire, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Angola. The total of these gains amount to 243 500 people.

The ratio between these and the 2.1-million "Euroflighters" is approximately 1:9. That means that for every white person settling in Africa since independence, nine whites left. The general picture is therefore of a white exodus on a massive scale, despite the fact over half-a-million never left.

Why? What explains Euro-flight? And what is the outlook for southern Africa — particularly, Namibia and South Africa, the "whitest" region on the continent. Also, why have some never left and why are whites now returning to Africa?

## Fears

The following statistics offer useful perspectives: in Namibia, whites represent 6.7 percent of the total population. In South Africa, the figure is 13 percent.

In the rest of Africa, percentages are very low: the Ivory Coast 0.5 percent; Kenya 0.2 percent; Zaire 0.2 percent and Zimbabwe 1 percent.

The only exception is Djibouti, where whites make up 9 percent of the population. France's security interests in the Gulf of Aden explains this presence.

There are many reasons why whites left Africa in such large numbers. These are easy to enumerate, but more difficult to ex-

plain. The reasons usually allude to fears, but not necessarily in all cases. Other reasons may be unwillingness to relinquish control and privilege and the assessment that reconciliation after the usual confrontations during colonisation and decolonisation is impossible.

But the fears are more pervasive. There are five typical fears: of drastic suffering; of declining law and order; of loss of status and influence; of expendability through Africanisation or affirmative action; and fear of revenge.

Many of these white fears proved to be unfounded; for example, in the case of revenge. Despite the anti-colonial and often anti-white rhetoric, the dictum of "one settler, one bullet" turned out more slogan than slaughter.

## Massacre

This does not mean that violence was absent. In Morocco Jews were attacked; in Algeria French settlers were murdered during the Philippeville massacre; in Kenya there was the Mau Mau rebellion; in Zaire women and children were brutalised; in Rhodesia indiscriminate attacks were made on white farmers and missionaries; and in Angola and Mozambique farm houses were attacked and convoys ambushed.

By and large, however, these were atrocities perpetrated in war. The only place where organised genocide took place was in Zanzibar, where 5 000 Arabs were murdered during the Afro-Shirazi uprisings of 1964. Whites never suffered a similar fate anywhere on the continent.

But even where guerrilla wars were fought, many whites stayed on to fight. Departure came only afterwards. In a sense, therefore, whites feared warfare much less than the consequences of black rule.

This brings us to the other fears — uncertainties about black rule. Many were phoney, for example, the fear of "drastic suffering".

The fact that 500 407 whites out of the original 2.8-million in Africa stayed — and more than 243 000 joined in since independence — is sufficient evidence that this fear is grossly exaggerated.

Other fears were more realistic; loss of status and influence,

and of expendability, proved true. In fact, many whites became redundant, economically and politically.

Interestingly, this affected the lower echelons of white societies more severely than the rest. Algeria, Zaire and Senegal are cases in point.

What accounted for the "stay-ers"?

There appears to be four reasons why Africa is becoming a more "white friendly" place.

These are:

- Reconciliation: many African statesmen such as Jomo Kenyatta, Houphouët Boigny, King Sobhuza, Seretse Khama and, of late, Sam Nujoma have made reconciliation a high priority.

- Relevance: many whites adjusted their political attitudes — indeed became studiously apolitical.

- Nation-building: in many cases the new governments went out of their way to placate white interests and appointed white ministers.

- Globalisation: many foreign aid agencies are now insisting on "democratisation" as a condition for assistance. They also insist on private enterprise — thus reopening Africa for "white" investment and business.

## Cost

All these things do not mean that Africa is now being recolonised. It does mean, however, that Africa is becoming a more "white friendly" place. This time with the tacit approval of Africans and the international community.

In this respect, Robert Mugabe's decision to "nationalise" white farms in Zimbabwe is clearly out of step. No matter how pressing the need for land redistribution in that country, his decision will be frowned upon.

It may cost him dearly, especially in an age when donors won't approve of what he is doing. Food production and the recognition of rights, including property rights, are far too important to be ignored. If anything, this is the lesson for the 90s.

● Professor Breytenbach is from Stellenbosch's department of political studies. This article is based on extensive comparative research on whites in Africa.

MAY BE OVER

## Barre's whereabouts<sup>①</sup> a mystery amid chaos

NAIROBI — Somali rebels say they are close to ousting President Mohamed Siad Barre after a battle that has raged in the capital, Mogadishu, for 10 days.

But the city's international airport remained in government hands and state-run radio resumed broadcasting yesterday after a two-day break.

"We hope that the city will be completely liberated very soon," the United Somali Congress (USC) said yesterday from its Rome office.

The USC, one of the three strongest rebel groups, said fighting continued around Mogadishu international airport and near the underground

bunker where President Barre was holding out.

In spite of the continued fighting, Red Cross military transport aircraft were able to fly 280 more foreign residents out of the city to Mombasa, in neighbouring Kenya, yesterday.

A Red Cross aircraft stayed on standby in Mombasa to fly out remaining foreigners. More than 700 foreigners have been rescued in the past three days.

● The United States embassy in Somalia has been sacked by looters who used rocket-propelled grenades to blast down the doors, the State Department said yesterday. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Famine aid to Africa curbed if there's war

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LONDON — The British government will not give any extra money for famine in Africa this year if there is war in the Gulf, a senior government source disclosed yesterday.

Despite appeals by members of the Disaster Emergency Committee for extra government funds for Africa, the Treasury will not decide if it can afford to make extra provision for Africa this year until the Gulf situation becomes clearer.

"If there is war, there will be nothing extra," said the source.

Last month, Lynda Chalker, Minister of Overseas Development, announced emergency aid of £7 million (R34 million) for Ethiopia and Sudan this year, but this came from existing ODA funds.

## Overshadowed

The catastrophic famine facing parts of Africa this year is overshadowed by the Gulf crisis and Eastern Europe.

An appeal issued yesterday by leading British aid agencies which make up the Disaster Emergency Committee was almost a cry of despair.

They called on the British public and government to match their generosity during the 1984/85 famine, but concede that it was unlikely to be repeated this year. Then, £100 million (nearly R500 million) was raised by the aid agencies and Band Aid, and the govern-

ment gave about £32 million (R156 million).

"To put it in perspective, the amount of money already spent by Britain in the Gulf, which I believe is about £500 million (R2 450 million) would be enough to feed all the hungry people of Africa until the middle of the year," said Tony Vaux, Oxfam's Emergencies Officer.

This year, Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and Liberia are faced with an absolute food shortage. Between 10 and 20 million people are thought to be at risk.

In the Horn of Africa, where the rains have failed for the second year running, the famine will be worse than that of 1984/85. It affects more people and they now have fewer resources to fall back on.

"The prospects for millions of people in Africa look very bleak indeed this year," said Jenny Borden, deputy director of Christian Aid. "They face a slow death by starvation, and others face impoverishment as they make life and death decisions about what to do with their families."

Money raised by the appeal will be used to buy food, lorries, fuel, medicine and blankets, she said, and in the longer term for seeds, tools and other development projects.

"We know that the funds haven't been wasted and we know what we can do if we get the resources. But we need the

money and we need it now."

The press conference to launch the appeal coincided with one piece of good news from a famine area. A United Nations ship carrying 10 000 tons of wheat docked at the Red Sea port of Massawa yesterday morning, the first shipment of food aid to reach it since its capture by Eritrean separatists last February.

The ship's arrival marks a significant improvement in the prospects for feeding Eritrea this year.

But the overall picture is exceedingly grim and suggests the possibility of semi-permanent famine in parts of Africa.

## No pictures

John Seaman of the Save the Children Fund said: "There is going to be crisis in Africa every year for the foreseeable future."

He suggested that the media focus less on war and drought and more on debt and commodity prices.

But such topics do not arouse public sympathy. Despite the urgency, the DEC has delayed its appeal since October, when the extent of the famine became apparent.

Officially, this is because it wanted more information and because of other news events, unofficially because there were no television pictures of starving children, essential for money-raising. — The Independent News Service.



World Leisure Holidays deputy chairman Gavin Simpson, left, chairman Peter Bacon and World Leisure chairman Sol Kerzner at yesterday's announcement of the reopening of the Comores to tourists on March 2. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

# Comores reopens doors to tourism

MARCIA KLEIN

WEEKLY flights by SA Airways to the Comores capital of Moroni would resume on March 2, World Leisure Holidays announced yesterday.

The resumption of flights to the Indian Ocean islands will coincide with the completion of the R10m refurbishment of the Le Galawa Beach hotel and casino by World Leisure Holidays.

About 10 000 people are expected to visit Le Galawa Beach in the first year, and R1,5m will be spent in the next two months promoting vacation packages to the Comores.

World Leisure Holidays emerged from a collaboration between Sol Kerzner's UK-based World Leisure Management and Holiday Holdings SA. The Comores hotels, including the 183-roomed Le Galawa and Issandra, were closed when Sun International pulled out of the Comores following the assassination of President Ahmed Abdulla and the expulsion of French mercenaries late in 1989. Sun International withdrew in May 1990 citing "outrageous" import taxes

for walking away from its R30m investment. Some of the money was recouped. Yesterday World Leisure Holidays announced that the new Comores government had waived a number of duties and surcharges and had introduced "tourist-friendly" import taxes to create a pricing structure that would be an incentive to tourism.

Director Bruce Hutchingson said a Comores holiday would cost less than a comparable holiday in Cape Town or Plettenberg Bay. For R2 999 an SA tourist would get a return flight, a week's accommodation including breakfast and dinner, free watersports, visas and airport taxes. The SA government had also redirected aid so it could be pumped directly into improvements to the Comoran tourist infrastructure. Kerzner said he was excited about going back into the Indian Ocean. World Leisure Holidays' turnover was expected to exceed R35m in its first year.

# Holomisa backs ANC's call

EDYTH BULBRING

TRANSKEI military leader Maj Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday backed the ANC's call for a constituent assembly, but added the black community would be well advised to negotiate with government and other progressive groups in the interim. Addressing the 21st African American Institute conference in Cairo, Holomisa said government's attitude towards the recent violence in SA indicated it was unlikely to be an impartial arbitrator of a dialogue to which it was a party.

There was no fundamental consensus among the "politically decisive groups" to allow for the successful establishment of a constituent assembly, Holomisa said. "It is therefore tactically wise for the combined African community to do all the necessary negotiations with the most progressive large section of the white community, as of now, De Klerk and his government, as well as others," he said. Holomisa said negotiations as a tactical move were practically and morally correct and the negotiating arena should not be threatened by ultimatums and unrealistic conditions.

Government, which had a position of advantage, had to concede more ground to other parties. It was also imperative that extra-parliamentary



# Africa sets

# down to business

FOR the first time in decades, since apartheid shunted South Africa into political isolation, business leaders from neighbour countries from South Africa to the Equator and beyond are planning to sit down to pull at peace pipes and talk about real economic co-operation.

The whole agenda will revolve around ideas on how to divest the cobwebs of trade routes and push the starter buttons on economic motors that promise to give a new tempo to the sub-continent.

March 13 is the date when they meet on neutral ground in Swaziland to begin a three-day Indaba that the sponsors hope will bring South Africa in from the cold and trigger a new wave of trade flows.

## Encouraged

"We're going to have the chance to set the whole sub-continent on a path towards real economic dynamism," says Ron Haywood, deputy director-general of the SA Chamber of Business.

"If we all seize the chance to pool our combined potential resources, the whole sub-Saharan region will benefit, with higher living standards for everyone."

"More and more businessmen, inside and outside South Africa, have come to realise that we dare not miss the opportunity."

Optimism about the outcome has been encouraged by the mix of sponsors behind the Indaba.

One of the first key 1991 dates to be heavily underlined in many South African business diaries will be March 13. If all goes well, it may mark the start of a brand new era in trade and economic relations with the rest of the sub-continent. MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

National African Chamber of Commerce as well as the SA Foreign Trade Organisation in a lead operation with the Queen's Foundation of Germany and the multinational BMW motor company.

More encouragement stems from the fact that the keynote speaker will be King Mswati III of Swaziland, the current chairman of the vast Preferential Trade Area that covers much of the heartland of Black Africa and who is known to favour a closer look at bringing South Africa into the fold.

Mr Haywood can already sniff the chances of success. He bases his optimism on the warm welcomes handed out to low-profile but significant South African business delegations that have broken the ice with appearances as observers at a number of trade conferences in hitherto hostile territory across the northern borders as the political cold war thaws out.

"Now that South Africa has launched into democratic reform in earnest, a growing list of neighbour states have started to acknowledge the pure common-sense of economic co-operation," he says.

"As the political dust settles and political emotions calm down, there is now a growing

willingness among everyone to agree that the full economic potential of the sub-continent has been handicapped by fragmentation as well as political divisions."

Mr Haywood pulls out a batch of maps that show Africa south of the Sahara in a jumble of jigsaw pieces based on trade agreements. They rarely interlock very smoothly.

The pieces begin with a cluster of 15 countries that form a union called ECOWAS — the Economic Community of West African States, reaching across from Sierra Leone to Niger and down from Mauritania to Nigeria.

Next comes a huddle of nine countries that group themselves under the banner of CEEAC — the Economic Community of Central African States running from Chad down to Zaire.

The jigsaw pieces start colliding when they begin to overlap, as seen in the composition of the next trade bloc, the PTA, or, more formally, the Preferential Trade Agreement for East and Southern Africa, stretching down from the Sudan and Ethiopia all the way to Zimbabwe and even as far as Swaziland and Lesotho.

The overlapping is compounded by the union known as

- ### Economic Community of West African States
1. Benin
  2. Cape Verde
  3. Gambia
  4. Ghana
  5. Guinea
  6. Guinea Bissau
  7. Ivory Coast
  8. Liberia
  9. Mali
  10. Mauritania
  11. Niger
  12. Nigeria
  13. Senegal
  14. Sierra Leone
  15. Togo

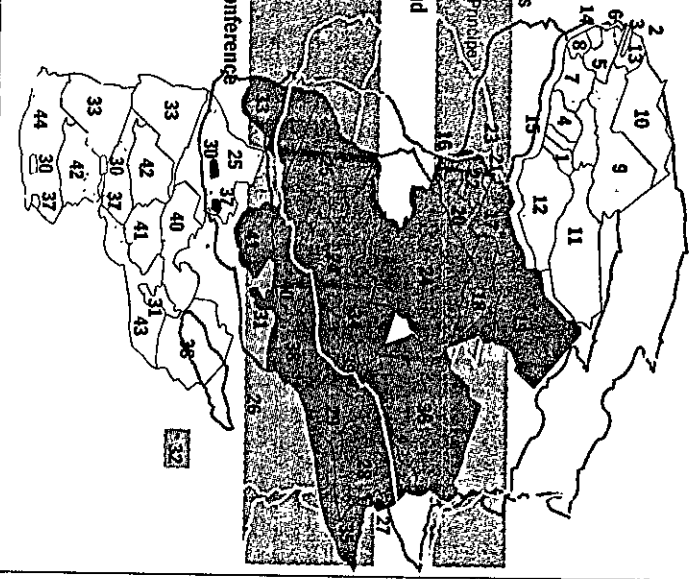
- ### Economic Community of Central African States
16. Cameroun
  17. Congo
  18. Ceq African Rep.
  19. Chad
  20. Congo
  21. Equ. Guinea
  22. Gabon
  23. Sao Tome & Principe
  24. Zaire

- ### Preferential Trade Agreement Area for East and Southern Africa (includes SADC states)
25. Angola
  26. Angola
  27. Botswana
  28. Ethiopia
  29. Kenya
  30. Lesotho
  31. Malawi
  32. Mauritius
  33. Namibia
  34. Rwanda
  35. Somalia
  36. Sudan
  37. Swaziland
  38. Tanzania
  39. Uganda
  40. Zambia
  41. Zimbabwe

- ### Southern African Development Coordination Conference
37. Swaziland
  38. Botswana
  39. Tanzania
  40. Mozambique
  41. Zimbabwe
  42. Lesotho
  43. South Africa
  44. Botswana

- ### Southern African Customs Union
37. Swaziland
  42. Botswana
  44. South Africa
  33. Namibia
  42. Botswana

Graphic: GAIL IRWIN ©



SADC, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, a formation of what until now have been known as the Frontline States.

These states forged links among themselves in the early 1980s with the ambition of cutting reliance on the South African apartheid regime.

And the overlapping is repeated when one comes to count the members of SACU, the Southern African Customs

Union, which ties SA with Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

In which South Africa is linked with the so-called TRVC states (Transkei, Boputhatse, Venda, Ciskei) plus the humble of homelands coloured in the map as self-governing territories.

"In isolation, each piece of the jigsaw displays its own economic limitations," says Mr Haywood.

"Make all the pieces fit, however, and the sub-continent begins to show a whole new set of economic muscles."

"True, the amount of trade between South Africa and the rest of the sub-continent has been fairly substantial in recent years, even through the worst of political hostility."

"But it has largely had to be buried under the surface — under canopies to escape political attention and often a lightning to exporters and importers."

"Think what could be achieved if trade and economic links could come from under the wrappings of secrecy and be given free rein."

"The potential mutual benefits are immense, not only in trade volumes but also from pooling hi-tech know-how and all sorts of services, from power grids and water systems to medical and agricultural services."

"We are giving a high rating to the chances of success at the March 13-16 Indaba."

"Representatives are expected from both the PTA and the SADC and we plan to push far beyond mere lip service to the idea of co-operation."

"Everyone is aware of evidence that the sub-continent is slipping further and further behind the outside world, with living standards in actual decline."

"It's vital to reverse trends — and we believe solutions may be close at hand," Mr Haywood said.

# UN official calls for urgent help for impoverished Africa

NAIROBI — Africa suffered its 12th consecutive year of deepening impoverishment in 1990 and would need "special and immediate" help to alleviate the impact of the Gulf crisis, a UN specialist said yesterday.

But even without the higher costs of oil caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, a shaky world economy pointed to a "dim prospect" for Africa's growth in 1991, said Adebayo Adedeji, head of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

The number of people born in 1990 continued to outpace the continent's economic growth, while Africa's foreign debt burden grew to nearly \$272bn, said Adedeji.

So while Africa's earnings, as measured by the continent's overall GDP, rose 3%, they were offset by the high population growth rate and effectively fell by 0.2%, Adedeji said in his year-end report.

"This means in effect that the average African continues, for the 12th successive year, to get poorer," said Adedeji. He gave his address at the UN ECA headquarters in

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

He described as "mere palliatives" initiatives towards easing Africa's foreign debt burden. He called for a "more radical approach" that would significantly reduce the size of the debt as well as the debt servicing payments which are equal to 34% of Africa's export earnings.

He was not optimistic about 1991.

Adedeji appealed to the international community for "special and immediate measures to alleviate the impact of the Gulf crisis on the African countries".

However, he said that even without the Gulf crisis, the economic slowdown in the industrialised nations would greatly hamper Africa's ability to increase its export earnings.

The continent also continues to suffer drought and severe food deficits that have been aggravated by wars in Sudan, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Liberia, he said.

As a result, food aid requirements for 1990-91 could surpass the 1989-90 level of 4.2-million tons. — Sapa-AP.

# Mastery Insign into the continent from Pakenham

**BOOK OF THE WEEK**  
The Scramble for Africa by Thomas Pakenham  
(Jonathan Ball R115)  
Reviewed by JAMES MITCHELL

STAR  
9/12/91  
①

IT REALLY was a scramble. Africa was always there, and Europe was aware of it, rather as piranhas might be aware of — yet uninterested in — a fat cow standing in the river.

Then something started the feeding frenzy. Like the flock of blood in the water that is supposedly sufficient to attract the killer fish, some sense of urgency drove the European powers to carve out their own chunks of the "dark continent".

They saw it as *res nullius*, a sort of legal emptiness that let the firstcomer take what he could. Never mind the inhabitants.

Europe had already nibbled at the carcass long before the great scramble. On the northern, Mediterranean shore, there were outposts of Portuguese and Spanish sea power. And at the southern tip there was the Cape, a European toehold almost from the beginning of the great voyages of exploration.

Pakenham, probably best known here for his ever-handed

yet dramatically written "The Boer War" is under few illusions about European motives for interest in African acreage. Yet he remains alive to the romance of exploration and conquest, so that a Livingstone or a Marchand can stand out as the distinctive — if sometimes misguided — men they were.

Without labouring the point, he brings out the paradox that outright colonisation did more to benefit the willing or unwilling inhabitants than any amount of high-falutin' benevolence. Thus the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia successfully fought off Italian attempts to conquer it, totally and ignominiously defeating the attempted invasion. And yet... Ethiopia remained a devastatedly backward country, which was to achieve the beginnings of a modern infrastructure only after the second but short-lived Italian attempt at colonisation under Mussolini.

Far worse was the case of the Congo Free State. Here, Belgium's

King Leopold sanctimoniously set up something totally different from the usual colonial model: it was in effect a purely business venture. The Congo Free State had no connection with Belgium. There were no Belgian colonial officials to exercise at least some protection over their subjects. While Leopold protested that his new kind of state was the purest form of liberal venture, it was nothing more than the business of looting a whole country.

Huge tracts were leased to companies to do with what they wished: without any form of control, they used the most savage of methods to grab what they could. So it was that people were forced

to bring in quotas of rubber — or face having a hand lopped off a family member. Pakenham includes a ghastly photograph showing some of those hands. (This was a grisly echo of what the Ethiopians did to the askaris — native auxiliaries with the Italian forces — captured after Adowa in 1896. They ritually lopped off their right hands and left feet, in an operation from which many died.)

It is all too easy to dwell on the savagery of conquest. Those of British origin cheerfully censure the methods of the military authorities in German South-West Africa, with mass starvation of some 20 000 men, women and children being the "final solution" to

the Herero Rebellion. But far more respectable and eminent colonisers, such as Frederick Lugard — famed for his theories of "indirect rule" — could descend into savagery.

There was the ghastly Battle of Mengo, when Lugard used Muslim Sudanese troops to do the work of the basically Protestant Imperial British East Africa Company. This involved conquering the Catholic kingdom of Myranga: official French government reports said later that one cathedral, 60 chapels and 12 schools had been destroyed, while 50 000 Ugandan Catholics had been sold into slavery as a result of Lugard's actions.

Nevertheless, Pakenham makes it clear that as well as the theme of conquest, there also operated the "three Cs" of the great missionary-exploiter Livingstone: "Commerce, Christianity and Civilization, a triple alliance of Mammon, God and social progress. Trade, not the gun, would liberate Africa." And it was a genuine lib-

eration. It was these "three Cs" that contributed to advancement in white-ruled Africa, not vague theories of benevolence or non-intervention.

This is the first book since 1893 that takes an overall look at the phenomenon of the "scramble" and it succeeds magnificently. Individual actions — noble or ignoble — are highlighted amid the broad sweep of the narrative. Pakenham offers no over-arching academic theory with which to replace Hobson's or Lenin's belief that surplus European capital was the driving force, or that there was a purely African explanation. He leaves the reader to make up his mind, but first gives him a feast of action and, above all, a very human view of the times.

This is one of the most illuminating and exciting books to have been written on the forces and events that have shaped our continent.   
● "The Scramble for Africa" is a Publisher's Choice for Christmas.

# Liberian factions to talk

Star 18/1/91

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2  
MONROVIA (Liberia) — The three warring factions in this embattled West African nation have agreed to begin talks on disarming and other issues to end a year-long civil war that has claimed more than 12 000 lives.

The framework for the meetings, scheduled to begin yesterday, was drafted at a conference last month in Gambia, and included a proposal to choose a new caretaker government.

The Economic Community of West African States, which sponsored the Gambia conference, has installed an interim government in Monrovia led by Amos Sawyer.

Rebel leader Charles Taylor has refused to join the Sawyer government, calling

it a puppet of Liberia's West African neighbors.

Breakaway rebel leader Prince Johnson and remnants of slain President Samuel Doe's army both have seats in Sawyer's administration.

Mr Taylor's forces invaded from neighbouring Ivory Coast in December 1989, seeking to overthrow Mr Doe, whom they accused of human rights violations and abuses of power.

Mr Johnson's fighters captured and killed Mr Doe in September.

An official for the West African community on Wednesday met the leaders of the five-nation West African military force deployed to Liberia in August.

The community's execu-

tive secretary Abass Bundu also had talks with Mr Sawyer and visited Mr Johnson at his headquarters.

West African sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, say gun positions near the border of the government-controlled zone and Mr Johnson's territory will not be removed by Saturday, the deadline demanded by Mr Johnson.

Mr Johnson has threatened to dismantle the bazooka with force after the deadline.

At the request of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the government yesterday planned to begin relocating refugees and orphans from areas near the Johnson camp. — Associated Press.



EVENTS  
 the  
 November  
 of Reuter at the United Nations

# Debt crisis for

① AAG 29/8/91

# Africa

**T**HE UN secretary-general has proposed that wealthy nations cancel their official debt to African countries before the continent faces a crisis of "tragic proportions."

Five years after UN members promised to revive Africa's devastated economies, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in effect called the programme a failure.

He concluded, in a major report on the plan, that Africa could never develop under a debt burden of 270 billion dollars and proposed that rich countries cancel bilateral government debts, such as was done for Egypt and Poland, and increase their aid.

"By the end of 1990, it had become evident that the African economic crisis had indeed deepened," he said.

"The average African continued to get poorer and to suffer a persistent fall in an already meagre standard of living."

On June 1, 1986, the UN General Assembly adopted a five-year programme which was seen as a watershed in committing wealthy nations to supply resources for development. In turn, African nations promised to restructure their economies, reduce waste and reallocate government funds.

But according to the report resources fell far short of what was needed and many restructuring programmes were half-hearted and shortsighted.

The document was prepared for a review of the programme in General Assembly sessions from September 3 to 13.

Specifically, Dr Perez de Cuellar proposed that the assembly now set concrete targets rather than general goals. These include:

- Doubling per capita income by the year 2015, entailing a six percent annual economic growth rate. Even then annual income would still be only about 700 dollars in most nations.

- Increasing aid to 30 bil-

Tunisia — have significantly reduced this dependence since 1986, the report said.

Reviewing the past five years, Dr Perez de Cuellar said the increased resources wealthy nations agreed to supply in 1986 did not materialise and real net flows of funds actually fell from 24.6 billion dollars in 1986 to 23.3 billion in 1990.

Despite numerous initiatives and important moves towards democratisation, he said, restructuring by African governments often suffered from political instability, military conflicts and ineffective policies to mobilise domestic resources.

In addition, many African nations, spurred on by rich countries, focused on short-term measures such as foreign exchange earnings rather than health, education and employment so that "human conditions worsened considerably."

As a result, many who could leave did so. The report cited an alarming brain drain of 50 000 to 60 000 highly qualified Africans who left the continent since 1986. lion dollars by 1992 from 21 billion in 1989 and continuing to raise it by four per cent annually until the year 2000.

- Taking "bold" measures to reduce Africa's debt, which in 1990 cost at least 23 billion dollars to service. This includes cancelling official government debt and semi-official export credits and reducing debt owed to multilateral institutions. Private commercial debt should also be written down and reduced.

- Setting up an African Diversification Fund for technical assistance to ease a chronic dependence on primary commodities.

Nine out of 10 African countries depend on commodities for 70 percent or more of their exports, compared with seven out of 10 in Latin America and five out of 10 in Asia.

Only six African countries — Gabon, Ghana, Mauritius, Morocco, Sierre Leone and

# Multiparty polls could hold surprises

IN THE first multiparty election held in any of Portugal's former African colonies, the governing party in Cape Verde has been ousted by a new and relatively unknown party.

This has been seen by some commentators as a warning to other one-party governments in Africa, bowing to demands for multiparty rule, that the voters may favour new parties.

Both Mozambique and Angola are due to hold their first multiparty elections soon, possibly this year. In Mozambique, the only opposition present to the ruling Frelimo party is provided by the Renamo rebels. In Angola the ruling MPLA will be opposed in the election by the Unita

The surprise defeat of the Cape Verde government may have sent tremors of alarm into other former Portuguese colonies facing their first democratic elections, reports The Star's Africa News Service.

movement and possibly also by a revived FNLA, the party that faded from the political scene during the civil war but which is trying to make a comeback.

The possibility of new parties being formed to contest the elections in these two countries does not yet appear to be strong but cannot be ruled out.

In Cape Verde the ruling African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV) was soundly defeated in the parliamentary election by a group calling itself the Move-

ment for Democracy (MPD). The MPD's leader, Carolos Veiga, will replace the PAICV's Pedro Pires as Prime Minister.

Observers now consider it likely that in the presidential election next month the MPD's candidate, Antonio Monteiro, will oust President Aristides Pereira, the PAICV leader. Mr Pereira has been seen as having inherited the ideological mantle of Amilcar Cabral, the socialist who is regarded as the founder not only of his own country, Guinea Bissau on the mainland, but of

Cape Verde as well.

"This was the first test of pluralist democracy in any of the former Portuguese colonies," says Tomas Vieira Mario in a commentary distributed by the Mozambican news agency, AIM.

"And, like the Sandinista defeat in Nicaragua last year, the experience will be closely scrutinised, and not only in West Africa.

"Like the Sandinistas, the PAICV approached these elections in a spirit of excessive self-confidence, believing that victory was more or less cer-

tain. It was a belief based on past successes, which ignored the need to improve the party's working methods and modernise its image, if it was indeed, as it claimed, going to represent the future.

He says it is hard to say for sure whether the collapse of monolithic Leninist regimes in Eastern Europe contributed to the PAICV's defeat.

"While it would be a mistake to extrapolate the Cape Verdean experience to other countries, it remains as a clear warning that peoples can, under particular circumstances, appear ungrateful. That's the way it is; no one can assume that an electorate will vote for them just on the basis of what they did in the past," he concluded. □

# Visit from Gabon may lead to air, oil links

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

Closer ties with oil-rich Gabon are expected to flow from President de Klerk's meeting yesterday with a senior delegation from the West African state.

And South Africa has already negotiated over-flight rights with Gabon and the neighbouring Congo to enable SAA to start a flight to Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

In another step forward in its breakthrough into Africa, an official delegation from Angola began a four-day visit to South Africa yesterday.

## Co-operation

It is expected that possible oil purchases from Angola will be discussed. The visit is a follow-up to the visit to Angola in December by Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers.

Dr de Villiers said the purpose of the visit yesterday was to continue discussions on commercial relations and to explore further possible areas of economic and technical co-operation.

He forecast that as the peace process in Angola proceeds and a ceasefire is concluded, prospects for commercial exchanges with would be

greatly improved.

Yesterday's meeting between the Gabonese and Mr de Klerk at his official Tuynhuys' office in Cape Town was the first public acknowledgement by Gabon of contact between the two countries.

The head of the Gabon delegation, Maître Louis Gaston Mayila, personal adviser to Gabon President Omar Bongo, delivered a "very warm message" from his president to Mr de Klerk.

Mr de Klerk responded with an equally warm message, according to South African deputy director of foreign affairs Rusty Evans.

The message from Mr Bongo could be expected to give rise to a series of closer exchanges in the near future.

These could lead to closer relations. South Africa has enjoyed clandestine relations with Mr Bongo for many years, and has been running a farm project there in Franceville.

Sources said the over-flight rights which South Africa signed with Gabon and the Congo a month ago would enable SAA to operate a Johannesburg-Kinshasa-Abidjan route, or merely be used if flights were diverted.

The delegation from Gabon included Madame Pascaline Bongo, daughter of President Bongo.

8 (Day 24/1/91)

## Gabon links a puzzle

EDYTH BULBRING

THE ANC said yesterday a Gabon government delegation had accepted its pro-sanctions stance despite the delegation having given written assurances to President FW de Klerk that it would seek closer ties with SA.

Government sources said yesterday an SA trade delegation would explore closer ties during a visit to Gabon on February 21.

SA and Gabon had already concluded overflight rights for SAA with Congo and Gabon although no official announcement had been made, the source said.

The Gabon delegation delivered a letter from its President Omar Bongo to De Klerk on Monday.

In the letter, Bongo said his government hoped to hold talks on co-operation with SA and added these would be the forerunner of diplomatic relations.

However, Sapa reports ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the delegation had accepted its view that sanctions should remain in place.

# Sudan approves Islamic Sharia law

*So wefan 28/1/91*  
KHARTOUM - The ruling military council and cabinet have ratified a new criminal code based on Islamic Sharia law for residents of mainly Moslem northern Sudan.

Sudan's military leader, Lieutenant-General Omar Hassan al-Bashir, announced in a New Year address that Sharia law would be ap-

plied immediately throughout Moslem regions of Africa's largest country.

## Exempted

War-ravaged southern Sudan, populated primarily by Christians and animists, is exempted from Sharia law.

The new criminal code derived from religious

law was approved on Wednesday by the 15-man military council and the cabinet, both headed by Bashir.

Bashir, who took power in a coup in June 1989, reshuffled the cabinet on Sunday, dismissing three ministers who had not fully supported implementation of Sharia law. - *Sapa-Reuter*

# Riots in Cameroon expose an underbelly of repression

By MARK HUBAND: Abidjan

WIDESPREAD rioting and demonstrations which led to at least two deaths in Cameroon last week exposed the deepening public resentment of repressive government measures at a time when the country's leadership has promised the creation of a democratic system.

The rioting was sparked off by the trial of two journalists who had refused to submit for censorship an article critical of the government. While allowing an independent media, non-government newspapers often appear with censored articles blacked-out on the page.

The two journalists, Celestin Monga and Pius Njawe, respectively columnist and editor of the independent daily newspaper *Le Messager*, were charged with insulting President Paul Biya in an article which had not been surrendered to the censor.

After a trial lasting two days, they were cleared of insulting the president, but were found guilty of insulting the national assembly and other institutions of Cameroon's regime, fined R4 000 and given six month suspended prison sentences.

Despite its oil riches, large cities and relatively well-developed infrastructure, Cameroon's wealth has filtered into the hands of the rich, creating the current climate of protest, instability and repression, particularly of the press.

Despite objection from foreign creditors, the country's substantial oil revenues are excluded from the government's income accounts, allowing massive corruption to go unchecked as only those involved in oil sales know how much is being earned. In 1989 over R1-billion flowed out of the country illegally, and officials at the ministry of finance have generally admitted that there is nothing they can do to stop it, diplomatic sources say.

The country's north-south divisions between African and Arab, Muslim and Christian, Anglophone and Francophone, have created the ingredients for instability which led to strong state police and secret services being established almost immediately after independence in 1961. The democratising legislation is seen as characteristic of the old order rather than an attempt to move the country away from what has been one of the region's most oppressive police states.

Last week's trial bore out the claims of sceptics. As police helicopters hovered over the courtroom in the economic capital Douala and troops charged crowds numbering up to 5 000 with teargas and batons, the trial threatened not so much the democratic process as the incumbent government's chances of metamorphosis.

At least two, and possibly three, people were killed in similar demonstrations in the northern town of Garoua.  
— The Guardian, London

# Droves of refugees flee Somalia

By PETER BILES: Nairobi

*W/Mary 25/11 - 3/1/91*  
SOMALIA'S political turmoil is spawning a new refugee crisis in the troubled Horn of Africa.

A British ecologist, Dr Murray Watson, who flew over extensive areas of western Somalia this week, has reported that large well-established refugee camps close to the border with Ethiopia are now deserted. The camps, which were being run by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), had accommodated thousands of Ethiopians who had crossed into Somalia after the Ogaden War in the late 1970s.

"Refugee camps on the banks of the Shebele River, near Beled Weyne, appear to have been almost totally abandoned," said Watson. "There was evidence of destruction and looting."

Further south on the Juba River, the Halba refugee camp, thought to have housed about 20 000 people six months ago, is also now empty.

The UNHCR representative in Nairobi, Sylvester Awuye, said about 5 000 refugees of Ethiopian origin had already entered Kenya, along with 2 000 Somali nationals. Many have cited the lack of security and food shortages as the reasons for their flight from Somalia. In addition, Awuye said, 20 000 Somalis were waiting on the Somalia side of the border.

UNHCR also estimates that there are 10 000 new arrivals in Ethiopia. Many are thought to have walked for about a week across Somalia to reach the border. A UNHCR spokesman in Geneva, Jeff Crisp, confirmed that the Somali refugee camps along the border with Ethiopia had not received any food aid since the UNHCR and other international relief agencies withdrew from Somalia last month.

"When the time comes to re-establish our operations in Somalia, we'll have to start from scratch," added Crisp. —  
The Guardian

**A**FRICA is considered the most vulnerable continent in terms of the spread of the dreaded Aids disease.

One of the reasons is that Africa's sanitation conditions are still way below internationally acceptable standards.

The current level of HIV (the virus causing Aids) infection is highest in sub-Saharan Africa, according to the latest report by the World Health Organisation (WHO).

At the end of 1990, the WHO estimated that there were at least five million HIV-infected adults in Africa, or about half of the estimated global total.

In addition, because many women of child-bearing age are infected, over 500 000 HIV-infected infants have been born in Africa, and by the end of the 1990s an additional 10 million or more may be expected.

Although it is not known how Aids came to Africa, the spread has been fast and extensive, and the environment in which the people live is believed to play a major role.

Abject poverty has been the cornerstone. The majority of people live below the poverty datum line, which in essence shortens their lifespan. The average life expectancy in Africa is about

# AFRICA VERY VULNERABLE TO SPREAD OF AIDS VIRUS

48 years.

With the emergence of Aids, health education programmes have met opposition as to how people should conduct themselves in sexual relationships between male and female partners.

Tradition is hard to break. The use of condoms conflicts with the cultural norms of most Africans, who despise the method and believe it should be totally ignored because it is alien.

Although Aids is dreaded by many people in the world, its prevention is meeting stiff opposition and cultural pundits are ferociously accusing the architects of the Aids education programmes as trying to tamper with the traditional values of most Africans.

In Zambia for instance, some young males in the north are using the condoms freely distributed to consumers as balloons. How the

youngsters are getting hold of these is still being investigated because adolescents are traditionally barred from having sexual intercourse before marriage.

It is perceived that using condoms reduces and impairs the intensity of sex.

So far 25 000 people of various target groups and categories have been directly exposed to the Aids education project which is attempting to contain the spread of Aids.

Aids Health Education Project co-ordinator Dr George Kabwe says the target groups include teachers, mothers, women's clubs, students, farmworkers and patients of all types.

While the impact of Aids has been felt in most urban areas, the rural areas are lagging behind, and this could further exacerbate the prevalence of the disease.

In Lusaka and other

large cities and towns, the disease is called "slow puncture" in the sense that it slowly kills the victims.

Chairman of the National Surveillance Committee (NSC) Dr Sam Nyaywa has complained that "patients in urban centres are shunned even by their own relatives who declare that they have nothing to do with them (patients)".

Zambia is one of the African countries with the highest incidence of Aids. This is attributed to its dense urban population.

This phenomenon is compounded by chronic unemployment, which has forced many young women to resort to prostitution. At the same time, the economic slump has driven most Zambians to the brink of self-destruction.

Most young people simply ignore the threat of the killer disease.

According to statistics, 400 Zambians have died of Aids, while close to 14 000 people are either confirmed HIV carriers or have symptoms related to the disease.

But despite the devastating dangers of Aids, prostitutes are not deterred from practising their trade, although most are taking precautions. — ANO



# Africa faces famine, death, tragedy

①  
C11111111  
2/11/91

OXFAM America said this week that while the world's eyes were on the war in the Gulf, as many as 20 million people in Africa were at risk of starving to death.

The imminent famine in Africa greatly overshadows the Ethiopian famine of 1984-85, in which one million people died, said John Hammock, executive director of the Boston-based American branch of Oxfam, a non-profit disaster relief agency.

Because of the war in the Gulf, though, Africa's current food crisis has received scant attention, he said.

"When the US administration makes the Gulf crisis a national priority, it seems as if nothing is too much.

"But the US can't seem to find nearly enough resources to fund a war against hunger in Africa, a campaign that could save millions of people from starvation."

Due to a combination of conflict, drought and poverty, 20 million people in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola and Liberia face starvation this year, said Hammock.

Political considerations could further obstruct relief efforts, he said. This was already an issue in Sudan, which was backing Iraq.

Relief supplies were drying up. If ships stopped using the Red Sea, supplies to Ethiopia and Sudan could be cut off. Sapa-Reuters

# Barre flees, Somali rebels seize control

Star 28/1/91

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NAIROBI — Jubilant rebels in Somalia have claimed victory and promised a new start for the country after President Mohamed Siad Barre fled the capital Mogadishu in a tank.

The whereabouts of Mr Barre, in power for 21 years, are unknown, but unconfirmed reports said he had fled southwards yesterday, accompanied by remnants of his presidential guard.

An official of the international medical charity, Medecins Sans Frontieres, said Mogadishu was quiet after four weeks of intense fighting that has claimed hundreds of lives.

The official, Stefan van Praet, said Mr Barre had fled in a tank 15 minutes before rebels overran the presidential palace.

In London, a spokesman for the rebel United Somali Congress (USC), which brought the battle to oust Mr Barre to the capital on December 30, said his group would shortly name an interim government.

Ali Hassan Hussein, contacted at the USC's London office from Nairobi by telephone, said the new government would include representatives from the two other main rebel groups, the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) and the Somali National Movement (SNM).

The three clan-based groups formed an alliance last August and were joined 10 days later by two other less well-known rebel organisations, the Somali Demo-



Mohammed Siad Barre ... escaped in tank.

cratic Movement and the Somali Democratic Alliance. contacted by satellite telephone from the Kenyan city of Mombasa, also reported the city quiet for the first time in several weeks.

Mr Barre, now about 80, took power in a bloodless coup in 1969. He began his rule of Somalia, an impoverished country in the Horn of Africa, with promises to end clan rivalries that have bedevilled the region for centuries.

He then launched the nation into an ill-fated war against neighbouring Ethiopia in 1977 to regain a "lost province".

As his rule persisted, Western human rights groups accused Mr Barre's security forces of killing hundreds of Somalis and imprisoning and torturing thousands of others.

In 1988 the northern Issaq clan rebelled under the standard of the Somali National Movement. Retaliation was savage. The human rights group, Africa Watch, estimates 50 000 people, mainly civilians, were killed.

Mr Barre's support came to be limited to his own Marehan clan — numbering about one percent of Somalia's eight million people. The USC, made up largely of the Hawiye clan, had been inactive until last year in August, when its forces started taking central Somalia towns.

The current round of fighting erupted in the capital on 30 December. The USC has promised multi-party democracy, free elections and some form of regional clan autonomy. — Sapa-Reuter-The Independent News Service.

cratic Movement and the Somali Democratic Alliance.

"The USC, the SPM, and the SNM are going to form the transitional government because these were the three groups that fought Mr Siad Barre," he said.

Mr Ali Hassan said the rebels took Mogadishu international airport, the last remaining enclave of loyalist forces, yesterday afternoon.

He said the USC would shortly issue an appeal for humanitarian aid. Mogadishu's population has received very little food since the fighting began.

Water and electricity was cut off soon after the rebel onslaught and telephone links were also cut.

Mr van Praet said volunteers from his organisation,

# SA has air links with 17 African countries

AS a result of its diplomatic and economic foray into Africa, SA now has air links with 17 African countries, including some Indian and Atlantic Ocean islands.

In the past year landing rights have been secured and regular flights established to Kenya, Zaire and Madagascar, while flights to the Comores were resumed.

SAA now flies to Kenya, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde Islands, Mauritius, the Comores, Madagascar and Reunion. Flights to the Seychelles are about to be resumed after direct links were severed in the early 1980s. *BIPay 28/1/91*

Overflight rights were also gained, allowing SA-registered aircraft to use Moroccan airspace, while landing rights without the establishment of scheduled flights were obtained from Congo and Rwanda.

Negotiations are in progress for landing rights in Gabon, but any agreements still have to be ratified.

The addition of the new African routes saw SAA increase the number of regional destinations served by scheduled flights by 20%.

SAA spokesman Leon Els described the situation as an "indication of the normalisation of relations".

"As things develop and improve so more new routes will be added to the airline's services, but at this stage there has been no indication of further breakthroughs."

Only Sudan and Egypt stand in the airline's way of being able to fly overland to Europe on an East African route.

This is an obstacle the airline is hoping to resolve in time for the placement of orders for its 1996 fleet update.

"The overflight issue will definitely have an influence on SAA's fleet planning for the mid- to late 1990s," Els said.

With major aircraft manufacturers recording production backlogs as high as \$90bn, insiders say orders placed now will be delivered towards the end of 1995.

## LINDEN BIRNS

By that time SAA's long-haul fleet will be due for replacement — the original 747s have a 25-year design life.

Fuel savings over shorter routes will be a major factor in the airline's choice of replacement aircraft.

If faced with the prospect of still having to fly around the bulge of Africa, it could mean that the airline would be forced to purchase long-range, high-capacity 747 class aircraft.

Should an overland route be established, the airline could then buy twin-engine, long-range, medium-capacity aircraft which cost about R150m each compared with R300m for a new 747.

On the overseas front, SAA opened a new service with flights to Manchester, resumed flights to Belgium and is standing by to restart services to the US and Australia.

Els said the resumption of flights to the US and Australia was an issue "in the hands of the politicians", but signs were positive that flights between SA and those countries could be resumed in the not-too-distant future.



Mike Littlejohn reports from New York on candidates for the top UN job

# Odds against African Secretary-General

for 28/1/91

WHAT could turn out to be a drawn-out contest for the high office of UN Secretary-General has begun, after Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar's definitive statement that this is his last year in the job.

No secretary-general has served more than two five-year terms and the Peruvian diplomat, who is 71 and had a quadruple coronary by-pass in 1986, is not about to break the mould.

Who will succeed him? In the years ahead the UN is certain to be called upon to exercise enlarged responsibilities, not only in the aftermath of the Gulf war but the complex post-cold-war problems, as well as the changes in southern Africa.

Just as events in the Baltic states have been overshadowed in the American and European media by the Gulf war, so have recent events in South Africa.

But UN delegates are not myopic and the situation in southern Africa is certain to influence their choice of the next Secretary-General.

Zimbabwe, a new member of the Security Council — which

must recommend a nominee for election by the General Assembly — is said to have begun a campaign on behalf of Bernard Chidzero, its Finance Minister.

Major-General Joseph Garba, a flamboyant Nigerian who until recently was president of the General Assembly, has made no secret of his own ambitions.

Another Nigerian, former President Olusegun Obasanjo, has similar ideas.

Olar Otunnu, who was Nigeria's UN Ambassador and president of the Security Council when a deadlock was broken in 1981 to permit Dr Perez de Cuellar's appointment, is another hopeful.

Africa has never had one of its own in the top UN spot. If key delegates are to be believed, that is not likely to change soon.

The political and economic mess in Africa, plus the need for a steady hand and an unemotional approach towards southern Africa, make it unlikely that any African diplomat will find acceptance, Western delegates say.

However, they acknowledge that China could make difficulties if it were to fix on a particular

African aspirant and block other candidates with its veto.

In 1981, the Chinese proved they can be stubborn. They cast repeated vetoes to prevent the re-nomination of Dr Kurt Waldheim, insisting that it was time for a third-world UN Chief. Dr Perez de Cuellar was their final choice.

After Dr Waldheim's bitter animosity towards South Africa, Dr Perez de Cuellar's objectivity came like a breath of fresh air.

South Africa must be among many states that are saddened by the prospect of his departure.

Marthi Ahlisaari, who supervised the Namibia independence operation, is believed to be a potential candidate to succeed him.

Given President Robert Mugabe's harsh criticism of his decision to permit South African troops to engage Swapo forces in the first days of the operation, the possibility that Mr Ahlisaari may run against Mr Chidzero makes for an interesting scenario.

According to reports, there are as many as 17 hopefuls, including Oscar Arias, a former president of Costa Rica and a Nobel Peace Prize winner; Prince Sadruddin

Aga Khan, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, who tried and failed in 1981; and Carlos Ortiz de Rosas, a seasoned Argentine diplomat who beat Dr Waldheim in total votes cast in 1971 but was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

Since the argument against a Nato or Warsaw Pact national may not be relevant any more, Maurice Strong of Canada is given a slim chance.

A high school dropout, he began his career as a UN security guard, went on to make a fortune in oil and performed brilliantly as organiser of the first UN conference on the environment, later becoming secretary-general of the Nairobi-based UN Environment Programme.

Margaret Thatcher and Edward Shevardnadze have been mentioned in some quarters, but only by those unaware of a rule that bars any national from a permanent member state of the Security Council from serving as Secretary-General.

Who succeeds Dr Perez de Cuellar may well turn out to be someone not even mentioned in the current speculation. □

# Barre flees, Somali rebels seize control

Star 28/1/91

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The current round of fighting erupted in the capital on 30 December. The USC has promised multi-party democracy, free elections and some form of regional clan autonomy. — Sapa-Reuter-The Independent News Service.

# Accra women at the helm ①

IN the coastal region of Ghana, West Africa, women are the heart of the informal business sector, writes PHANGIS-ILE MTSHALI from Accra.

They dominate the sector from Accra, the capital city, to the Cape coast, the fishing area.

Women of all ages can be found in nearly every business place selling almost anything. In remote villages young girls run around with buckets on their heads, selling cold water to travellers.

In busier villages older girls sell traditional snacks: prawns, octopus fillet, grasscutter, kebab, rolls, fruit, vegetables, maize and flour cakes.

Women also dominate the established markets

like the night market in the centre of Accra. It operates from 4pm daily and provides more substantial dishes like kenkey (steamed maize dumpling), smoked fish stew and a variety of cooked vegetables. Paraffin lamps illuminate the market.

"This is a place to relax and meet friends," a stall-holder said.

"People who are too tired to cook at their homes after work come here for a meal. It is good business, on a good night I take home about 5 000 cedes (R30), which is what other workers earn a week."

Ghanaian journalist

Ajoa Yeboah-Afari said Ghanaian women, like most African women, had a lot of power but they remained submissive because they did not realise they had it and did not appreciate it.

One of the most powerful women in the informal business sector is Mrs Ekuia Damugyan (55). She is queen mother of the Elmina Fish Market in the Cape Coast. On the street she could easily be dismissed as "just another elderly woman", but at the fish market she is the centre of everything and is well-respected.

Her tasks include setting the market price for the day, arranging credit for those short of cash, acting as supervisor and middleman, a manager

and a peacemaker in the bustling market.

"Lack of cold storage makes my work very difficult," Damugyan said.

"Fish is perishable. To ensure that the fishermen and my women do not suffer great losses I have to change the daily prices drastically. When we have a surplus, a crate can cost 3 000 cedes (R17) and the following day, if things were not good it can cost 7 000 cedes (R41)," she said.

## Issues

However, Ghanaian women do not simply go about their business without a murmur if dissatisfied. They confront issues that hamper their business.

Ten years ago when

our pleas for a cold storage were ignored, we staged a go-slow," another fish seller said.

"We abandoned it when we realised that our families were beginning to starve and we have been promised a storage. We still do not have it so we still smoke surplus fish so we can keep it up to six months. But we make our demands known. It is unfair because we pay our taxes, about 50 cedes (30 cents) a day."

Most women in the market learnt the trade from their mothers while they were still young. Damugyan has been a queen-mother for 28 years and her family has been in the fishing industry for two decades.

*Source  
Relax 29/1/91*

# Barre: from ruler to refugee

Star 29/1/77

**S**OMALI president Mohamed Siad Barre, who rebelled against his own government in a palace in a far, was a modern medieval autocrat. A former policeman under British colonial rule, and now in his 80s — his exact age unknown — Mr Barre rose to command the Somali armed forces after independence in 1960 and took power in a bloodless coup on October 21 1969.

At the time, he was welcomed — chaos over an attempted general election that year had been followed on October 15 by the assassination of President Adenabid Shermake, and Mr Barre's Supreme Revolutionary Council looked set to straighten things out in a country wracked by medieval clan vendettas.

But by the time rebels of the United Somali Congress finally toppled the old chain-smoker this weekend, Mr Barre had turned his country into a bomb site, massacring and torturing his way through 21 years to a total economic, political and social collapse.

Hungry for cash in his first year in power, Mr Barre turned

to the Soviet Union, declaring Somalia a "scientific socialist state" on the first anniversary of his coup.

He wasted no time in setting up a secret police along Iron Curtain lines, a feared body of torturers called the National Security Service. He reformed the legal system to make independent political thought a crime, axing virtually all legal rights in the process.

In 1977, Mr Barre went to war with Ethiopia in pursuit of the doctrine of "Pan-Somalism" — a bid to reunite all territories in which ethnic Somalis lived and still live.

It was a big mistake.

The Soviet Union, until then Mr Barre's loyal funder, decided in favour of Ethiopian socialism and poured arms into Addis Ababa.

A furious Mr Barre promptly abrogated his treaty of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union, threw Moscow's people out of Mogadishu and equally promptly lost the Ogaden war, creating a massive refugee problem which has still to be resolved.

In the wake of the war, there was a coup attempt, and Mr

Barre embarked on the first of a series of repressive atrocities, initially against the Majerteen clan whose members had tried to overthrow him.

Somalia has no tribes — its people are homogeneous. But it has at least 26 major, and countless minor, clans, fiercely partisan family groupings whose political goals for the past century have boiled down to simple factionalism.

Mr Barre set out to wipe out his opponents, simultaneously courting the United States for aid.

He was partially successful on both counts. With the remnants of his Ogaden army, he set up militias which turned in-creasingly to persecuting northern Somalia's Isaaq clan which became the nucleus of the Somali National Movement rebel group.

It was the start of a decade of war in the north, in which Mr

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Barre's armed forces attempted to bomb, shell, burn and execute the Isaaq into submission.

Troops laid waste vast areas of countryside, destroyed water reservoirs, machine-gunned villages, and arrested and tortured anyone suspecting of opposing them.

Meanwhile, US aid replaced that from the Soviet Union, reaching a peak of about \$30 million in 1988.

Mr Barre had added the Southern Somali Patriotic Movement and the Central United Somali Congress to the list of his opponents, but was able for years to lead them off in part because the latter movements were unable to agree on concerted action against him.

But by 1990, he had run out of time and money. As the Cold War evaporated from the African front, and the Soviet Union started pulling out of Ethiopia, the Bush administration cut aid to Mr Barre. So did the Italians, the former colonial power with Britain.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August, Mr Barre also lost most of the cash support and cheap oil he was getting from the Persian Gulf. The United Arab

Emirate lost interest in him. Kuwait no longer existed.

The Mayor of Mogadishu, as he was now known, had only fruit exports left — in a country that is mostly desert, goats and camels — with which to make money.

Western relief and aid agencies deserted him.

The country fell to pieces. Mr Barre's special military police were out of control, looting the capital, stealing four-wheel-drive cars from embassies and shooting up the streets of Mogadishu by night.

The rebels pounced. They drove Mr Barre's military out of the countryside, and on December 28 they entered the capital.

By mid-January, virtually every non-Somali had left the country and about 100 000 people had fled to Ethiopia or Kenya. Mr Barre controlled only the area around his palace and the airport.

By yesterday, with Mr Barre in hiding somewhere and reportedly looking for anything — boat, plane or car — out of the south of his country, it appeared he really was gone for good. □

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Mohamed Siad Barre . . . turned his country into a bomb site.

## Kenya to offer safe passage to Siad Barre

NAIROBI — A senior Kenyan foreign ministry official yesterday said Kenya would offer ousted Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre safe passage through the country.

"The principle is that if anyone comes to our borders from an area where there is trouble, and whose life is threatened, then there will be assistance," he said.

A request for political asylum would be considered separately. *Jan*

### Overran 29/1/91

The source confirmed that Mr Siad Barre — aged about 80 — had reached the southern Somali town of Kismayu after fleeing in a tank shortly before rebels of the United Somali Congress (USC) overran the presidential palace on Sunday.

He declined to comment on reports that Mr Siad Barre — accompanied by a 40-strong group of loyal troops and close family — had radioed Nairobi yesterday to ask for a plane to fly him out of the country.

"I know he was in Kismayu, but I cannot say if he is still there," the Kenyan source said.

He said he had no knowledge of reports from Somali rebel sources that Kenyan military helicopters had left Garissa — a town near Kenya's border with Somalia — to airlift Mr Siad Barre to safety.

The Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), a southern-based rebel movement linked to the USC in a loose anti-Siad Barre alliance, said its fighters were closing in on Kismayu to cut off the fleeing president's retreat.

An official of the international medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), which has a team of doctors and nurses in Mogadishu, said a burst of gunfire was heard in the Somali capital late yesterday.

But it was not clear whether the shots were part of celebrations or whether they reflected continued fighting, he added.

In London, USC spokesman Mohamed Robleh said their next step would be to form an interim government to transform the one-party state into a democracy. — Sapa-Reuter.

● From ruler to refugee  
— Page 19.



# Rebels will not hunt ousted Somali president

①  
Sowetan 30/1/91

JEDDAH - A rebel leader said ousted Somali President Mohammed Siad Barre will be tried for high treason if captured but that there will be no hunt for him, a newspaper reported yesterday.

"If Barre is caught he will be tried on high treason for the total

destruction of the country, but if he escapes, then that is it," Ismael Mahmud Hurreh of the Somali National Movement (SNM) told the English-language *Arab News*.

He said he did not know where Barre was but there were indications

he "might still be in the country."

Hurreh, one of the founders of the SNM which was established in London in 1981, heads its political committee. He was in Saudi Arabia to perform the Umrah, or lesser pilgrimage to Mecca.

The SNM is one of three major rebel groups to have fought Siad Barre's troops.

Hurreh said the first priority in the country now is restoration of peace and order, the maintenance of security and achievement of national unity. - *Sapa-AP*

# Somalia's short-lived 'peace' ends

8 (Day 30 (1991)  
NAIROBI — Fighting erupted anew in Somalia's capital Mogadishu yesterday and rebels named a new president three days after driving the nation's deposed leader from the city and seizing control.

It was not immediately known who was behind the gunfire but sources said it appeared not to be a continuation of the celebratory shooting that had erupted periodically since the rebels claimed to have taken over government at the weekend.

The whereabouts of deposed President Mohamed Siad Barre is unknown.

However, a local pilot said he flew to Somalia and military authorities in the southern town of Kismayu told him Siad Barre and about 100 of his supporters headed by road toward Kenya on Monday.

Kenya has offered the deposed leader safe passage to a third country.

## Decree

In another report, the government-run Kenya Times newspaper said local supporters had arranged to airlift Siad Barre from Kismayu to Kenya.

The rebel United Somali Congress announced the appointment of Ali Mahdi Muhammad as Somalia's new president effective from Monday.

The news broadcast over Radio Mogadishu said the rebels made the appointment "after considering the first decree that the USC has taken over the administration of the country and the need for a quick appointment of a head of state who can display unity pending consultations".

The reference to "pending consultations" was the only suggestion that Muhammad's administration would be an interim one as the rebels had promised a later permanent government would be drawn from the nation's five main insurgencies.

A spokesman for the rebels said in London Muhammad was a hotelier and businessman of the large central Hawiye clan, from which the rebels drew their support.

He had been a key figure in the rebels' Mogadishu representation for some time. — Sapa-AP.

**AFRICA FOCUS**

# Somalia names its new leader.

By PETER BILES, Mombasa  
SOMALI rebels who have taken over the government after the flight of the ousted president, Siad Barre, this week named a new head of state.

In a broadcast on Somali state radio the United Somali Congress (USC) said that Ali Mahdi Muhammad had been appointed president with immediate effect, and that he would exercise all executive powers. The USC added that there had been a need for a quick appointment in the interests of unity. Ali Mahdi is expected to serve as president until a national conference can be convened pending free elections.

At a swearing-in ceremony held at police headquarters in Mogadishu, Ali Mahdi asked a former foreign minister, Umar Arreh Ghalib, to accept the job of interim prime minister and to form a government which would "spearhead the country to elections based on democracy".

According to state radio, Umar Arreh's appointment was agreed after consultations with the USC central committee, religious leaders, representatives of the Somali people, and community elders. Arreh, who pledged to form a government drawn from all sections of society, said the USC deserved "first prize" for its role in overthrowing Siad Barre. — The Guardian, London

# Toppled tyrant is stripped of all



War victim ... the body of a Somali government soldier lies amid empty shell casings in the quadrangle of an army barracks in the grounds of Mogadishu's presidential palace. Photo: AP

**T**HE flight of President Mohammed Siad Barre from his official residence, the Villa Somalia, this weekend was final confirmation that the ageing Somali leader has now been stripped of even the derisive nickname given to him some time ago by his opponents — the Mayor of Mogadishu.

Siad Barre, widely thought to be in his early eighties, succeeded in clinging to power far longer than many had expected. It was the offensive launched in Mogadishu by the rebel United Somali Congress at the end of December that marked the beginning of the end.

In the past month, in a blatant demonstration of false propaganda, USC spokesmen in Rome, London, and Kampala often insisted that Siad Barre had fled the country even though he continued to broadcast appeals for peace on the Somali state radio until last week.

After 21 years in office one of Siad Barre's legacies is to have intensified age-old clan rivalry while consolidating immense wealth and power in the hands of his relatives and other members of his minority Marehan clan.

Siad Barre came from a humble background in what was then Italian Somaliland to enter the police force and rise to the rank of chief inspector, the highest post then open to

**Somalia's President Siad Barre has lost everything — even his nickname. (1)**  
**PETER BILES reports**

Somalis. He later studied at a military academy in Italy and in the 1960s he became Somalia's army commander. (112-71219)

It was from that position he led the military coup that ousted the civilian government led by the prime minister, Mohammed Egal, in 1969. Siad Barre's rule began with promises to restore democracy and justice as he instituted a policy of "scientific socialism" and allied Somalia closely with the Soviet Union.

But his vision of a Greater Somalia that incorporated parts of Ethiopia and Kenya that were home to thousands of Somali speakers led to the Ogaden war with Ethiopia in 1977.

In a decisive change of allegiance in the Horn of Africa, the Soviet Union supported the Ethiopian leader, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, while the United States began supporting Somalia as Siad Barre's forces were pushed out of the Ogaden in a humiliating defeat.

Surprisingly, Siad Barre survived the debacle and so began the era in which his Marehan supporters gained control of every facet of Somali society. Friends and relatives were installed in positions of author-

ity in the government, the civil service, the military, and the economy. Meanwhile Siad Barre began playing off one clan against another in order to stay in power.

In 1986 the Somali leader was involved in a near-fatal motor-car crash that left him in a coma for several days. He was flown to Saudi Arabia for treatment and confounded his opponents by apparently making a full recovery.

Two years later his authority was severely diminished as the rebel Somali National Movement in the north of the country began an offensive that led to the government's bombing of Hargeisa.

As rebels elsewhere extended their control over the Somali countryside Siad Barre's human-rights record came under renewed attack.

In July 1989 Marehan soldiers massacred scores of civilians demonstrating in Mogadishu and last year dozens of people were shot dead when they jeered at the president during a football match.

Meanwhile in an attempt to rescue the ailing Somali economy, Siad Barre proposed a major political reform and promised a new multi-party system. But as his support dwindled, few if any Somalis took Siad Barre seriously, preferring to believe it was only a matter of time before he was forced to go. — The Guardian, London

# Bob Denard is back <sup>①</sup> in business

Star 2/2/91

PARIS.— The good old days of "Les Affreux" in the Belgian Congo 30 years ago seem to have returned for French mercenary Colonel Bob Denard and a handful of South Africans.

He has left his sanctuary in South Africa and is at present training white mercenaries in the Belgian-built military base of Kitona, near Zaire's Atlantic coast.

## Guard

The Kinshasa publication Umoja, quoting a Zairese officer at Kitona, reported that "Denard is back in business".

His business, in this case, is recruiting, training and forming a presidential guard, officered by his white mercenaries. They are staying at Kinshasa's "Joli Site".

Umoja said that President Mobutu has requested Colonel Denard to train a new military force to replace his once elite bodyguard divisions.

An editorial asked: "What is going to happen when President Mobutu's mandate ends in Decem-

## JAMES TOMLINS

ber? Do we really need mercenaries like Denard in our country?"

Mobutu's elite presidential troops ran amok on the university campus at Lubumbashi, formerly Elisabethville, last May. Student sources reported over 30 beaten to death, but Kinshasa said there was one dead and 13 injured.

The incident led Belgium to halt its financial aid, and resulted in Zaire receiving worldwide adverse criticism.

## Summit

The 1991 Franco-African summit, which was scheduled to be held in Kinshasa, was cancelled and a new venue is being arranged.

The Denard move is bound to cause dismay in France, which in December issued an international warrant against him for alleged involvement in the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah of the Comoros at the end of 1989.

# 'Operation Smile'<sup>①</sup> from floating clinic

From Michael Quansah  
Accra

AS their contribution to Ghana's efforts to meet the UN goal of health for all by the year 2000, two non-governmental organisations have teamed up to extend a special service to more than two million Ghanaians living along the Volta lake.

The service will come from a floating clinic recently commissioned by the Ghana government on Lake Volta — the largest human-made clinic in the world — to serve people who until now had had no access to medical services.

A mercy ship, MV Anastasis, is due to arrive in this West African nation from the United States this week. It will come with 400 "highly-qualified and dedicated" medical, dental, building and evangelical teams, three operating theatres, 35 beds, four dental units and two mobile medical teams.

The teams, members of the US "Operation Smile International" (OSI) will work with "Operation Ghana Medical Mission (OGMM), a non-profit charitable organisation set up to cooperate actively with international medical

missions. *South 3/2-13/2/91*  
The OGMM was founded by Prof JKM Quartey of the University of Ghana Medical School, after the OSI idea was introduced to him in Norfolk, Virginia, in the US in May 1987.

The idea of the floating clinic aims at improving and widening the scope of local health care and at ensuring the transfer of techniques and technology to local medical staff.

"Operation Smile" obtained and maintains its name by putting a smile on deformed faces for the first time on the lives of people through surgery.

Until recently, plastic surgery was a medical mystery limited to the rich in Europe and America.

Now, thanks to the OGMM and OSI, it is a common feature in the major hospitals and available to poor rural people.

In 1989, a team of surgeons screened deformed patients in Ghana's northern and upper regions and selected some of them for treatment by the OSI during their first visit.

At the regional hospitals in Sunyani and Tamale, several complicated deformities have been treated by major and minor orthopaedic operations. —  
*Inter Press Service*

## Gulf syphons African aid<sup>①</sup>

CHIMOIO — Famine stalking the parched lands of eastern and southern Africa, claiming millions of lives, is drawing strength from the Gulf war which has diverted aid donors' attention and sent fuel prices soaring.

"World attention is being diverted away from Africa and from many other developing countries," Peter Simkin, UN co-ordinator for emergency relief operations in Mozambique, said.

"Obviously the increase in fuel prices, certainly in October, had a big impact everywhere. Also I think there is some division in many African countries about the conflict itself," he said.

For soldiers manning the road through droughty and war-torn central Mozambique, the issue is even simpler. Rains have failed through December and thousands of hungry people are flocking to the roadside hoping for food handouts.

One senior officer said: "These people who are living by the roadside will do anything to get food. There will be a lot of unrest."

"Many more people are already dying here than in the Gulf," he added, pointing out a new settlement by the roadside, where children with stick legs and distended bellies were sitting in the shade.

Casualty figures released last Thursday by the US-led alliance fighting Iraq showed 1 403 people had been killed, captured, gone missing or been injured.

In southern Africa alone, the UN says up to 4-million people face famine. In Ethiopia and Sudan, nearly 15-million people are at risk. — Reuter.

# Africa could provide export avenue

MARC HASENFUSS

THE lifting of economic sanctions could prompt the SA motor component industry to look for new export markets mainly in Africa and Eastern Europe, industry sources said yesterday.

Depressed economic conditions in the countries traditionally served by the local motor component industry are expected to hamper further export growth, even if formal trade links are established when sanctions are lifted.

"The recent economic slowdown in the US, Western Europe and Japan, and not the remnants of economic sanctions against SA, will curtail efforts by local vehicle manufacturers to increase exports of components," a motor industry source said yesterday.

National Association of Automotive Component and Allied Manufacturers (Naacam) executive director Denzyl Vermooten said traditional markets in Western

Europe and the Far East would not see further growth this year, but lucrative markets could open up in Eastern Europe and Africa.

He felt the local motor industry was well placed to serve the vehicle needs of African countries.

"Although new vehicle markets in most African countries will start from a low base, if we are patient the enormous growth potential in these countries will be realised."

The value of exports by SA component makers rocketed by 65% last year to almost R1bn, but Vermooten expects growth this year to taper off substantially.

Econometrix's Tony Twine said the African and East European markets had a serious drawback in that both areas did not have the hard currency to pay for exports.

Twine said Africa and Eastern Europe represented largely unex-

ploited ground by the motor industry worldwide.

They were, however, structurally more open to opportunity than SA's established markets.

Opportunities in Eastern Europe could be taken advantage of in the short term as the Eastern bloc countries were restructuring their economies, he said.

These countries would benefit from the SA motor industry's technological expertise, he added.

However, exports to the rest of Africa would not be immediately viable because of certain African leaders' recalcitrance in renouncing socialist principles that had kept most of the continent "wallowing in an economic morass", Twine said.

Zimbabwe, with a meagre 230 000 vehicles, has one of the highest vehicle populations in Africa. Most other African countries have significantly less in comparison.

13/12/91  
B/10/2/91



## 'Aids will be Africa's main cause of death'

WASHINGTON — Aids is sweeping through Africa, killing up to a third of the adult population in some areas and leaving thousands of orphans, including many infected with the virus, researchers said on Saturday.

Projections by the US Bureau

870 18/2/91  
of the Census forecast that by 2015 there will be more than 70 million cases of Aids in the countries south of the Sahara.

Aids-related infections already represent up to 80 percent of the hospital admissions in Zambia, said Dr Peter Perine of the Uniformed Services Uni-

versity of the Health Services at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Peter Way of the Census Bureau said that, based on estimates, Aids would be the major cause of death among adults in African countries south of the Sahara by 2015. — Sapa-AP.

# Ghana still reels from the winds of change...

Sowetan 19/12/91 (1)

This is the first of a series of articles by Sowetan reporter Phangisile Mtshali following her recent visit to West Africa



EXCEPT for the noticeably hot, humid blast of air that greeted me as I stepped from the plane, I could have been landing at anyone of South Africa's domestic airports.

And as I went through customs, produced my health card and for once met a sea of black faces in almost all the civil service offices, I knew that I was in the first African country to rid itself of the white colonial rule.

I was in Ghana on the West African coast.

Women, with their woven straight black hair crowning their dark sharp featured faces, moved about their business as if they did not have a care in the world.

## Polite

They were polite, friendly and helpful without expecting anything in return.

The colourful, long traditional *Kente* cloths carelessly draped around the men's bodies further confirmed that I was indeed in a strange land; yet the friendliness of its people welcomed me.

Ghana, as a country, would certainly be a disappointment to a Sowetan who enjoys the fast life and a nice time.

It is not much to look at. Accra, the capital city and the country's main town, could have been any small dorpje in northern Transvaal.

I have always heard about the poverty and low development level in the so-called Third World country, but nothing prepared me for what I encountered.

What was once beautiful and well-cared for buildings had, over the years, degenerated into slummy buildings with only the ground floor occupied and four other floors standing empty, windowless and without doors.

The informal business sector is very active with women in the forefront.

About 70 percent of the population is in the rural areas and the ruler Chairman Jerry Rawlings has pledged to eradicate illiteracy in 10 years.

"The ever-increasing unemployment and the low salaries - the average monthly family income is R110 - has been the major cause of the informal business sector boom," a journalist Mr Ben Ephson said.

"A lot of people are not happy about the way things are going, but the government makes it difficult for anyone to protest. Journalists who have dared to expose government corruption or write critical articles have been harassed and detained together with people of political dissent," he said.

Very few people are willing to talk about politics.

A group of former government ministers, civil servants and practicing lawyers openly asked me not to question them about politics.

Ghana, currently under temporary coalition government of the military and civilians, is preparing for the transition to a new constitutionally elected government.

"We have completed the first steps of the transition," the Prime Minister, Mr PV Obeng said.

"By the end of the year we hope to have completed a new constitution for the new democratically-elected government.

## Develop

"Our main aim has been to develop the country and to decentralised government power."

My suspicion that Ghanaians would embark on all kinds of conventional and unconventional businesses to supplement their income was con-

firmed when I came across Professional Supporters Union led by Mr Kwaku Kotoro Asante at a soccer match.

"Managers of football teams and other sports hire me to cheer at their matches," he said.

"I have seven other people working with me. We go and we shout our lungs out, cheering our employers and howling at opponents.

"If the team wins I get a bonus. I hire my services to those who pay the right price."

## Funeral

Kotoro (34), a Kumasi farmer, had come straight from his sister's funeral, still in his black cloth funeral attire to cheer the Cornerstone Football Club that has hired his mouth for the day.

In Kumasi, the capital of the Akhan people, everyone seemed to be in funeral gear.

"Funerals are now big business in Ghana," Ephson said.

"People dress up in traditional attire and attend the funeral proceedings (which last three days) and on the day of the burial they compete when giving the donations.

"The bereaved buy a lot of booze and the mourners are obliged to give much money to meet the costs."

## Castles

Everywhere I went - nightclubs, market, cultural centre and restaurants - people were dressed in their funeral attire.

Kumasi is the seat of the Ashanti chieftaincy, the tribe that resisted colonisers for three centuries until its King Prempeh was exiled to Seychelles by the British.

One feature that will stick in mind about Ghana is the fortified castles that line its Atlantic Ocean coast, many within gun-range of each other.



Songs, drums and dance still feature prominently in Ghanaian customs. Men and women drape themselves in traditional *Kente* clothes.

"Our gold and coconut is the cause of our mixed blood," Ephson said recounting the slave trade and colonial history.

"Colonisers built posts to trade in our wealth and in slaves." The Cape Coast

Castle, specially designed by the British as a slave trade post is the most sickening place I have ever been into.

An underground dungeon with three brick size holes near the ceiling housed 1 500 would-be slaves for three months

before they were taken in ships to the US where they were sold as slaves.

A shallow, narrow trench running through the dungeon was used as toilet. Nearby is a toilet-sized room which is known as the Death Cell. "Difficult slaves,

those who were captured trying to escape and captured enemy soldiers were starved to death in this room," a guide said.

"This went on from 1664 to the beginning of the 19th century when the slave trade was abolished."



Ghanaians appear not to feel the sweltering heat which slows down most foreigners. They are active and full of zest.

# A big NYET to Gorbachev

Spw 2/12/91

**YOUNG** adult Soviets retain few Marxist-Leninist values, and are equally disillusioned with the current political leadership, according to what is claimed to be the first Western-sponsored opinion poll of 18 to 25-year-olds in the Soviet Union, released this week.

Few think President Mikhail Gorbachev is helping to bring about political change in the country, more than half (51 percent) say he is an obstacle, and a further one in five are not sure.

Almost 85 percent think there should be private ownership of land, and 70 percent want industry and commerce to be privately owned.

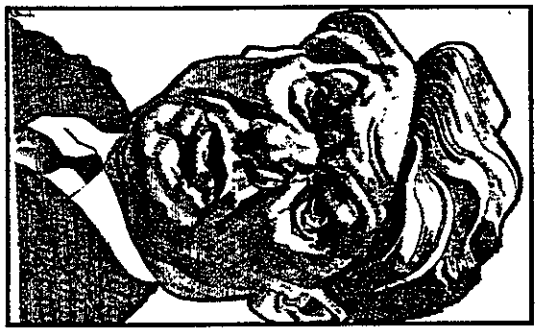
## Undermined

A representative sample of 1 050 18 to 25-year-olds, in six regions of the Russian Republic, was polled by the Soviet Institute of Sociology over a fortnight in November, just before the resignation of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze further undermined confidence in the government.

The poll was carried out for Reader's Digest magazine, and appeared yesterday in the United States edition, ahead of publication in the British edition next month.

Asked to choose their favourite leader from a list of 10, only six in a 100 chose Mr Gorbachev, 39 percent chose Boris Yeltsin, the Russian President, 8 percent said they liked nobody, and 27 percent

Young Soviets are unhappy about the way the Soviet Union is being run, according to a recently released Western-sponsored survey.



By popular acclaim . . . Russian premier Boris Yeltsin.

indicated what was probably dislain by declining to answer the question.

The poll was taken before the use of force in Lithuania, but there is remarkably little support for compelling non-Russian Soviet republics to toe the line politically and militarily. Asked whether republics

should be allowed to secede if they so desire, seven out of 10 young Russians said they should. Fewer than one in five said no, and 11 percent were undecided.

The chief concerns of those questioned are overwhelmingly domestic rather than international. Fifty-two percent said they were most worried about economic collapse, 38 percent by civil strife, and fewer than 3 percent by 'external threats'.

Only 16 percent felt the Soviet Union's world role should take precedence over improvements at home.

## Protest

Asked if they would protest publicly against government policies, if asked, almost four in 10 said they would do so, and only one in four said they would not, with the largest group unsure.

But only 31 percent favour unlimited political activity, and only 58 percent favour freedom of the press.

Possibly the most telling illustration of the inability of a government to modify deeply held views is the young people's attitude to religion.

Although most of those questioned are the second generation to have lived their entire lives in an atheist state, only 40 percent said they were not believers in God, while 35 percent said they did believe and another 25 percent were agnostic. — The Independent News Service. □

# Africa vies for top UN post

Spw 2/12/91

**THE AFRICAN** states have been advised to prepare a short list of candidates for the post of United Nations secretary-general to back their contention that it is their turn to hold the prestige office, say reliable sources.

Some African officials reacted indignantly to the suggestion, saying that no other regional group had ever been asked to adopt such a nominating procedure.

But Western diplomats rejected a contention that the post of secretary-general was subject to the kind of equitable geographic representation that applies to lesser UN jobs, and that, therefore, because there has never been an African in the post, someone from Africa must have a prior claim.

"The five permanent members are agreed that the main criterion is competence, regardless of nationality," one said.

Although the votes of the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China — each of which has veto power — are decisive in the selection, most of the 10 rotating members of the Security Council must also agree before a name can go to the General Assembly for approval.

Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar has made it clear that he wants to relinquish the post

The search is on for the next secretary-general of the United Nations, a post Africa hopes one of its sons will fill. The Star's UN CORRESPONDENT reports from New York.

when his second five-year term expires at the end of this year. But some still cling to a hope that he can be persuaded to soldier on for a year or two.

However, growing antagonism between him and Iraq has led to a realisation that he may not be the ideal person to lead the negotiations with Baghdad that the UN is considered certain to arrange after the Gulf war.

Half a dozen African contenders are known to be waiting in the wings, including Olara Otunnu of Uganda.

Mr Otunnu, no longer a delegate, is now president of the New York-based International Peace Academy. He is highly regarded in UN circles for his pragmatism and intelligence. Nonetheless, many UN observers believe the odds are against an African. As far as there is any favourite today, Ali Alatas, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, is a name most often mentioned. □

# Liberian nation tatters

TWO months after warring factions in Liberia called a ceasefire, thousands of their compatriots taking refuge in neighbouring countries are beginning to feel the real pain as they start counting the losses.

"We were not happy with Samuel Doe's government, we wanted change, but the way it came we paid too high a price," said Davis, an engineering instructor, who is one of the 7000 Liberians at Budubukrom refugee camp outside Accra, Ghana.

As I walked through the 350 Red Cross tents and watched old women feeding semi-naked babies on their laps, pregnant women lying on the mud and men on the verge of tears as they relate the carnage in their country, I found myself agreeing with Davis.

The price was very high indeed.

It is estimated that 80 000 Liberians were massacred in the 11-month civil war that started as a power struggle but snowballed into a full scale tribal war. Many more were either displaced or mutilated.

Those who escaped picked up orphaned and starving children as they passed through villages. Other children joined the fighting factions to escape starvation.

## A heart-rending story of people fleeing from their own motherland

Although the refugees in Ghana are of different tribes and from different countries, they work together to "build the new nation," guided by the Liberian Council of Churches.

### Workshops

"We hold workshops to conscientise ourselves that we are one united nation," Davis said.

"We are trying to find ways to bury the hatchet forever."

Refugee life in Ghana is not easy for many.

"The Ghanaians have done their best but life here is debilitating. Some of us were working, others were studying. Now here we are in a far-away country with nothing to do."

Budubukrom camp is just like any township with people from all walks of life and tribes. Women still fall pregnant and 28 babies have been born since the camp was set up last August.

There are teachers, doctors, lawyers and engineers.

The camp even has its own bi-weekly news bulletin edited by a refugee journalist, Mr. Omari Jackson.

There are also the

THIS is the second of a series of articles by **Sowetan** reporter **Phangisile Mtshali** following her visit to **West Africa**.



sickly and the feeble.

"I was due for an operation when I fled Liberia," a young man said. "I cannot have it here and my life depends on it. Can you imagine

Then there is Charles Anderson, whose main worry is to inform his surviving relatives that he is still alive.

### Ambush

"My family discovered my car filled with decomposed bodies," he said.

"They think I am dead. But my car was ambushed when I was driv-

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19/12/76  
Sowetan

ing to Monrovia. I escaped and walked in the bush for three weeks. I know my little girl died in a bombing raid in August. But I also know God is caring for others. I do not assume they are dead."

Many Liberians escaped their war-torn country in ships.

Others toughed it out in the bush on foot, without water or food.

"It was scary," Davis said. "If you survived the jungle, a traditional mark on your body could get you killed. Many innocent men were dragged from their families and killed because they had marks associating them with certain tribes."

"It has become an African norm that everytime a man takes a seat another man wants it," Davis said.

"The carnage must stop. If a man feels he is competent enough, he must go to the ballot box. If he is elected, he is in."

Again I agreed with Davis.

Too many political power struggles turn into tribal wars in African countries. There was Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Sudan, Chad, Somalia, Liberia - the list is endless.

There is, of course, South Africa which experienced the worst outbreak of tribal conflict: the country has ever seen.

# A Zulu song in Ghana, never! But hang on...

*Swatzen 26/2/91*

①

A STUDENTS' residence in Ghana is the last place where one would expect to hear a Zulu song.

But as I walked between the prefabricated buildings of the International Students Hostel in Accra, strains of a Mandela praise song reached me.

I had been told there were South African refugees in the hostel in Accra.

My search was over.

The quartet was singing. Nostalgia, longing and hope filled their voices. The song stopped abruptly and the excitement attracted a crowd of about 10 around me.

They fired questions: What's happening back home? What is the truth on the violence we hear so much about? Will we get jobs when we return? Will we be accepted back by our people? Are our girlfriends still waiting?

## Ideologies

They came from all over South Africa at different times only to converge on this piece of African soil where Pan Africanism started. Some are members of the PAC and others belong to the African National Congress.

Though circumstances has forced them to tolerate each other, ideological differences still persist.

Skhumbuzo Theophilus Lande left his home at the height of the Inkatha/United Democratic Front conflict. His wife had just died after his KwaMashu house had been set alight. He was left with four young children.

"There was nothing I could do but to leave my children in the care of relatives and go into exile," he said.

"My main worry is that I do not know whether my children, who should be aged between six



**This is the third article by PHANGISILE MTSHALI who toured West Africa recently. Here she meets a group of exiles who are anxious about the events back home.**

and 14, are still alive because the last information I heard was that the relatives' home was also burnt down.

"If only I can get word that they are still alive."

Lande was just echoing thoughts and fears of 17 others who sought political asylum in Ghana.

As the South African Council of Churches and political organisations exhaust their

resources and energy on the repatriation of thousands of exiles, those in Ghana are preparing themselves for heartbreak and misery.

"Everyday I pray that at least some of my family members are alive and will be there to meet when I return," Lande said.

Education and self-development is the major pastime for exiles. Two of them have qualified, one as a medical doctor and the other a veterinarian and on my visit they were in London advancing their qualifications..

## Worried

"We are also worried about job opportunities," Lande said.

"Last year we heard Pik Botha and company have been to Eastern Europe recruiting white skilled labourers. How can he do that when we are supposed to be coming back and there is already high unemployment?"

Hunger for South African news is the worst torment for them.

"We follow all South African news with glee," Letinti said.

"Unfortunately we rely on BBC news bulletins and on visitors who occasionally drop in.

We do not get any newspapers from home."

Most of the exiles left the country during the 1984 to 1986 unrests but there are others who last saw their relatives more than 15 years ago.

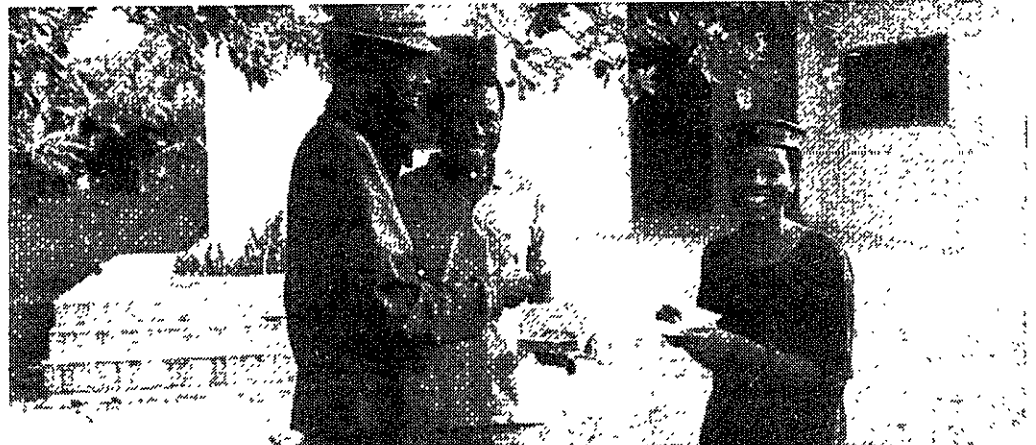
"I have one serious request to committees that are preparing for our return," Eugene who left home in 1973 said.

"They should set up an extensive rehabilitation programme with good psychologists because some of us will need that service. After being away for so long and the things we have been through it is going to be very difficult for us to settle back into the community.

"The only hope that is keeping our spirits high is the knowledge that the struggle continues inside the country. We are sustained by the hope of returning to our homes free," he said.

"We are studying so that we can contribute positively to the country's development on our return."

\*\*The BBC will be broadcasting Mtshali's impressions on Ghana and Ivory Coast this Sunday at 7.15pm and next Sunday on Nigeria, same time. BBC is on MW 1197khz.



**Thoughts from exile . . . PAC members Mr Louis Leboko and Mr Dan Konyana pass letters to Phangisile Mtshali.**

# Monstrous Basilica grows from the bush

①

Sowden 27/2/91

UNLIKE most African countries, the Ivory Coast - officially called Cote d'Ivoire - has had no bloody coups or tribal wars.

It has been described as the most prosperous of tropical African countries, due to its diversification of agriculture for export, close ties to France and encouragement of foreign investment.

After visiting the capital, Abidjan, I understood exactly why this French-speaking country has become a noted "watering-hole" for South African government officials and their wives.

In fact, Cote d'Ivoire was one of the first African countries that welcomed trade overtures from an isolated South Africa.

For a Third World country, the capital is sophisticated and well developed, and life and the standard of living is not so different from our own.

## Difference

Unlike Ghana, where the difference between rich and poor is not so great, Cote d'Ivoire has a sharp division between the haves and the have-nots. And most Ivoirians don't have.

Picture the sophistication and development of Johannesburg, the warm weather and lush vegetation of Durban and the fishing people of the Cape and you can visualise the country's capital, Abidjan.

A French protectorate from 1862, Cote d'Ivoire became independent in 1960.

"In a way we are still a French colony," says lecturer and writer Veronique Tadjou.

"Unlike many African states we did not fight for our independence. We protested and it was sort of handed over to us.

"But France still has a direct

FOCUS



This is the fourth piece by PHANGISILE MTHALI who toured West Africa recently. Here she visits the Ivory Coast, a country with an ageing president who wants to recreate a slice of Christian Rome in the tropics of Africa.

hold over us, particularly financially."

"Our president was transferred into power from his post in the French government."

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny took over the reins of government in August 1960, and is still in control - 30 years later.

At 85, the president is seldom seen in public and is known for his eccentricity, but Tadjou concedes that "he has managed to pacify the people".

I drove through poor villages for more than six hours in a state-owned bus - which had a television.

## Variety

The sudden appearance of skyscrapers, shiny glass buildings, all kinds of restaurants and supermarkets that stock a wide variety of imported French delicacies reminded me of a drive from our townships to the cities.

In the supermarkets I got the feeling that everything except

vegetables, fruit and confectionery was straight from Paris.

"Most of the products are imported from Paris," Tadjou said.

"The French do not encourage local products. They know they have a sure market here for all their goods."

After a drive through the vibrant Trashville, the Hillbrow of Cote d'Ivoire, I grew to like the country a little more.

In this mainly Muslim area - 15 percent of Ivoirians are Muslim - at dusk men go for their evening prayers on mats placed at most street corners.

Women sweep the streets and children have their evening bath in pails on the pavement.

Later I visited the local fleamarkets and for the first time on the trip I enjoyed shopping and spent more money on luxury items than I had in the past three years.

As I bargained with market traders from all over West Africa, I understood why some people chase their blues away by shopping.

## Haggling

I haggled over almost everything and paid half the original asking price. Sometimes I felt like a thief at the give-away prices I secured.

When an art dealer in the Senegalese market tried to sell me the food I was carrying, I remembered my host's parting words.

The BBC's correspondent, Ofeabia Quist-Acton, had sent me off with a stern warning that morning: "Be careful, those guys can sell you your own panties at double the original price."

Cote d'Ivoire has just about everything that appeals to a traveller - open-air markets offering a wide variety of products - food, vegetables, cloth and traditional arts and crafts.

The Ivoirians are smart dressers and have polished manners.

Yamassoukro, the president's home village, was spectacular, if somehow strange.

It is dominated by a massive church, the Basilica, which is a copy of a classical Roman Catholic basilica.

And there is the Foundation for Peace building has high-tech facilities where at least eight languages can be interpreted at its conference auditorium.

The Basilica has been controversial since the start of its construction three years ago.

Emerging from the tropical bush in the midst of rural impoverishment, this neo-classical monstrosity is totally incongruous and has been described as looking "like an alien dropped it there".

## Expensive

Costing millions to build and purportedly paid for out of the president's own pocket, the Basilica is only used once a week for Sunday mass.

Pope John Paul II refused to bless the building demanding that a decent school and a hospital be built in the village first.

The village also boasts two international hotels and an 18-hole golf course.

It is regarded as the future capital city of the country.

After spending a week in Ghana, where the folk are so friendly, and a week in Cote d'Ivoire, where the food is great, I thought it would be ideal if I could stay with my friends in Ghana and eat in Abidjan.

But you can't have everything.

\*\* The BBC will be broadcasting Mthali's impressions on Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire this Sunday at 7.15pm and on Nigeria next Sunday, at the same time under the slot South Goes West. BBC is on MW 1196 khz.



# Third World suffers as rich concentrate on war

NAIROBI - Africa, the world's poorest continent, is growing more desperate as the rich nations pour their financial resources into the Gulf War, African economic officials say.

They say Western and other creditor countries have forgotten pledges made only last year to help Africa, which is plagued by a R375 billion debt crisis that is being aggravated by the conflict in the Middle East.

"There's no action (on debt reduction) -- it's just pronouncements," Abdelrahim Dirar, director of the economic development department at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), said by telephone from Addis Ababa.

He said that despite a drop in spot oil prices from their 1990 highs to around 17 dollars a barrel, financial fallout from the Gulf crisis is still hurting black Africa's fragile economies.

## Lost deals

Many of them have lost special deals with Middle East producers since Iraq invaded Kuwait last August.

Transport costs for all imports have risen due to higher freight and insurance charges. East coast states especially are being hit by soaring shipping rates through the Suez canal.

"Sub-Saharan countries will have to divert whatever resources they have from exports or aid to pay for imports," said Dirar. "Debt servicing will definitely be affected."

With Western markets slowing or in recession, there appears little prospect of exports boosting hard currency earnings - needed not just for debt service, but also for essential imports and investment to reverse 12 years of deepening poverty.

## Cannot pay

"If you haven't got an export market you cannot pay your debt," noted Jonathan Chileshe, head of the trade and finance section of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

The World Bank says poor African nations are more vulnerable to outside shocks than other indebted Third World regions.

They start with greater poverty - one third of all Africans are underfed - and are too dependent on a few primary export crops to adapt to a sudden change in the world economy.

But Africa's debts - which account for about 12 per cent of the estimated R5 trillion of all Third World debts - apparently remain a low priority in Western capitals.

Washington has concentrated far more on the Latin American crisis, which threatened the US banking system, even though debts in low-income Africa are twice the level in Latin America.

## Exaggerating

With African debts increasingly owed to official creditors, after commercial lending dried up in the past decade, regional debt issues have become more a political than financial concern.

Some experts say African officials are exaggerating the impact of the Gulf War to gain negotiating points with foreign governments - the region's largest single group of creditors.

"Many African countries aren't servicing their debts...so there is no direct impact on resource flows," said Kirimi Mwarania, senior finance lecturer at the University of Nairobi.

## Fresh measures

"You see the numbers rising and rising...on international debt tables. But it's just a book problem," he said.

Nevertheless, creditor and debtor experts agree that fresh measures need to be taken to stop the time-consuming practice of rescheduling debts which neither side expects to be repaid.

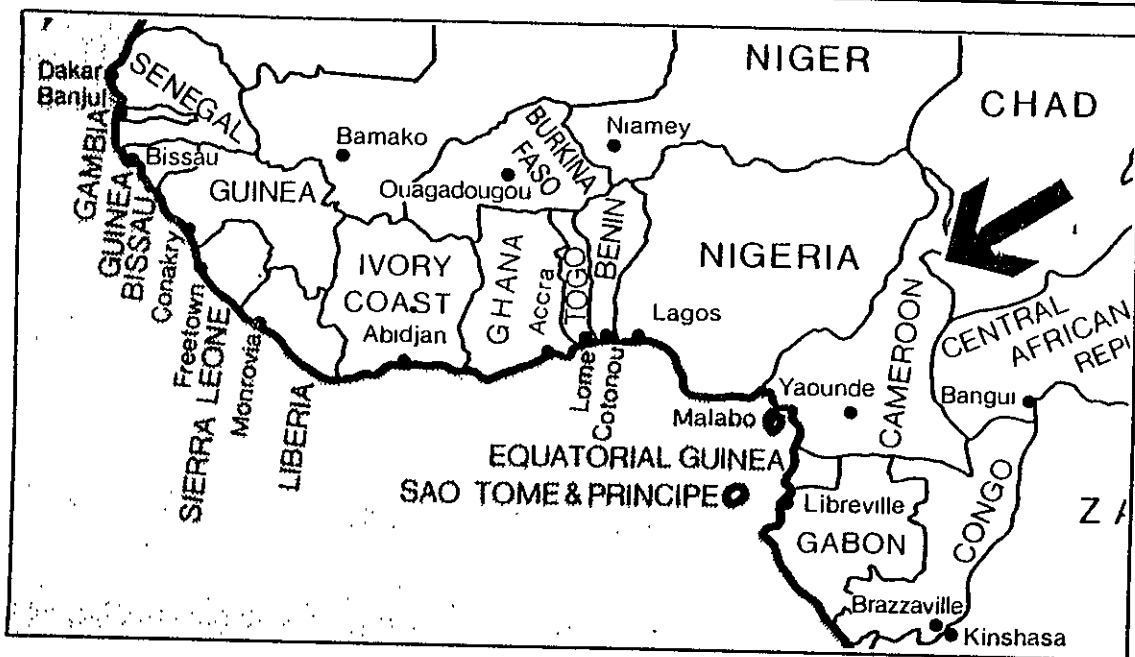
A recent World Bank debt report illustrated how far short existing relief options have fallen, experts said.

It showed that even if all current relief measures were applied to severely indebted low-income countries, scheduled servicing would still have outstripped actual payments in 1989.

## Concessions

The data also showed cash flow savings for 17 poor African states who have rescheduled under the so-called Toronto terms - the latest available concessions on official bilateral debts - were only R250 million a year.

"The Toronto terms manifestly haven't solved the problem," said Tony Killick, senior research fellow at the Overseas Development Institute in London. - *Sapa-Reuters*



# Repression still rife in Cameroon <sup>①</sup>

Soult 2/2-6/3/91.

From Albert Mukong London

SINCE the brilliant, and unexpected performance of its football team in the 1990 World Cup, Cameroon is popularly seen as a nation of football players, but the country to which its players return hides a darker reality.

Widespread repression and censorship are common in an impoverished country which spends a good percentage of its annual budget on maintaining a large police force and a network of spies and informers to identify and uproot all forms of dissent.

Its latest victims are the publisher and an editor of *Le Messager*, the country's leading inde-

pendent weekly.

Pius Njawa and Celestin Monga had the "temerity" to criticise President Paul Biya and his government for their incompetence as well as the brutality carried out in their name.

Cameroon is a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Special Convention against torture. Yet its security forces, the Brigade Mixte Mobile (BMM) and the military security (SEMI), routinely inflict beatings, electrical shocks and other forms of torture on detainees.

### Favoured

Particularly favoured are the "balacoire", a primitive instrument inherited from colonial days, and the "courant", which inflicts electrical shocks to sensitive parts of the body.

More inventive tortures may contrive their own forms of ritual humiliation: in the town of Bamenda, a group of women, detained by the BMM, were stripped of their clothing, left only in pants, and made to dance around in circles.

Brutal area searches terrorise whole regions of the

country.

While their houses are ransacked, besieged citizens are led to open ground and forced to lie down. Victims can be held for hours without formal charge as their papers are meticulously examined — or removed.

Press censorship was temporarily suspended last year in response to pressure from the West, but the newly-appointed Minister of Territorial Administration has rigorously restored control over all the media.

The law continues to require all newspapers and journals to be submitted to the minister for approval before publication.

An issue may be seized and destroyed without compensation and without redress. Literary works are subjected to the same heavy-handed treatment.

Books which are critical of the government are arbitrarily banned, and their authors intimidated.

The movements of citizens are severely curtailed by the police and "gendarme" control posts which litter the highways of Cameroon.

Travellers may be required to produce identity papers

or voting cards; short of a hefty bribe, failure to do so results in indefinite detention. Foreign travel is available only to those fortunate enough to be granted a passport.

Freedom of association is similarly restricted. Ministerial approval is required for the formation of political, cultural or professional groups, and participants in unauthorised meetings are likely to be arrested, detained and held incommunicado for unlimited periods. Detainees may communicate only with their spouses. On release, they are likely to be shunned by friends and colleagues fearing "contamination" by association.

### Failure

Cameroon's failure to comply with the human rights conventions which it has signed has called into question both the political legitimacy of President Biya, and the country's continued membership in the UN.

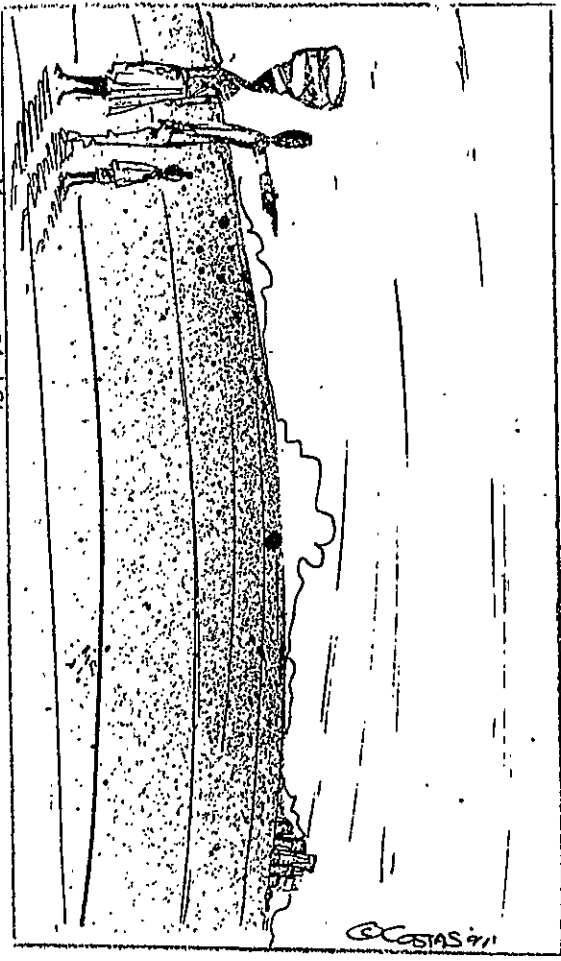
The forthcoming trial of Njawa and Monga could be the beginning of a showdown. — INDEX ON CENSORSHIP



# Exiled inside an Achébe novel

11/3-11/2/71  
w/1weat

African National Congress members in exile in Ghana long to come home — but they still see their return as, if rather than when: **MARK GEVISSER** spoke to a group of them in Accra on New Year's Day, says African National Congress executive Mashudu Mphahlele, who is studying at the Ghana School of Journalism in Accra. "There was a reception committee of fellow-comrades to greet me. We loy-loyed and sang, and it was great. Then, that night, as I sat in the dining hall faced with a bowl of mashed yams in palm oil soup, I felt I had been plunged headlong into a Chinua Achebe novel."



If the ANC students in Accra are indeed participating in a real-life Achébe epic, it would have to be *Things Fall Apart*: as South Africa edges towards democracy, and the plane-loads of exiles begin to jet in from Lusaka, these far-flung cadres in Ghana — 17 men, one woman, and "our youngest comrade", one-year-old Jahn — remain isolated and uninformed.

"We know nothing of the indemnification procedure, and we haven't even received indemnity forms yet," one said, sitting in the International Students Hostel that suspiciously resembles, from the outside at least, a single-sex hostel on the Reef. "We have written several times to our chit tep in Nigeria, but have yet to get a response."

In Ghanaian style, the inside of the hostel is splashed with cheery shades of pink and blue, and, as I speak to the six comrades assembled in a bedroom covered with ANC posters, they finger my box of Lion Matches as if it were a precious jewel, a home-charm signifying the wives and lives they left behind over a decade ago.

Mphahlele is a man in his forties, who worked for Bantu Affairs before leaving in 1974. "I had the authority to issue passports, and I arranged for a good many comrades to leave the country on very short notice before I was caught. That's when I decided to leave myself."

He left a wife and young son at home — the child is now 17 — and he spoke to his wife for the first time a couple

of weeks ago. "Now that there is the possibility of return, I feel as if I am in a strange in-between-land," he said. "I am home but not home." I like most of his comrades in Ghana to be doing well, but I know it will be possible upon return.

"The first thing we must do," says fellow journalist-student Mbululo Masi, "is finish our studies. While we are outside, we can get scholarships, but we don't know if this will be possible upon return."

"I would love more than anything to go home," added Dan Pheko, another journalism student, "but I'm worried that once home my studies will be interrupted like they were disrupted constantly before I left. I'm in my thirties now, and I can't afford that risk again."

They are also all anxious because their funds have indicated that resources for foreign study might dry up now that the exiles are expected to return to South Africa. "So we are in a difficult position," explained Mashudu. "We might lose our scholarships if we stay, but if we go back we will be completely on our own."

"Over here, we are a community, all part of the ANC family," added Oupa Moodi, an older man completing his law degree at the University of Ghana, "but

when we are home, it will be each man for himself. There will be no one ensuring we are educated, or giving us food and shelter."

"And because we are educated, we are the lucky ones," said Max Mofokeng, an engineering student who hopes to complete his studies in the United States. "What about all those comrades who left as children and who have had absolutely no vocational training?"

The ANC education department, while doing an excellent job of finding scholarships and placing comrades in institutes all over the world, has offered little or no vocational guidance: Masi Pane, for example, is a passionate actor who studied with John Kani in Port Elizabeth before leaving the country, but who has tumbled into an electrical engineering diploma in Accra. "An electrician is the very last thing I want to be," he said, "but that's where the scholarship was, and I was desperate to get some education, so I went for it."

Nervousness about jobs is not the only concern about coming home, though. "It's security we are worried about," said Pheko. They had all heard, via the BBC, of the murder of lawyer Bhekil Mlangeni, "and this confirms our feelings that some things just have not changed. The movement must

work out some way of defending us. Perhaps we need to be armed."

Educated people and independent thinkers, they have several concerns with the ANC's current policies: about the fact that perhaps too many concessions have been made in the negotiations process, about the ANC's failure in its membership drive, about its inability to revive the mass mobilisation campaign, about the rumours they've heard of its organisational chaos.

They are clearly resentful that the movement has given their lives to it, has made no effort to keep them informed, and they are worried that they will not be adequately "looked after" upon return. But they display an astonishing loyalty to the ANC. The movement might be an absent parent, but it is a parent nevertheless, benevolent and all-knowing, and their allegiance is unconditional. While they are quick to point out the problems they have with the ANC, they are even quicker to defend the movement.

And despite their lack of knowledge of the indemnification procedure, they have gone to all ends to remain abreast of South African politics. A *Weekly Mail*, dating from November, has been literally memorised by heart, and through the Ghanaian newspapers

"All the holidays of our struggle are national holidays in Ghana," said Masi, "June 16, December 16, Mandela's birthday. When Mandela was released a year ago, there was such celebration in the streets of Accra I thought for a moment I must be in Soweto." But even though we are Africans in Africa," added Mofokeng, "we are a different kind of African, and we are treated as such. There are no fixed prices in Ghana, for example, and because we are foreigners, we are forced by retailers to pay double what the locals do."

Living in Ghana, with its political instability and economic collapse, has prepared the ANC students in many ways for the work they must do at home. "Being in a country with no democracy and no free press," said one journalism student, "I have come to appreciate the need for a democratic post-colonial society, and I have also seen the dangers of personality politics that seem to be Africa's greatest sickness."

But when talking of home and the ramshackle, sewage-seeped, but friendly chaos of Accra, the ANC students in Ghana still use "he" rather than "whence": "If we go home, if I see my grandfather before he dies..."

Later that evening, as the ANC students leave the hotel where I am staying in downtown Accra, Masi Pane pulls me aside. "Please do me a favour," he says, "and tell my mother I'm okay. She is in Port Elizabeth, but I do not even know where she lives anymore, and I just don't know if I'll see her again."

# Revamped Comores hotel to open its doors

MARCIA KLEIN

WORLD Leisure Holidays (WLH) intends to become the biggest contributor to the Comores' gross national product when it reopens its refurbished Le Galawa Beach Hotel and Casino tomorrow.

WLH MD Bruce Hutchinson said in an interview yesterday WLH would become the largest private employer and tourism the largest industry on the island.

The Comores hotels Le Galawa and Itsandra were closed when Sun International pulled out of the Comores after the assassination of its president and the expulsion of French mercenaries late in 1989.

Sun International cited "outra-

geous import taxes" as the reason for leaving its R30m investment in May 1990. But now the new government had "joined the tourism drive, and had not slapped on high import duties which is uncommon in the Indian Ocean islands".

The first weekly SA Airways flight will take about 195 passengers from Jan Smuts to the Comores capital of Moroni tomorrow.

There have been just over 2,000 passenger bookings so far, and WLH expects there to be about R6.4m in sales revenue between now and June, including airfares.

The hotel refurbishments involved a reinvestment of R10m. An initial operating order of nearly R2m for stocks for the first few weeks was sent to the island via WLH's export company World Leisure Exports and the Unicorn shipping line. WLH also spent R1.2m on marketing.

Everything that is needed at the hotel will be sourced from SA, including weekly supplies of fresh food.

WLH was developing the European and Reunion markets, and was also looking at Kenya. In terms of future plans, WLH was still looking at Mauritius, "but world circumstances had a dampening effect on plans", Hutchinson said.

# Aid III for SA exports to Africa

2 Times 3/3/91  
By RON SCHURINK

INTERNATIONAL aid for Africa, channelled through the Development Bank of Southern Africa, will help SA exports on the continent, says Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation executive director Chris Leisewitz.

CGIC regards credit risk in Africa as slightly better than in South America. No credit cover is available for Zambia, where money is outstanding, and business with Zaire is conducted only on confirmed letters of credit.

"Exporters to Malawi should also be careful since tight monetary policy has made many businesses illiquid," says Mr Leisewitz.

Mr Leisewitz says CGIC's underwriting profit for the current year is expected to be 25% up on the figure to June 1990.

He says "exports are certainly more risky from a credit point of view that they were a year ago".

A breakdown of CGIC's business gives a picture of the relative importance of SA's markets.

A total of 43% concerns Europe, 25% the Far East and Australasia, 17% North America and 15% Africa.

## Rising

Prime markets in Europe at the moment are Germany and Switzerland because the UK is suffering the worst rate of insolvencies in 30 years. Claims and repudiations are running high in Italy after the collapse of demand for leatherwear and wool.

Claims on buyers in the US are "often difficult, since Chapter 11 protection for illiquid business is relatively easily available".

He is sanguine about economic prospects there even though "100 banks went to the wall last year and 180 may follow this year".

CGIC has noted rising business with Eastern Europe, but urges caution.

"The best customers are joint ventures with Western companies when you can find them, as otherwise balance sheets are unknown and ageing machinery useless as an asset. Note that Western European businesses have lost large sums in Poland," says Mr Leisewitz.

CGIC has good relations with its counterparts in Germany and Austria.

"Their information about Eastern European businesses is considerably better than ours, though it is still often inadequate," says Mr Leisewitz

# Where fear rumbles along with stomachs

"EVERYBODY is living in fear," says Bishop Taban Paride, based in southern Sudan where the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) is fighting the government.

At least once or twice a month, with no warning, bombs from high-flying government aircraft drop on villages and towns.

"They just bomb any corrugated sheet building or anything at all," says the Roman Catholic cleric. "People have become so scared that everyone runs when any plane passes over."

As a result, church and community leaders have been urging people who do not have to live or work in town, specially children and women, to move far enough away to avoid the deadly explosives.

The Sudanese bishop appealed for world attention to Sudan's plight and for international action to force a settlement of the conflict.

## Pressure

"We believe the kind of pressures and sanctions which were put on South Africa should also be put on the Sudan government," Taban said.

"We need pressure from outside because the government will not listen to the voice of the suffering people."

Sudan has a population of about 26 million, of which two-thirds live in the north of the country.

About 80 percent of these are Muslim.

The other third of the population — mainly Christians and animists — live predominantly in the south.

It was in the south from where the SPLA launched the civil war against the Muslim state.

The SPLA is fighting not only against the imposition of the Islamic law (sharia) on all citizens, but also against repression against non-Muslims, whom they see as having been relegated to second-class citizen status.

The SPLA also say they are fighting against the "unfair balance of power" between the poor and famine-ravished south and the wealthier north.

No non-Muslim can ever hold political or policy-making posts in government,

After eight bitter years of civil war, a divided Sudan is facing one of the worst famines in its history. Adding to the misery is the fact that the Sudanese government is ignoring the suffering of the people, Noel Bruyns reports: (1)

South 28/3 - 3/4/91



**SPLA FORCES:** Fighting against second-class citizenship

even at administrative level, according to Catholic Archbishop Gabriel Zubeir Wako of Khartoum.

However, he said he is "convinced the trend towards Islamic law is not religiously but politically motivated".

"It ensured that those now in power stay there indefinitely," he explained.

The conflict in Sudan was also not primarily religious because "the violence and insults we experience these days are not the work of all the Muslims but of a particular group," said Wako.

The now-ousted Sudanese strongman Gafaar Muhammed Nimeire instituted

sharia in 1983.

Sharia would be "fully implemented" in 1991, present Sudanese leader General Omar Hassan al-Bashir said in a speech to the nation on last New Year's Eve.

He said Islamic law need not apply to the Christians and animists in the south.

However, the two million from the south living in the capital — mainly refugees from war and famine — would have to observe sharia.

But many more Sudanese will not escape the famine in the country. It is estimated that a quarter of the nation

may starve this year.

The government in the north, trying to become self-sufficient and to disengage itself from the west, until recently refused food-aid and refused to talk about the famine.

Development agencies fear the delay in shipping in food will have fatal results. One report says one loaded lorry would need to leave the docks every 11 minutes, around the clock, for nine months to move Sudan's food needs for this year.

The civil war in Sudan is now in its eighth year. There is no settlement in sight.

# IMF under fire from African central bankers

Star 5/3/91

By Rowena Whelan

GABORONE — The International Monetary Fund (IMF) faced criticism in Africa last week for strapping a short-term financial straight-jacket on struggling sub-Saharan economies.

African central bankers told IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus, who was on a whistle-stop tour of southern Africa, that they needed long-term funding and policies to halt the region's slide into ever deeper poverty.

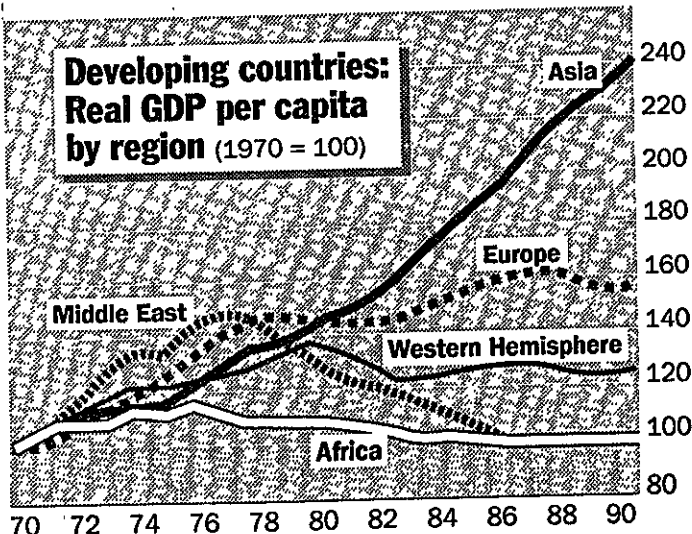
Mr Camdessus said IMF-prescribed market reforms were raising living standards, although more slowly than expected.

"These reforms are producing results — positive real growth," he said at a joint meeting of the IMF and Association of African Central Banks (AACB) in Gaborone, Botswana.

The conference was only the second occasion on which top IMF officials had come from Washington for wide-ranging discussions on economic policy with African central bankers.

Delegates said the meeting was far more cordial than the first such conference in 1986, reflecting the spread of a pragmatic acceptance — among financial leaders at least — of the need for fundamental reforms in weak, inefficient economies.

More than half of the countries south of the Sahara are



following IMF-backed structural adjustment programmes. Others, such as Ethiopia, are seeking the fund's stamp of approval for market reform efforts — an endorsement essential to unlock the lids of Western coffers.

But the IMF assertion that structural adjustment was already raising living standards drew criticism from some African bankers and independent economists. They ascribed a rise in per capita income in a few countries to other factors.

Central bankers, while pledging to continue reforms, aired various — if often familiar — complaints about the Fund's role in Africa.

Gilman Rutihinda, governor of the bank of Tanzania, said IMF demands for currency de

valuation were a misreading of the real causes behind trade problems, which he attributed to transport and domestic credit shortages, not an overvalued shilling.

In prepared remarks released to Reuters, Mr Rutihinda also criticised the operations of the Fund's soft-loan facility — the enhanced structural adjustment facility (ESAF) — which was designed to help low-income countries pay for long-term reforms.

"The design of the ESAF appears to have lost its meaning because the IMF officials are always expecting quick results," he said.

The IMF requires a country to follow strict economic guidelines if it wants a soft loan, and even some western donor gov-

ernments complain that disbursements of ESAF funds are disappointingly low.

The Fund says it is working to get the sequence of reforms right.

If complaints at the meeting were sometimes familiar, so too were most of the solutions being offered to cure Africa's economic ills.

IMF director of exchange and trade relations, John Boorman, said core elements of future programmes should include emphasis on market forces, price adjustment and opening trade to the outside world.

With foreign financing forecast to be scarcer in the 1990s than the 1980s, Africans were told to cut waste, corruption and excessive military spending. Investment must be made far more productive and idle capacity revived rather than new industrial projects started, economists said.

Despite stress on the need for more spending on agriculture, some delegates said the meeting failed to consider the most critical problem facing many African economies.

"The largest issue surely is whether Africa can feed itself," said Robert Berg, president of the New York-based International Development Conference.

"The main development challenge isn't reform of the external sector, pricing and the public sector but survival." — Sapa Reuter.

were in a car hit by gunfire outside the bar.

A witness said the gunmen fired on the car as it

car, a cousin of the man who attempted to escape. He was jumping over a wall but was caught. However, he was fatally

shot dead. The man who was shot was a cousin of the man who attempted to escape. He was jumping over a wall but was caught. However, he was fatally

The government said the out car was later found a few kilometres away — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

## Ethiopian rebels capture Gojam province in new offensive

NAIROBI — Rebels in northern Ethiopia said yesterday they had captured the province of Gojam, striking a major blow at the government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam.

"The whole of Gojam has been liberated," a spokesman for the Ti-

gray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) said by telephone from London.

The TPLF and smaller allied movements grouped together as the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Movement (EPRDF) launched an offensive 10 days ago aimed at cap-

turing Gojam and Gojjam provinces.

The TPLF spokesman said tens of thousands of government troops had been taken prisoner and thousands killed or wounded. The latest EPRDF attack broke a lull of more than six months in military activ-

ity by the group.

President Mengistu, in power since 1977, is also fighting a rebel group in the north, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF).

His forces control less than four-fifths of Ethiopia. — Sapa-Reuter

# SA firms learn to do business the African way

By Davey

7/31/91

AFRICA has for decades been a dark continent for SA business. These markets are now rapidly opening up. But, say experts, there is a special way to do business in Africa.

The biggest problem in Africa is the ability to pay, says Saito Africa specialist Paul Runge, who has 11 years of experience on the continent.

He says Africa has enormous demand for everything. There are few markets still closed to SA, but firms wishing to increase business in Africa need to know how to get paid.

SA firms which set up in Africa can benefit from very liberal investment codes, long tax holidays, repatriation of profits and free export processing zones.

Runge is manager of Saito's African Business Development Group (ABDG), which was formed in 1980, but has kept a low profile until now. Its chairman is Ian MacRae of Eskom, with Saito's Wim Holtes as deputy. The ABDG has about 40 corporate members including Anglo, AECL, Afrox, CG Smith Foods, CSIR, Dorbyl, Eskom, FNB, Murray & Roberts, LTA, Nampak, Nissan, Premier International, PPC, Safair, Sasol, SAA, SBC, Tiger Oats and Transnet.

The ABDG facilitates contact with

government and parastatals in SA and the rest of Africa to promote two-way trade and strategic investment in Africa.

Some conventional deals can and will be done, but Runge suggests other possibilities include joint ventures and working with development agencies to ensure payment.

He says the SA firm which tries to establish in Africa by itself stands very little chance of success as the markets are often complex, sometimes corrupt and need local contacts to succeed. Joint ventures are a way round the problem. An SA company will team up with a parastatal or local company to benefit and export processed products.

In this way SA firms benefit from access to new markets, foreign exchange earned from the exports, and are ensured payment because the partner has already proved his business acumen in the local market.

Runge stresses that person-to-person contact is important in Africa. "Some African visitors say South Africans have a bad reputation for supplying excess production to Africa, and then disappearing for a few years. This doesn't go down well."



KEVIN DAVIE

Another way of getting paid is doing work for aid agencies such as the World Bank, the UN Development Programme, and the African Development Bank (ADB).

The Abidjan-based ADB spends \$2.85bn in Africa annually, and is a major player in co-financing deals with the World Bank and governments. It was, until two years ago, hostile towards SA, but this is changing. SA delegations have been received at the ADB's Abidjan headquarters. An ADB representative will participate later this month at a Sacob/Saito/Natocco-sponsored conference in Swaziland.

Runge says people have mistakenly been under the impression that South Africans are excluded from World Bank projects. Another misconception is that the World Bank builds only dams and bridges. An SA company recently won a tender to supply mattresses to a hospital which was built with bank funds.

Registration as a consultant to the bank is important because, although non-registered companies may also tender, the bank does not necessarily award on the basis of the lowest price. More important is that the tendering firm has a track record and is well acquainted with the feasibility of the project. He adds the belief that the company which gets the tender documents first is most likely to succeed is not correct. Pre-feasibility studies often need to be done to win projects.

Runge sees potential in the longer term for closer ties with the Southern African Development Coordinating Council (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA). Saito is encouraging SA businesses to register with these organisations.

Both are now allowing SA organisations such as Sacob and Saito observer status at some meetings.

Runge says the multilateral agencies such as the ADB, SADCC and the PTA will be the last openly to support SA. The governments which provide the backing for these agencies will first have to agree on a new policy on SA. He indicates that this re-evaluation is under way.

He stresses that contacts with these organisations are still at the preliminary stage, meeting people, getting documentation and information on how they work. SA will be acceptable to African multilateral agencies only once membership of the OAU is allowed.

SA companies may need to coordinate their efforts to do well in Africa. "It's very important to come in with a combined bid, especially in big projects such as construction. We cannot afford to divide our efforts."

It might also be necessary to provide backup for tendering companies. "The French are very good at this. They have so much backing from the state. All kinds of mechanisms come behind to push the bid."

Consulting engineers are moving very fast to win tenders, especially those which specialise in feasibility studies. Banks too are more interested in financing in Africa.

Runge says there is a saying in Africa that under every table you will find a South African. The evidence now suggests that the under-the-counter days are over. South Africans are coming out from under the table to participate in hundreds of above-board deals.

## LETTERS



Africa's first symphony orchestra consisting of indigenous instruments battles to get off the ground.

# BRINGING AFRICA'S HERITAGE TOGETHER WITH MUSIC



The Pan African Orchestra aims to bring together musicians from diverse cultures

Southside 13/3/91  
(Southside) 1

**I**F THE TERM "symphony orchestra" calls to mind violins, cellos and oboes, a group of African musicians wants you to think again. The Pan African Orchestra, based in Ghana, may be a novel venture, but its members aim to be taken seriously as

artists. Musical director Nana Danso Abiam, who also serves as conductor, says the original intent of the group's founders was "to bring the diverse resources of the rich African musical heritage together".

Established in 1988 and still struggling for survival, the 22-piece orchestra has been buoyed in recent months by critical acclaim for its performances in Ghana and by the opportunity for a European tour.

The orchestra's guiding principle is to perform indigenous African music, using only instruments indigenous to the continent. That doesn't mean, says director Nana Danso, that either the music or the way it is presented will be familiar to African audiences. "It is not purely traditional," he says, "because the orchestra fuses different instruments. It is therefore neo-traditional."

Nana Danso hopes the fusion of elements will stimulate experimentation with new forms of musical expression and will encourage compositions designed for the unique blending of instruments in the orchestra.

As its name implies, the Pan African Orchestra isn't limiting its scope to Ghana or West Africa. The ultimate objective is to form a 108-piece symphonic orchestra incorporating instruments from across the continent.

Among the instruments expected to become a part of the mix are husk-cane and bamboo flutes, hand or finger pianos, wooden xylophones, harp lutes like the Senegalese kora, and drums of assorted sizes and sounds as well as other percussion instruments.

Nana Danso, who says musicians from many parts of Africa are being invited to participate, envisions a mixed repertoire that will include traditional music from different African communities as well as merging blends of many traditions. To ensure high standards and to preserve techniques and expertise that might die out otherwise, the orchestra plans to develop a training programme for music teachers.

The group's founders hope, eventually, to mass produce African instruments according to strict quality control standards. The orchestra's 22 members consists of 12 players of the antenteben, a bamboo flute; two players of the gonje, a one stringed violin; three xylophone, or gyile players; three drummers and the conductor.

The musicians are from diverse backgrounds, and few have more than a secondary school education. But since playing in the orchestra, all the members have learnt how to read music.

Despite its ambitious schemes, the orchestra has yet to resolve its toughest problem—finances. Already the orchestra has collapsed twice for lack of funds. And constant money shortages have led to a turnover of members and made creating a cohesive musical unit difficult.

But the current members say they are determined to forge ahead with their plans. According to Nana Danso, the group needs R1750 a month to continue functioning at its present level. While the amount is miniscule by the standards of most orchestras, it is a high sum for musicians in Ghana. Much more will be needed to implement any of the group's long range plans.

□ NANCY SARBAH-YALLEY (AFRICA NEWS)



HAILE GERIMA

AFRICAN FILMMAKERS BEG FOR THEIR BREAD

South  
7/3-13/3/91  
(Southside)  
①

South  
7/3-13/3/91  
(Southside)  
①

**Question: What makes African films so unique and beautiful and at the same time so clearly anti-exploitation?**

Haile Gerima: In terms of black people's portrayal in movies, you have to think about the content, the historic portrayal of stereotypical black people. You have to know all the stigmas of black characters, the eternal Othello character, the Idi Amin character, the emotional, the non-existent intellect, unreflective, uncalculating, music lover, born to sing, born to dance, born to lie, a chicken stealer.

You have an obligation not to perpetrate those stereotypes and this has nothing to do with white/black or anything. The other thing is, you know, to focus. Who are you focusing on when you make a story? For example, I'm making a film on slavery now and I've realised, for example, that black people radiate red and I'm working towards making that a very important aspect.

Always you can't see black people in movies and so I'm trying to change that with the lighting in my new film. Also focus is important. In my new film on slavery, I didn't want to focus it from the master's point of view. I wanted to focus on the slaves.

**When we were watching "Harvest 3000", we could understand that the targeted audience could be peasants. But festivals only seem to reach the elite. How do you go beyond this and build mass audiences for African cinema. How do you change the taste of audiences used to American/European-style films?**

It's a problem, but I think you have to struggle by creating institutions and slowly, brick by brick, building audiences. The older generation is captivated by Western cinema.

It takes long to build audiences, to make them acquire a new taste for their own identity. It's no simple journey. In Mozambique, for example, they showed my film on many occasions to a great number of peasants. That's how I learned a great deal about my own shortcomings, but valued it.

School systems are terrible all over the world, so film cannot be a teaching method. However, I try and teach by extending knowledge through film of how I feel, how I observe. But I can't beat you on the head and say this is right.

The first person to learn is the filmmaker. Filmmakers cannot on their own invent film language, they can make one movie. Film language is a collective process of the people.

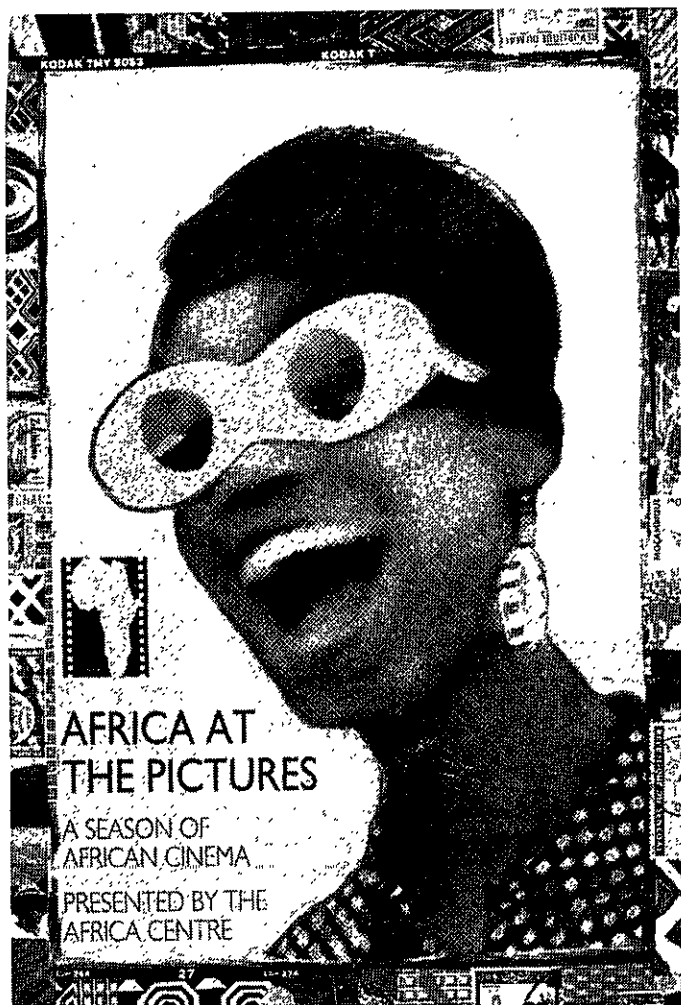
**What are the conditions in Africa for the creation of this cinema you speak of?**

Firstly, there is no industry. This makes African filmmakers into beggars. The absence of a film industry propels filmmakers to be nomadic, specially to migrate towards Europe and America to beg for money. It's somehow analogous to the economic political reality of neo-colonial Africa.

In the process we have developed people who have totally lost respect for how they sell their films. I don't think pimps and merchants can be good filmmakers. That's why, even in America, merchants don't make movies.

These are all things that affect the dignity of an artist. For a truthful work of art, you have to have self-dignity and to respect yourself. You should have pride and a moral stance. Those are the ingredients that make art.

Ethiopian filmmaker Haile Gerima has been known to be an outspoken voice of African filmmakers who have followed in the footsteps of Ousmane Sembene, "the father of African cinema". He spoke to BRIDGETTE THOMPSON and PHINDILE XABA at the "Africa at the Pictures" festival organised by the Africa Centre in Covent Garden, London. Gerima has produced many films — including "Harvest 3000", a film about Ethiopian peasants and their struggles against a landlord.



I think it's better to be poor, dignified and arrogant and make a small number of films for which you feel no guilt and know that you've done your best as honestly as you can.

**Can you explain why the Ougadougou film festival which attracts so many thousands of people to Burkina Faso has become such a success?**

It became a success because the President at the time, Sankara, supported African film as against Western film. The elite in Burkina Faso sanctioned it and this is what is needed in the rest of Africa.

All liberation movements pay lip service to culture but how many systems or governments know the power of film in its democratic way? They only know it in a very destructive way to use against the people.

Unfortunately, masses of people in a given society listen to the sanction of the elite.

Ultimately, no country can be free without culture being the most profiled part of it. Without this, the regime will be brought down in the end as happened in Eastern Europe — particularly Czechoslovakia where poets, filmmakers and novelists contributed to the overthrow of the regime. These intellectuals who stayed behind and fought Stalinism contributed substantially to the overthrow of these regimes.

So, too, in Africa. Culture can play a leading role against politics, which is just a coup-maker, an art of wild deception. Politicians have to speak in so many tongues; politics is just an art of lying,

but culture doesn't lie.

The people's identity, their religion, beauty, ugliness, their human emotions — all this is eternal. Politics should be overrun by culture. It should be subjugated by culture. When a politician is overrun by culture, he or she becomes sensitive, more democratic, less fascist,

I do believe in the political struggle, but you get lost sometimes in it. You can become caught up by a party or a group. You die for a party or a group and you forget that you are being anti-democratic.

One thing we have to fight now in all parts of Africa is the non-democratic elements of Africa. Film is a weapon and film festivals can be used for political ends.

The Ougadougou film festival is very political. I believe intellectuals should have boycotted the film festival after the killing of Sankara in Burkina Faso. This was very undemocratic and fascist. In fact, I don't plan to go there until the government has changed.

**We've heard you say that you pin your hopes for the future of African filmmaking on South Africa.**

A lot of people have their hopes on South Africa. A lot of my friends just think: Oh South Africa, we'll all have a powerful base from which to make movies.

I think it depends who comes to power. Then you'll know how universal and pan-African they will be and how much they care about the rest of Africa.

Nigeria is the richest African country, but what did we get after all from Nigeria except pain? They stole all the oil and Africa's dry now.

South Africa might do the same thing. It might be a new colony for America. I don't really know. I'm just improvising the script.

I support the struggle in South Africa. But Zimbabwe became a stamping ground for Hollywood. The leadership went to the making of "King Solomon's Mines", congratulating actors and directors. I mean, if you know anything about stereotypes, you don't come near such a movie and allow it to be made in your country.

But, unfortunately, many of the African leaders would not pass cultural tests. They know no novelists. They don't know Ngugi, Chinua Achebe; they would not know Dennis Brutus. They would not read it, they would give lip service to it. They don't think African film is serious.

When they think of film, it's Hollywood movies. For them "Rambo" is cinema, but for me "Rambo" is an important imperialist expression just like "The Gods must be Crazy" is the most important apartheid justifier in the world.

I had my hopes in Mozambique. I had my hopes in Zimbabwe and I've been hurt. So I don't have no hope and I just wait for surprise hopes. I don't have any illusions. Why would I be another sucker for South Africa? Why would I be tricked again, emotionally be hurt?

For me, it's like a love affair with a country. I was crazy about the potential for culture in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, and when they killed Cabral, it hurt for days.

I like Hugh Masekela. I like the South African cultural vanguards. I just hope they don't find another South Africa that they were never prepared for.

I also hope that the new South Africa will be what they prayed and worked for and I hope they'll continue to fight to make it that if it doesn't come to that. □

# SA exports to Africa soar

By Sven Lünsche

Star 13/3/91

The political reforms introduced by President FW de Klerk last year boosted South African exports to Africa by almost 85 per cent to R5,5 billion.

In its March Quarterly Review the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) says that in 1989 African countries already imported goods valued at about

R3 billion from SA, despite the political differences.

"As apartheid has been dismantled northbound exports soared and hit R5,5 billion last year," Sacob says.

However, the Chamber warns that South Africa's likely admission to the Preferential Trade Agreement Area for Southern Africa (PTA) will not yield further luscious dividends

overnight.

"Africa is poor and over-borrowed and our future trading partners have become heavily dependent on foreign aid and loans."

"A major problem is the almost five-to-one imbalance of trade in SA's favour. Would-be buyers are eager to do business but hard currency is scarce north of the Limpopo," Sacob comments.

star 14/3/91  
**Strike turns  
Algiers into  
ghost town**

ALGIERS — The Algerian capital resembled a ghost town yesterday as a 48-hour general strike called by the country's largest trade union entered its second day.

Traffic in the normally choked streets was at a minimum and crowded neighbourhoods appeared deserted. Police reported no incidents of violence.

Officials of the General Union of Algerian Workers said 90 percent of its members were obeying the strike to protest against government-imposed price rises in basic goods.

The union is objecting to price increases ordered by Premier Mouloud Hamrouche's government in line with economic reforms ordered by the International Monetary Fund. — Sapa-AP.

**Moi blocks attempt to  
form opposition party**

NAIROBI — Kenya yesterday declined to register an opposition political party launched by a former vice-president in defiance of the country's one-party constitution.

Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (80) handed official application documents to government officials a month after announcing the launching of his National Democratic Party (NDP).

"I have summarily refused to register the proposed political party because such registration would be in contravention of section 2A of the constitution," Kenya's Registrar-General Joseph King'arui told Mr Odinga.

Mr Odinga, a staunch opponent of President Daniel arap Moi after serving as vice-president in the early 1960s under the late Jomo Kenyatta,



Daniel arap Moi . . .  
opposed to change.

said the NDP favoured an open and fair system of government based on an independent judiciary.

President Moi has ruled a multiparty state, saying new parties would simply divide the country on tribal lines and create chaos. — Sapa-Reuter.

star 14/3/91  
**Debt crushing Africa OAU head**

STRASBOURG — Africa's \$202 billion (R525 billion) foreign debt burden would cause turmoil across the continent unless it was speedily relieved, predicted President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

In an address to the European Parliament in

Strasbourg yesterday, Mr Museveni said the debt amounted to three times Africa's exports and almost equalled its total output.

He said that three problems additional to debt had held Africa back — the cross-currents of the East-West conflict on the continent, too much reliance on

commodities and raw materials, and fragmented markets which had stifled intra-African trade.

Mr Museveni also called on the EC not to lift sanctions against South Africa until apartheid had been replaced by a one man, one vote system. — Financial Times News Service.

# Abidjan airport now on SAA's regional map

SAA would begin regional flights to Abidjan on the Ivory Coast next month, an airline spokesman confirmed yesterday.

SAA spokesman Leon Els said the airline would use Boeing 737 twin-jet aircraft on the route, which would include a stopover in Kinshasa, Zaire, for refuelling.

He said the flight would probably take about seven-and-a-half hours, including the Kinshasa stop.

Els said SAA had been waiting for the Zairean government's clearance

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LINDEN BIRNS

for landing at Kinshasa.

"We currently fly to Lubumbashi, but decided to apply for clearance to change our landing destination to Kinshasa as the Zairean capital is better suited to our business and tourist travellers," Els said.

He said SAA would fly north to Kinshasa and Abidjan on Wednesdays, with the return flight leaving the Ivory Coast on Thursday mornings.

① At present Abidjan is a refuelling point on some of SAA's long-haul flights to Europe.

Els said the introduction of the new flight would change Abidjan's status from an international to a regional SAA destination.

In the past year the airline has added Nairobi, Lubumbashi, Reunion, Seychelles and Madagascar to its African network which already included flights to Windhoek, Harare, Bulawayo, Gaborone, Lusaka, Maputo and Blantyre.

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## Trade with rest of Africa Star 18/3/91. is soaring

Trade sanctions seem to have crumbled on the African continent, according to figures given by Rusty Evans, deputy director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, in a newly published book, "Trends Transforming South Africa".

On cross-border trade, he writes: "South Africa's total trade with Africa is growing by leaps and bounds.

"It currently amounts to almost R10 billion a year. Trade with Zaire has trebled in two years. Madagascar has opened up and there is no reason why trade with that country should not quickly match that with Mauritius — in excess of R300 million a year.

"South Africa's non-bank investments in Africa are approximately R4 billion."

# SA called 'land of opportunity'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — There was probably no other country where trade opportunities were opening up to the extent now possible for SA, Saffo Africa and Latin America manager Martin Smith said yesterday.

Speaking at an SA Institute of International Affairs lunch, Smith said the business community had to act quickly to take advantage of the new situation.

"We cannot afford to be one step behind. We must be right up front in our efforts to expand our international and continental trade."

Smith said SA was exporting its

riches by not adding sufficient value to its products, something it had in common with other African countries.

Recent visits by African countries eager to trade with SA indicated an almost continent-wide realization that SA involvement was needed to give Africa the economic push it so badly needed.

In the past six weeks, missions had arrived from Zaire, Togo, Burundi and Madagascar, and many other countries were planning missions.

B/1000 2013/11

# Mad whirl of the Benin election

**COTONOU, Benin** - The old torture house by the sea is empty, but pictures of its victims have started appearing on Benin's streets.

There are fears its former Marxist master may regain power by unlikely means: a free election.

*Sovietian 20/3/91*

President Mathieu Kerekou finished second with 27 percent of the vote in the first free presidential election in 21 years. Prime Minister Nicephore Soglo received 36 percent.

They will run against each other in a second round on March 24.

Regional rivalries and personal enmities and ambitions are lining up candidates who won the rest of the votes against Soglo. Kerekou would have to win two-thirds of votes cast for other candidates, but many people fear alliances with the

defeated candidates could make this possible.

If Kerekou loses, he will be the first president on the African continent ousted by the ballot box.

In Cotonou and other towns, pamphlets with photographs of victims of Kerekou's torture cells warned against a return to the harsh oppression with which he ruled from 1972.

"Look at what he did to your children," the pamphlets say. "Here's what remains of our assassinated youth. Never again. Vote with respect for your newly won dignity."

"What did we fight for, if he's coming back to haunt us?" asked businesswoman Aicha Alao. "Under Kerekou we lived in terror."

She said school children were ordered to spy on their families. "A friend of mine is among many people who were

detained because his son reported he spoke against Kerekou."

While his soldiers terrorised the population, his government nationalized Western companies and "treated the exchequer like a personal piggy bank," she said.

In December 1989, Beninois revolted, stoning a statue of Lenin and starting the wave of strikes and riots for democracy sweeping the continent.

## Torture

Kerekou first accepted defeat gracefully, handing over to a caretaker government.

It closed the notorious house of torture on the beach. "There are others, but that one, if you went in there you never came out," said taxi driver Christophe Dossonou.

When a minor presidential candidate advised his followers to vote for

Kerekou, he was beaten up and his car and house were stoned.

"We say we have two diseases here - Kerekou and Soglo," said Ms Alao. "With Kerekou you suffer and die. With Soglo, you suffer and live."

Soglo (57) a former World Bank official favored by capitalist governments and lending institutions, proposes stringent economic measures recommended by the International Monetary Fund.

Beninois have started striking to protest the gentling of his tactics, early retirement in a programme to lay off 8 000 civil servants.

In contrast, the man who ran third in the elections, former international Labour Organisation chief Albert Tevoedjre, has promised to create 20 000 jobs a year.

Tevoedjre (61) has be-

come a powerbroker by virtue of the 14.2 percent of votes he won, mainly in south and central Benin. Soglo's support came from the south, while Kerekou swept the board in his native north, where two-fifths of the 2 million voters live. Most are illiterate peasants, who comprise 80 percent of the 4.4 million people.

Tevoedjre, who portrayed himself as champion of the poor, said he would back the man who would implement his policies. Aides said that meant striking a deal with Kerekou that would leave Tevoedjre as prime minister with a free hand.

Tevoedjre said he would not lay off civil servants, but redeploy them in development projects, and would renegotiate with the IMF to make cuts in other areas, such as defence. Personal enmity be-

tween him and Soglo made an alliance there unlikely.

Many opposition candidates denounce Soglo for contesting the elections. They say it was understood the man who led the caretaker government would not stand. Soglo has fueled their ire by using government machinery in his campaign.

## Condemned

His own finance minister, Idelphonse Lemon, broke with him on the issue, running as a minor presidential candidate.

"I have twice been condemned to death by Kerekou, all my property was seized by his government, and I have spent 15 years in exile, but I would rather back Kerekou than Soglo, who is an embryo dictator," Lemon said in an interview.

He and Tevoedjre hope the dictator they know, Kerekou, has

changed his Marxist colors, like the chameleon the president chose as his electoral symbol.

Beninois joke about moving from "Marxism-Beninism" to "African perestroika."

"It is Kerekou who has given us our new freedom, by peacefully handing over when the people made it clear they wanted democracy," said a civil servant from the north.

Other voters expressed disgust for all the candidates because they tried to buy votes. "I took their money, but I voted freely," a bank clerk said.

"They must all resign," a young anarchist shouted to a reporter at Lenin Place, where children now play around the denuded black marble stand that supported Lenin's statue. Who should resign? "All of them, even Lenin," the boy said. - *Scapa-AP*



# Africa's children under threat

South 2/3-27/191

IN THE past decade, deaths of children around the world have decreased by half, according to a report by the UN Children's Fund (Unicef).

The report, called "The State of the World's Children 1991", says a successful international campaign to immunise 80 percent of the world's children against preventable diseases has saved 12 million lives.

At the beginning of the campaign, only 15 to 20 percent of children in the developing world were being vaccinated.

The outlook for Africa's children, however, is not as hopeful as that for children in other parts of the world.

Many of the past decade's programmes failed to reach children in Africa, and without massive debt relief and developmental assistance, there will be little improvement in the 1990s, the report says.

## Immunisation

Unicef says the past decade's immunisation programmes have prevented 1.5m children from contracting paralytic polio and millions more from contracting measles, whooping cough and neonatal tetanus.

And because disease prevention reduces malnutrition, diarrhoea and pneumonia, immunisation also saved millions of children from chronic illness, poor growth and possible early death.

While a reduction in child mortality might suggest a rise in the population growth rate, Unicef says the opposite is true.

Several developing countries are approaching the threshold where lowered child deaths mean that women can place greater faith in family planning programmes, Unicef says.

Heartened by the progress of the past decade, the Unicef report outlines ambitious new goals for improving child welfare in the next 10 years.

## Resolutions

Drawing upon resolutions passed at the World Summit for Children last September, the Children's Fund assigns top priority to cutting child deaths by a further one-third, providing basic education for all children and halving child malnutrition and maternal deaths.

But one of the most urgent needs is to extend the immunisation campaign to areas which the past decade's programmes have failed to reach.

Many of those are in Af-



UNDER THREAT: Although 2.5m children in Africa were saved by vaccines in 1990, the same number still died from diseases preventable by immunisation

PIC: AFRICA NEWS

rica.

James P Grant, executive director of Unicef, says that Africa, with the highest average mortality rate of children under five in the world, is the only continent where child deaths are projected to increase during the 1990s.

## Vaccines

Although the global vaccination goal has been achieved, the report explains, not all parts of the world have been equally saturated.

In addition, the report says, 80 percent immunisation "does not mean an 80 percent reduction in deaths, because disease is both more common, and more commonly fatal, among the minority who have not yet been reached".

Although 2.5m children were saved by vaccines in 1990, the same number of children still died from diseases preventable by immunisation.

A special supplement to the "State of the World's Children" report, "Africa's Children, Africa's Future: Implementing the World Summit Declaration", indicates that Africa has the greatest proportion of threatened children of any continent.

Unless downward spirals of debt, war and famine are

reversed, the report says: "Africa's share of global and infant deaths will increase by 40 percent by the end of the century".

In 1950, Africa's share of child deaths was 15 percent; in 1986 it was 30 percent.

Though many African countries acted to meet the agenda for economic recovery laid out by the 1986 UN special session on Africa's crisis, international assistance promised by donors arrived slowly, while debt service payments rocketed.

## Aids

African governments saw funds for children's programmes erode steadily.

The emergence of the Aids epidemic adds additional daunting layers to the problems of Africa's children.

African women often lack the education to avoid contracting Aids or are bound by tradition not to take measures against it.

In early 1990, WHO estimated that of three million women worldwide — mostly of childbearing age — who tested positive for the Aids antibody HIV, 80 percent were in sub-Saharan Africa.

The virus often passes from mother to foetus.

Still, numerous African

initiatives have improved prospects for many children. Some 25 African countries have immunised an estimated 75 percent of their children against six main diseases, although the success rate is substantially lower in countries where wars have made rural children inaccessible.

Unicef also hails the signing by 41 African states of the "Convention on the Rights of the Child" — a document setting out universal standards for the survival, protection and development of children — as an indication that child welfare is now higher on the political agenda in many African countries.

## Ethic

Says Unicef: "The child has only one chance to grow normally in mind and body, and protecting that one chance should have first call on our resources — in good times and in bad."

Unicef's officials concede that the "new ethic for children" the organisation wants to implement is revolutionary.

But in Africa, they say, it will take a revolution of world priorities to ensure that the continent's children fare better in the 1990s than they did in the last 10 years.

# African response is sluggish <sup>1</sup>

Sowetan 22/3/91

By ALI MPHAKI

AT the root of Africa's economic crisis lies governments' and institutions inability to respond "quickly and decisively" to the rapidly changing global economy.

The success of Africa's development efforts will depend on building up local capacity for formulating and implementing development policies, according to a new report from the World Bank.

Africa is suffering from a severe shortage and "under-utilization" of highly trained economists, educators, public policy analysts and other professionals who

are needed to research, plan and launch economic development programs, the report says.

Edward Jaycox, World Bank's vice president of the African Regional Office, writes in the foreword that building up local capacity for economic management will reduce Africa's dependence on technical assistance from industrialised nations, helping the region become "more in control of its economic destiny".

The shortage of economic development

professionals can be attributed partly to the region's colonial heritage, he says.

"As African countries gained independence in the 1960s, new governments had to face the fact that colonial regimes had bequeathed to them neither strong institutions nor an educated and skilled populace."

## Problems

In Zaire for instance, they reached independence without a single national engineer, lawyer or doctor.

The report states that only a few decades ago,

Latin America and Asia were experiencing many of the same problems in policy analysis and economic management that Africa is facing today.

Even in parts of the industrialised world, little more than a century separates the relatively efficient bureaucracies of today from administrations in which inadequacy, misallocation, incompetence and corruption were the rule rather than the exception.

History suggests, therefore, that the deficiencies currently facing Africa need not be viewed as intractable.

# MORE THAN RED NOSES

FM 22/3/91  
①

Last week a ship chartered by Oxfam, bravely named the *Grain of Hope*, set sail from Ipswich for the Red Sea bearing a cargo of emergency food aid for Sudan and Ethiopia. As it slipped anchor, thousands of people in Britain had been busy doing mildly humiliating things to raise money for charity as part of Red Nose Day.

The voyage of the *Grain of Hope* was one of the projects funded by Comic Relief, the organiser of the Red Nose Day's buffoonery. It has put up a quarter of the £1m cost of chartering the ship and buying the grain. But it has done so reluctantly — Comic Relief hates to put money into famine relief, preferring long-term projects which could, one day, wipe out hunger in Africa.

Many will feel this goal is no nearer than at the height of the Ethiopian famine of 1984-1985. Despite the immense efforts since Bob Geldof first crusaded against hunger in Africa, there are still some 20m people threatened with starvation. And, alas, it is the same countries that are affected — Sudan and Ethiopia.

If charity does no good, many will ask what is the point of all this giving? There are indeed signs that the British charitable pocket is shrinking. The Africa in Crisis appeal, launched in January and still with a month to run, has netted only £6.85m and seems unlikely to reach the £10.2m total of the 1989 Ethiopia appeal.

There are now five countries that cannot feed themselves in Africa: to Ethiopia and Sudan have been added Mozambique, Angola and Liberia, all beset by civil war.

But Comic Relief is not despondent. It raised £27m on Red Nose Day in 1989 (the

charity took a rest in 1990 to avoid hastening compassion fatigue), with two-thirds going to Africa and the rest being spent in Britain.

"Charity is a hard-nosed business," says Will Day, who is in charge of Africa at Comic Relief. "We will find a good use for whatever we receive and will put it towards whatever is achievable and most cost-effective."

The charity has no infrastructure in Africa, eschewing the building of an aid empire. Instead, it gives grants to established charities to spend, sometimes in inspired ways. It gave £103 000 to refit an old German navy landing craft to distribute food along the islands off the Mozambique coast, refuge for thousands fleeing the civil war. "This old landing craft has become a lifeboat for thousands of people," according to the charity ActionAid.

The aid agencies, nevertheless, believe they have made enormous progress. One million people died in Ethiopia in 1984-1985. Very few are expected to perish this year despite the failure of the autumn rains, because the relief agencies have pioneered a trucking route through the civil war lines from the port of Asseb to the city of Dese.

About 15 000 t of grain a month flow through this "southern corridor", half for the Eritrean rebel areas and half for the Ethiopian army-controlled regions, in a fleet of 40 trucks. Against all the odds, the arrangements have lasted a year.

"The longer it lasts, the more all sides depend on its success," says John Magrath of Oxfam. The agencies have learned that dealing with armies and governments is as important as raising money.

Sudan is a tricky example. The Khartoum government has been reluctant to admit to the famine — even though the country's needs are estimated at more than 1m t of food this year. The reason is simple: in 1984, the country felt it was being run by the donor governments working through the aid agencies.

The charities are now trying to hire local people and work behind local organisations. This is not easy. Hiring a Sudanese requires approval from 12 layers of government, sometimes including the governing military council.

The charities are also quicker off the mark. Warnings of the impending Ethiopian famine were plain to see in 1983, but little was done. Now they strike early.

The real hope for the abolition of hunger lies with more enlightened economic policy and a better deal for the peasants. Since last March, when the Marxist Ethiopian government allowed farmers to sell their produce as they liked, agriculture has been improving. With the help of Oxfam, the Ethiopians are growing more than 1m seedlings a year near Harar: acacia and eucalyptus to stop soil erosion and apples for orchards.

"We cannot say that in five years this part of Ethiopia will be green again. But there is progress. The peasants have taken on board the need to nurture forest. They are doing it so they can pass on the benefits to their children," says Magrath.

If it succeeds, the aid agencies will not have to spend the cash so generously donated by the public on chartering grain ships and will be able to concentrate on the long-term eradication of hunger.

# Rebel Taylor holds the key to peace in Liberia

MONROVIA — Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor, whose revolt led to the ousting of President Samuel Doe's authoritarian regime, now faces pressure to end the country's 15-month civil war.

The message that people want lasting peace is coming from all directions including Taylor's principal backer Burkina Faso, the US and the Liberian political elite.

While holding peace talks in the ruined capital Monrovia, the peace talks, which opened a week ago, have been caught up in procedural wrangling over who will be represented and what will be discussed.

But once that is cleared, the delegates will turn to ways of finding lasting end to the conflict which has left thousands dead, wrecked the country's economy and turned almost half its 2.2-million people into refugees.

The key to it all is Taylor, who launched the December 1989 rebellion which toppled Doe but left Liberia divided between the rebel-held countryside and the capital controlled by an interim government installed by the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas).

Taylor, who has turned the provincial city of Gbarnga, 250km north of Monrovia, into his capital, has so far refused to attend the peace talks, citing security considerations. He has sent a top-level delegation instead.

Ecowas, a 16-nation grouping of West African states including Liberia, sent a 7 000-man Nigerian-led force into Monrovia last August when it became clear that the Liberian rebellion had got out of control.

Few people here ever expected the civil war to wreak the destruction that now confronts this small nation, founded by freed American slaves in 1847.

Taylor has never recognised the interim government installed by Ecowas and headed by Liberian political science professor Amos Sawyer. The rebel leader contends

that an Ecowas peace plan, which bars leaders of warring factions from serving as interim president until elections in October, is unconstitutional.

Many Liberians reject the argument that because Taylor played a key role in toppling Doe, who was killed last September, he should reap the spoils.

"It's a significant contribution to remove a dictatorship," said Dusty Wolokolle, chairman of the Liberian People's Party and conference delegate. "But that is really only half the job. We have to ask if our business is just to appease Taylor or if our business is to bring peace to our people."

Taylor is being blamed for stalling, but some delegates and diplomats think he is trying to head off possible criticism from his rebel forces who would be frustrated if he did not become president.

Several Western nations are unwilling to give further aid unless they see a democratic solution to the conflict. —Sapa-Reuter.

# Africa's other giant is waiting

25/3/91



THE NIGERIAN attracted little attention as he sat in the visitors' gallery at the formal opening of the current session of the SA Parliament in Cape Town last month.

Not many members knew who he was. But those who did were keenly aware of the significance of the presence of a representative of Africa's other giant.

As much as any other recent development, the informal visit by the Nigerian representative — and the group of Nigerian journalists who accompanied him — demonstrated Africa's growing fascination with the emerging new South Africa.

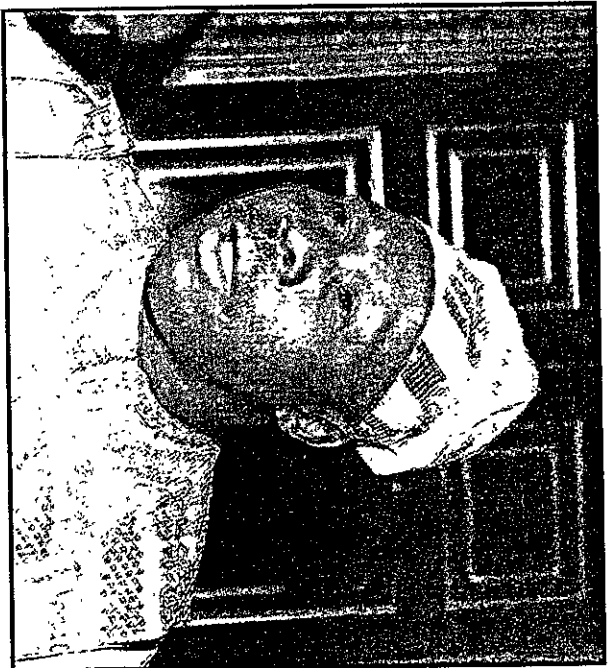
So far this year, representatives of at least 15 African governments have visited SA. They include two different delegations from Nigeria and representatives of Gabon, Zaïre, Rwanda, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Guinea Bissau, Togo, Senegal, Ghana and the Congo as well as a delegation from the African Development Bank.

All of their countries are members of the Organisation of African Unity and most of them officially maintain the economic, sporting and cultural sanctions it has imposed on Pretoria in tandem with the United Nations.

Unofficially they probably all do business with SA, contributing to the explosion of African trade with SA that has almost reached R10 billion a year and is growing.

Like many other African countries, they are looking forward to the abolition of apartheid so that they can deal freely and openly.

African states, impatient to begin dealing with South Africa, are treating the De Klerk reforms as the key to the slide door, writes GERALD L'VLANGE of The Star Africa Service. The former Nigerian head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo (right), sees both nations working closer together in the future once apartheid has been eliminated.



The De Klerk reforms have given a measure of unofficial respectability to the once futile exchanges, so much so that sanctions have become increasingly irrelevant.

But not entirely so. The sporting and cultural boycotts still hurt. And the trade would flow much more smoothly and would grow faster if it could be directed through open and official channels. With communications in Africa as bad as they are, informal channels tend to be inefficient.

Pretoria thus has a strong incentive to seek formal relations with African states, even if it is only at the level of a trade commission or an interests office. It is looking to African countries to disregard the OAU and establish open links with SA, as Madagascar did last year.

There is a good chance that several states will take the plunge this year, say South African diplomats, especially if the De Klerk reform programme keeps on track.

Kenya has taken an important step in that direction by allowing SAA to land at Nairobi and South African citizens to visit the country. But it is still reluctant to go all the way. Other countries being eyed by Pretoria are thought to include Morocco, Egypt, Gabon, Senegal, Congo and Cameroon.

The big catch would be Nigeria, the giant of black Africa both in terms of population (at 110 million the largest) and economy (one of the largest with a gross domestic product of R72 billion in 1989).

Politicians in Nigeria are said to envisage a post-apar-

theid situation in which SA would dominate a southern and eastern economic bloc and Nigeria a western equivalent, with close co-operation between the two groups.

"I do not see any obstacles to Nigeria and South Africa working together in international organisations and even becoming close to each other after apartheid's abolition," ex-Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo said recently.

General Obasanjo's visit to South Africa in July 1990 is understood to have been made at the behest of President Ibrahim Babangida. The general's scouting expedition has been followed by the visit this year by the other Nigerian politicians and the journalists. A Nigerian newspaper, the Guardian, recently quoted unidentified African diplomats

(who would logically be Nigerian) as saying that at the OAU summit in June in the Nigerian capital of Abuja, Nigeria may call for developing contacts with South Africa.

The report does not spell out what kind of contacts are envisaged. But a proposal for even the most tentative contacts, coming from Nigeria, would have an enormous political impact and, if firmly proposed, would be hard for OAU member-states to resist.

It would be one of the most dramatic salutes to the De Klerk reforms that has yet been given. Assuming the intention is there, whether it is actually made will probably depend on whether Mr de Klerk is seen to be maintaining the momentum of the reforms between now and June.

As long as the ANC and PAC keep calling for sanctions to be maintained, the OAU is likely to maintain formal support for this stand. But recent developments suggest the formal policy might then be bypassed by informal dealings with SA to an extent that would make the formal stance largely irrelevant.

The opening of informal "interests" offices that would in reality function as trade and consular offices would suit Pretoria's purposes very well, even if not as well as full diplomatic recognition.

Foreign Affairs would then be hard-pressed to find the funds and staff for offices in addition to those in Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zaïre, Swaziland, Lesotho, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Comoros and, soon, Madagascar. □

# Comoros keen to strengthen ties with SA

Star 25/3/91.

By Neville Adlam

The Comoros has indicated it is keen to establish relations at ambassadorial level with South Africa.

Comoran President Said Mohamed Djohar said at the weekend that this would happen as soon as South Africa, at present represented at the consular level, abolished the last vestiges of apartheid.

The president said his country needed foreign aid urgently, particularly from South Africa. The state had run out of funds and had not paid salaries for two months.

## Support

The Comoros, he said, needed foreign aid for development.

The Comoros had recognised the changes in South Africa long before other countries in Africa — and had given South Africa support for some time.

"I want South Africans to remember we have been their friends," he said.

The Comoros had sometimes experienced problems because some African countries had kept secret their involvements with South Africa. Now they were "running fast" to cement relationships with Pretoria.

"We established ties with South Africa because we knew the future would prove us right. And as soon as Nelson Mandela was freed we stepped up our relationship," the president said.

He told journalists: "A true friend is one who shares pain in difficult times, as we did with South Africa.

"We are hoping that South Africa, with its expertise, will give significant aid."

This should be done by helping the Comorans establish small industries and enterprises.

The Comoros had inherited a very difficult situation at independence. The country was bankrupt and the state had had difficulties in meeting some of its commitments.

Now, in the month of Ramadan, the state was two months late in salary payments.

The state had also battled to get money through customs — a period when it generally received help from France. Due to a change of structural procedures from France, there had been a delay in funds coming through.

The president emphasised that France was essential to the Comoros: "We have the finest relationship with France."

# Vlok moots links for Africa's police

B1044 26/3/91

CAPE TOWN — The time was long overdue for the establishment of an "Afripol" on the lines of Interpol in terms of which the whole African continent could pool its resources in fighting crime, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Addressing an international conference on motor car theft, Vlok said cars stolen in SA had surfaced as far afield as Cairo. He said stolen cars appeared to be the "golden thread" linking a variety of crimes such as ivory and rhino horn smuggling, drug trafficking and currency contraventions across SA's borders.

Countries attending the conference included Zambia, Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Germany.

He suggested areas in which such a body could co-operate might include modern technology, communication, information exchange and a centralised computer system.

"We can also benefit from an exchange of expertise, and there is much that we can learn from one another through an exchange training programme."

Vlok expressed the hope that delegates, who came from all over southern Africa, might shortly be in a position to convene a founding conference "to make the concept of

## Political Staff

Afripol a reality".

He said criminals cared little about geographical borders and political differences.

Much of the crime on the continent was interlinked, and this was especially true of car theft. More than 60 000 vehicles were stolen in SA last year.

Motor vehicle theft in SA had become a multimillion-rand business operated by "true professionals".

Vlok said another "ominous shadow" over the whole world was drugs. He said this could become one of the most serious crimes, threatening "our very existence".

Vlok said the decision to hold the conference in SA was a great stride forward for the country's international relations with police forces all over the world.

He said the African continent had the potential to make an enormous contribution to the world's economy, and that the police forces of Africa had the ability to be the "foundation of economic advancement".

"We have to protect the economic foundation from the rot of criminal activity".

Vlok said no progress would be made if each police force worked in isolation.

What constitutes the formal end of apartheid?

# African states under pressure to decide

1  
Sowden  
26/3/91.

**HARARE - Black Africa faces a dilemma: what constitutes the formal end of apartheid in South Africa?**

African states are coming under pressure to make a decision because South Africa's reforms have prompted some Western countries to start talking about easing international sanctions against Pretoria.

For years African leaders have displayed great unity in vigorously campaigning to isolate South Africa over its apartheid racial system, but divisions are now emerging.

## Gains

Many African states stand to gain from opening up links with South Africa, which accounts for 75 percent of Southern Africa's economic output and could be the powerhouse of the region.

"Africa is being pulled two ways at once at the moment," said one diplomat in the Zimbabwean capital Harare.

"Everyone wants to trade with South Africa. Everyone wants to play sport with South Africa. But no-one wants to be seen to be abandoning their principles."

"So everyone is picking a definition of the end of apartheid which suits them personally, and we're seeing some interesting differences emerge."

## Two views

The reformist Government of rival interpretations of what will constitute the end of apartheid.

The reformist government of President FW de Klerk, which has promised to scrap all remaining race-based legislation by mid-1991, hopes sanctions will be lifted as soon as these changes are on the statute book.



The ANC, spearheading demands for an end to white minority rule, wants more reforms.

It is calling for votes for the country's disenfranchised black majority and a new interim government to replace De Klerk's National Party in power.

In the realm of politics Africa is solidly behind the ANC and remains suspicious of the Pretoria Government.

Meeting in Harare a few days after De Klerk made his February promise to scrap race laws this year, the Organisation of African Unity decided to stand firm on the sanctions question.

## Not enough

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, the current OAU chairman, said De Klerk's reforms "are welcome, they are praiseworthy - but they are not enough."

"The idea is that we would like to see in place a clear mechanism that would result in the transfer of power to a democratic order. But up to now there is no mechanism ... just an expression of intentions," Museveni said.

In the economic sphere, however, new links are quietly being forged with South Africa by businesses across the continent.

In Zambia - whose President Kenneth Kaunda is one of Africa's most outspoken opponents of apartheid - a building has been prepared as a new South African trade mission. Diplomats say they think it will be open by the end of 1991.

Participants from 15 African countries attended a meeting organised by three South African trade groups in Swaziland this month to discuss the possibility of setting up a new trade bloc as soon as sanctions go.

Hennie Viljoen, president of the South African Chamber of Business, told delegates in a closing speech:

"The time has arrived where frontiers should be opened and where we could urge our governments...to start breaking down those divergent political barriers that could influence co-operative business efforts."

The biggest shift in African opinion has been in sport. It must be Africa that welcomes its southern neighbour back into world sport after a 20-year Olympic ban, the International Olympic Committee has said.

The Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa showed at a meeting in Botswana earlier this month that it was ready to do just that.

Anoca president Jean-Claude Ganga said he would not press for immediate universal suffrage in South Africa, but would count the mid-year scrapping of race laws as the end of apartheid.

## Confident

"When apartheid is finished, we have confidence in the people of South Africa that they will get a one man, one vote system," Ganga said.

After the meeting, Anoca said rival "establishment" and anti-apartheid sports federations in South Africa had agreed to form a new, non-racial umbrella group.

"The sports people are easiest on South Africa because they haven't really got anything to

lose, but they do have a lot to gain in terms of more exciting sport if they let South Africa in," said Harare-based Western diplomat.

"The business community is blowing hot and cold. They want to have access to the South African economy, but they're frightened that South Africa's going to swamp their own economies."

"Politicians have the most to lose in terms of credibility, and in terms of the fallout from anything that goes wrong economically which will ultimately land at their door."

## Worried

Quill Hermans, governor of Botswana's central bank, said in an interview this month that his country was apprehensive about the consequences of reforms in neighbouring South Africa.

Botswana is part of South Africa's regional customs union, and pays no import duties on the goods it buys from next door. It therefore imports inflation from South Africa in the shape of goods pre-priced for South African consumption.

Hermans said Pretoria's likely transition to majority rule - and big new demands for health and education spending on black voters - would push up inflation and create economic and political problems for Botswana.

"If inflation rates in South Africa climb back to 25 or 30 percent from 15 percent now, per capita incomes halve in Botswana, and there's nothing we can do to protect ourselves from that."

"The economic implications for Botswana of reform in South Africa are pretty ominous, and we could go through a period probably of five, six or seven years of very turbulent times." - *Sapere Reuter*

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Mali leaders agree to end emergency

Sowetan 26/3/91

**BAMAKO** - Mali's embattled government has agreed to opposition demands to end a state of emergency, free political prisoners and withdraw troops from the streets after three days of the worst political violence the West African country has known.

Opposition sources said yesterday they would press on with an indefinite general strike aimed at forcing President Moussa Traore to resign.

Human rights campaigner Demba Diallo said Traore and government officials agreed to the measures when they met pro-democracy leaders on Sunday.

## **Demands**

"They accepted all our demands without question," he said. Diallo said the government agreed to lift a state of emergency and night-time curfew imposed on Friday evening after anti-government riots broke out in the capital Bamako.

Diplomats say at least 150 people have been killed and 1,000 injured in three days of clashes between protesters and security forces.

Diallo said the government also agreed to free hundreds of political



**MOUSSA TRAORE**

prisoners held since pro-democracy demonstrations began in January, and to withdraw troops and armed police from the streets of the capital.

No troops were visible yesterday morning at the state television centre, which was guarded with an armoured car throughout the weekend.

## **Toll**

Official confirmation of the government measures was not immediately available.

Western diplomats say the death toll has reached at least 150. Opposition sources earlier said 100 or more people had been killed. The latest official figures put the death toll at 34.

Diallo said a general strike called from Monday would go ahead.

"The strike began at zero hours today and will continue until Traore resigns," he said.

He quoted Traore, who seized power in a 1968 coup, as saying during Sunday's meeting that he would not quit.

Traore is one of the few African leaders keeping single-party rule despite pro-democracy reforms sweeping the continent.

He has promised to consider demands for a multi-party system at a congress of his ruling Democratic Union of the Malian People (UDPM), due to begin on Thursday.

- Sapa-Reuter

# Africa looks for tailor-made definition of end to apartheid

B1/20/26/3/91  
HARARE — Black Africa faces a dilemma: what constitutes the formal end of apartheid in SA?

African states are coming under pressure to make a decision because SA's reforms have prompted some Western countries to start talking about easing international sanctions against Pretoria.

For years African leaders have displayed great unity in vigorously campaigning to isolate SA over its apartheid racial system, but divisions are now emerging.

SA accounts for 75% of southern Africa's economic output.

"Africa is being pulled two ways at once at the moment," said one diplomat in Harare.

"Everyone wants to trade with SA. Everyone wants to play sports with SA. But no one wants to be seen to be abandoning principles.

"So everyone is picking a definition of the end of apartheid which suits them personally."

In SA, there are two rival interpretations of what will constitute the end of apartheid.

The SA government hopes sanctions will be lifted once all race-based legislation goes. However, the ANC, which Africa is solidly behind, wants more reforms.

Meeting in Harare a few days after President F W de Klerk made his February promise to scrap race laws this year, the OAU decided to stand firm on sanctions.

OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, said De Klerk's reforms "are welcome, they are praiseworthy — but they are not enough".

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In the economic sphere, however, new links are quietly being forged with SA by businesses across the continent.

In Zambia, a building has been prepared as a new SA trade mission despite President Kenneth Kaunda's vigorous opposition to apartheid. Diplomats expect it to open

by the end of 1991.

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The biggest shift in African opinion has been in sport. It must be Africa that welcomes SA back into world sport after a 20-year Olympic ban, the International Olympic Committee has said.

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After the meeting, Anoca said rival "establishment" and anti-apartheid sports federations in SA had agreed to form a new, non-racial umbrella group.

## Credibility

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He said the economic implications for Botswana of reform in SA were "pretty ominous". — Sapa-Reuter.

measures of Southern Africa

OF INTEREST



# Defining when apartheid dies

Star 26/3/91

(1) ~~Star~~

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And participants from 15 African countries at a Swaziland meeting organised by three South African trade groups have discussed setting up a new trade bloc when sanctions end. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

# Malaria threat in Africa alarms top US officials

Star 26/3/91  
 Ramsay Milne  
 Star Bureau

NEW YORK — Two top US officials who recently returned from a two-week mission to Africa have brought back with them an alarming sense of the threat of malaria in Africa, including South Africa.

The officials have pressed the Bush administration to provide massive aid to combat the disease, which they described as Africa's "foremost health challenge".

The officials, Secretary of Health Louis Sullivan and Dr Ronald Roskens of the US Agency for International Development, led a delegation of health experts in January to South Africa, the Ivory Coast, Malawi, Nigeria, Senegal, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

In a report to President Bush, the officials, described malaria as "the forgotten disease", but said that it had become Africa's foremost health challenge.

The disease kills one million African children each year, making it the leading killer of children in many African nations.

Of the 110 million cases of malaria report-

ed each year, 90 million occurred in Africa, their report said.

They urged more aid to combat the disease, including research into strains resistant to chloroquine treatment.

But, they pointed out, Aids was rapidly overhauling malaria as Africa's biggest killer of children. During the 1990s, about 500 000 African children were born with the HIV infection, and by the end of the 1990s Africa would have an additional 10 million HIV-infected children, the delegation said.

Also, five to 10 million children under 10 years of age were expected to become orphans in Africa during the 1990s because of the death of one or both parents from Aids.

"Behaviour change is the key to breaking the Aids transmission chain," the report said. "US programmes should support additional interventions to promote behaviour change, encourage social marketing of condoms and the control of sexually transmitted diseases."

But, the group added, if Africans could stem their exploding birth rate perhaps many of the continent's health problems could be improved.

# Defining when apartheid dies

Star 26/3/91

(1) ~~3/2/91~~

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# Malian president deposed by army

Sowetan 27/3/91

(i)

ABIDJAN - Malian president Mr Moussa Traore has been put under arrest, a Mali radio said in a broadcast yesterday.

The radio also reported that the army had formed a National Reconciliation Council (NRC) to run the country.

The broadcast, monitored in neighbouring Ivory Coast, said a curfew had been imposed following four days of



rioting in which 150 people were reportedly killed.

"Considering the stubbornness of the Traore government...we of the armed forces have decided to form the NRC to

put an end to the blood-thirsty regime of Traore," the broadcast said.

The broadcast appealed for calm and asked citizens "to co-operate to make a success of the change by avoiding looting."

Another announcement said Traore's ruling Democratic Union of the Malian People (UDPM) had been disbanded and the government dissolved.

It said steps would be taken to establish a multi-

party system in the impoverished state.

Portions of the broadcast picked up by the British Broadcasting Corporation said Lieutenant-Colonel Amadou Soumani Toure was heading the NCR and would be "responsible for the state's authority and the security of people all over the national territory."

The radio said Traore and his wife had been arrested but gave no indication of their whereabouts.

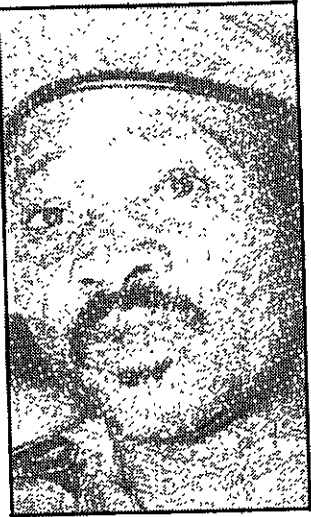
Earlier reports in the capital, Bamako, said Traore had been taken into custody by para-troops and was being held at a military air base.

The army takeover followed the worst rioting in the country's history.

Mali radio said the constitution had been suspended. It also said a curfew, which Traore had imposed last week but which was lifted on Monday, had been reimposed.

- Sapa-Reuter.





Promises of a new era . . .  
new man Colonel Toure.

# Civilians will rule in Mali

Star 27/3/91

BAMAKO (Mali) — Leader of a coup which toppled Mali's President Moussa Traore has pledged to steer the big West African country to civilian multiparty rule.

"One of the essential aims of our arrival (is) to install multiparty politics, real democracy, in the style of certain other countries," Lieutenant-Colonel Amadou Toure told reporters after taking command of Mali, one of the world's poorest nations.

Asked when this would be, the 42-year-old paratroop commander replied: "When the conditions are right."

Mr Traore, who himself seized power in a coup 22 years ago, was arrested by his own soldiers before dawn yesterday after months of increasingly violent protest against his single party government.

The coup sparked off an explosion of looting and anti-Traore riots. Thousands of Malians poured into the streets screaming "Down with Moussa" erecting burning barricades and pillaging shops and offices.

Gunfire clattered throughout the night across Bamako, a sprawling city of half a million people, as troops moved in to quell unrest. Hospital sources said at least 59 people were killed and 200 injured.

The coup occurred after the first day of an indefinite general strike, called by the country's flourishing pro-democracy movement to demand Traore's resignation.

It followed three days of bloody riots between demonstrators and security forces over the weekend, which diplomats said left more than 150 dead and 1,000 injured.

The quietly-spoken Colonel Toure stressed his willingness to work with the country's pro-democracy movement.

"We can't talk about opposition — we're working among brother Malians," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Artists must choose new dreams

This is the first in a series of essays on culture in Southern Africa by Zimbabwean author CHENJERAI HOVE, currently writer-in-residence at the University of Zimbabwe. Hove's novel "Bones" (Baobab Press, 1988) won the Noma award for "third world" literature.

**S**OUTHERN AFRICAN artists battling with so much rhetoric and neglect, can do no better than teach society to doubt. That is the artistic responsibility which makes society humane, alive, debating, breathing. Sometimes it is a lonely business, at times even dangerous, specially when politicians take too much interest in art and want to mediate between society and the artist.

The role of the African artist needs to be understood in its historical context. One has to go back many years, to the period before the politics of Africa became uninteresting to talk about, before the scars of celebration reminded many artists that their power was not what they had imagined before.

To the time when writers and artists, sculptors and painters, painted walls and went away to rest as if they had fired a bullet at the colonial enemy out there in their mansions.

Today, the story is different, the artist is different, the issues are different. The anti-colonial hymns might be around, but they are as echoes; the Pan-Africanism of Kwame Nkrumah might be in the books, but the books are on dusty bookshelves, or packed back into the boxes of transition from exile.

Now, nothing can ever be taken for granted, nothing can ever be assumed to be the same, no dreams can be claimed to be the same any more.

The same riots that happened in the 1960s and were suppressed by the colonials can happen today and be suppressed by the post-independents, those heroes who always claim to have found the new sky for the people.

And the artist sees it with his/her sharp eye, as one in the centre, recording, asking, singing, yearning.

"What we ask of writers is that they guarantee the survival of what we call human in a world where everything appears inhuman; guarantee the survival of human discourse to console us for the loss of humanity in everything, in every other discourse and relationship," declared Italian writer Italo Calvino.

He was searching for humanity, a humanity defined as "whatever is temperamental, emotional, ingenious, and not at all austere". Yet, artists have to continue searching for new definitions of humanity in a Southern Africa devoured by apartheid and wasteful wars which never seem to end.

Art must teach us to doubt our perspectives. Who would not doubt themselves when shown the landscape of their own illusions?

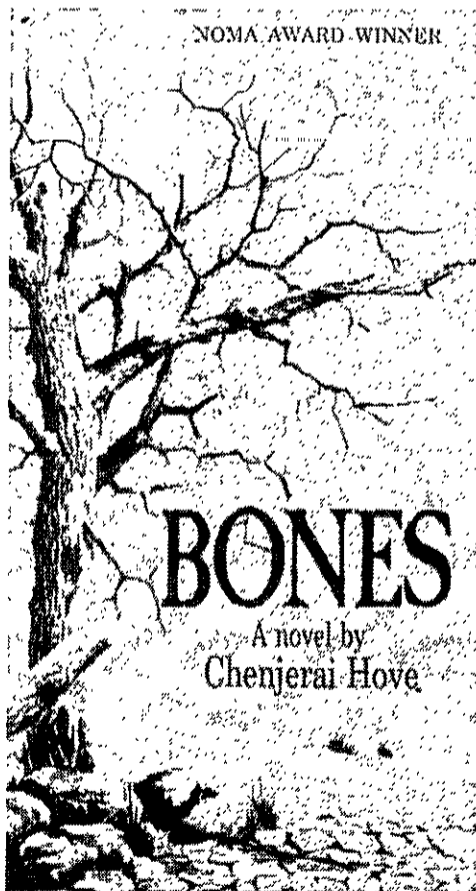
In a gallery, people watching themselves depicted as standing on their heads or being half-human and half-dog, might want to insult the artist. Similarly, a state which thinks it has made tremendous strides in social and economic development might get annoyed if it sees itself depicted as full of filth and urine.

That is what Ghanaian writer Ayi Kwei Amah set out to do in his classic, "The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born". Then many people condemned Amah for "writing about us as a tourist". The art of his depiction had shocked the nation to see a distorted face in the mirror which they did not quite like. The nation began to doubt itself and got annoyed about it.

Calvino described the paradox of the power of art as: "It seems that only when it is persecuted does it show its true powers, challenging authority". Was this not the power of the words of Zimbabwean poet Dambudzo Marechera? Was this not what made his words much more than mere verbiage?



Art must teach us to doubt our perspectives. Who would not doubt themselves when shown the landscape of their own illusions?



We can argue, but we know that even when dictators ignore writers, making literature count for nothing, writers find they are devoid of space. True art searches for many truths, many worlds, many dreams, and new space.

Was it not the urge which drove Zimbabwean writer Charles Mungoshi to tackle the issue of

personal and collective solitude in his masterpiece, "Waiting For The Rain"?

He wrote about the wounds, the moral-spiritual pain of living outside oneself like the live tortoise extracted from its shell: "He has someone else's drum between his knees", said old man Mandengu, critical of the loss of the spiritual being which he saw in the lives of the young men of the new generation of trinkets and education which are worshipped like gods.

How many of us today can refute the fact that we do not have our own drum between our knees, that we are alienated souls who do not know what to search for in the new world created by our new political and cultural dreamers?

The artist has duties and tasks alongside all other talents that make the heart and soul of the earth tick. That means alongside those who make chairs, the artist is present to instil society with a sense of self, an image of self as dreamed up by observations and dreams.

The artist's duties include dreaming for society. Not many people listen to the echo of their dreams in the morning when they leave their beds. Most of the dreams of the world are ignored and left abandoned on the warpath of life.

For do we not cheat ourselves into the world by pretending that we are what we are not? Do we not crawl out of our homes as public relations agents for both our egos and our social or professional roles?

And if we do, are we not entitled to be reminded that we are mere actors removed from the reality of what we could have become had we not assumed certain roles which formed us into certain types of individuals?

For me, the artist is the drawer of maps. The history of any society is better studied through the broadest appreciation of its artistic products. In times of despair, the artist will fuse images of despair with images of hope.

In times of plenty and over-abundance, the artist will portray the folly of over-eating at the expense of cultivation of other values.

**W**OUNDS, SCARS, songs of joy and sadness, rivers of tears and joy, the dreams lived and those gone astray, these are the pictures the artist gives to society, creating debate at every corner, removing fallacious illusions and creating new ones which last.

In the words of renowned Ugandan poet Okot p'Bitek: "The artist uses his voice, he sings his laws to the accompaniment of the nanga, the harp; he twists his body to the rhythm of the drums, to proclaim his rules. He carves his moral standards on word and stone, and paints his colourful do's and don'ts on walls and canvas."

So, Mozambique's Malangatana makes the walls of Maputo bleed with his sadness and sorrow of death in a senseless war in that country. Zimbabwean musician Thomas Mapfumo captures audiences with his songs celebrating the endurance of the human soul despite seemingly insurmountable social problems.

But many years later, when the drums and walls and books have died, it is the canvas of consciences which remains witness to the power of art over centuries: artistic creation recorded in the colour and shape of human hearts and minds.

When human consciences are formed and transformed, then art has done its work. □ AIA

• In SOUTH next week: Hove writes on the poetry of Southern Africa.



Tentative moves are being made to restore peace and democracy in troubled Rwanda. But the rebels fighting the government remain sceptical of the new initiatives, writes our **Special Correspondent**

WITH fighting again intensifying in Rwanda, renewed efforts are underway to resolve the conflict by negotiation.

Visiting Rwanda, Salim Ahmed Salim, secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity, has called for an end to hostilities and pressed for a regional solution to the thorny problem of Rwandan refugees.

Rebels from the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), who launched an insurgency five months ago with the invasion of Uganda, say they are determined to force a complete change in the policies of Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana.

"There has been a total lack of democracy in our country," said Patrick Mazimhaka, the RPF's commissioner

# Reform in Rwanda: real or illusory? <sup>(1)</sup>

South 28/3 - 3/4/91

for foreign affairs. "Our objective is to change the political system, which is based on discrimination against ethnic groups."

The RPF's original invasion force of about 3 000 soldiers were members of the Ugandan National Army who had deserted with their uniforms, weapons and vehicles.

## Accuses

The RPF accuses Habyarimana of favouring Hutu people over the minority Tutsi tribe and of reserving most opportunities for the small Hutu clique from the president's home region in the north.

The front says the government's political and economic practices have forced thousands of people into exile in neighbouring Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi.

The Rwanda government rejects the RPF discrimination charges and accuses the rebels of seeking to restore the ancient Tutsi monarchy.

Habyarimana, meanwhile, has announced a series of political reforms, including the abolition of the system of identity cards which the RPF has likened to South Africa's apartheid dompas system.

He has promised to replace one-party rule with a multiparty system and has called for a national referendum on a new democratic system by June.

The RPF says these reforms are only window-dressing.

"We want total abolition of discrimination in the political life of the country and a government of national unity," said Mazimhaka. — *AFRICA NEWS*

# Africa wakes up to drugs threat

South 28/3 - 3/4/91

(1)

WHILE the war against drug abuse and trafficking intensifies in Europe and America, Africa is now becoming a transit route for traffickers.

For the past five years, the continent has witnessed the growing drug trafficking from Asia and the Far East to Europe and America through Africa.

"We have to co-operate to ensure Africa is free from drug-trafficking," said Matti Backman, Africa regional officer of the Vienna-based UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC).

Heroin, mandrax and other narcotic drugs find their way to Europe and the US through Africa because of the lack of knowledge and poor security in Africa.

"We are now training police, customs and immigration officers," said Backman.

Already training sessions have been held in Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia and Uganda to ensure law enforcers get equipment and knowledge in fighting the menace.

Countries such as Tanzania and Kenya have formed anti-drug units where po-

lice and immigration officers are posted at airports, sea ports and border posts.

Backman said much had to be done to ensure that the youth did not become involved in the drug trade. His organisation is supporting drug abuse and trafficking control programmes in Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Uganda and Zambia.

Backman claimed more people, particularly the jobless, were now involved in trafficking because it was "lucrative".

"If we are not careful, Africa can produce new and many drug addicts," he warned.

## Drug addicts

A study in Tanzania has shown that already five percent of youths in the country are drug addicts.

Many African countries have not ratified UN conventions of 1961, 1971 and 1988 on drug abuse and trafficking. As a result, campaigns against these menaces cannot be successful.

"These conventions give the basis for national legislation. They regulate what drugs shall be controlled," said Backman.

# Welcome waiting on Comores

SA 30/3/91 (1)

**THE accent in the Comores right now is South African.** Urchins who know only French and Comorian call at you from the beaches and the sides of the road. "How are you?" recce-mising you and your companions as the new South Africans, "bearers of gifts", be it in cash pens or soap.

The government, too, looks south down the Mozambique Channel to the RSA for foreign aid expertise and business.

President Said Mohamed Djohar asked last week for more aid from South Africa. The minister in charge of conservation, Said Ali Youssoufi, urged South Africa to help set up conservation programmes.

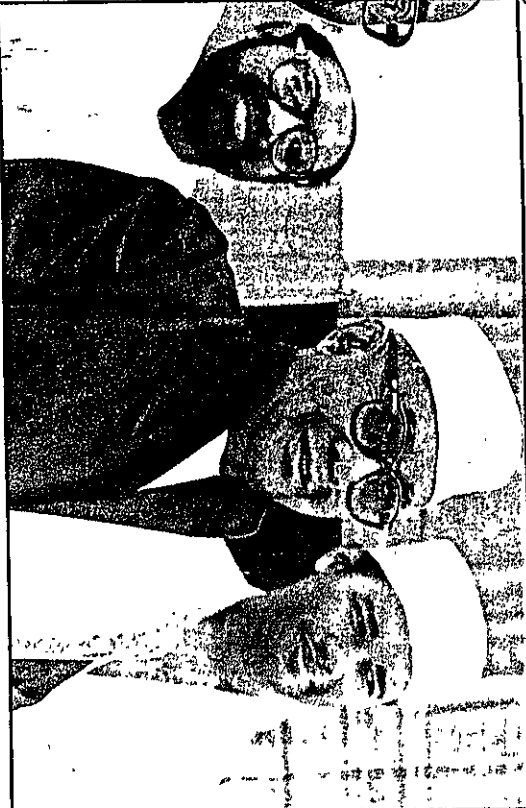
The South Africans are now the "Good Guys" where and when did it start? Just 16 months ago when mercenary boss and godfather Bob Deard was tied to the assassination of President Ahmed Abdallah Abdennour in November 1989.

The South African consul is Marco Boni who, so locals say, played a major role in ridding the islands of Deard.

### Recognition

Mr Boni said in an interview that after the assassination, South Africa had made the running in getting the mercenaries off the island.

"That gave us a tremendous boost and we got final recognition because the Comorians," he said, "After that they were prepared to grant us recognition - in spite of criticism from other countries. We didn't have to buy credibility any more."



LOOKING TO SA: President Said Mohamed Djohar, the Comores leader, hopes for more economic aid, expertise and business from the Republic.

## South Africans the 'good guys' at long last

SA 30/3/91 (1)

### NEVILLE ADLAM

disappointed, though, as they expected a lot more. These points were later emphasised by the president at his headquarters on the island's capital and only port, Moroni.

He said the country needed foreign aid urgently and was looking to South Africa for assistance in establishing institutions and particular-

And SAA has resumed regular flights. Mr Kermer's World Leisure Holiday group was invited by President Djohar to re-start the hotel in a bid to re-appeal vanished tourists.

The La Galawa was operated until January 1990 when Sun International withdrew and placed in the hotel in mothballs.

It has cost World Leisure more than R10 million and six months to re-furnish the building.

## Sheba's throne is part of the island's legend

ACCORDING to legend a Persian expedition visited Grande Comore, the main island in the Comores, in the 10th century to recover the Queen of Sheba's throne from the volcanic crater of Karthala.

It was known too that the ancient Phoenicians and Egyptians came to the islands.

But historians have not been able to even guess at a date.

The first Chiriz or Arab travellers came in the year 583.

Last November a village in Mokaru, a settlement on the lower slopes of Mount Karthala, began an excavation.

He came upon an intact wall in the igneous rock. On investigation by officials from the Moroni museum, the mystery deepened.

Two skeletons were found buried diagonally under the wall, indicating that there must have been another village under the wall.

And a small piece of a ceramic bowl was found, together with some other much smaller pieces



EGYPTIAN CONNECTION: All Mounhamed Gou, technical assistant at the Moroni Museum, with the mysterious 4th century Egyptian relic he found, from another vessel.

logist Richard Holmgren on being shown the relics. He recognised the shard as being 4th century Egyptian.

No one had found evidence before of the Egyptians having ventured so far south.

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have to buy electricity any more."

South Africa's aid programme on the islands tried to introduce the ethic of self-help, playing down the handout mentality, he said.

This showed in the medical aid programme and in the South African experimental farm in the rain forest area of Grande Comores.

Mr Boni saw South Africa as a facilitator in the uplifting of the standards on the islands. The umbilical cord for the Comores was still France, he said, but that did not make sense with South Africa so close by.

"The Comorians now see South Africa as a saviour in a regional sense," he said. They had been

stitutions and particularly small industry.

The president is described as a leader who will usher in a new era to the islands after Denard's 14 years of influence. But he is ruling with a coalition government which makes things difficult, and the International Monetary Fund has put stringent conditions on loans.

As a result President Djohar has had to introduce some unpopular measures in cutting back costs.

Undoubtedly, the biggest happening in the Comores right now is the opening of Sol Kerzner's La Galawa Beach Hotel and Casino on the north of Grande Comores.

lion and six months to refurbish the building.

The re-opening of La Galawa has brought jobs for more than 200 local Comorians — and this number would be increased, World Leisure Holiday's chairman Peter Bacon said.

### Replaced

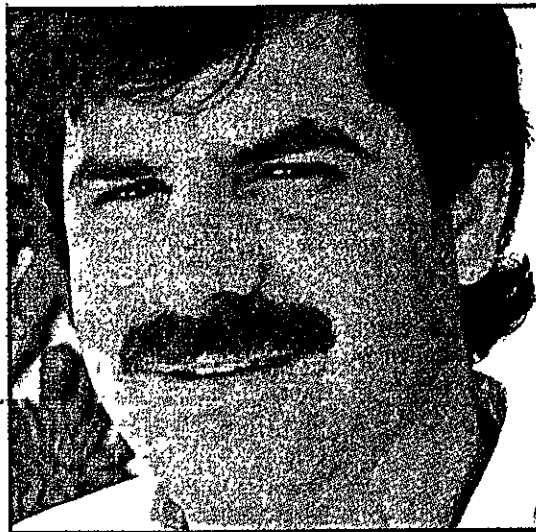
Expatriates in more senior positions would also eventually be replaced by Comorians.

Mr Bacon said apart from the purchasing power of the hotel, the standard of living of the employees would improve. "They will eventually be able to buy consumer goods too, such as motor cycles, even cars and other commodities."

The Indian Ocean is becoming a popular international tourist destination, something which was confirmed by Minister of Tourism Said Ali Youssouf who believes that the Comores's future lies in tourism.

He expects around 65 000 tourists this year, mostly from South Africa. "I see the La Galawa development as the fore-runner to much more ambitious developments across the three islands."

Conservation and the balance of the environment, however, was a big problem. "I would like South Africa to help us in developing ways to protect the islands' ecology."



LEADING FROM THE FRONT: Marco Boni, South Africa's Consul in the Comores.

## 'Le Docteur' lends a hand

ONE of the most popular faces among the islanders in the more remote villages of Grande Comores is a former Stellenbosch graduate.

Monsieur le Docteur, as he is called, is Etienne Kruger, the medical attaché to the South African consulate who spends two days a week in the villages setting up a unique medical service and self-help scheme.

He has been medical attaché for a year. In that time the consulate has sent 25 patients back to South Africa for specialist treatment.

But it is the other side of his work that has attracted attention from other countries — and even from a visiting Ghanaian official.

"Le docteur" visits four villages a week. In each village he has appointed a local with some medical knowledge, such as a nurse, to bring 20 patients to the clinic. *has 30/3/91*

Dr Kruger treats each patient for a nominal of Cfr500 (R5) which is then pooled to buy medicine for the village. All the patients return for check-ups.

This is part of the South African consulate's self-help programme which has been very positively accepted and have sometimes developed almost into a "med-fest" with the children dancing, often singing "Boni! Boni! Boni!" (refer-



'LE DOCTEUR': Etienne Kruger helps the locals each week.

ring to Marco Boni, the South African consul).

"We also send Comorians to South Africa for training in midwifery and other practical medicine areas," he said. Pretoria has also set up similar medical attachés in four other African countries. They are Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland.

BRIEFING

The Star Tuesday April 2 1991 13

# Wind of democracy shakes Africa's trees

**AFRICA'S** two-year-old democracy movement has won its greatest victories with the election defeat of one military dictator in Benin and mass protests that forced the overthrow of another in Mali.

The continent has come a long way since last year, when Gabon's national newspaper declared: "The great winds carrying democracy that have triumphed in Eastern Europe will not shake the coconut trees in Africa."

Other African leaders confronted by the kind of riots and strikes that led to the fall of Mathieu Kerekou of Benin and Moussa Traore of Mali have watched events unfold with trepidation. Some have actively tried to influence the outcome.

In Benin, Mr Kerekou this month became the first president on the continent deposed by the ballot box. Several African governments reportedly sent money to Mr Kerekou in a bid to prevent the precedent his defeat would set.

Voters in Sao Tome and Cape Verde, two former Portuguese colonies off the west African coast, set the stage earlier this year for Mr Kerekou's fall by rejecting their one-party governments for the opposition.

Besides Eastern Europe, dramatic reforms in South Africa have also played a role in the changes sweeping Africa. Nicephore Soglo, Prime Minister of the Benin caretaker government, attributes the success to "a new generation of educated and experienced Africans with very strong convictions about the future of their people, and a rigorous attitude in matters of economic development and the moralisation of public life."

African leaders initially appeared to have found a way to control the revolt that erupted after the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. As in Europe, rebellion was fuelled partly by economic failures linked to corruption

and socialist economics. Thirty-year incumbent President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, the first forced to hold contested presidential elections, was re-elected in November.

But he took several steps to ensure that the odds were stacked heavily in his favour. The opposition said the vote was rigged.

Gabon's President Omar Bongo clings to his title but barely controls the country's National Assembly since the country's first multiparty legislative elections in 22 years last October.

Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, one of the continent's covete of military dictators, was forced in January to

ask opposition leaders to help form an interim government to lead the nation to democracy. This came 11 months after he had promised to install a multiparty democracy.

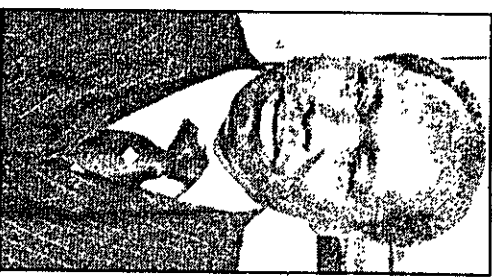
Western governments who propped up Africa's dictators during the Cold War are now tying aid to demands for demobilisation, economic liberalisation and improved human rights records.

The US Congress, for example, cut aid to Zaire despite vehement opposition from President George Bush, whose government supports Angolan rebels based in Zaire. Washington unblocked aid to Kenya last month after it accepted hundreds of Libyan soldiers that US officers had trained to try

to overthrow Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. The US cited an improved human rights record in the country, where soldiers shot and killed pro-democracy protesters to protect President Daniel arap Moi's one-party autocracy.

Newly freed Africans were little disposed to thank the former colonisers. Roman Catholic Archbishop Isidore de Souza of Benin, head of a council overseeing the country's political transition, said: "Who are they to suddenly discover consciences?"

"We consider them as our torturers. First they enslaved us, then they supported regimes that kept us in bondage." — Sapa-AP. □



One-party autocracy... President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya.



favoured  
30igny

# Dictators fall like coconuts

Agul 2/4/91 1

From MICHAEL FAUL  
of Sapa-AP in  
Abidjan, Ivory Coast

**A**FRICA'S two-year-old democracy movement has won its greatest victories with the election defeat of one military dictator in Benin and mass protests that forced the overthrow of another in Mali.

The continent has come a long way since last year, when Gabon's national newspaper declared: "The great winds carrying democracy that have triumphed in Eastern Europe will not shake the coconut trees in Africa."

Only a handful of Africa's 50 governments had permitted any opposition before the democracy movement began. Now 16 governments have grudgingly permitted opposition parties to form or agreed in principle to institute democracy.

Other African leaders confronted by the kind of riots and strikes that led to the fall of Mathieu Kerekou of Benin and Moussa Traore of Mali have watched events unfold with trepidation. Some have actively tried to influence the outcome.

In Benin, Mr Kerekou became the first president on the continent deposed by the ballot box. Mr Nicephore Soglo, prime minister of the caretaker government forced on the former Marxist dictator by riots and strikes, won with 68 percent of votes.

Several African governments reportedly sent money to Mr Kerekou in a bid to prevent the precedent his defeat would set.

Voters in Sao Tome and Cape Verde, two former Portuguese colonies off the West African coast, set the stage earlier this year for Mr Kerekou's fall by rejecting their one-party governments for the opposition.

Besides Eastern Europe, dramatic reforms in South Africa have also played a role in the changes sweeping the continent.

"When the 'Great Satan' of South Africa legalises its opposition and frees its worst enemies, the second-rate dictators elsewhere find themselves very much alone," said the leftist French newspaper, Liberation.

Mr Soglo attributes the success to "a new generation of educated and experienced Africans with very strong convictions about the future of their people, and a rigorous attitude in matters of economic development and the moralisation of public life."

African leaders initially appeared to have found a way to control the revolt that erupted after the collapse of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. As in Europe, rebellion was fueled partly by economic failures linked to corruption and socialist economics.

Thirty-year incumbent President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, the first forced to hold contested presidential elections, was re-elected in November.

But he took several steps to ensure that the odds were stacked heavily in his favour, including scheduling a short campaign that gave the opposition little time to organise, requiring candidates to post huge deposits, tear-gassing opponents' rallies and limiting their access to state TV and radio. The opposition said the vote was rigged.

President Houphouet-Boigny, who is in his late 80s and is the longest-serving leader in Africa, since has tried to set himself above politics. He named a prime minister who has promised to end the corruption that tainted Houphouet-Boigny's administration.

Others have employed delaying tactics, with varying success.

Gabon's President Omar Bongo clings to his title but barely controls the country's national assembly since the country's first multiparty legislative elections in 22 years last October. The assembly has been blocking his budget. President Bongo does not have to face an election battle until his seven-year term expires in 1993.

Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko, one of the continent's coterie of military dictators, was forced in January to ask opposition leaders to help form an interim government to lead the nation to democracy. This came 11 months after he promised to install a multiparty democracy, following months of strikes and unprecedented pressure from Western allies.

Western governments who propped up Africa's dictators during the Cold War now are tying aid to demands for democratisation, economic liberalisation and improved human rights records. But their own interests come first.

The United States Congress, for example, cut aid to Zaire despite vehement opposition from President Bush, whose government supports Angolan rebels based in Zaire.

Washington unblocked aid to Kenya in February after it accepted hundreds of Libyan soldiers that American officers had trained to try to overthrow Colonel Gaddafi. The United States cited an improved human rights record in the country, where soldiers shot and killed pro-democracy protesters to protect President Daniel Arap Moi's one-party autocracy.

Roman Catholic Archbishop Isidore de Souza of Benin, head of a council overseeing the country's political transition, said: "Who are they to suddenly discover consciences? We consider them as our torturers. First they enslaved us, then they supported regimes that kept us in bondage."

# World Bank recolonising Africa, say economists

South Africa - 10/4/91.

LEADING African economists, including officials of the Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), have criticised World Bank policies, calling them "recolonialisation of the continent".

They accused the industrialised countries of extending and tightening their control of the world economy in general and the national economies of the developing countries, including the African countries through the World Bank and the IMF, and increasingly through an overpowering new GATT agreement. The unanimously endorsed statement pointed out to the following:

- Although the World Bank agreed that development strategies for Africa should be based on the need for human-centred development and regional cooperation, this was not reflected in the bank's programmes;

- The participants criticised specially the Bank's Long Term Perspective Study (LTPS), whereas Africa's own long term plans were opposed by the World Bank, stating these were less informed and have failed disastrously;

- African governments should reject World Bank policies to secure their independence and sovereignty in choosing their own development path.

Despite a range of debt initiatives over the past few years, the total stock of Africa's debt has continued to rise and annual debt servicing costs have eased only marginally, according to recent World Bank and Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) figures.

The World Bank's "World Debt Tables 1990-91" projected sub-Saharan Africa's debt at R403bn in 1990, an increase of more than nine percent over the R368bn of the previous year.

The ECA estimated that debt for all of Africa had risen to R678bn in 1990, 4,6 percent higher than the year before. —  
**THIRD WORLD ECONOMICS**

An African columnist points a finger at self-righteous accusers

# Forget SA, what about Ghana?

Star 5/14/71

**A**FRICAN leaders have been called on by a widely read African columnist to match the challenge from reformist South Africa and put their own houses in order.

Referring to the demands for universal suffrage in South Africa, Baffour Ankamah notes that he does not have a vote in his own country of Ghana.

Ankamah writes a regular column, "Baffour's Beefs", in the news magazine *New African*, which is published in London and has probably the largest circulation in Africa of any English-language magazine of this kind.

In the latest issue he says an important lesson of the Gulf War is that any people who cannot stand up and question the acts of their political leaders do not have a future.

Africans, like the Iraqis, "have allowed our leaders to do whatever

er they please, so much so that President Museveni of Uganda, the current Organisation of African Unity chairman, can attend the summit of the OAU ad hoc committee on southern Africa in Harare this February and say without remorse that President de Klerk's promises to abolish the last pillars of apartheid in June are not enough."

## Abolished

Ankamah recalls that Mr Museveni said Mr de Klerk's reforms did not amount to "profound and irreversible" change and that he must appoint a constituent assembly before sanctions could be lifted.

President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, on the other hand, had found the changes deserving of support, but said they had still not given the majority of South Africans a vote. Ankamah says apartheid is un-

doubtedly an insult to civilisation and must be abolished, but this cannot be done in a day. There must first be negotiations leading to a legal framework.

"And, despite the oppression that has gone on, the fears of South Africa's five million whites will have to be addressed. All of this will take some time to accomplish."

Meanwhile, it should be asked whether black South Africans are the only ones who do not have the vote, says Ankamah.

"Does Africa need to sweep the other ills afflicting the continent under the carpet simply because we want justice for black South Africans?"

Pointing out that as a Ghanaian he has not had a vote for the past 10 years, Mr Ankamah says: "Would someone please tell me whether I also need a vote like my oppressed brothers in South Africa, or even whether my head of state has the moral right to de-

mand of De Klerk a vote for black South Africans?"

Ugandans at present have no vote, says Ankamah. He asks why Mr Museveni does not do the same for his own country as he is demanding from Mr de Klerk.

"De Klerk was elected to power in 1989, Museveni shot his way to power in 1986 — which of the two men today should point an accusing finger at the other?"

Ankamah asks why Mr Mugabe does not demand of Mr Museveni a vote for the Ugandans as he is demanding of Mr de Klerk a vote for black South Africans.

He accuses African countries of hypocrisy in overtly supporting sanctions against South Africa while covertly breaching them.

"If African governments have no qualms in busting sanctions against Pretoria," he asks, "do we have the moral right to ask the rest of the world to maintain sanctions?" — *Star Africa* Service. □



# Waiting for the first tree to fall

William Sly - 11/4/91

**T**ELL the Ghanaians you're from South Africa, and you'll immediately be greeted with cries of "Mandela! Mandela!" Tell people from Ivory Coast the same thing and you'll be met with "De Klerk! De Klerk!"

Popular attitudes in these two neighbouring West African countries perhaps best sum up African responses towards the resive giant in the south. "We didn't necessarily plan it this way," says Olu Ounika, the Nigerian High Commissioner to Ghana. "but Africa seems to be adopting a two-pronged strategy towards South Africa: some countries, like Ghana and Nigeria, are egging on the African National Congress, while others, like Ivory Coast and Gabon, are prodding De Klerk and the government."

While Ghana and Nigeria refuse to have anything to do with South Africa until a democratic government is in place, Ivory Coast is already rewarding De Klerk by encouraging trade and hinting that diplomatic relations are round the corner. "These two approaches work together like a carrot-and-stick policy," says Ounika. Call it a carrot-and-stick policy or call it schizophrenia. In Burkina Faso, slogans like "Shame to apartheid" are painted in official red all over the walls, but Grapetser is freely available in the stores along Nelson Mandela Boulevard, the main drag of Burkina's capital, Ouagadougou. In Ghana, a government representative warns that there will be dire consequences for any Ghanaian national who does business with the oppressive racist regime, and then pulls you aside after the "official" interview to ask about job opportunities down south.

There are already an estimated 4 000 Ghanaians in South Africa, even though Ghanaian passports forbid their holders to enter the country; they get jobs in the "independent" homelands and then slip over the non-existent borders when their contracts expire. There is, of course, nothing new to African doubletalk when it comes to South Africa: South Africa has been trading with many African countries for years, and there is open acknowl-

African states are displaying a two-pronged strategy towards South Africa: while OAU policy is to wait until a new government is in place, many countries — like the Ivory Coast — feel the time is right to come south.

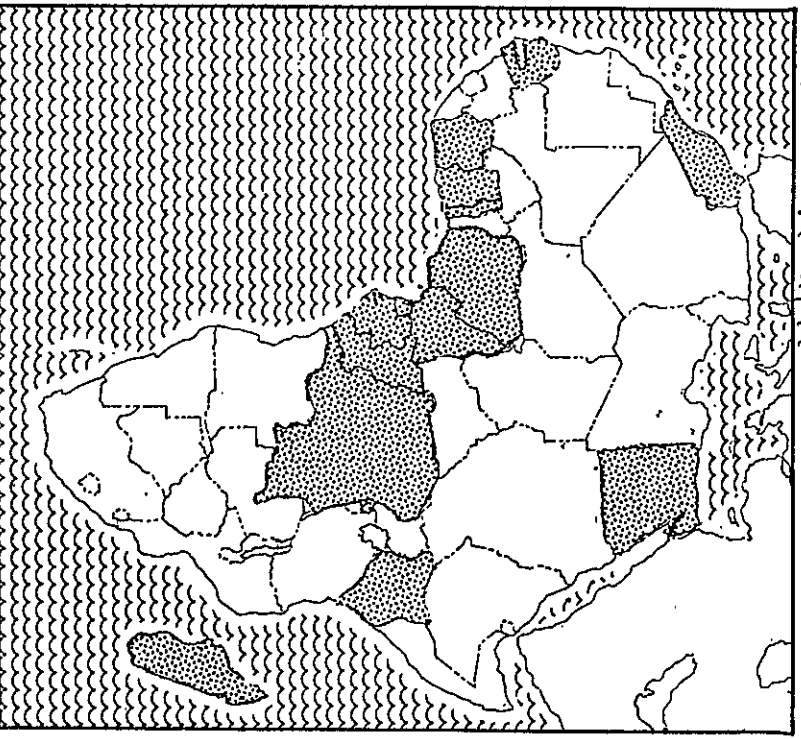
**BY MARK GEVISSER**

edgement throughout this ravaged continent that, reviled as apartheid is, South Africa is a resource — of food, of jobs and of technology — that just cannot be ignored.

And something has happened, almost concurrently with the unbanning of the African National Congress, that is pushing African countries even closer to reconciliation with South Africa. Socialist Eastern Europe has collapsed, leaving many states without aid from either East or West: the former will no longer fund Marxist experiments in the Third World, and the latter has turned its gaze — and money — eastwards. There is a scramble away from Africa now, as aid organisations in Western Europe and North America pump billions into Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

At present, Malawi is the only African nation that has full diplomatic ties with South Africa, but talks between the Department of Foreign Affairs and other Organisation of African Unity (OAU) states are beginning to reach a frenzied pitch. "Many of us feel the time is right," said a Senegalese diplomat, "but we are just waiting for the first tree to fall."

That tree seems to be Ivory Coast. While the only South Africans one meets in Ghana are black exiled ANC members studying at university, the South Africans one meets in Ivory Coast seem to be white representatives of the government. South Africans do not need a visa to visit the country, there is an SAA office (direct flights from Jan Smuts to Abidjan started this week), an official South African trade representative with more than 40 Ivorian clients — and Colin Paterson. As South Africa's representative in



Scramble for Africa — These are the countries (not including the frontline states) that South Africa has had contact with in its quest to reopen diplomatic ties: Morocco, Sao Tome e Principe, Egypt, Cape Verde, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Comoros, Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Zaire, Rwanda, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique. Paterson was critical in brokering the Nkomati Accord — the thin edge of the wedge of African relations with South Africa. He is now the government's troubleshooter in the west; an ambassador in all but name, with all the diplomatic trappings — black Mercedes, consular home in the plush Cocody neighbourhood of Abidjan — but not the immunity. "My brief is to look for areas of possible co-operation in the future," he says. At the request of Ivory Coast, he has already set up a game park project: a Parks Board official from the Kruger National Park, Johan van Graan, is responsible for developing the 5 000ha Abokoua Mekro Park near the capital

of Yamassoukro, where President Felix Houphouet-Boigny has created a park like the world's largest cathedral — that makes Mamabatho and Bishopo look like dusty plaitland dots. Already, the South African Parks Board has delivered six elephants and two rhinos to the Ivory Coast. Paterson also hopes to stimulate a tourist trade between the two countries. Ivory Coast does have much to offer, the South African tourist: a magnificent coastline, a rich culture of craft and dance, and Abidjan — "the Paris of West Africa" — where you can sit at a sidewalk cafe, sipping an espresso and munching on a baguette amidst the

skyscrapers, or nip over the lagoon into Treichville and encounter Africa at its most vibrant — and squallid. "Very few South African tourists come here at present," says Paterson, "and those who do usually jump off the aeroplane straight into the Club Med bus." But those South African tourists and businessmen who do come to Ivory Coast, he says, find an infrastructure much like that at home: five-star hotels, excellent highways and facilities. "Imagine what Sol Kerzner could do here!" The major problem is that import duty and taxation prohibit extensive trade and marketing. "But my job here is to identify problems like that and find ways of overcoming them." And it appears that Houphouet-Boigny's government, in severe financial crisis, has seen the good of encouraging foreign trade and is beginning to rationalise the system. It is clear that Paterson's unspoken mission is to lay the ground for full diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Ivory Coast. Houphouet-Boigny is on very cordial terms with President FW de Klerk and the South African president's visit to the Ivory Coast last year has made him something of a hero in most Ivorians' eyes. But while its West African neighbours wait for the Ivory Coast tree to "fall" so that they can follow suit, Houphouet-Boigny, who is already unpopular with more radical neighbours like Ghana and Burkina Faso, is being very cautious not to upset the forest. For the moment, at least, he seems to be following official OAU policy — of no ties with South Africa until a new government is in place — in word if not in deed. And while many countries are eager to re-establish links with South Africa, there is fear of a second wave of colonisation from the rich, white south. "We are independent countries," says Ghana's Minister of Trade and Tourism, Hanuh Yahaya, "and, particularly given our history, we have created mechanisms that protect us from foreign exploitation. If South Africa comes west, it will be on our terms."

Ken Vernon reports on an economist who scorns ideas of an Africa

# It'll be every country f

SKV 8/4/91

**D**R Christopher Coker is a political economist who takes delight in setting fiscal cats among cosy economical pigeons.

At a recent Swaziland conference he let loose just such a cat, but the pigeons — who had gathered to coo over the prospect of South Africa joining a southern African common market — chose to ignore the feline, perhaps to their eventual cost.

Several hundred leading South African businessmen and assorted economic fundis had gathered at the conference to hear several dozen leading African businessmen and assorted economic fundis explain how imperative it was for South Africa to rejoin Africa so that it could present a common front to the (European) Common Market.

But Dr Coker splashed cold water on their snowballing enthusiasm by suggesting such a union would not be to South Africa's advantage — or to southern Africa's. He suggested that in the run-up

to the 21st century, the seemingly bottomless Western purse that had paid Africa's way for so long would be adopting a more "Darwinian" (survival of the fittest) approach to foreign aid — "In which bilateral aid (and investment) will once again favour those countries that are most able to produce immediate returns on investment."

"For southern Africa, the 20th century came to an end in November 1989 when the Berlin Wall came down," he said, adding that he did not think the West would be very interested in Africa in the future.

Instead, he said, the focus would be on the "frontline" states on the West's doorstep. Russian and/or Albanian rather than Zambian and/or Mozambican development would instead occupy its time and money.

Dr Coker pointed out that this trend had already begun, with European Community funding for southern Africa having fallen by 30 percent in the past year — and

still falling. At present, southern Africa accounted for less than 1.5 percent of Britain's exports, and less than 1 percent of imports.

On the other hand, Eastern Europe at present received \$28 (about R75) a head of population from the EC, compared with \$16 (R43) a head for southern Africa.

He argued that sanctions had merely accelerated a trend of disinvestment in the area as a whole by Western companies. Added to the almost complete end of investment/aid by Eastern Europe, this meant that southern Africa was becoming very "marginalised" in world economic terms.

What money there is will be invested according to hard-nosed financial criteria only, and, according to Dr Coker, that boils down to South Africa — possibly including Namibia.

In other words, the conscience money is about to dry up.

He said his impression was that European businessmen and government officials felt they had supported the area for 25 years, that

nevertheless the area had got itself into a disastrous economic predicament, and they felt no responsibility for that predicament.

To the layman, that would seem to indicate that regional unity or co-operation of some kind was imperative. Not so, says Dr Coker.

Once again, he points out that just as aid and investment will follow hard-nosed financial criteria toward bilateral agreements between buyer and seller countries, scarcity of aid and investment resources will lead countries that are able to do so to make individual deals for their exclusive benefit.

This would be the case, he argues, no matter what the colour of any future South African government — and once again in Dr Coker's eyes, it is only South Africa that stands up as an investment opportunity in purely economic criteria.

If South Africa were to join in any southern African common economic organisation that broke down regional barriers, the only

result would be services, skilled per Africa for

Dr Coke idea that aboard, s "take off"

Instead, would take back to w ago.

"We are glonal dev rehabilitat the '80s," he

He estim port earnin was expect ing terms material-ex the develop

A post-C drive much wanting to. A further earnings w repayments

**Not entitled to protection?**

I have read some strange editorial comment in my time. The Star editorial, "Great of Dunkeld" (March 25), the biscuit. What you are fact saying is that the res of Dunkeld are not entitled to protect themselves against berry, murder and maybe cause the robbers and m bers are likely to be blacl mind boggles.

Your final paragraph equally fatuous: "Crime ways be with us, but in th reducing its incidence w helped by achieving a m utable society." Quite would suggest, in the li this, that the residents of keld be allowed to build protective walls, which can pull down when the dence of crime has abal about 300 years.

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Letters to the editor should be sent to Box 61682, Mail Town 2107 (fax 836-839). Your letter stands a chance of publication if written over your own name. You feel you must use the plume, please tell us. Letters must in any event signed and full address given.

# Comores will spend R100m to gear up for tourist boom

*Alpan*  
11/4/91 ZILLA EFRA *(27)* *(1)*

THE government of the Comores, and other private interests, would spend between R100m and R150m on infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications and airport facilities over the next five years to meet the growth in tourism, special adviser to the Comores President Mohamed Mchangama said yesterday.

Mchangama is in SA for a week on a fact-finding mission to review co-operation between the two countries and to outline the development strategy of his country and the possibilities it offers SA investors.

One area of potential is the tourist industry, set to be the Comores' major income generator within two years.

Mchangama said he expected a bilateral commission to be set up between the two countries.

His comments followed weekend reports that Sol Kerzner's World Leisure would spend R150m on a new hotel there and on expanding its Le Galawa Beach resort.

Mchangama said joint venture opportunities between SA and the Comores, which had a liberal investment code, existed in food processing, flower production, textiles and agriculture.

# Disastrous impact of colonialism explored

Sowetan 18/4/91

1



Colonisation left Africa in economic and cultural crisis. Walter Rodney explains why in his newly reissued classic *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, which is now in its eighth printing. The book, published by Howard University Press, is a necessity for any African history student, writes MOKGADI PELA.

**THE** invasion of Africa by European colonialists destroyed cultural institutions and reversed the economic development of the entire continent.

That is the striking message by the highly respected Guyanese scholar, historian and activist Dr Walter Rodney in his evergreen classic *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

To research the book, Rodney gave up lucrative contracts overseas to live in Tanzania.

Another consequence of colonialism which he wonderfully illustrated in the book was Africa's loss of power.

## Serious

He emphasises that when one society relinquishes power to another, underdevelopment occurs.

Tunisian Albert Memmi said the most serious blow suffered by the colonised was being removed from history, for the power to act independently is the guarantee to participate actively and consciously in history.

In explaining the effects of colonialism he said: "African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers.

"When that happened, exploitation increased and the export surplus ensued, depriving the societies of the benefit of their natural resources and labour. That is an integral part of underdevelopment in the contemporary sense.

## Exploitation

"Actually, if underdevelopment were related to anything except comparing economies, then the most underdeveloped country in the world would be the USA, which practices external oppression on a massive scale, while internally there is a blend of exploitation, brutality and psychiatric disorder."

He adds colonialism is nothing but "foreign investments" by the metropolitan powers.

Showing the connection between capitalism and slavery in the growth of England, Eric Williams in his well-known book *Capitalism and Slavery* identified personalities and firms which benefited from the process.

Outstanding examples were David and Alexander Barclay, who were engaging in slave trade in 1756 and who later used the loot to set up Barclays Bank.

There was a similar progression in the case of Lloyds, which went from being a small London coffee house to one of the world's largest banking and insurance

houses after dipping into profits from slave trade.

Rodney said it was mistakenly held that Europeans enslaved blacks for racist rather than economic reasons.

## Colonial

Rodney said when colonial governments seized Africa, they achieved two things simultaneously. They satisfied their own citizens (who wanted mining concessions or farming land) and they created conditions whereby landless blacks had to work not just to pay taxes but also to survive.

In settler areas like Kenya and Zimbabwe, the colonial governments also prevented blacks from growing cash crops so that their labour would be available directly for the whites.

One of Kenya's white settlers, Colonel Grogan, put it bluntly when he said of the Kikuyu: "We have stolen his land. Now we must steal his limbs. Compulsory labour is the corollary of our occupation of the country."

Rodney said attention had to be drawn to the stunting effects of colonialism on blacks as a physical species.

## Propaganda

"Colonialism created conditions which led not just to periodic famine, but to chronic undernourishment. If such a statement sounds wildly extravagant, it is only because bourgeois propaganda has conditioned even blacks to believe that malnutrition and starvation were the natural lot of black people from time immemorial.

"A black child with a transparent rib cage, huge head, bloated stomach, protruding eyes was the favourite poster of the large British charitable known as Oxfam.

"Oxfam called upon Euro-

peans to save starving children from kwashiorkor and such ills. Oxfam never bothered to tell them that capitalism and colonialism created the starvation and misery of the child in the first place."

There is an excellent study of the phenomenon of hunger on a world scale by a Brazilian scientist, Josue de Castro, which indicates that black people's diet was previously more varied, being based on a more diversified agriculture than was possible under colonialism.

Researchers who studied blacks in tropical Africa were unanimous in stating that they showed no clinical signs of dietary deficiency.

## Physiques

One of the most striking indications of the superiority of black people's diet was the magnificent condition of their teeth.

One researcher studying six ethnic groups in Kenya could not find a single case of tooth decay. But when those same people were transplanted and put on the "civilised" diet available under colonialism, their teeth began to decay.

To clinch the argument that colonialism deteriorated blacks physically and hence mentally, it is useful to refer to those Africans who until today have maintained their own pattern of existence.

The physiques of the pastoral Masai, Galla, Ankoli, Batutsi and Somali is superb.

Their endurance is so great that they have become the objects of scientific research to discover why they do so much better than "well-fed" capitalists who are collapsing from heart disease.

After reading the last page of this masterpiece, I can only advise every student of history to get a copy of this book.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fyni  
All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Star 22/4/91

# US blacks urged to forge ties with Africa

By Ramsay Milne  
Foreign Service

NEW YORK — Many black Americans, says the Rev Leon Sullivan, have long been ashamed of Africa and their African heritage — an attitude he is determined to confront at a four-day conference he has organised in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, this week.

It will be the first such "African, African-American summit".

Mr Sullivan (68) is best known for his introduction of the "Sullivan Code" of conduct for American corporations doing business in South Africa and has been in the forefront of the US disinvestment campaign.

He hopes the conference, which he says is the largest of its kind ever held, will encourage

black Americans to discover their rich heritage and stimulate support for African economic development at a time when American interest in the continent seems to be waning.

One means of addressing the problem, he says, is to strengthen the involvement of black Americans in the affairs of Africa.

Among those attending the conference are the Rev Jesse Jackson and William Gray, a Pennsylvania Democrat and House majority whip.

African leaders attending the conference include President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast, President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda.

Gerald L'Ange examines future ties between South Africa and Nigeria

# Poised at gates of West Africa

Star 2/14/91

MA ①  
MS

**NIGERIA'S** High Commissioner in Botswana, Mustafa Zubairu, does not envisage his government establishing full diplomatic relations with Pretoria until universal suffrage is in place in South Africa.

But he does not rule out the possibility of other exchanges developing between the two countries in the meantime, provided the process of abolishing apartheid continues.

In an interview in Gaborone Mr Zubairu said the opening of relations with a post-apartheid South Africa could benefit not only Nigeria but all of Africa.

"With your developed industries and technology you have many things to offer to West Africa," he said. And West Africa could offer many products to South Africa.

"I'm sure South Africa would love to buy our oil." Asked whether he could envis-

age close political and economic co-operation between Nigeria and South Africa, Mr Zubairu said: "In the long run, yes, I can see that as a real prospect."

There could be similar co-operation between South Africa and other relatively wealthy African countries such as Egypt and Algeria, he said.

He accepted that as an African country South Africa was better placed than non-African countries, geographically as well as through first-hand experience of African conditions, to meet the technical and other needs of the continent.

"I think all of us agree that the whites in South Africa are Africans. For decades now we have all agreed on that. But we don't want them to practise apartheid because by doing so they show they are not African. If you are an African you have no fear of the other Africans who are in the

same country as yourself.

"Although I don't want to disparage the European nations it is true that some machinery they sold to us was unsuitable. But if South Africa gave us good machinery all would benefit, especially as we have a big internal market of 80 million or more people."

Mr Zubairu thought there would be a specially heavy demand in Nigeria for South African medical and veterinary products.

Nigeria, he said, could serve as a distribution point for South African products throughout West Africa.

"By selling something to Nigeria you are also selling it to other countries. It will filter through to Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, Ghana, the Central African Republic."

On the crucial issue of when apartheid will be judged to have

been abolished, Mr Zubairu said the basic criterion in his view would be the institution of a one-man-one-vote system. He said he could not say whether his government would insist on that condition being met before it agreed to establish full diplomatic relations.

However, he believed many countries in Africa would like to encourage President de Klerk — "a very honest and courageous person" — in his reforms. If he maintained the momentum of reform it would be sufficient reason for the opening of new exchanges with South Africa.

Asked for his views on the continuing violence in South Africa, he said he could not see why the Government could not stop it.

"Any government can stop violence in its territory. The onus is on the government in Nigeria any violence can be stopped by our government easily." □

## African bank considers granting SA membership

ABIDJAN — The African Development Bank was studying changes in SA with a view to granting that country future membership of Africa's top lending institution, a senior bank official said yesterday.

"We are aware of the evolution in SA... and we are watching it closely," the bank's secretary-general Alioune Blondin Beye told reporters at a news conference.

He was responding to a question of whether SA would be invited to the bank's annual meeting next month.

He said it was "not yet the political view of Africa" to have SA join the bank.

But African Development Bank sources have said president Babacar N'Diaye favours eventual membership.

6/10/84 (23/4/91)  
LIES

The sources said it was possible SA would have observers at the bank's annual meeting from May 7 to May 9 in the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan, but that SA bankers would be present at the meeting.

Participation in the African Development Bank would be a major step forward in the process of cementing ties between black Africa and SA.

Beye said the bank last year granted loans totalling a record \$3bn to 157 projects.

He said 27% of the money had been channelled into agricultural projects, 23% into public utilities, and 17% into transport.

Another 15% of the loans went to industry, 10% to health and education and 8% to regional needs.

Beye said up to 1,500 people were expected to attend the African Development Bank's annual meeting. One of the main orders of business would be setting a new five-year programme for the bank, he said. Sapa-Renter

# SA 'must consider weaker countries'

Star Africa Service

HARARE — South Africa must avoid the temptation to dominate all regional decisions and show special sensitivity to the needs and concerns of weaker countries in southern Africa, leading businessmen were told yesterday.

The director-general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, Professor John Barratt, said there was a real threat that SA's economy would grow stronger at the expense of others.

He was addressing 300 delegates from 20 countries attending a convention on southern Africa called "The Challenge of the 90s" organised by the Zimbabwe division of the Institute of Directors.

Earlier, Zimbabwe's Minister of Industry and Commerce Kumbirai Kangai had said a free South Africa would take its rightful place in the region in the 1990s.

The listing as a delegate at the conference of the head of the SA Trade Mission in Harare, Nico Nel, is another indication of the new openness between Pretoria and black Africa.

Mr Barratt warned in his keynote address that

some countries were expecting too much from a post-apartheid SA.

The economic and social needs of the majority of SA's own population were increasing daily.

He said, however, that Pretoria had a responsibility to help in resolving conflicts which it had helped to promote and to assist in repairing war-damaged economies.

President de Klerk appeared to be seeking a new pattern of regional relations but there was a fear that SA could be trying to revive in another form its idea of a "constellation of southern African states" once proposed by P W Botha.

At this stage, when the process of transformation was far from complete, other states in the region would hold back from any idea of formal inter-governmental arrangements.

However, trade was growing and bilateral relations had improved.

Mr Barratt added: "One must hope that by the middle of the decade the transition will have taken place in SA and we shall then be able to look more clearly at the probable future course of events in our region."



# Subcontinent 'key to growth of Africa'

Star 23/4/91



By Robin Drew  
Star Africa Service

HARARE — The key to reversing Africa's disastrous economic record lay in concentrating on the development of southern Africa, which was a region with the potential for success, Dr David Owen, former leader of Britain's Social Democratic Party, said yesterday.

A former foreign secretary in the Labour Government, Dr Owen flew back to Britain yesterday, cutting short his visit to Zimbabwe following speculation that he had been offered a post by Prime Minister John Major. Dr Owen would not comment on the reports.

He was a keynote speaker at the two-day conference of the Zimbabwe division of the Institute of Directors which opened yesterday in Harare and is being attended by 300 delegates from 20 countries.

The conference is debating challenges facing southern Africa in the Nineties.

He said the most significant event of recent years was the shift towards a market economy, irrespective of ideology, which had gathered momentum in a remarkable way since 1989.

Southern Africa should learn from the experiences of Europe and



Dr David Owen, former leader of Britain's Social Democratic Party.

work to quickly develop an internal market.

It was vital to get people to understand the importance of the market economy and a pluralist democracy to enable development to go in the right direction.

In the South African dialogue it was necessary for the economy, industry and trade to be given as high a priority as constitutional change. A rapid move towards a market economy was of the utmost importance.

Without sustained economic growth it would be that much harder to finance the improvements needed in the social infrastructure.



Fall predicted . . . Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam. Picture: AP



Home-made gas masks . . . Eritrean guerrillas have in the past accused Ethiopian government forces of using what they said was Soviet-bloc nerve gas against them.

# Rampant rebels close in on Addis Ababa

AP 23/4/91

①

**THREE WEEKS** at the outside, said a senior Western diplomat in Addis Ababa recently. "That's what I give the present lot."

Predictions of the fall of Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia have been made before, and the once-Marxist president has proved durable to — for many — a disappointing degree.

But as Tigrayan and Eritrean rebels score consistent victories against government forces, there is a distinct sense in Addis Ababa that the centre cannot hold.

Rebel forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), a coalition led by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), now threaten the capital from the north and the west.

They are not yet within striking distance of Addis Ababa, but if either Ambo to the west, or Debre Birhan to the north, fall, the road to the capital will be open and the probably bloody end of the Mengistu regime almost inevitable. No one in Addis Ababa is looking forward to the chaos that will attend its fall.

**Tenacious** Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam has clung to power over the years despite relentless opposition. But now a senior Western diplomat predicts that end of the once Marxist president's bloody regime is almost inevitable.

The success of the Tigrayan rebels this year has astounded the country. On February 23 they launched "Operation Teodoros" (named after a folk hero, Emperor Theodore), within days they captured the western province of Gojam. This month they came south of the Blue Nile for the first time. On April 1, Nekemte, six hours' drive from the capital, fell.

In Eritrea, rebels of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) are besieging 100 000 troops in the Keren-Asmera enclave, but they have little hope of storming it. The drama in Eritrea has switched to the

port of Aseb, Addis Ababa's only outlet to the Red Sea and the channel for fuel imports, now held by 40 000 government troops.

On April 6, Beytul, 50 km west of Aseb, fell to the EPLF. The road between Aseb and Addis Ababa is often cut. But it is hard to see the rebels winning here as long as the government has control of the air.

However, aviation fuel and spares are in short supply and Moscow is pulling out fast. The morale of the 350 000 government troops is also low.

The TPLF is now developing the structure of a conventional army. Its tactics involve infiltrating a town, announcing itself as liberator from the Mengistu regime, and leaving. Government forces "recapture" the town, looting and raping as they do so, then rebels retake the town with local support.

The rebels' strategy appears to be to encircle the capital at long range. Their next objective could be the coffee-growing centre of Jimma, or they may opt for a thrust up the Ambo road into the capital. — The Independent News Service. □



Prisoners of war . . . Ethiopian captives are taken back to their camp in rebel-held Ayteray Valley in Eritrea after a day's work. Tigrayan and Eritrean rebels have been scoring consistent victories against government forces. Picture: Associated Press

# SA may be invited to join African Development Bank

star 23/4/91  
ABIDJAN — The African Development Bank (ADB) is studying changes in South Africa with a view to future membership of Africa's top lending institution.

"We are aware of the evolution in South Africa and are watching it closely," ADB secretary-general Alioune Blondin Beye told the media yesterday when asked if Pretoria would be invited to the bank's annual general meeting next month.

He said it was "not yet the political view of Africa" to have South Africa join the ADB.

But ADB sources have said the bank's president, Babacar

N'Diaye, favours eventual membership for South Africa.

The sources said it was possible SA would have observers at the meeting on May 7-9 in the Ivory Coast capital of Abidjan or that South African bankers would be present.

Participation in the ADB would be a major step forward in the process of cementing ties between black Africa and South Africa.

Mr Beye said up to 1 500 people were expected to attend the ADB's annual general meeting and that one of the main orders of business would be setting a new five-year programme for the bank. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Great goodwill towards SA in Africa - Rupert

By Paula Fray <sup>Star</sup> 23/4/91

There was enormous goodwill towards South Africa among African leaders, Dr Anton Rupert told the regional congress of the Federation of Hotel, Liquor and Catering Associations of SA (Fedhasa) in Vanderbijlpark yesterday.

He said South Africans had the responsibility to explore the new climate positively: "The opportunities are immense and all we need now is peace."

There were great opportunities in tourism, the fastest growing industry in the world, with a R10 trillion turnover, employing 100 million people.

Dr Rupert said South Africa had the infrastructure, culture, the climate and the variety to attract world tourists.

Southern Sun Holdings Group MD Ron Stringfellow said the hospitality industry had been badly affected by the Gulf War.

He said there was a surplus of hotel accommodation in the country.

Star 24/4/91 (1)

## EC move 'premature, inappropriate'

UNITED NATIONS — African ambassadors yesterday condemned the European Community's decision to end a five-year ban on buying gold coins, iron and steel from South Africa.

Nigerian Ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, head of the General Assembly's Special Committee Against Apartheid, said the EC decision was premature and "counter-productive at this stage of development in South Africa".

"Neither the conditions for negotiations in a peaceful en-

vironment have been established, nor agreement ... on the mechanisms to be employed for the preparation of a new constitution," he said.

"Many political prisoners are still in jail and political exiles have not yet been permitted to return without restrictions," Mr Gambari said.

"The eradication of apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa is still far on the horizon," he said.

Ghanaian Ambassador Kofi Awoonor criticized the EC

and the impending visit of UK Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd to South Africa.

"These signals are wrong for the process in the country," said Mr Awoonor, chairman of the General Assembly's subcommittee on the Implementation of the UN Resolutions and Sanctions against South Africa.

"I don't know whether the EC is gauging the level of difficulties that are being encompassed, that are being felt within the process in the country," he said. — Sapa-AP.

Savers  
'ripped off'

in African states

PARIS — Internal debt — money states owe to banks and firms — will dominate a meeting today of Franc Zone finance ministers in the Burkina Faso capital of Ouagadougou.

The twice-yearly forum will study ways of reducing the debt, but analysts say the problem will not go away.

"It's morally unacceptable, a rip-off by the state of the whole population," said one diplomat.

13 countries

The Zone groups France's dependent territories, Comoros and 13 countries in west and central Africa — Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.

In some of these African states, the internal debt is bigger than the headline-grabbing external variety.

While this is not the case with two of the biggest francophone countries in the area, Cameroun and Ivory Coast, the figures are still huge.

Cameroun has internal debt put by one monetary source at \$1.7 billion and Ivory Coast's figure is \$2 billion, between 15 and 20 percent of gross domestic product.

Internal debt comes mainly from borrowing by the state from the banks it controls. The borrowing is not repaid, so banks are left with liabilities but no cash to repay deposits.

"The monetary counterpart does not exist," the diplomat said. "This amounts to a forced 100 percent taxation of all savings."

Alternatively, the state fails to pay for goods and services it has procured.

"That is also a kind of forced taxation on companies. It's destroying companies."

One factor behind recent riots in Mali was the frustration of people who for years have tried to get their savings from state banks, which often did not have the cash, the diplomat said. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE MARGINALISATION OF A CONTINENT

FM 26/4/91

# ESCAPING THE TENDER TRAP

AFRICAN ECONOMIC REGENERATION MUST COME FROM WITHIN

The curious thing about Western attitudes towards the poor and starving in the Soviet Union and Africa, despite the similarity of their plight, is that the former are taken very seriously while the Africans have, in their own words, been "marginalised." Both, of course, have been the victims of failed government and varying degrees of totalitarianism. The difference is that the Soviets appear to have realised that their deprivations have been self-inflicted through collectivist planning that rewards the indolent in greater proportion than it does the enterprising. The reaction has been to demand both instant

capitalism and more regional political autonomy.

Africa, for its part, appears to cling stubbornly to the only political economy it knows, based on liberal myth, bureaucratic injunction and naked dictatorship. In short, that amounts to Africa blaming everyone else — but especially the World Bank and IMF — for not providing it with the means of perpetuating its own indigence.

Or certainly one could be forgiven that view after reading the lengthy statement produced after a four-day workshop in January in Addis Ababa. It was aimed at examin-

ing what is euphemistically called Africa's development crisis. More than 40 specialists participated, including those from leading African trade unions, the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the Organisation of African Unity.

The *FM* is indebted to the Institute of African Alternatives, a London-based study group which now has a Johannesburg office, for a copy of that statement. The institute, which we suspect would itself endorse the statement's sentiments, nevertheless believes that Africa's economic problems are so serious that the broadest possible examination

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Continue →

corporations, the global perspective of which is believed to clash with the need for domestic job preservation and the under-utilisation of capacity.

And, of course, there is reflected too the deep resentment at the refusal of the bank or IMF to countenance the overvaluation of domestic currencies, which are patently to the benefit of middle-class bureaucrats and which spawn all manner of controls on trade and exchange which stifle enterprise.

Singled out for particular scorn is the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs & Trade (Gatt) for both "marginalising" Africa and attempting to deny it the trade barriers that the workshop believes necessary to protect industries and earnings. Other accusations include the denial of African countries' right to regulate their own financial services industries.

The workshop takes the popular African view that the bank's conditional assistance and the inequitable Gatt liberalisations amount to a Western conspiracy to impoverish and recolonise Africa.

Finally, the Fraser Report on African Commodity Problems is criticised for suggesting that Africa has been the instrument of its own inability to profit adequately from the production of raw materials, citing the protectionism of the industrialised West and synthetic substitution for its failure. It is too much inclined for the critics in Addis Ababa to hark back to the golden days of the Sixties by corroborating the bank's own analysis of what is wrong with Africa.

There are a few other arguments used by Africa's elite for the predicament in which they now find themselves. These are not



democratic government and an improvement in the application of human rights. Very few African countries score well on these counts.

Whether bank policies have been a success in Africa is open to argument. Certainly the bank appears to have evidence of substantial and durable progress in other parts of the Third World, in particular South America. It certainly acknowledges that African countries have indulged in such extreme and intransigent economic and social degradation that too many of its small national economies have become basket cases.

The extremity of their deprivation may mean that what the bank prescribes will take longer than expected to bear fruit. Often, too, progress is slow as African rulers have to be cajoled into the application of policies that are not in the interests of the socialist bureaucrats that "liberation" spawned in Africa. But when it comes to the interests of ordinary people — especially farmers — the bank has the most to offer.

But even if the bank's policies have failed to revive some African economies, to switch back to what brought about this awful situation in the first place — not only in Africa

the poverty of its economic ideas. It comes dangerously close to being an argument by Africans for their own marginalisation. For it is a litany of complaint rather than a compendium of constructive initiative and a capitulation over free trade to European sleight of hand.

There are sufficient examples in Africa to suggest that where elements of freedom of trade and exchange are allowed, rising prosperity can be sustained. Perhaps the problem is that too many African governments — including the government of SA — have for so long

denied political freedoms that they too easily and wrongly equate economic ones with fears of a loss of their own sovereignty.

This is reflected in the cry for more development banks, which in turn is a thinly veiled attempt to maintain control over and continue mispending development aid. Regional development banks have nowhere proven to be instruments capable of guaranteed prosperity. They are too easily the means of subjecting bank initiatives to the interference of meddling politicians and their servants.

What Africa needs above all else is African resolution and resourcefulness. It must seek its own future from its own substantial intellectual and material resources, rather than allow itself to be enervated by morbid reflections on its past or the duplicity of European politicians. And that, in turn, requires creative and self-confident leadership and the political freedom in which it is able to flourish.

In sharp contrast the Soviet Union has begun to look to the future. Until Africa can bring itself to do the same, it will remain at best on the margin of Western abundance. ■

# New SA-Seychelles air links

Star 27/4/91  
IMPORTANT links, in both travel and trade, between the Seychelles and SA will be cemented with new air links between the Indian Ocean Islands and Johannesburg beginning in August.

Already more than 10 000 South Africans spend their vacations there every year and it is planned to double this figure after Air Seychelles and later SA Airways establish air links.

Conrad Benoiton, executive chairman of Air Seychelles, announced in Johannesburg yesterday that his airline would begin weekly flights every Saturday between Jan Smuts and Mahe on August 3.

The Boeing 767 aircraft would leave Seychelles at 9.15 am, arriving at Jan Smuts at noon, and depart from Jan Smuts at 1.45 pm, arriving at 8.30 pm local time (less than 4hr 30mins flying

①

NEVILLE ADLAM

②

time). The route will continue to be served by LuxAir until July 29.

John Kirby, general manager, said tour operators and retail agents had been anxiously waiting for the completion of the negotiations. He estimated that finally it would cost South Africans about R3 500 for a week's holiday, depending on the packages and the season.

Mr Benoiton said the Seychelles had a small population — only about 69 000 — and the islands could not afford to have a mass holiday influx. There was a 4 000-bed occupancy on the islands and it was not intended to go very much above this, although two more hotels were planned for in the next two years.



# Oil hope in island paradise

OIL has almost certainly been found in the Seychelles Islands. Drilling will begin within six months to establish in what quantities it will be found and whether the strike will be viable.

This latest development in the search for oil in the tropical islands has been the culmination of 10 years' research and work, according to Aboo T Aumeeruddy, economic adviser to the President's Office.

Mr Aumeeruddy is also a board member of Air Seychelles and is in Johannesburg for the planned launching of a

star 27491  
**NEVILLE ADLAM**

weekly air service between SA and the Seychelles on August 3.

He said Texaco searched for oil in the region in the early Eighties, but had just missed it.

The company pulled out in 1984 and the Seychelles government handed over the research and information to Norwegian oil experts for re-analysis.

"Enterprise Oil UK began seismological surveys two years ago, and they are now ready to drill, using off-shore rigs,

at the small island of Coetivy."

Mr Aumeeruddy emphasised that the Seychelles was one of the most environment conscious countries in the world, especially when it came to linking the environment with industrial development, adding:

"There is no poverty in the Seychelles. We are wedded to the principle of the good qualities of life. We have a beautiful environment and we will keep it beautiful. We will not allow damage to the ecological balance of the islands, no matter how rich the oil discovery is."

## SA bank invited to Ivory Coast

ZILLA EFRAT

THE African Development Bank (ADB) has invited the Development Bank of SA (DBSA) chairman and CE Simon Brand and Ciskei programme manager Salu Molapo to attend its AGM in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in May as observers.

This is the first time the DBSA has been invited to such a meeting by the ADB. *By 29/4/91*

A DBSA spokesman has confirmed that his bank would like to attend the AGM, to be held from May 6 to 9.

He said the invitation was extended because the DBSA was involved in similar functions as the ADB.

The ADB, which lends about \$3,25bn annually, is reported to be preparing to admit SA as a member. Incorporation would allow SA to tender for bank projects. The ADB has 50 African and 25 non-African members and has financed 1 200 projects.

# Africa's ruthless rulers have a date with the dinosaurs

Star 30/4/91

AS did the dinosaurs, Africa's dictators are dying out.

They had something in common with the prehistoric monsters in some ways. One might say that the chief difference between Idi Amin and Tyrannosaurus Rex, apart from some aspects of physical appearance, was that whereas Tyrannosaurus killed to eat, Amin killed for political gain and perhaps also for fun.

Amin, who used to have Ugandans killed with a sledgehammer, and Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, whose activities included infanticide and cannibalism, were probably the most ruthless of the dictators.

They were more repulsive than any of the other tyrants who flourished in the political vacuum left by the collapse of colonialism, when societies suddenly freed from European rule struggled to find workable alternatives.

Many became the victims of dictators, who emerged from the poverty and political confusion of post-independence Africa like creatures crawling out of the prehistoric swamps.

Some of the leaders who seized power in this period were relatively benign, though dictatorial, such as Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho and Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast. Others were less benign, such as Banda of Malawi, Mobutu of Zaire and Samuel Doe of Liberia.

But others — fortunately a minority — were almost, if not as bad, as Amin and Bokassa. Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, for example, tortured and killed his people with such dedication that a third of them fled the country.

Personal aggrandisement was the hallmark of the worst of the dictators. Bokassa had himself crowned emperor in a ceremony whose cost might have fed the hungry people of his country for a long time and Nguema conferred on himself the title of Unique Miracle of Equatorial Guinea.

Evolution is overtaking the dictators, however, as it overtook the dinosaurs. The Unique Miracle was not miraculous enough to save himself from being over-

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



thrown by his nephew and executed in 1979. Bokassa was luckier, avoiding execution and ending up in jail.

The past year or so has been a bad time for the dictators. Samuel Doe was tortured to death by his political opponents. Siad Barre of Somalia, who had more blood on his hands than had ever flowed in the veins of all his ancestors, was forced to flee for his life.

In Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile-Mariam's ruthless regime is tottering and his survival is not worth a cheap bet. Moussa Traora has been overthrown in Mali.

In Zaire, Mobutu, like other dictators, is having to back-pedal furiously away from autocracy in order to stay in power. Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, probably the most benign of the dictators, has been forced to allow free elections.

And so it goes. The dinosaurs lived for centuries and then suddenly died out for reasons that are unclear. The dictators have not been around for long but it seems that they, too, may quickly become extinct for reasons that are more apparent: the climate in which the dictators flourished, one-party rule and centralised economies, is giving way to multi-party rule or some other form of accountable government and to free enterprise.

African nations are learning again how to govern themselves, and not to be governed by despots.

With the demise of the dictators, the obsession of post-independence African societies with hero-leaders must also wane. Popular power may be seen to reside not in the palace or the party but in and around the market place.

It may be premature to say this, but it seems that an era of democracy is dawning at last in Africa. □

# Ethiopian forces recapture a town

Source  
30/4/91. ①

ADDIS ABABA - Ethiopia has recaptured the strategic town of Ambo, 100km west of the capital Addis Ababa after routing rebel forces who took it last week.

The official Ethiopian News Agency (ENA) said rebel troops were defeated in a counter-offensive launched by government forces and people living in the area.

"Government forces are in hot pursuit of the rebel forces fleeing in disarray and the inhabitants of the area are scouring the region in search of those who may have hidden themselves in the bushes," ENA said.

A spokesman for the Ethiopian People's Democratic Front (EPDRF) had said that Ambo fell to the rebels last Wednesday after fierce fighting.

This prompted the US diplomats in Addis Ababa to urge their nationals to leave Ethiopia.

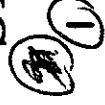
The Ethiopian government also issued a decree aimed at strengthening the command structure of the armed forces.

ENA said it would bolster the fighting power of the armed forces and people's militia "to thwart the attempts being made to dismember the nation and spread organised terror and anarchy in the country".

The seven-part decree said efforts to revive peace talks with the rebels would continue.

Political analysts said the decree gave sweeping powers to the military and they expected it to restrict civil liberties severely.

The EPDRF, which launched a new offensive in February after a lull of about six months, captured the northern regions of Gondar, Gojjam and Wellega. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Garner Thomson reports on the ongoing horror story — starving Africa <sup>84</sup> 11/17/91 <sup>11</sup> 

# Skip 2 pizzas, feed 1 man for 3 weeks

THIS week, full-page advertisements in all Britain's newspapers have been appealing to the public to "skip lunch."

The purpose is not to slim down an admittedly porky nation but to bring home the fact that 27 million people in Africa are facing famine.

Recent developments — first Eastern Europe, then the plight of the Kurds — have drawn much of the world's attention away from Africa, where many inhabitants have been forced to eat the seed corn that was their only chance of growing a crop this year.

Others have nothing ... except the prospect of a slow death. From focus of the world's attention in the emotive days of Band Aid, Africa has receded from the picture to become a forgotten catastrophe. Food and water are running out, but nobody is watching... so nobody cares. The cycle operating in Africa is

all too-familiar: drought, crop failure, civil war, mass migration and death on a scale unimaginable in Europe or elsewhere in the West.

And even though the World Bank has highlighted the looming disaster facing millions of inhabitants, from Ethiopia and Somalia to Malawi and Mozambique, this time food aid has been painfully slow in materialising.

In Britain, the newly politicised younger Royals have weighed into the problem, with Prince Charles urging world governments to hasten to Africa's aid.

"Tragic and disgraceful though it is, death seems to be the only way out for these unfortunate people," he warned last week.

And the Princess Royal, as president of the Save the Children Fund, has given her name to this latest attempt to raise \$2.5 million (about R12 million) by urging people to donate their lunch-money to the cause.

The price of a cheese roll in Britain, says the Fund, can provide food and vital vitamins for a child for one day. A pizza lunch for two would feed one adult for three weeks.

"You can easily go without lunch for one day," says the ad. "Millions of Africans can't."

But will this even begin to help a people who have dragged themselves from disaster to disaster with flagging energy? And what is being done to help avoid it happening again?

"Tragically, this latest phase in the continuing disaster of Africa was seen well in advance, but only a fraction of the 1.2 million tons of food aid called for by the UN last year has been forthcoming.

And in some parts of Africa, the problem is starting to seem intractable.

Six million people in Ethiopia now face starvation, and in war-torn Somalia at least 500,000 refugees have abandoned their small-

holdings and fled across the border.

Mali, scene of a recent military coup, is still in disarray, while Uganda is staggering under the continued weight of tribal warfare. After 12 months of civil war, nearly 2 million Liberians have been displaced.

Further south, Mozambique and Malawi are buckling under the strain. The former has been devastated by 15 years of civil war, and the latter — the sixth poorest nation in Africa — is battling to cope with the 1 million-plus Mozambican refugees that have poured over its border.

"Donors like America are offering only a fraction of what they normally do," says Tony Fawkes, emergencies officer for the international aid relief organisation, Oxfam. "And if we don't get those pledges soon, it will be too late." □

# Africans fear aid may be reduced as Eastern Europe absorbs funds

WASHINGTON — African nations are worried they will be left out in the cold amid the current international focus on Eastern Europe.

Government officials from several African nations participating in high-level financial meetings said in interviews that the international community had tried to allay fears that the reconstruction of Eastern Europe is monopolising most of the funds available for developing nations.

But they said they are not convinced their aid will not be severely curtailed.

"They have given us assurances, but in fact, the money is going to Eastern Europe," said Burundi finance minister Gerard Niyibigira.

"We are hopeful not to be forgotten," said Bank of Tanzania governor Gilman Rutihinda, but "very little was said about aid to other countries" during the meeting of the IMF's interim committee, in Washington.

Eastern Europe was clearly the dominant topic at the talks, he added.

None of the officials interviewed seemed optimistic that their aid packages would not shrink sharply.

Various IMF committees have drawn attention to the global scarcity of funds and stressed that developing nations will have to bear

primary responsibility for reform programmes.

US treasury secretary Nicholas Brady, in comments to the IMF interim committee said "the need to attract capital is at the heart of every country's development challenge. Limited global capital resources ... and budgetary constraints on new foreign assistance within creditor governments, underscore the need for developing countries to encourage new private investment as a source of capital for development and growth".

## Welcomed

The Group of Twenty Four (G-24) developing nations said in a statement that because of "shortage of global savings and the increased competition for financial resources", the generally sanguine growth projections for developing countries may be overly optimistic and improvements may not materialise.

The G-24 also welcomed a recent move by creditor nations to forgive about half of Poland's \$33bn of foreign official debt and called for the implementation of similar initiatives for heavily indebted developing countries.

But the so-called Trinidad Terms, which spell out major debt forgiveness for the poorest nations were not given very serious consideration in Monday's talks, Rutihinda said.

The only reference to such measures by Brady at the IMF meeting was that "for the poorest countries, the Paris Club is reviewing its current rescheduling options and considering proposals that would extend additional relief ... and should have a substantial impact on the debt profiles of individual countries over time".

AP-DJ.



Jean-Bedel Bokassa had himself crowned Emperor in a ceremony whose cost might have fed his hungry people for a long time.

**Tyrants who killed for political gain...and sometimes fun**

# The vanishing faces of Africa's dictators

*Sowetan 2/5/91.*

**AS did the dinosaurs, Africa's dictators are dying out.**

They had something in common with the prehistoric monsters in some ways.

One might say that the chief difference between Idi Amin and Tyrannosaurus Rex, apart from some aspects of physical appearance, was that whereas Tyrannosaurus killed to eat, Amin killed for political gain and perhaps also for fun.

Amin, who used to have Ugandans killed with a sledge-hammer, and Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, whose activities included infanticide and cannibalism, were proba-

bly the most ruthless and mindless of the dictators.

They were more repulsive than any of the other tyrants who flourished in the political vacuum left by the collapse of colonialism, when societies suddenly freed from European rule struggled to find workable alternatives of their own.

## Victims

Many became the victims of dictators, who emerged from the poverty and political confusion of post-independence Africa like creatures crawling out of the prehistoric swamps.

Some of the leaders who seized power in this period were relatively



Bokassa's victims stood before the Pit of Death pleading for mercy.

benign, though dictatorial, such as Arap Moi of Kenya, Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho and Houph-

ouet Boigny of Ivory Coast.

Others were less benign, such as Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, Mobutu of Zaire and Samuel Doe of Liberia.

But others - fortunately a minority - were almost, if not as bad as Amin and Bokassa.

Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea, for example, tortured and killed his people with such dedication that a third of them fled the country. Personal aggrandisement was the hallmark of the worst of the dictators.

## Crowned

Bokassa had himself crowned Emperor in a ceremony whose cost might have fed the hungry people of his country for a long time and Nguema conferred on himself the title of Unique Miracle of Equatorial Guinea.

Evolution is overtaking the dictators, however, as it overtook the dinosaurs.

The Unique Miracle was not miraculous enough to save himself from being overthrown by his nephew and executed in 1979.

Bokassa was luckier, being spared the execution he had ordered for so many of his subjects and ending up in jail.

Amin was luckier still, having fled Uganda in time to sulk the rest of his life away in exile in Saudi Arabia.

The past year or so has

been a bad time for the dictators.

Samuel Doe was tortured to death by his political opponents.

Siad Barre of Somalia, who had more blood on his hands than had ever flowed in the veins of all his ancestors, was forced to flee for his life and is now hiding somewhere.

## Ruthless

In Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam's ruthless regime is tottering and his survival is not worth a cheap bet.

Moussa Traore has been overthrown in Mali.

In Zaire, Mobutu, like other dictators, is having to back-pedal furiously away from autocracy in order to stay in power.

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, probably the most benign of the dictators - he would even dispute that he was one at all - has been forced to allow free elections.

And so it goes. The dinosaurs lived for centuries and then suddenly died out for reasons that are unclear.

## Extinct

The dictators have not been around for long but it seems that they, too, may quickly become extinct for reasons that are more apparent: the climate in which they flourished - one-party rule and centralised economies - is giving way to multi-party rule or some other form of accountable government and to free enterprise.

African nations are learning again how to govern themselves and not to be governed by despots.

## Demise

With the demise of the dictators the obsession of post-independence African societies with hero leaders must also wane.

Popular power may be seen to reside not in the palace or the party but in and around the market place.

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*Sowetan Correspondent*

## 27 million Africans facing 'a slow death'

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The purpose is not to slim down an admittedly porky nation — but to bring home the fact that 27 million people in Africa are facing famine.

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From focus of the world's attention in the emotive days of *Band Aid*, Africa has receded from the picture to become a forgotten catastrophe. Food and water are running out, but nobody is watching... so nobody cares.

The cycle operating in Africa is all too-familiar: drought, crop failure, civil war, mass migration and death on a scale unimaginable in Europe or elsewhere in the West.

And even though the World Bank has highlighted the looming disaster facing millions of inhabitants from Ethiopia and Somalia to Malawi and Mozambique, this time food aid has been painfully slow. — *Sowetan Correspondent*.



Sowetan 31/7/91

# African Press warned

over a 10

WINDHOEK - "Let's face it, we're doing a pretty poor job." With this sentiment the curtain went up this week on a serious gathering of media people from 32 African countries united by the Unesco-sponsored ideal of "promoting an independent and pluralistic African press".

Mr Hilary Ng'weno, editor-in-chief of Kenya's widely read *Weekly Review*, provided some provocative thinking in his keynote address, recognising the ailments of the Press in Africa but warning too against an over-eager embrace of foreign assistance.

It would be suicidal, he said, if Africans did not create their "African identity for the media"; suicidal if they accepted foreign assistance in the "field of ideas" just as they would accept funding for a hydroelectric dam.

"We have got to avoid going overboard in copying every foreign, Eastern or Western, model presented to us as the right model for an independent Press in Africa."

Ng'weno's address, delivered in his absence by Mr Stephen Musalia Mwenesi of the African Centre of Communications and Development, challenged the very good intentions of the United Nations-backed gathering.

## Examine

The week-long seminar intends to do more than have Press representatives examine their navels in the usual manner of these meetings which address Press freedom and democratic ideals after which everyone goes home to the marked absence of just that.

The Unesco organisers want action and practicalities to be discussed are appropriate technologies, manpower development, profitable

management and all manner of things to make newspapers work rather than ideals fly.

To achieve this, international donor agencies, particularly those from the Scandinavian countries, have been invited and it is hoped that the African delegates will get together with the potential funders to translate seminar ideas into action.

Which is what worries Ng'weno: "It is a well known but sad story. A model of development or project is presented to an African government (by a willing foreign donor). Reluctant to look a gift horse in the mouth, the African government accepts and implements what has been said will be in the interests of the people.

## Project

"Thirty years later when the model or project has turned out to be unworkable, a whole new team of experts arrives.

"The quick fixes now being suggested for our political ills are likely to turn out to be just as short-lived as the ones which foreign experts of old prescribed for our economic ills."

Ng'weno identified the weaknesses of the African Press. Significant among these were the young and eager journalists who, while "they mean well", did not have the education or guidance needed to meet the task.

"If we are honest with ourselves we would admit that we are doing a pretty poor job of informing our public. Many of the prob-

leagues outside Africa have towards helping us build stable and democratic nations out of a mixed collection of ethnic identities and often repressive and short-sighted regimes that currently rule over Africa," said Ng'weno.

But: Africa had to determine its own plans for its democratic house and do the hard work of building itself. - Sowetan Correspondent

"It will be a lot of nonsense ... for the true legacy of Columbus is one of racism and imperialism ... and the slave trade."

If the global village was to be meaningful to "those who actually live in villages", universal values had to be arrived at through reflection and consensus, he said. "I do not want to belittle the goodwill and support that our col-

United States and several European and Latin American countries would be celebrating the 500th anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in America.

"The Western media will be full of hype about Columbus ... and (because of) the power of the Western Press, we in Africa are going to be subjected to values and images glorifying Columbus's landfall.

through training but "what we do with such assistance and what role the Press plays in Africa is entirely our responsibility".

He warned against absorbing values from abroad along with the financial assistance that came Africa's way. Values were relative and many arrived in Africa "loaded with cultural baggage".

For example, the

lems we have with the authorities have as much to do with our incompetence as with the propensity of government and powerful individuals or groups to curtail our freedom."

## Assist

He urged the international community to assist the independent Press in the acquisition of machinery and technology and in the development of skills

# Power for Africa

## New, enlarged grid will galvanise a huge region

By 4/5/91

DEREK TOMMEY

THE men running Eskom, this country's electric power producer, are working on an imaginative plan which promises to make Southern Africa one of the world's industrial giants in the next 30 years.

They aim to harness the sub-continent's huge resources of hydro-electric power and, through an international grid, provide all the countries in the area with the world's cheapest electricity.

This electricity, in addition to its low price, will also have other advantages. It will be largely renewable and, being non-nuclear, will be environmentally friendly — increasingly important qualities as fears grow about the harmful effects of nuclear and carbon fuels.

All this will give the sub-continent a huge competitive boost within the industrialised world. It could make the region one of the world's major industrial workshops. It is certainly expected to significantly elevate general standards of living just about everywhere from South Africa to Zaire.

"It will not happen tomorrow," said Mr. Jac Messerschmidt, Eskom's general manager in charge of planning. "But it could happen within 15 years."

He emphasised that it was not a pipe-dream. Only political differences could prevent it from happening, and this was unlikely. "We have spoken to most of the countries in the area and have had a good response from just about everybody. They are most enthusiastic," he said.

Several parts of the master plan are already receiving attention. These include repairing the power line from Cahorra Bassa in central Mozambique to the South African border, building a power line from Cahorra Bassa to Harare, and the possibility of building a power line from Malumba, Eskom's new power station near Ellisras in the north-western Transvaal, to Bulawayo.

Mr. Messerschmidt said the existing line from Cahorra Bassa has been overloaded. But Eskom is helping EASA, the operating authority, in its planning to get it back into operation.

"The big problem is finance. You need an assurance that this will be available. Encouragingly, plans for raising the money are almost complete. The moment we secure the money we can start repairing this line," he said.

Ensuring the security of the repaired line should not be too much of a problem. There is a growing understanding that it is not a good idea to sabotage this line.

Mr. Messerschmidt said that the sabotage of the Cahorra Bassa power line had been a great tragedy. "You have a magnificent power station ca-

ble of producing 2,000 MW and it is producing no more than 20 MW."

Once the finance was there, it would take between two and three years to repair the line, so it should be completed in 1994-95.

The proposed line between Cahorra Bassa and Harare will take about two years to build and should be completed in 1993-94.

Eskom and ZESA, the Zimbabwean electricity supply authority, are also considering building a power line between Malumba and Bulawayo. Once this line is constructed there will be a strong connection between the southern part of the sub-continent's grid, mainly in South Africa, and the northern part which stretches to Inga on the Zaire River and the South African section.

The Cahorra Bassa-Harare line and the Malumba-Bulawayo line will provide Zimbabwe with two alternative sources of power and South Africa with a second link to Cahorra Bassa.

Once the grid between Inga, in Zaire, and South Africa is complete, attention will be turned to greatly expanding power production at Inga which is said to have "excellent potential". At present the power station there is generating 2,000 MW from a "run of the river" turbine.

"You do not need a dam to gen-

erate power at Inga," said Mr. Messerschmidt. "The river is so strong that all you need do is put a turbine in the river."

South Africa has the capacity to produce 35,000 MW. On a cold winter's morning the country consumes 21,000 MW. Inga has the potential to produce between 100,000 MW and 140,000 MW — and at a price well below that of Eskom.

"It makes more sense to develop Inga than build power stations in South Africa. In fact it is possible that Eskom might have built its last power station."

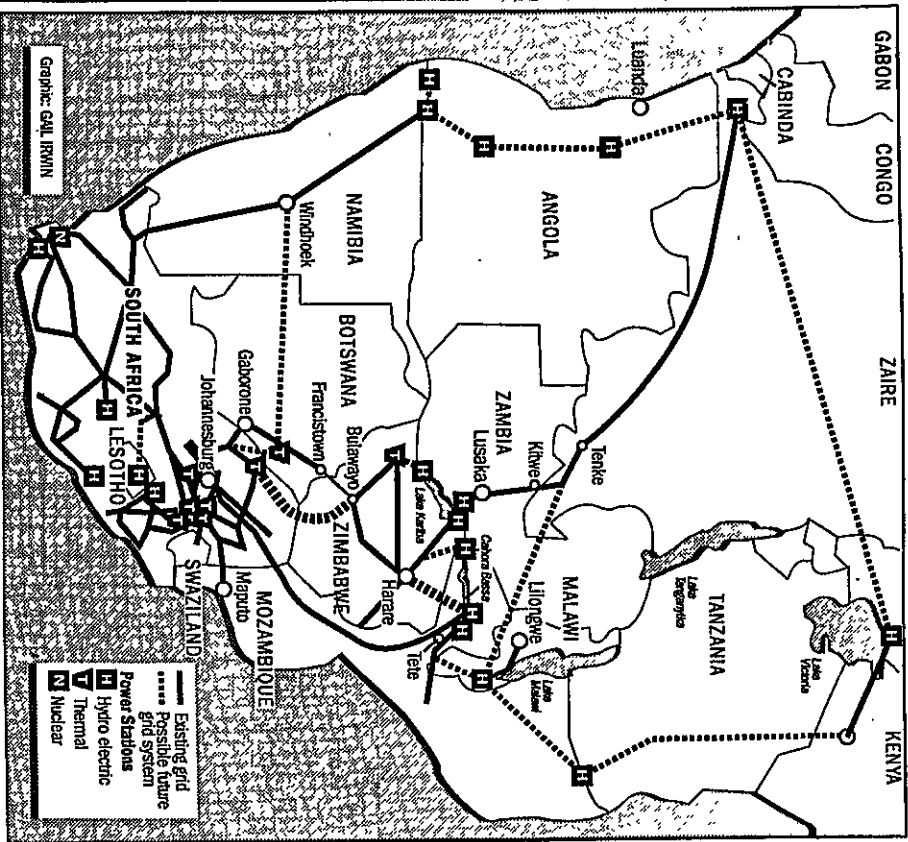
"If we get Inga power we will be the cheapest power in the world and will give us the potential to turn this part of the continent into an export power house," he said.

At present both Zimbabwe and Zambia are short of electric power, said Mr. Messerschmidt. For the next five years or so South Africa, which has surplus capacity, could make good their shortfalls.

But the long-term aim is to feed power from the north to the south. The hydro-electric resources are all in the north and ideal would be to encourage the northern countries to develop and sell this power to South Africa.

There is the problem that bankers overseas claim that you can pour money into Africa and nothing will happen without Mr. Messerschmidt.

"But I think that if you tackle a project like this with Eskom and it is properly managed, the IMF and World Bank should have no problems advancing the money."



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

# SA in challenge to French supremacy

*S (Times) (Bus Times) 5/5/91*

**SOUTH AFRICAN** businessmen are pouring into the Malagasy capital of Antananarivo in search of new markets.

SA is well positioned to attack France's position as the island's chief trading partner.

Behind the wave of interest from SA businessmen are the island's apparently healthy foreign-currency reserves, thanks to generous aid from the West.

## English

Micor general manager Peter West has returned from Madagascar and says there is no shortage of foreign capital for importers. But the central bank occasionally pulls in the forex reins, only to release them again.

Mr West says: "There are ample opportunities for SA businesses, particularly those in construction, steel and cement. There appears to be little problem in securing irrevocable letters of credit, paid at sight in favour of the exporter."

Cape-based Kalani Investments started importing cashew nuts and green pepper corns from Madagascar six months ago.

Kalani director Andrew Whittingdale, who has visited

the island five times, says there are huge opportunities in Madagascar, but visiting businessmen are hampered by poor communications and not knowing where to start.

Mr Whittingdale says: "It is hard to make phone contact with the island from SA. We set up an office in Tana with phone, telex and fax machine and someone who speaks English to answer the phone.

"Through hard-won experience we found the correct way to make contact with businesses in Madagascar. I advise South Africans trying to do business there to find a reliable person who speaks English before trying to set up appointments."

The main languages on the island are Malagasy, followed by French. This poses a problem for SA businessmen trying to make direct contact.

If you're lucky enough to get a phone call through to the island, chances are that the person answering speaks no English.

Mr Whittingdale says there are frequently long delays in getting money out of the island in spite of the abundance of foreign currency. Consignments often go missing.

Rennies chief executive Piet Steyn says there is increased demand to move freight from SA to Madagascar, but most inquiries made

are exploratory and few result in a shipment.

Mr Steyn says: "The traffic tends to be one way — to Madagascar. We are moving mainly primary products, such as steel and food. We have been involved in freighting to Madagascar for several decades."

Madagascar has relaxed its doctrinaire socialist policies and made overtures to SA, culminating in a visit to the island by President De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha last August.

## Shell

This was followed by the resumption of official ties, severed in 1972 by current president, Didier Ratsiraka.

President Ratsiraka's socialist policies transformed what was once considered one of the jewels of the French colonial empire into an African basket case, along the lines of Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique.

It is the 11th-poorest country in the world with a per capita income of US\$200. Gross domestic product grew by a derisory 0.4% a year between 1980 and 1987 when the population's annual growth exceeded 3%.

President Ratsiraka moved to adopt more market-oriented policies in 1987 at the behest of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Although they have caused

unemployment and poverty in many areas, inflation has been reduced from 30% to 8%.

Repeated balance of payments deficits have been assuaged by generous aid.

Shell has established a presence on the island and is prospecting for oil, which accounts for 14% of all imports. The USSR was the island's chief supplier of crude oil until 1988 when it suspended deliveries because of unpaid bills totalling \$240-million.

Onshore and offshore oil reserves were found in 1985, estimated to total 200-million barrels.

External debt in 1987 amounted to \$3.14-billion compared with gross national product of \$2.17-billion.

Several SA mining houses and Eskom have conducted exploratory trips around the island.

Agriculture provides employment for 80% of the population, coffee being the chief export. It is followed by vanilla, cloves, cotton and sugar cane.

Madagascar is privatising State-run assets, including trucking and transport, shipping, farming, telephones and electricity, all of which were run into the ground as a result of socialist policies.

## Thrust

Mr Whittingdale says there is a view in Madagascar that the government is selling the country from under the feet of the people.

"Although the government has introduced far-reaching economic reforms, there is still widespread poverty. Little of the aid that enters the country reaches the ordinary person."

The country requires rebuilding, but the major thrust of new investment in the next few years is likely to come from the tourist and hotel groups. It is hoped that the spin-offs in terms of industrial and commercial investment will go ahead.

By DON ROBERTSON

FOUR WEEKS after re-launching Le Galawa Beach hotel on the Comoros, Sol Kerzner, through his newest venture World Leisure Holidays, has announced a second and third stage of expansion.

Having spent R10-million on refurbishing the hotel, Mr Kerzner plans to spend about R250-million on a new one close to Le Galawa. Later will come an 18-hole golf course, villas and chalets to match anything in the Caribbean or Hawaii.

Sun International, with assistance from the Industrial

# Comoros back in hotel trade

Development Corporation (IDC), developed the Le Galawa and the much smaller Istandra Hotel.

They were closed after the assassination of President Ahmed Abdalla and because of what Sun International described as outrageous import taxes. Sun International had to walk away from its R30-million investment.

The major hotel on Grande Comore, the 185-room Le Galawa, was closed in January last year, and the nearby

22-room Itsandra closed in June. Since then, they have been in mothballs.

Mr Kerzner decided to refurbish them. Le Galawa was reopened on March 13, accompanied by the first SAA flight to the island.

He plans to add 50 rooms to the hotel and establish a new unit of about 300 rooms at the nearby Malougha beach.

Plans for the third phase are grander and the initial cost could be as high as R200-million.

Mr Kerzner says agreement for the third phase has been reached in principle only with the Comorian government. But the fact that architects and interior decorators are on the island suggests he is wasting no time in getting the project moving.

## Friendly

The Comoros — the islands of Grande Comore, Mohali and Anjouan — is the third-poorest country in the world with an annual per capita income of \$230.

President Said Mohamed Djohar, who was democratically elected after the failed coup by Bob Denard, says Mr Kerzner "is one man you can trust".

President Djohar is aware that SA's links with the island community are vital for its success. But he realises the difficulties in attaching itself to SA.

"Tourism and the sea are our main resources and we must look after them. This can be done with SA help.

"It is difficult to be friendly with SA because we are close friends of the Organisation for African Unity, but we believe it will pay dividends. SA has helped us in the past four years, and we hope it will not forget old friends."

## A Business Times Feature

# New-look ports battle to regain freight traffic

WARMING political relations between SA and black Africa could result in neighbouring countries forsaking Mozambique's ports, says Rennie's chief executive Piet Steyn.

Rail links between Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique are frequent targets for Renamo attacks. Transport problems are exacerbated by bureaucratic inefficiency and other problems.

Beira is facing shipping delays as a result of refurbishment and exporters routing goods through Maputo are plagued by theft.

There are also sporadic attacks on railway lines to Maputo.

## Lion

Mr Steyn says: "Unless Mozambique is able to bring the banditry under control, it stands to lose a large slice of its freight traffic to SA."

"As political and economic barriers between SA and the rest of Africa crumble, less political pressure will be brought to bear on countries such as Zimbabwe to use Mozambican ports for exports. This could result in a greater tonnage of freight from previously hostile neighbours passing through SA ports."

Rennie's subsidiary Manica has been in Mozambique for 99 years. Manica is one of the few freighting and forwarding companies to continue operating in Mozambique throughout the civil war.

Many corporations pulled out of Mozambique after Frelimo came to power in 1975, but by staying behind, Man-

ica captured the lion's share of business in spite of serious operational problems caused by the internal strife.

Road haulage, for example, has become virtually impossible in places.

Mr Steyn says: "We have to move freight by sea from Maputo to Beira and Nacala because of the danger involved in road transport. We also have two aircraft based in Mozambique so that our staff can commute around the country."

The Beira Corridor, which links the Zimbabwe town of Mutare to the port of Beira, has been made relatively secure from Renamo attacks by the widespread presence of Zimbabwean troops. But there have been occasional breaches of the security cordon, resulting in attacks on the railway line and oil pipeline.

Zimbabwean troops recently pulled out of the Tete Corridor, a vital link between Zimbabwe and the Tete province in northern Mozam-

bique. It halves the travelling time from SA to Malawi.

The Tete Corridor was reopened this year, but closed after only two months. More than 100 people were killed by bandits.

Goods from SA to Malawi now go through Zambia, resulting in at least two days' additional travelling time.

## Sense

Freight companies report long delays at the Zambian borders because customs officials are unprepared for the increase in traffic.

Malawi is still unable to make extensive use of Nacala port because of a lack of rolling stock and occasional Renamo attacks.

The Nacala rail link is also in serious need of repair. The line from Zimbabwe to Maputo is still a target for rebel attacks.

Another disadvantage for Maputo is that port charges are levied in US dollars and SA ports charge rands. Neighbouring countries with

foreign-currency shortages take advantage of the rand's depreciation against the dollar.

Mozambican authorities hope to encourage SA exporters to send their goods through Maputo, but serious difficulties have to be overcome.

Mr Steyn says the city and port of Maputo are often without power and other services.

"We are looking at providing whatever assistance we can in Maputo — as we are doing in Durban. It makes sense for certain exporters, particularly in the Eastern Transvaal, to ship through Maputo."

Richards Bay recently increased its coal-handling facilities. But small coal exporters in the Eastern Transvaal could save money by exporting through Maputo.

Mr Steyn says Maputo received little in the way of aid since independence because donor nations thought it would be of direct benefit to SA.

# Birds, feathered and otherwise . . .

WADING through the piles of glossy brochures punting holiday resorts in the Indian Ocean islands leaves one a little perplexed.

The pictures promise panoramas of spectral greens and blues, white sands stretching to infinity, ravishing girls, tanned and sparsely dressed, draped across reclining chairs and sip-

black parrot and remnants of the prehistoric forest, Vallee de Mai, said to be the original Garden of Eden.

Thirty minutes by air from Mahe is Cousin, an island sanctuary owned by the International Council for Bird Preservation. Cousin is home to the rare brush warbler.

# Financial woes imperil newfound democracy

**WINDHOEK** - The wave of democratisation that has swept through Africa in the past two years is imperilled by the worsening economic crisis on the continent.

Mr Salim Lone, the chief of information for the United Nations Africa Recovery Programme, said industrialised nations should take note of changes occurring in Africa and consider providing debt relief and commodity funds to help the continent out of its 12-year economic crisis.

At a Press conference here last week, Lone painted a bleak picture of the prospects for economic recovery, much of it quite beyond Africa's control.

"Africa itself is on the right path," he said. But in the world picture, the continent had been completely marginalised.

The latest figures from the International Monetary Fund, released last week, showed no relief ahead. Instead, the scenario for Africa, with its R700 billion debt, was looking progressively worse.

## Famine

"The world knows about civil wars in Africa and about famine, but little else. As the reality of what Africa itself is doing becomes clearer, Western countries will pay more attention."

This was the only note of hope sounded by Lone. He believed African countries had, on the whole, recognised that they had to put their own houses in order; they wanted to "take charge of their own destinies".

The move towards an African Economic Treaty, high on the agenda of the next meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Nigeria at the end of the month, was a measure of this, said Lone.



Since January last year, more African countries had introduced multi-party political systems than in the last 25 years.

At the same time, the level of political violence in Africa was unprecedented, much of it attributable to the stringent economic structural adjustment programmes that many countries had instituted at the behest of the IMF and the World Bank.

Lone said that in many ways Namibia's independence could not have come at a worse time economically.

## Strategic

The end of the Cold War meant that aid to strategic surrogates in Africa had dried up.

At the same time the world commodity prices that fell in 1979, have not recovered. Africa borrowed heavily following the rise in the oil price in 1979 when banks were only too pleased to be rid of their petrol-linked dollars.

Africa earned between 88 and 90 percent of its income from the sale of primary commodities.

When those prices did not recover following the borrowing spree, more borrowing followed and the debt spiral deepened.

Last year commodity prices fell a further eight percent, this year another three.

Among the doomsday IMF figures to which Lone referred was that GDP growth in Africa for 1990 would be only two percent and 1,2 in 1991. The population growth was 3,2 percent.

"The per capita income in Africa has fallen every year for the past 12 years and it's going to get worse," said Lone.

## Reform doomed without money

This could not have come at a worse time coupled with the marginalisation Africa had suffered as the world looked to the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

Lone also said that 40 million African children would die of hunger or treatable diseases in the nineties and that the Aids threat to African children was greater than anywhere else.

About 1,5 million women on the continent are HIV positive, compared to 100 000 in the United States.

The figure for absolute poverty is expected to double in the decade to 405 million whereas in other crisis countries like those of South East Asia, poverty was being eradicated.

The food gap in Africa, 15 million tons at present, would be 200 million tons within 30 years or the equivalent of the entire cereal output of the United States.

Another statistic to put the crisis in perspective was that the total output of the 500 million people of the 46 countries of sub-Saharan Africa was less than the total output of metropolitan New York.

## Reforms

Lone said that in the mid-1980s, when African countries agreed to IMF and World Bank recommendations for structural adjustment, the West undertook to provide the assistance necessary to realise those reforms.

Two recent reports to the UN Security Council indicated that while many of these economic

reforms had been initiated, the increased resources from the West had not met anywhere near the required levels.

There had been a two percent annual increase in official development assistance to Africa, while the World Bank recommended a four percent increase if there was to be a one percent increase in economic output.

But aid and assistance was not always appropriate and could not be evaluated in isolation. The net financial transfer, or available resources, had dropped from R39 billion in 1981 to R7,8 billion in 1989.

When Western governments made decisions about where their money was to go, the fact that sub-Saharan Africa accounted for only 1,5 percent of world trade, meant that it was no significant concern.

Lone said that at a meeting of seven industrialised nations in Houston last year, Africa was not even mentioned.

A recent meeting of the Paris Club gave special debt concessions to Egypt and Poland.

"The countries most stricken are African. But when the crunch comes, the best deals go to Eastern Europe and the Middle East," said Lone.

The only hope was that the West would recognise what Africa itself had achieved by way of reform and come up with debt relief - without which that reform was doomed. - Africa Correspondent.

## AFRICA

# Development bank seeks US support

BIDAN 81591 (1)

ABIDJAN — African Development Bank president Babacar n'Diaye this week urged the US to back his ambition to give the bank a big role in lending to the private sector.

In an interview ahead of the bank's three-day annual meeting of its 76 African and industrialised member countries, which started yesterday, n'Diaye said the bank wanted to be part of a global trend for development institutions to bolster private business.

The US government urged the World Bank group to devote 50% of its resources to the private sector by 1995. I would like to ask the US whether it would be prepared to support that level of lending to the private sector by the AfDB," he told the bank's annual meeting newsletter.

"The more we involve the private sector, the more we open up job opportunities and help sound management of the economy."

Strong US pressure on the World Bank to back the private sector emerged at the bank and IMF meeting in Washington last month.

AfDB officials said privately that Western donors, whose financial backing under-

pinned the bank's top credit ratings on world capital markets, had curbed the AfDB's ambition to offer a wide range of lending services to companies.

A new private sector unit, due to begin operations in August with start-up funds of \$200m, will be able to offer only a limited amount in direct lending and equity participation in private ventures.

"The bank's board has restricted us," said one official. "Some of the donors think we've been expanding too fast."

Donors have already curtailed African hopes for a large boost to concessional lending by the bank's soft loan arm, the African Development Fund, limiting its 1991-93 programme to \$3.34bn. Some African governments had sought nearly \$5bn.

Donors say the bank has expanded operations too quickly, without developing the necessary staff experience to offer a wide range of services or to supervise existing loans properly at country level.

Hitherto, all AfDB loans — amounting to a cumulative total of \$18.9bn — have been made for official development projects or to support government economic reforms, even when these are designed to boost the private sector. — Reuter.

## Free academics, govts urged

Star-915191  
NAIROBI — A London-based human rights group yesterday accused African governments of infringing on academic freedom and urged them to free academics and students detained without trial.

Africa Watch also appealed to donors "to protest the detention and

abuse of academics and students at institutions" that receive their assistance.

The charges and recommendations were contained in a report titled "Academic Freedom and Human Rights Abuses in Africa".

Other recommendations contained in the re-

port urged African governments to:

- End the practices of detaining, harassing, and dismissing academic staff.
- Allow student organizations to function independently of government and ruling parties. — Sapa-AP.



# Ivory Coast's quick slide to ruin

Sept 19 1981

**T**HE PIANIST is from Benin, the saxophonist Congolese. The waitress who serves the peanuts and banana chips comes from Burkina Faso and the man cleaning in this five-star hotel is a Ghanaian.

Outside, vendors from three other west African countries offer a variety of exotic sweets, meats, cold drinks and curries.

The Ivory Coast is the most cosmopolitan state on the continent. It is a meeting and market place of African cultures. Perhaps a third of its population are not Ivorians, and most of these have immigrated within three decades.

The reason is President Felix Houphouët-Boigny, who has ruled the country since its unilateral independence from France in 1960.

In that time, President Houphouët-Boigny has seen no threat to his own people in allowing immigrants (and often refugees) to enter the Ivory Coast and be freely employed. At one stage, it was necessary to import migrant labour to work the cocoa, coffee and palm oil estates which — soon after UDI — transformed this equatorial state into the richest in black Africa after Gabon.

Many became virtual serfs to local plantation bosses who had grown prosperous and indolent on the income from cocoa, coffee and palm oil. But in five years, the country's fortune has plummeted. Commodity markets of two of the three major exports have taken a dive. World cocoa prices have been halved. Coffee earnings are down to an eighth of their 1969 level.

The damage to export earnings has been horrendous. And while the population of Côte d'Ivoire continues — however temporarily — to enjoy the second-highest per capita income in black Africa (about \$1,620 a year) it also bears the continent's largest per capita debt.

With the financial squeeze, race relations inevitably have become pressed. Curiously, however, these strains have not yet involved foreign Africans as much as native Ivorians and Lebanese traders.

These traders are reviled for the same perceptions which saw Indian businessmen expelled from Uganda under Idi Amin and persecuted in countries such as Kenya and Zambia. It is all a question of relative wealth, and much of the prejudice is unfounded.

But the once-benign President Houphouët-Boigny last year joined the popular outcry against these traders by accusing them of meddling in opposition politics.

Then, however, the president was frantically looking for red herrings. The economic crunch was upon him. A World Bank/IMF plan to reduce government spending had suggested he cut the pay of civil servants by as much as 40 percent.



Under a similar proposal, university students lost substantial subsidies. They rioted in one of the first demonstrations against the 30-year rule of the 'old man'.

These riots were followed by demonstrations by army con-

scribes and policemen. Most of their demands were met.

The World Bank continues to put pressure on the Ivory Coast to repay its commitments.

Either the government must give up all pretence at meeting its debts and break off relations with donors, or reduce public-sector salaries and risk widespread social unrest.

The only certain thing is that something drastic will have to be done soon.

Last November, President Houphouët-Boigny bowed to pressure for multiparty elections. Although his Democratic Party (PDCI) retained power by an overwhelming majority, there was a huge stayaway.

The argument of opposition accused the government of intimidation and fraud. It also claimed that foreign voters had

been press-gauged into supporting the PDCI.

In the election month, the president rushed through a constitutional amendment which declared that the Speaker of parliament would succeed him if he were to retire before the next elections, in 1985.

The present Speaker is Henri Kouran Bedie, a presidential lackey without the qualities of another candidate for leadership waiting in the wings.

Alassane Dramane Ouattara is a former governor of the Central Bank of West Africa in Dakar. Senegal. Mr Ouattara was brought into the government after last year's demonstrations to try to solve some of the economic problems.

He introduced drastic austerity measures, reducing the number of top civil servants by more than 500 and firing thou-

sands of temporary workers in government.

After the elections, Mr Ouattara became the first prime minister and chose the portfolios of economics and finance.

Despite his efforts, however, the latest economic indications are so bad that the government will not make them public. For the first time since independence, the National Assembly has not been asked to approve a budget.

The prime minister is also reported to have engaged President Houphouët-Boigny over the leader's own prodigal habits.

Speculation here is that France will help bail the government out of its immediate crisis. But if the financial slide continues, Felix Houphouët-Boigny may find that the time for retirement is no longer a matter of his own choosing. □

# Exiles' committee to seek world aid for repatriation

AN international donors' conference aimed at raising funds for repatriating SA exiles will take place within the next six weeks.

The conference will be discussed by a high-powered SA delegation which will visit the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) next week.

The delegation is likely to include representatives of the ANC and PAC as well as the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of SA Exiles (NCCR).

NCCR executive committee member Frank Chikane said yesterday the committee had decided not to wait for government and the UNHCR to come to a decision on the international body's involvement in the repatriation of 40 000 exiles.

"We are sending a team to work out the details which determine what role the UNHCR will be playing," Chikane said.

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PATRICK BULGER

"We should not wait for the government to come to an agreement with the UNHCR. We must do our preparations now.

"We have decided to go ahead with raising funds. We need to be able to say to donors what money we will need regardless of UNHCR involvement.

"After our discussions next week we will arrive at a figure," he said.

Meanwhile, relations between government and the UNHCR appear to have deteriorated.

Government sources have said government is perturbed by certain UNHCR statements that are seen to be in breach of agreements between the two bodies.

Negotiations between government

and the UNHCR have deadlocked over the issue of amnesty. The UNHCR wants government to grant a blanket amnesty to all returnees.

Sapa-Reuter reports from Geneva that the UNHCR is pressing SA to move faster in its negotiations.

"I fear we are losing momentum in these negotiations," said UNHCR spokesman Sadako Ogata.

The UNHCR said government sent a message on May 3 saying that clauses on amnesty in a draft agreement were unacceptable.

Pretoria has asked that the UNHCR, in countries without SA representation, distribute and collect forms on which refugees list offences for which they seek indemnity. UNHCR officials say this would be contrary to UN practice.

"As far as I know there is no possibility of our becoming involved in collecting and distributing these forms," one official said.

## Age catches up with Youth League leaders

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and half his provisional leadership could find themselves without jobs if the ANC's proposed constitution is adopted in July.

The constitution — to be proposed for ratification at the ANC's consultative conference in Durban — states that the league's membership should be open to people between the ages of 14 and 30.

The league's assistant secretary-general Billy Masethla said the question of the maximum age was a matter of "strenuous" debate among league and ANC members.

About half the 25-member provisional leadership group was over 30, he said.

Mokaba, whose taste for designer shirts and militant style have made him a high-profile and popular figure among the youth, is 33 years old.

The Youth League's current maximum age is 35,

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TIM COHEN

and this age limit would be adhered to until a final decision was taken at the conference, Masethla said.

The league would decide within the next few weeks which maximum age limit to propose for discussion at the conference, he said.

The proposed constitution also says that Youth League members over the age of 18 will be expected to play a full part in the ANC.

ANC membership is open to anyone over the age of 18, according to the proposed constitution.

The league recently claimed a signed-up membership of more than 460 000 and a paid-up membership of 210 000.

● See Page 12

## Malan 'in Seychelles deals'

IAN HOBBS

LONDON — Former Seychelles president Sir James Mancham yesterday claimed that SA Defence Minister Magnus Malan had opened secret dealings with the island's Marxist government.

Mancham, ousted in a coup 14 years ago, ended years of silence to warn that SA would suffer damaging consequences from "dealing with Marxist thugs".

He said he had evidence that Malan visited the Seychelles on March 29. He said there was also good evidence of previous secret visits by Malan.

He alleged that on one visit, Malan met the island's Marxist President Albert Rene to pay "millions of dollars" for the release of mercenaries captured after the abortive 1981 coup led by Col Mike Hoare.

Our political staff reports that Malan yesterday denied the allegations.

He confirmed he had met Rene in March this year during a private visit but that this had been the first time they had met.

They had discussed landing rights and Malan had referred him to the "appropriate South African authorities" as this matter fell beyond his responsibility.

There was "no substance at all" to the allegation that he was involved or instrumental in paying money for the release of mercenaries.

"My wife and I visited Seychelles in March for a few days on a private occasion, as we did last year. I can recommend the Seychelles for a relaxing few days in quietness," he said.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

SHOVEL

ISN'T IT KIND OF COLD

SHOVEL

# Bank chiefs into Africa

971-71975 16/5/91 ~~16/5/91~~ ①

ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast. — South African bankers discreetly attended the African Development Bank's annual meeting this week for the first time, marking a further step away from their world political isolation, bank officials said yesterday.

"This is no longer an extraordinary event," ADB president Mr Babacar N'Diaye told a news conference where he confirmed the bank had invited government bankers and a representative of the ANC.

"The Development Bank of South Africa wanted to be present at this meeting," he told reporters at the end of the three-day meeting, at which international creditors tried to patch up a quarrel over lending plans.

The South Africans, identified by a meeting news-

letter as Mr André la Grange of the government-owned Development Bank of South Africa and his colleague, Mr Salu Molapo, appeared on no official guest lists.

The landmark decision to invite them was made without consulting the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which still officially regards Pretoria as a pariah.

Mr Nelson Mandela has urged African nations to maintain full sanctions against South Africa until apartheid is fully dismantled. However, black African states beyond the so-called frontline states have steadily increased business links.

Most of the ADB meeting was taken up with a debate over the merits of a capital increase to finance loans of about R35 billion over five years.

"A lot of African countries are already in arrears (on capital subscriptions)," noted British acting gov-

ernor Mr Peter Freeman. "The amounts of arrears aren't big... but it's a long list of countries."

The bank group's annual report showed 32 African countries were behind on capital subscriptions, with the largest amounts owed by Libya and Zaïre.

Divisions between the bank's 51 African members and 25 non-regional states — whose financial backing underpins the bank's operation — had been evident throughout the meeting here.

Creditors worried that a surge of loans over the past five years had overstretched the bank. They feared that continued non-concessional lending to debt-burdened poor nations was building future problems both for the bank and its borrowers.

Africans — backed by some European creditor nations — replied that a significant increase in future concessional financing had been blocked by donors at negotiations over a two-year funding package for the bank's soft loan arm. — Sapa-Reuter

# The rise and fall of the poorly paid town-criers

**I**n July 1990, President Babangida of Nigeria told his country his "commitment to freedom of the press remains unshaken". He promptly closed six newspapers for criticising the government, detained a number of editors and filed charges of sedition against one of them.

In Zaire, the announcement last year that President Mobutu Sese Seko would legalise multi-party politics brought a rush of new newspapers and outspoken criticism of the government (Zaire's League of Human Rights now lists 38 newspapers). In September, troops destroyed the printing offices of one of the largest dailies and the editor was subsequently jailed for publishing articles found to be "injurious, defamatory and intended to incite breaches of discipline".

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda last year announced the end of one-party rule and immediately fired two leading editors for giving too much publicity to his opposition.

These examples, from a Unesco seminar on the independent African press held in Windhoek last week, highlight the important but immensely difficult role played by the independent press in many African countries facing new pressures for democratisation.

In some countries with a greater degree of press freedom, such as Nigeria or the Maghreb, independent voices have been battling for a long time against considerable odds. In Anglophone Africa, there is a long-standing non-government press in Nigeria, Kenya, Namibia and South Africa. Nigeria, for example, boasts over 100 papers and magazines, a substantial number of which are private. Of its six daily papers, four are privately owned.

The current move towards multi-partyism has given them new impetus and inspired many new publications. As one observer put it, "the struggle for the independence of the African press has begun, almost 30 years after the independence of various states was won".

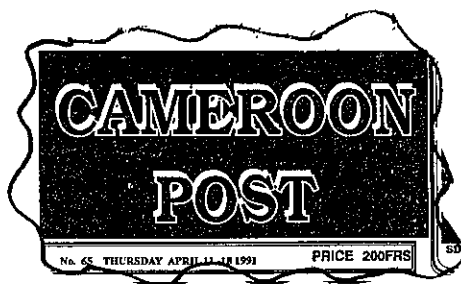
It may come as a surprise to many South Africans that there is a host of publications fighting battles with direct parallels to those fought by the independent press in this country during the 1980s to establish critical voices free from either government or multinational corporate control, and strong enough to provide sustenance to incipient democratic movements.

Their struggles, however, are often more basic: against electricity blackouts, newsprint shortages and government-controlled printers. With few resources, a lack of skills and repressive governments (16 African journalists are currently in detention without trial, 12 of them in the Sudan), they face a formidable task.

In countries like Sierra Leone, it is not unusual for the government to tell opposition newspapers that there is simply not enough paper for them. In Gambia, a group of women journalists plagued by blackouts bought and converted a building next to their offices to live in; this way, they could get to work as soon as the electricity came on, no matter what time of day. In Uganda, even the government-owned *The Uganda Times* was plagued by so many technical

As Africa's independent press makes headway, the question is whether it can survive without state help.

By ANTON HARBER



**Uphill battle ... newspapers like these play a crucial but difficult role**

problems that it became known as "The Uganda Sometimes".

Add to these problems the difficulty of getting finance for outspoken and vulnerable publications, and the near impossibility of selling advertising space. The uphill battle they face often shows in the publications: they appear erratically, are typeset and printed on primitive equipment, and the quality of writing is low.

But there are exceptions and many gutsy papers are playing a crucial role in the democratic movements springing up in Africa. Take, for example, the spunky Freetown paper *For Di People*, run by youthful editor Paul Kamara, who spends a good deal of his time in prison. Though unusual grammar, design and typography make most stories in the paper hard to follow, it is unequivocal in its support for multi-party democracy.

Sierra Leone is one of a number of countries that have recently loosened their grip on the independent press, with 14 of its 16 papers now in non-government hands (though with an average circulation of only 4 000). Others include Uganda, Tanzania, Liberia, Botswana, Ghana and Zambia.

In Tanzania, for example, the editor of the new *Business Times*, Fili Karashini, says: "In the 1970s, it would have been impossible to obtain a licence. In the late 1980s it took us a year." Now his publication is steadily gaining circulation and rivals the state-owned press for advertising space.

Some of the older papers did not survive state repression. *The Pioneer* in Ghana reached sales of 100 000 in its heyday in the early 1980s. After a series of crackdowns, its editor fled in 1986 and the government began to refuse permission for the importation of essential equipment and parts. Now bad-

ly produced on run-down equipment, its sales are 5 000. In contrast, *Dawur*, a dynamic independent business tabloid launched in 1990, is growing and contains a healthy 45 percent advertising content.

Many of the journalists work without the international support that has kept outspoken opposition papers alive elsewhere. The colourful editor and owner of *The Torch* in Gambia, Sanna Manneh, had to close down his paper because he could not sustain the costs of defending himself in a criminal libel case. He currently faces six years' hard labour.

Cameroon appears to hold the record for the most elaborate censorship laws. When a newspaper is ready for printing, a photocopy of each page must be sent to the minister of territorial administration in the province. It is then sent to the reading bureau, the director of public freedoms and the deputy director for political affairs, each of whom makes notes for the minister. The paper is returned to the minister for final approval, but he sends it back to the deputy director for political affairs to be stamped. It can only be printed when this stamp is in place. Once the first 10 copies have been printed, they must be sent to the minister for final approval and a second stamp. Finally, the paper may be sold.

Two countries in particular are taking active steps to encourage an independent press. In Algeria, the military government offers a two-year salary, access to national printers and newsprint to journalists who move from the government-owned press to start independent papers. Niger gives up to FF100 000 to journalists wanting to start a newspaper.

The critical issue — of particular relevance to South Africans — is the extent to which African journalists want governments to help the troubled media. The respected editor-in-chief of the *Nairobi Weekly Review*, Hilary Ng'weno, argued that African governments would "continue to have a role to play in the media for a long time". Without government intervention, he said, there would hardly be any press in Africa as nobody else could afford to sustain newspapers under such difficult conditions.

The only alternative, he warned, might be to allow the domination of the African media by Western monopoly interests.

It was also argued that governments in under-developed African states had a special obligation to use the media to encourage development, education and unity. The Namibian government, planning a new government-sponsored weekly paper despite the existence of a lively Windhoek press, contended that this was the only way to get information to the rural areas and encourage development.

Not surprisingly, the response of the journalists was overwhelming. As one observer put it: "This (government ownership of the media) has led to the production of monotone and soporific articles in which it is impossible not to displease, and to guard one's opinions in order to preserve one's job. A journalist working for a state daily has become a poorly paid town-crier. Those in charge of the national dailies compete with one another to produce the most flattering editorials."

# Frontline fears for SA

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LUSAKA. — The frontline states fear that the current violence in South Africa has given the government an excuse to stall the end of apartheid.

"The frontline states will warn the liberation movements that the political intolerance and fighting we are seeing may be the beginning of worse things to come," a senior Zambian official said.

Leaders of the seven states are due to meet in Zambia today to review political developments in SA. They will also meet senior officials of the PAC and ANC.

A number of issues will be dis-

cussed, including the recent lifting of economic sanctions against Pretoria by the European Community.

African diplomats in Zimbabwe say officials in the region have expressed fears that the current wave of violence between ANC and the IFP supporters could lead to civil war.

"They think if nothing is done, we could see another Angola in South Africa," said one diplomat.

The meeting, sources said, would also review political developments in the Southern African region. — Sapa-Reuter

# Now Africa opens its arms

SITING 1215791

## IT'S 'WELCOME BACK' AS SOUTH AFRICA KNOCKS ON DIPLOMATIC DOORS

By Mike Robertson, Political Correspondent

AFRICA, for so long forbidden territory, is laying out the welcome mat for South African officials, businessmen and tourists. Reaping the benefits of the dismantling of apartheid, Foreign Affairs officials have in the past year crossed the continent and been allowed into no fewer than 21 countries outside southern Africa.

### Welcomed

In return, official delegations from African countries have been passing through Jan Smuts Airport at a whirlwind rate. A total of 21 official visits from 12 African countries have taken place in the first three months of this year. Foreign Affairs deputy director general for Africa, Rusky Evans, who has spearheaded the drive into Africa, said that he and his officials were warmly received by cabinet ministers and senior counterparts in almost every country they visited.

### Senior

The improvement in relations was reflected in President Babarigida's statement last month that "We... would be fully prepared to promote and undertake initiatives at the forthcoming OAU summit to lift sanctions on South Africa if the remaining apartheid laws are abrogated by May 1991". Following a meeting between Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and President De Klerk at the Namibian independence celebrations, relations with that country have flourished. President Babangida sent an embassy to attend the opening of Parliament in February and since then there have been continuing exchanges.

### Senior

Mr Evans and his officials have also jetted in and out of Libreville in a recent interview

### Senior

with Jaime Afrique, Gabon's President Albert Bongo said he had asked that provision be made in this year's budget for the opening of an embassy in South Africa.

### Senior

From the time that President De Klerk said he would not object to being a minister in a government under Nelson Mandela, one could conclude that this country is experiencing its revolution. One must encourage them," he said.

### Senior

Countries visited by South African officials include Madagascar, Namibia, the Comoros, Seychelles, Kenya, Rwanda, Zaire, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome, Sudan, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Mali, Morocco, Egypt and Nigeria.

### Senior

Building on these links, South African business delegations have travelled to numerous previously hostile countries, including Nigeria, Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville and Ghana.

### Senior

Official delegations from Zaire, Togo, Cape Verde, Rwanda, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Comoros, Mauritius, Madagascar, Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Morocco and

### Senior

Zaire, Madagascar and the Ivory Coast no longer require visas for visits of up to 14 days. Kenya issues visas to South African tourists on arrival. Mauritius does not



INTO AFRICA... the shaded countries indicate South Africa's growing network of diplomatic contacts

South African officials to Mauritius and by their counterparts to Cape Town and Pretoria. The Mozambican Deputy Minister of Posts and Telecommunications visited South Africa in February. The Minister of Transport is expected to pay a visit soon. Relations with Zimbabwe have remained cool, but there was an important breakthrough in August last year when ranking officials of both governments met in Harare.

### Trade

Togo and the Comoros have also relaxed visa requirements. Until recently, countries such as Senegal would not issue visas except in exceptional circumstances, such as the

### Trade

Gabon, Senegal, Mali and Morocco are prepared to give South African visas through the normal channels.

### Trade

Both Kenya and Ghana have removed restrictions on their citizens travelling to South Africa, and Benin is understood to be contemplating doing the same.

### Trade

In southern Africa, the most important region for trade (total trade was up R400-million to R3.2-billion last year) there has been a virtual non-stop flow of official delegations.

### Business

Businessmen from both countries have been exploring trade possibilities

### Business

Arbiters travelling between Lusaka and Johannesburg last year. On the same day in October, the then deputy Public Enterprises Minister Piet Welgemoed was also in Maputo.

### Business

Mr Botha paid two private visits to Zambia last year while the first official South African Foreign Affairs delegation was received in Lusaka in April this year.

### Business

Businessmen from both countries have been exploring trade possibilities

# When a woman's work plays a role in solving environmental issues

IT'S one of the most typical sights in Africa: women struggling like pack animals under heavy loads of firewood strapped to their backs.

For millions of women throughout the continent the daily search for wood - the main fuel in rural areas - is an increasingly burdensome chore.

As nearby trees are cut down, they have to walk further to find wood and often take hours to return home.

The loss of cover from trees exposes the soil beneath to harsh tropical sun and heavy rains which erode fertility and turn arable land to waste-land.

## Vital role

"Poverty and need have a very close relationship with a degraded environment. It's a vicious circle," said Wangari Maathai, a leading Kenyan environmentalist who believes women can play a vital role in solving the fuel crisis.

"One turning point is the planting of trees that can provide shade, wood and windbreaks. It's a small turning point, but it can break the circle," she said.

Since 1977, Maathai has organised tree planting in Kenya through the Green Belt Movement, a conservation group which

## Pioneering the fight to save Africa's forests

gives seedlings free to women's co-operatives, schools and others and pays cash for each tree successfully transplanted.

The payments provide an incentive to start a tree nursery, and are a source of income for subsistence farmers who grow only enough food to feed their families.

"You're a member if you're producing trees and they survive. If they die, you're out," said Maathai.

The 52-year-old biology professor wants to launch similar schemes in the neighbouring east African nations of Uganda and Tanzania, and Lesotho and Malawi in Southern Africa.

She says only by explaining to small-scale farmers how poverty, deforestation and desertification are linked can environmentalists hope to stop the downward spiral.

Women are central to the process given their key role in African agriculture - they grow 70 percent of staple foods and often manage family

farms while the men seek work in towns.

But despite their importance to farming - the backbone of African economies - economists say rural women are a neglected underclass, frequently ignored by government policies designed by city dwellers and favouring urban consumers over rural producers.

"We feel that the only way to counteract the environmental problem is by making a real mass movement," said Maathai.

## Resources

"Governments do not have the resources to counteract the damage," the United Nations in a report this month criticised African governments for contributing to environmental damage by paying too little attention to agriculture.

Maathai's populist views have drawn fire in one-party Kenya, where members of the ruling Kenya African National Union have accused her of meddling in politics.

In 1989, the govern-

ment closed down her city centre offices after she campaigned against plans to build a high-rise office block in Nairobi's Uhuru park.

"Politicians are afraid of any organised activities that could give rise to any power that could challenge them," said Maathai, sitting under a shady tree outside her Nairobi home, now the Green Belt's cramped headquarters.

Meanwhile, Green Belt co-operatives face a host of problems. Some have fallen apart as members bicker over how to spend the money, and others have folded over land disputes.

Green Belt officials also have trouble communicating with Kenya's polyglot communities - there are more than 40 tribal languages, and dialects and illiteracy remain widespread.

The poorest women, preoccupied with everyday survival, tend to drop out of the movement unless they see immediate returns.

Despite the problems, Green Belt officials say

more than seven million trees have survived and 500 000 small-scale farmers and their families have planted trees on their land.

Maathai has been lauded by the United Nations Environment Programme and conservation groups for taking a pioneering stand in the fight to save African forests - half of which are estimated to have been felled this century.

## Experts

Even now, experts say 29 trees are cut down for every one planted as rapid population growth increases the pressure for land, fuel and shelter.

The World Bank says 55 million Africans face acute wood shortages, contributing to malnutrition when there is too little fuel to cook traditional foods or vegetables.

Maathai said that even in relatively prosperous Kenya mothers were increasingly feeding families on processed white bread, margarine and sweet tea - a saving on cooking but a development that was unhealthy for children.

"To say that we don't have famine, that's true at the collective level. But we have real hunger at the individual level," she said. "The answer (isn't) to give these people food but to plant trees for firewood." - Sapa-Reuter



Rural African women are the mainstays of agriculture on the continent, and as such are pivotal to an innovative environmental plan in Kenya.

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# Africa leads massive population explosion

Star 1415791

LONDON — The world's population is growing faster than predicted, and bringing birth under control is now a matter of global survival, according to the UN "State of the World Population Report" released yesterday.

By mid-1991 the world's population is expected to reach 5.4 billion.

A population of 10.2 billion had been forecast by 2075, but United Nations experts now say that projection may be reached 25 years earlier.

Significant growth is expected for another century after that. Some 95 percent of the increase will be in the poorer, developing world, which is least able to cope, says the report.

Dr Nafis Sadik, executive director of the United Nations Population Fund, told reporters that to stabilise the world population at 10.2 billion by 2075, fertility must be lowered from the current 3.8 to 3.3 births per woman.

To do this, the number of couples practising contraception in the developing world had to increase by 50 percent, from 381 million in 1990 to 567 million by the year 2000.

"While these figures may sound daunting, I believe the targets are realistic and can be achieved," said Dr Sadik, a paediatrician.

The consequences of failure were devastating.

"We can already see the warning signs of missing our targets. These signs represent trends that, if not checked, portend an ominous future," she said.

Increasing human demands were damaging the natural resources — especially land, water and air — that underpinned economic development

and human survival.

In many areas, groundwater was being used faster than it was being replenished, while salinisation or waterlogging affected half the world's irrigated croplands. The amount of arable land was shrinking as the number of hungry mouths grew.

According to UN data, topsoil is being lost at the rate of 26 billion tons a year.

New deserts are appearing at the rate of perhaps 14 million acres annually. Tropical forests are shrinking by 27 million acres a year.

Slower growth and more-even distribution of population would help take the pressure off land, energy resources, watersheds and forests, the report said.

## Millions

Dr Sadik said the cost of controlling population would double in a decade to R22.5 billion a year. Some of it would come from reallocation of bilateral government aid and bank loans. Developing nations and those using family planning services would have to come up with about half the money needed, she said.

The largest relative increases in the coming years would take place in Africa, the report said. By the end of the century, Africa would have grown from its current 650 million people to 900 million. In Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, the population is expected to double in the next 20 years.

Some Arab countries had even shorter population doubling times. In Syria and Yemen, women continued to have at least six live births, and throughout the region families with eight children were not uncommon, the report noted.

The population of Latin

America and the Caribbean was expected to increase by 100 million by the turn of the century to 540 million.

Meanwhile North American and European countries, with the exception of Albania, had growth rates of less than 1 percent. Without immigration, Europe's numbers would increase hardly at all for the rest of the century, the report said.

Migratory pressures would increase the burgeoning Third World population, the report noted. The number of migrants fleeing poverty, political oppression or environmental instability was already growing, while the need for unskilled and semi-skilled workers was on the decline in the industrialised north.

The report also included the conclusions of a study of 120 countries that compared demographic pressures with political institutions. It found that only a handful of countries with serious population pressures managed to maintain stable constitutional governments with good records on civil and political rights.

But the report contained several signs of hope.

"Compared with any previous generation, more women are saying they want fewer children. Although actual fertility is much higher than desired fertility in many countries, it is now falling in all regions of the developing world," it said.

The voluntary use of contraception in developing countries had grown from 10 percent of couples in the 1960s to 51 percent today.

If women who did not want to become pregnant could exercise that choice, the rate of population growth in the Third World would fall by about 30 percent.

— Sapa-AP.



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# Southern Africa targeted by bank

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GRETA STEYN

THE African Development Bank (AfDB) looks set to expand its activities in southern Africa — including joint financing of projects with the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

This was the message brought home by Development Bank GM Andre la Grange, who attended the AfDB's AGM this month in Abidjan. It was the first meeting to which the AfDB invited a representative from SA.

The Development Bank and the AfDB, which follows the OAU Charter on relations with SA, will pool expertise in the coming months.

La Grange said: "The interaction that we agreed on is first of all to conduct a few economic and technical studies on the possibilities that co-operation might offer for regional integration and regional trade, for the whole question of labour mobility, and of monetary and fiscal policies in the southern African region."

La Grange said his reception at the meeting had been nothing short of "magnificent" and that he had had contact up to the level of the Bank's vice-president. Discussions had also been held with delegates from all the Frontline states. "There are indications that the AfDB is showing a greater interest in southern Africa."

He noted he had picked up an "under-

tone" about SA being so dominating in the region and said it would have to take care not to become a "big, bad brother".

The AfDB is expected to visit Namibia during the year and talk is that it could visit SA at the same time. But despite the thawing in relations, the AfDB is still careful about discussing its links with SA.

A report in a special newspaper covering the AGM quoted the Bank's vice president, Adewale Sangowawa, as saying: "There are certain projects in which we are investing which they are also financing." He added there could be no "official" co-operation talks with SA.

Projects in which both the AfDB and the Development Bank have invested include the Lesotho Highlands Water Project and agricultural development projects in Mozambique.

The most recent example is Friday's announcement of the sugar rehabilitation programme in Mozambique, which the Development Bank will finance to the tune of R2,9m. The AfDB is also involved in providing finance and technical assistance for the overall rehabilitation programme.

□ In an unrelated development, it was announced that Development Bank CE Simon Brand would replace Jan Lombard as one of SA's World Bank governors.

Pouring funds into war-torn desert areas will not help Africa, writes R W Johnson

# Help the richer states more

SPW 157991.

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**I**T'S the famine season again. The old images are back on our screens — the countryside of some African hell-hole with its dried-up rivers and pastures, the women with their dried-up breasts, the passive, emaciated children, flies settling unhindered on their faces. We've seen it all before, in fact we've seen it every year for quite a while now and the novelty's worn off.

There probably won't be a Band Aid record this year, although this year is a record year: 27 million lives at stake. But the problem is compassion fatigue, not just for the rock groups but for all of us.

We've got the Kurds to worry about. And an earthquake in Georgia, and another one in Costa Rica. And the floods in Bangladesh, and cholera in Peru. Yes, but Africa's different, a voice says. Twenty-seven million: a tragedy of biblical proportions. But why does it keep happening? And is there much that we can really do about it?

The causes of African famine are familiar. The 1980s collapse in

commodity prices led to a dramatic deterioration in the terms of trade — producing losses far greater than the sum total of aid. High interest rates multiplied Africa's indebtedness and the ensuing hopeless struggle to keep up interest payments exerted fresh pressure to grow export cash crops rather than food consumed at home.

Although most of Africa's debt is unrepayable there was, in many cases, an obscene net transfer of resources towards the developed world. The currencies of many African countries became effectively worthless and the World Bank and IMF stepped in to force through tough austerity programmes which, whatever their financial merits, had extremely steep social costs.

On top of this came the dreadful combination of natural disasters — the creeping progress of the Sahara due to climatic change, years of terrible drought right down East Africa — and headlong demographic growth. The result is spreading environ-

mental damage, particularly deforestation and over-grazing, ultimately leading to man-made dust-bowls. Much of Africa's soil is fragile and can hardly take any further lowering of the humus level.

In addition, six million Africans are now carrying the Aids virus. Since the disease attacks the sexually active who are also the economically active, famine is one of the most likely results of the growing epidemic: the very old and very young will be left to cope in societies whose most productive groups have been decimated.

But probably the most destructive force of all has been the sheer incompetence and selfishness of Africa's elites. Almost everywhere policies have been adopted which disadvantage the food-producing peasantry to the benefit of the urban elites.

In some countries, like Ethiopia or Tanzania, policies of collectivisation and enforced resettlement were adopted with an outrageous disregard for civil rights — and

disastrous economic effects. Often internal trade was made ludicrously difficult.

Just about every other kind of policy mistake was on view — vastly inflated bureaucracies and parastatals, misguided industrialisation programmes, prestige spending, ludicrous exchange rates and so on. Corruption was pervasive and capital flight huge.

Worst of all was war. The repeated famines in the Horn of Africa and Sudan are directly related to the continued conflicts and the same is true of Angola and Mozambique. Nothing seems proof against the readiness of most African politicians to lay their countries waste rather than accommodate their opponents.

While the Oboye regime clung undemocratically to power in Uganda, the resulting war brought famine; now, despite the parlous situation inherited by the Museveni government, there is no war, no famine and even some signs of hope. Similarly, while the Nigerian civil war raged, widespread famine accompanied it — but

since the end of the war there has been no famine.

The Western response to all this has been a curious form of indirect colonialism. Groups of experts study the problems of this or that state, second-guessing government policies right across the board. They then advise aid donors to load their aid with the right number of carrots and sticks to achieve policy changes in the directions they advise.

In an extreme case such as Amin's Uganda or Mengistu's Ethiopia, all aid will be cut off until the regime falls.

This sort of remote control has had some useful results, but overall it must be judged a failure; bad policies and wars keep happening — and so do famines.

There are two things we can do, apart from ending emergency relief aid. One is to make aid conditional on multiparty democracy so that African leaders become susceptible not just to our remote control but to the whole panoply of local pressures currently shut out by military or single party re-

gimes. Secondly, we can turn the question around and ask which African countries don't have famine.

The answer is a clutch of states grouped around South Africa — Namibia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and so on; another group round Nigeria and Ivory Coast, Kenya and one or two others. The best way ahead is to support the growth poles (and more competent governments) within Africa, and to hope that they will become the linchpins of regional stability and prosperity.

It may seem bizarre to help the richer states more. But Africa's problems are clearly never going to be solved by pouring funds into war-torn desert areas while the emergence of a hub of prosperous and peaceful regional powers would offer real hope. For now our relief is needed by Ethiopia and Sudan; but what we really need is a rich Nigeria, Kenya — and South Africa.

● R W Johnson is a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and author of "How Long Will South Africa Survive?" □

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# Germany-Africa air traffic grows

**LINDEN BURNS**

FRANKFURT — Air traffic between Africa and Germany has been identified as one of only three areas worldwide which experienced growth last year. *810am 16/5/91*

Lufthansa finance CE Klaus Schlede told journalists here yesterday the German carrier experienced 10.9% growth on its freight and passenger services to Africa.

Johannesburg had consistently performed as one of Lufthansa's most lucrative African route, he added.

Schlede said overall growth on African routes had risen by about DM500 000 last year and economic and political changes in southern Africa had raised expectations for further growth this year.

In its annual report released yesterday, Lufthansa warned that prospects in the African market depended largely on oil price developments.

The International Air Transport Association (IATA) has set a 6% growth target for German-African traffic for the next year.

Outgoing Lufthansa chairman Heinz Ruhnau yesterday called for the establishment of world air link networks whereby single airlines would be able to offer flights between all of the world's major centres.

Last month seven African civil aviation executives called for the region's airlines to join forces to fight off this type of competition from leading airlines.

Ruhnau said for modern airlines to survive, massive fleet expansion and investment programmes were needed.

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# Portugal bids to regain influence in Africa



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LISBON - Sixteen years after Portugal abruptly withdrew from Africa it is trying to regain influence in its five former colonies to help resolve the economic chaos and civil wars it left behind.

Flights to Africa are filling with Portuguese businessmen eager to cash in on the rebuilding of shattered economies and tap into the potential mineral and agricultural wealth.

Diplomats, meanwhile, are enhancing Lisbon's international profile by actively trying to settle the post-independence confusion after years of disengagement.

"There is a spirit of great solidarity. We are united by historical links," Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said recently.

## Mediation

Portugal can proudly point to its mediation of talks between Angola's leftist government and US-backed Unita rebels over the past year which led to the May 1 initialling of a peace accord.

A *de facto* end to 16 years of war is due on May 15 with a formal ceasefire signing on May 31 in Portugal.

Lisbon has also been working behind the scenes to help end Mozambique's civil war and has offered its aid to rulers of Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and

Guinea-Bissau where a transition to democracy is under way.

Portugal, tired of long and costly nationalist struggles which killed thousands, ended five centuries of colonial rule in Africa within a year of its own 1974 leftist revolution.

But civil war broke out in Angola and Mozambique after independence and the infrastructures of the five countries collapsed with the exodus of half a million Portuguese technicians, administrators and businessmen.

## Patron

Moscow replaced Lisbon as the ideological and often financial patron of the five countries which adopted one-party Marxist systems.

Now, the move towards peace and away from state-controlled economies have raised Portuguese hopes of fat business contracts.

And Lisbon's centre-right government has realised the value of its common language and centuries-old ties to help serve as a bridge between Europe and Portuguese-speaking Africa.

These ties are strengthened by good air links and the presence of thousands of African immigrants in Portugal.

Many Portuguese settlers who left at independence still maintain contacts with the former colonies and Lisbon also serves as an exile base for Angolan and Mozambican opposition groups.

Tribute to Lisbon's role in achieving the Angolan peace accord was paid by the warring foes as well as Moscow and Washington, respective backers of the government and Unita.

"This step would not have been achieved were it not for the Portuguese government's interest and dedication," said Unita vice-president Jeremias Chitunda upon initialling the peace accord.

## Understand

"The Portuguese speak the same language and they have first-hand knowledge of the region," said a US diplomat who acted as an observer at the talks. "They understand Africa."

Lisbon is also increasing co-operation with its former three colonies in West Africa.

Portuguese observers were on hand at the first free elections in the Cape Verde islands and Sao Tome and Principe earlier this year and contacts are growing with Guinea-Bissau which is moving towards pluralism.

Sapa-Reuter.

THE ENVIRONMENT: EDDIE KOCH reports on a warning issued to African ecology movements

# Africa must develop own Green identity

**G**REEN activists be warned. Environmental problems facing Southern Africa and the rest of the continent are not identical to the eco-crises of the developed world. Ecology movements in Africa should not simply ape the policies of European and American Green organisations.

That's the message from Mohamed Sultman, head of the environmental unit at the London-based Institute for African Alternatives, who last week delivered the keynote address at the annual congress of Earthlife Africa.

Sultman pointed out that many European environmental organisations have become ineffective and moribund as established political parties, as well as industry, have responded in a creative way to the ecological crises facing the globe.

Disillusioned by the prospects of a Green party in Britain many people abandoned action on the macro or society level and became Green individuals. They no longer buy aerosol sprays and they use only recycled paper," he said in a speech entitled: *What Does it Mean to Be Green in Africa?*

"Instead of a Green movement of millions, we find millions of Green individuals. Practising Green virtues is important but not enough. To transform society the collective effort of all Green individuals is paramount."

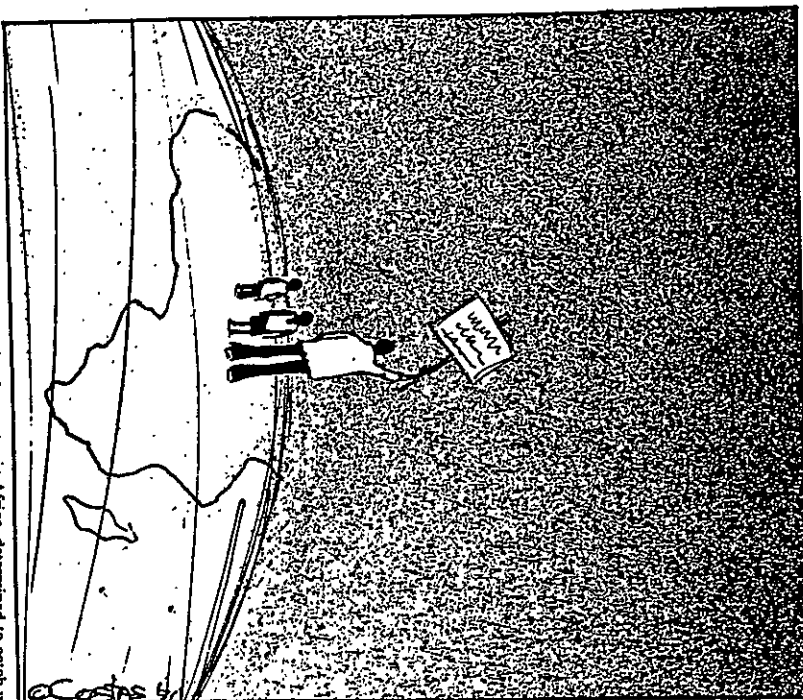
Sultman noted that Africa shared the great global catastrophes — the greenhouse effect, acid rain and the hole in the ozone layer. But the continent also experiences many specific problems which require indigenous responses by Green activists.

"The bells of global environmental degradation toll for us too ... At the same time, however, we must develop our intrinsically African framework on the environment, which should allow and help us derive country-specific Green objectives, programmes and activities," he said.

While the developed north is more concerned with pollution, acid rain, the ozone layer and the greenhouse effect, Africans are confronted by land degradation, poor water quality, desertification, drought and the devastating impacts of mining and monoculture.

"The north, having secured development at the expense of the global and local environment is now mainly concerned about the environment. Developing countries are concerned about development, less about the environment," said Sultman.

"To tackle development outside the realm of the environment means in the African context to allow continuation of the deep, all-encompassing crisis. Restoring land, biomass and water resources is equivalent to restoring the material basis of survival, no more, no less." He pointed out that African people have



maintained a living balance with their natural environment and the resources on which they depended. They developed an intimate, organic relationship with nature, characterised by a high degree of sensitivity and respect for the workings of natural ecosystems. But colonialism changed that by introducing economic systems based on intensive monoculture, deforestation and damaging mining operations. The ruling elites of newly indepen-

dent states in Africa, determined to catch up with the developed world in terms of economic growth, wanted to maintain these models.

"Colonialism upset this harmonious relationship between African tribal people and nature by imposing ever-increasing demands on natural resources. It introduced large-scale agriculture, usually based on monoculture, and began massive deforestation. Invasive mining operations began too, as colonialism ushered Africa

into the era of resource-intensive 'development'... It is essential, therefore, for Green movements in Africa to cultivate a return to positive cultural and educational values.

"A great environmental concern Africa-wide is the gradual but relentless destruction of Africans' positive cultural values: solidarity, self-help, equity, organic relation to nature... The damage nature has incurred could not have happened had it not been preceded by a long process of alienation of humans from nature, an alienation primarily on the cultural and spiritual levels."

Sultman said Southern Africa's Green movements had to learn from the failures of movements and organisations in the developed world.

"A broad-based Green movement which has cultural significance and political influence would ensure the sustained effectiveness of its endeavours, while the environmental programme and slogans of a political Green party can easily be adopted or hijacked by other non-Green parties, leaving the Greens in Germany after the last elections."

Other important organisational principals for African environmentalists outlined by Sultman include:—

● "The prerequisite of people's participation at all levels of transformation, conservation, rehabilitation and development."

● Green movements of each individual African country should analyse their own specific environmental situation in constant co-operation and debate with people and their organisations before formulating appropriate national and regional policies.

● "The formulation of sound and scientific population control policies which treat the continent's alarming rates of population growth as a development issue rather than simply an issue of birth control."

● "The supremacy in the African context of biological diversity over monoculture and the heavy use of chemicals and pesticides."

● "A move away from economic models that benefit the few on both a local and international level."

● "Global economic growth is a myth. Without power sharing, equity and fairness in resource utilisation, development and growth will always be to the benefit of the privileged few," he said.

"Developing Green movements in Africa must evolve a new system of project evaluation, one that is holistic and forward-looking. Every project must satisfy people's real economic, social and environmental needs. The poor should benefit from positive discrimination, to redress the negative discrimination they have been experiencing for so many decades."

## African indaba <sup>crad</sup> calls for democracy

KAMPALA. — African leaders, opening a UN-backed conference in Kampala yesterday, appealed for democracy and unity to end civil wars, famine and economic collapse on their continent.

Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, host of the three-day gathering, attributed many of Africa's woes to the lack of democracy and said citizens should now challenge dictators.

"Dictatorship is the major source of instability and dictators must be challenged. Leaders must be elected and their mandate must be renewed by the people," said Mr Museveni.

Participants at the conference include Presidents Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and Omar Hassan al-Bashir of Sudan, both grappling with protracted civil wars; Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and other current or former African leaders and senior officials. — Sapa-  
Reuter



Ethiopia's President Mengistu Haile Mariam. Picture: AP

## Missing Mengistu expected to surface in Zimbabwe

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopia's President Mengistu Haile Mariam, under severe pressure from northern rebel groups, has fled the country, Ethiopian state radio said yesterday.

The radio said Vice-President Tesfaye Gabre Kidan had taken over as acting head of state.

Western diplomats said earlier that Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka summoned Western ambassadors in

*Bibay 22/5/79*  
the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa on Tuesday morning to say Mengistu had gone.

Mengistu had been in power since 1977.

One possible refuge mentioned for Mengistu was Zimbabwe, where he is reported to own a ranch.

In Harare, official sources said: "There are indications he may be coming."

Diplomats said Mengistu, a close friend of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, was believed to have sent members of his family to Zimbabwe last month as rebels tightened their grip around Addis Ababa.

This was denied by the Ethiopian embassy in Harare at the time.

He met Zimbabwean Justice Minister Emerson Mnangagwa in Addis Ababa on Monday. — Sapa-Reuter

# Mengistu said to be in Harare

By Robin Drew  
Star Foreign Service

Star 22/5/79

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HARARE — A cloak of secrecy was thrown over the arrival in Harare shortly before midnight last night of a man presumed to be Mengistu Haile Mariam, the former Ethiopian leader who was forced out of office earlier in the day.

Reporters who kept vigil at Harare International Airport were locked in the airport building to prevent them watching the arrival of a four-engined jet which touched down less than an hour after President Robert Mugabe had flown out to London to see the British Prime Minister, John Major.

No explanation was given for the stringent security precautions. But an airport

employee whispered "It was Mengistu" as cars which had been drawn up in front of the terminal building sped away.

Another man said the main figure was dressed in combat fatigues and ap-

peared to be close to tears.

The Ethiopian ambassador to Zimbabwe, Asrat Wolde, was at the airport but denied he had come to meet Colonel Mengistu. He said he was there to see Mr Mugabe off but there was a noticeable absence of other diplomats except for the dean of the diplomatic corps, Ali Halimeh, the Palestinian envoy.

It was reported earlier that Mengistu's wife had arrived on a scheduled Ethiopian Airlines plane. Security officials confiscated film from news photographers.

It is possible that one reason for the elaborate secrecy is the concern that Ethiopian exiles here could pose a threat to the former leader who has long been regarded as a ruthless ruler with scant regard for human rights.



Colonel Mengistu ... forced out of power.



## Toppled Mengistu after asylum

*Sowetan  
16/12/78*

NAIROBI - Ethiopia's President Mengistu Haile Mariam, who stepped down yesterday after 14 years in power, arrived in neighbouring Kenya, apparently before flying on to an unknown destination, Kenyan airport officials said.

The Ethiopian Government said earlier that Mengistu, under severe military pressure from northern rebel groups, had stepped down and left the country to avoid further bloodshed. It did not say where he was heading.

Local journalists said they saw a twin-engined Ethiopian Airlines Otter plane at Nairobi Airport just before 1pm. Local officials said Mengistu was on board.

Reports in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa said Mengistu was heading for Zimbabwe.

In the Zimbabwean capital Harare, official sources said he might seek asylum in the country.

"There are indications he may be coming," the sources said.

Diplomats said Mengistu, a close friend of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, was believed to have sent members of his family to Zimbabwe last month as rebels tightened their grip around Addis Ababa.

This was denied by the Ethiopian embassy in Harare at the time.

Mengistu met Zimbabwean Justice Minister Emerson Mnangagwa in Addis Ababa on Monday.

A photograph of the two in the state-run newspaper yesterday fuelled rumours Mengistu was about to flee to Zimbabwe.

There were reports that Mnangagwa carried a personal message from Mugabe. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

**HARARE** — Ousted Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam has taken refuge on a farm he owns near Harare and official sources said yesterday he was likely to receive political asylum.

Official and diplomatic sources said it was "almost definite" the government would grant asylum to Mengistu, who fled Ethiopia on Tuesday after 14 years in power.

"You can say it is almost definite the man is here to stay," an official in Harare said. "He has been preparing to come for some time now."

Mengistu, in a green military uniform, arrived at Harare Airport aboard a big, four-engined jet shortly before midnight on Tuesday, an hour after his close friend, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, left for a visit to Britain.

"He (Mengistu) was looking grim and was quickly driven away by some Ethio-

# Mengistu 'sure to get asylum'

By *David 23/5/79*

plan embassy officials and local security agents," said one airport official. He was "close to tears", said another.

Mengistu's wife, Web Anchi, flew into Harare earlier in the day.

One official said Mugabe met Ethiopian ambassador in Harare Asrit Wolde, reported to be Mengistu's uncle, for "a long discussion" before leaving for London.

Mengistu and Mugabe became close friends in the late 1970s when the Ethiopian trained Mugabe's guerrillas to fight for Zimbabwe's independence, official and diplomatic sources said.

The government has not commented on Mengistu's arrival and the country's two semi-official daily newspapers prominently covered his departure from office with-

out comment.

"We will talk when we have to," a senior government official said when asked for comment.

Ethiopian exile sources said Mengistu, who rose to power after the 1974 overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie and ruled with an iron fist, owned the farm in the fertile Norton district about 50km from Harare.

His arrival in Zimbabwe aroused some public interest but a political source said "he should be able to settle quietly to a life on the farm".

In a sign that Mengistu's flight would not stop the fighting in Ethiopia, rebels said yesterday they had moved to within 55 km of the capital, Addis Ababa.

After taking the town of Addis Alem on the main western approach road to the capital, the rebels could now advance on virtually unhindered, diplomats in Addis Ababa said.

"The army has more or less collapsed and clearly has no stomach for a fight," one told Reuters.

A transitional government with former vice-president Tesfaye Gabre Kidan acting as head of state, immediately called for a ceasefire in anticipation of peace talks due to open in London on May 27.

Political analysts said they doubted whether politicians in the two main rebel groups would be able to restrain the men fighting in the field. — Sapa-Reuters.

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# Highly welcome departure

Ethiopian ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam celebrated as his people starved, reports JULIAN OZANNE.

FOR THE 14 bleak years he ruled Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam violently stamped his rigid personal vision of Marxism-Leninism on a people cowed by years of bloody terror and regimented by party apparatchiks.

His departure this week under pressure from the US, Soviet Union, other African countries and the weight of sweeping rebel victories gives Ethiopia the chance for renewal and reconstruction.

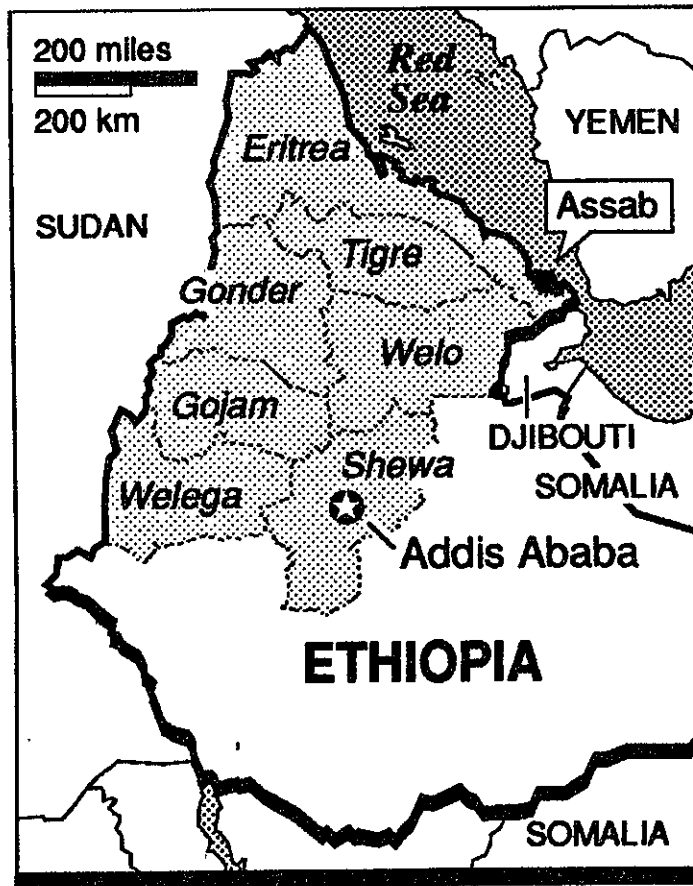
As Mr Mengistu pumped millions of rands and thousands of teenage lives into an unwinnable war with rebel groups and set about building a Stalinist state and developing his own personality cult, Ethiopia slid further into absolute poverty and recurring famine.

A chilling portrait of Africa's most reviled dictator since Idi Amin was revealed in the memoirs of Dawit Wolde Giorgis, a former member of the central committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia who defected to the West in 1985.

Mr Mengistu maintains his power like Stalin, through force, intrigue and manipulation. He rules by decree, enforcing his will through small groups of loyal henchmen, secret police and terrorist squads placed in nearly every government agency, wrote Mr Giorgis.

Mr Mengistu, a slightly built soldier with a stern, steel gaze, was a prominent member of the army cabal which seized power in 1974 from Emperor Haile Selassie. Then an obscure major with a reputation as a bar-room brawler who won fights because he did not hesitate to hit first, he was quickly chosen as the first vice-chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, which ruled Ethiopia between 1974 and 1977.

Behind the scenes Mr Mengistu, who increasingly spoke in revolutionary slogans and Marxist clichés, was constantly manoeuvring for absolute power and liquidating potential



sources of opposition.

On February 3 1977, when opposition to his bloody tactics was gaining ground, he had his bodyguards arrest all his enemies at a meeting of the council. They were later executed.

He quickly set about consolidating his power, arming his supporters and unleashing extraordinary violence against his opponents. Arbitrary executions, public lynchings and street massacres were common.

His inability to negotiate with the rebels sowed the seeds of his own destruction. Parents whose teenage sons were press-ganged into the army grew discontented, the military demoralised by a war which seemed unending, the Soviets embarrassed and the rebels increasingly euphoric as they took control of large slices of territory. Finally, the US and other African countries grew tired of the chaos his regime provoked.

The unflinching barbarity of

Mr Mengistu's regime was most powerfully demonstrated during the Ethiopian famine of 1983-1984. As fertile fields turned to dust and thousands of emaciated refugees trekked into shabby shelters where there was no food, Mr Mengistu concentrated on the 10th anniversary celebrations of the revolution.

Millions of rands were spent putting up red flags and pictures of Mr Mengistu, Marx and Lenin and on sprucing up Addis Ababa for four days of pageantry, banquets and self-congratulation.

During a five-hour speech before African presidents and foreign dignitaries, Mr Mengistu praised the achievements of the revolution, not once mentioning the mass starvation throughout the countryside.

What was most remarkable about Mr Mengistu was that he managed to cling to power for so long, weathering several assassination attempts and an

abortive coup d'etat in 1985. But mounting international pressure eventually proved too much even for such a wily street-fighter.

For the first time since Mr Mengistu seized absolute power in 1977, there is now an opportunity for the country to end a 30-year internal conflict, establish a stable pluralistic political system and embark on fundamental economic reform.

The future of Ethiopia hangs in the balance. Implosion or reconstruction are the two choices facing the country.

The country is in pieces. Huge slices of territory are under rebel military control, nearly 6 million people face acute starvation, foreign exchange reserves are depleted and the whole social, economic and political fabric of Ethiopia is torn.

Years of socialist agricultural policies and nationalisation, collectivisation, controlled prices, State-run marketing boards and limitations on internal trade have exacerbated food and security problems and compounded poverty.

Ethiopia is the poorest country in the world.

On top of this depressing picture, nearly 6 million people are on the brink of starvation this year in drought-devastated villages. The famine victims depend on a massive relief effort which could easily collapse in the face of continued fighting or the break-up of administrative authority in the capital.

Hopes for a political renewal are thin. The population has been cowed and intimidated for years by the security forces and the tight control on their lives exercised by the party urban and rural associations.

But that kind of optimism is now vital if Ethiopia is to be saved from disintegration and massive loss of life, either from continued fighting or famine.

The new government, led by Lieutenant-General Tesfaye Gebre-Kidan, has offered a ceasefire and a transitional government. These proposals will form the basis of US-sponsored talks in London between all sides next Monday or Tuesday. — Financial Times. □

# Mengistu seeks asylum

**HARARE** — Ousted Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam has taken refuge on a farm he owns near Zimbabwe's capital and officials said yesterday he was likely to seek political asylum.

Official and diplomatic sources said it was "almost definite" the government would grant asylum to Mr Mengistu, who fled Ethiopia on Tuesday after 14 years in power.

"You can say it is almost definite the man is here to stay," an official in Harare said. "He has been preparing to come for some time now."

Mr Mengistu, in a military uniform, arrived at Harare airport aboard a jet shortly before midnight on Tuesday, an hour after his close friend, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, left for a visit to Britain.

He was looking grim and was quickly driven away by some Ethiopian embassy officials and local security agents," said an airport official. He was close to tears, said another.

One official said Mr Mugabe had met Ethiopia's ambassador

in Harare, Asrit Wolde — reported to be Mr Mengistu's uncle — for "a long discussion" before leaving for London.

Mr Mengistu and Mr Mugabe became close friends in the late 1970s when the Ethiopian strongman trained Mr Mugabe's guerillas to fight for Zimbabwe's independence, official and diplomatic sources said.

"They are both Marxist ideologues. Mr Mugabe is rhetorical but pragmatic in practice while Mr Mengistu is the classic hard-liner. But they drink from a common fountain," said one source.

The government has not commented on Mr Mengistu's arrival. The country's two semi-official daily newspapers prominently covered his departure from office without comment.

"We will talk when we have to," a senior government official said.

Official sources, however, said Mr Mengistu was driven immediately on arrival to the farm he owns 50 km north-west of Harare.

Ethiopian exile sources said Mr Mengistu, who rose to power after the 1974 overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie and ruled

with an iron fist, owned the farm in Norton district.

Mr Mengistu's wife Web Anchi arrived in Harare earlier on Tuesday on a scheduled Ethiopian Airways flight with Mr Wolde.

A report from Addis Ababa said Zimbabwean Justice Minister Emmerson Mnangagwa met Mr Mengistu in the Ethiopian capital on Monday and was believed to have passed on a message from Mr Mugabe.

Mr Mengistu stepped down from office on Tuesday as rebels fighting for political autonomy and democracy advanced on Addis Ababa from several fronts. — Sapa-Reuter.

● The Star Africa Service reports from Harare that one view being expressed in local circles is that by agreeing to give Mr Mengistu asylum, Zimbabwe is assisting in the peace process in Ethiopia by giving peace talks a better chance of succeeding with the former president out of the way.

Britain and America have encouraged this approach, it is understood.

# Mengistu is in Harare - claim

50wefam 23/5/91



HARARE - Ousted Ethiopian president Mengistu Haile Mariam flew to Zimbabwe late on Tuesday night where he was expected to seek sanctuary, official sources said.

He fled Ethiopia to Kenya on Tuesday after 14 years in power, with rebel groups advancing on the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa.

Officials said Mengistu arrived at Harare airport wearing a green military uniform shortly before midnight.

"He was looking grim and was quickly driven away by some Ethiopian embassy officials and local security agents," said one official.

He touched down shortly after Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe left for London.

Mengistu was met by Ethiopia's ambassador to Harare, Asrit Wolde, but no senior Zimbabwean officials were present.

The Zimbabwean government has not commented on Mengistu's arrival. Sources said he was

immediately driven to a farm 50km northeast of Harare.

The former president's wife, Web Anchi, arrived in Harare on Tuesday afternoon.

A report from Addis Ababa said Zimbabwean Justice Minister Emerson Mnangagwa met Mengistu in Ethiopia on Monday and was believed to have passed on a message from Mugabe.

Diplomats said the deposed Ethiopian ruler was a close friend of Mugabe. - Sapa-Reuter

**KENEMA** - Mahmoud was born in Sierra Leone. So were Ali, Faisal and thousands of others in West Africa's most tightly-knit Lebanese community.

Now Liberian rebels want to scare them out of their adopted homeland in the tropics.

"We have been here for 104 years and we feel we are one of Sierra Leone's tribes. Anyway, we have no other place to go," said Mr Hashim Hashim, sipping at a tiny cup of Turkish coffee.

Hashim is leader of the 15 000 Lebanese in Sierra Leone and one hour in his company explains why.

### Comfort

His comfortable bungalow in Kenema, on the edge of the fighting in Sierra Leone's nasty little war, is the command centre for a frightened community.

He interrupts marathon conversations in Arabic on one of Kenema's few functioning telephones to dispense advice to men whose resolve is weakening.

He rushes to the ham radio set in the dining room for his half-hourly chats with Mr Adel Mullah, the Lebanese leader in Freetown 305km away.

Rebels of Mr Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia

# Arab 'tribe' clings to African home

Sowetan 23/5/91 (1)

crossed into Sierra Leone on March 23. Initially they came to steal food, but when they saw the state of the former British colony's defences the rebels decided to stay.

By May, the government had lost control of a wide border strip which is the richest region of one of Africa's most desperately poor countries. Coffee, cocoa and fresh fruit and vegetables for Freetown come from here.

So do half of Sierra Leone's diamonds, the R780-million-a-year business which the Lebanese control from top to bottom.

The Liberian civil war, begun by the NPFL in December 1989, forced out 11 000 Lebanese who had settled there almost as long ago as their kin in Sierra Leone. Many were evacuated on United States Navy helicopters with a tag on their wrist, a battered suitcase and a life in ruins.

Said Mr Farid Hasanih, an importer in Freetown: "Now there are only 1 000 of us left

in Liberia."

Sierra Leone's Lebanese are determined not to suffer the same fate.

As soon as the rebel incursions began, the community took some tough decisions. Lebanese women and children could leave on the weekly Middle East Airlines flight for the increasingly safer climate in Beirut. But men had to stay put.

### Killings

The policy survived the killing of six Lebanese by rebels on May 4 in the diamond town of Sumbuya. They were the first non-African fatalities of the bush war.

Hashim said over dinner of hummus, kebabs and pita: "Our community in the Kenema area was 1 500 people. All 400 men have stayed where they are and they need my approval to leave."

"I been here since 1958 and really we never believed this thing could happen in Sierra Leone," said Mr Nadim Assaf, a

55-year-old who was wearing one of Hashim's shirts. He lost his clothes along with his farm, his store and his night club in Pendembu when the rebels arrived on April 16.

"These people are so peaceful. Since 33 years I don't see one man slap another," said Assaf. He is a Maronite Christian, unlike the vast majority of the Lebanese in West Africa who are Shi'ite Moslems.

The Shi'ites were traditionally at the bottom of the ladder in Lebanon. Poverty, and fear of conscription into the Ottoman imperial army brought them here. Ties remain strong with the Lebanese Shi'ite movement Amal, whose leader Mr Nabih Berri was born in Bo, Sierra Leone's second city.

"Nabih has let it be known that he wants us to stay here," said Ali, a young trader who fought with Amal in Beirut between 1982 and 1986. Now he is using his battle experience to help train a

self-defence militia in a small town outside Kenema.

Community leaders prefer not to discuss the Amal connection and Hashim said he would never allow his men to fight the rebels.

"We have guys who could fight. But the day after the rebels are kicked out, we would be considered a threat to national security and told to leave Sierra Leone," he said.

Instead, the Lebanese are pouring money into the coalition of Sierra Leonean and Guinean troops and an anti-Taylor Liberian militia which is fighting the NPFL.

Few Africans love the Lebanese. Their popular image is of sharp operators who corrupt politicians.

"The Lebanese like our women but the friendship stops there," one Ghanaian said in a typical comment.

In Sierra Leone, Taylor's rebels have made sure Lebanese and Africans are on the same side for once. - Sapa-  
Reuter.

Graham Linscott looks at the flight south of Ethiopia's former strongman

# Why did he head for Zimbabwe?

WHAT could more effectively capture the demise of the meddlesome Brezhnev doctrine in Africa than Ethiopia's Marxist-Leninist strongman scurrying to shelter in Zimbabwe?

Mengistu Haile Mariam is an especially interesting case among the handful of African leaders who have embraced communism, with universally catastrophic results.

This is partly because the revolution which brought him to power was not initially inspired by the Soviets and partly because it was nevertheless in many ways a car-

bon copy of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

Mengistu, enthusiastically proclaiming Marxism-Leninism, proceeded to drench his country in blood, in the unfortunate way Bolshevik revolutions seem to have, however high-minded the motives.

And blood was about the only moisture the soil of Ethiopia was getting in those days, especially as the uncertainty spurred on secessionists in the provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. There was also a disastrous war with Somalia. Phases of natural drought became famine and people died in their hundreds

of thousands.

A high price for ideology, one might think. And now Mengistu arrives furtively in Zimbabwe, close to tears according to reports. Remorse at the blood on his hands? Chagrin at being failed by the infallible laws of scientific socialism?

Pity Ethiopia. By all accounts the two secessionist movements closing in on Addis Ababa are quaintly old-fashioned. Both are inspired by Marxism-Leninism. But why would Mengistu head for Zimbabwe? Does he really own a farm there, or is it the only

place in Africa where you can still sit and talk to the head of state about the inevitable triumph of communism?

On the other hand there could be precedents. Smuts is reputed to have given Haile Selassie secret digs in Durban while he was waiting for his country to be liberated from the Italian Fascists. One of the great photographs of history shows Selassie marching into Addis Ababa at the head of a column of South African troops. Somehow one doubts though that Mugabe will do the same for Mengistu. □

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# Mengistu can stay - Mugabe

By Robin Drew  
Star Africa Service

stop  
24/5/79

HARARE — Self-exiled Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam will be allowed to stay in Zimbabwe, President Mugabe said yesterday.

Colonel Mengistu arrived here secretly on Tuesday night and has been in hiding since then with no official acknowledgment that he was here.

However Mr Mugabe, confirming his presence, said: "It appears he resigned by agreement and with the consent of his colleagues. If he wants shelter we will provide it if it will provide stability in Ethiopia."

There has been no word of the fate of the Ethiopian ambassador in Zimbabwe, Asrat Wolde, an uncle of Colonel Mengistu, who has been sacked according to Ethiopian Radio, because he was at the airport to welcome his nephew.

The radio said Colonel Mengistu fled his country after pretending that he was going on a flight to visit troops away from the capital. Once in the air, the aircraft changed course.

His wife and daughter arrived here ahead of him.

● Rebels' move awaited

- Page 4.



# Despots: Another One bites the dust

①  
M.W. 24/5 - 29/5/91

peasants that resulted in sharply reduced farm production and exacerbated the effects of the 1984-85 drought and famine in which an estimated one million peasants perished.

There were wars, including the conflict with Somalia over the Ogaden region in 1977-78 in which hundreds of thousands were killed. There was the rebellion in the northern region of Tigray, where a hard-line Marxist army rose up to fight the Mengistu reign. Today, at least 70 000 strong, that army is reportedly within 100km of the capital. There was the continuing war in the northern regions of Eritrea, where rebels have been engaged in a fight for autonomy for more than three decades.

These conflicts have resulted in the deaths of at least 500 000 persons and helped cause the famines that continue to stalk the country.

The most telling statistic of Mengistu's reign may be that, while Ethiopia remained one of the poorest countries in the world, nearly half the nation's budget went to support the military — at one time the continent's largest standing force — during the past 12 years, according to Western analysts.

For more than a decade, Mengistu's military strength was fuelled by an estimated \$10-billion in military and economic aid from the Soviet Union. With communism's fall over the past five years, the new thinking of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the warming of ties between East and West, military aid to former clients such as Mengistu has been reduced. — The Washington Post

**P**RESIDENT Mengistu Haile Mariam, who abruptly resigned and fled Ethiopia on Tuesday, left his country a shambles, economically bankrupt and on the verge of political integration. His hopes for establishing an African Marxist state ended in famine, war and political terror.

The dour army colonel who became a hard-line Marxist was little known to the outside world when he led a group of army officers in the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in September 1974. Initially, Mengistu made profound social and economic changes in Ethiopia, transforming this highly feudal society into a socialist state.

But his 17-year rule was marked largely by continuing civil war, deadly famines and the killing of opponents. "He always had a very intense, visceral hatred of the old feudal order. Mengistu had ideals, but he knew no other language beside brute force ... and in the end, he alienated virtually everyone in the country," said Alex di Waal, an Ethiopia specialist and associate director of the London-based human rights group, Africa Watch.

In a wider sense, Mengistu's sudden exit from Addis Ababa represents the latest chapter in a continuing series of political upheavals that have shaken sub-Saharan Africa over the past year. Either by coups or rebel assaults, longtime autocratic rulers and despots have been toppled in Liberia, Somalia, Chad and Mali during this period. Many other longtime rulers, notably in Zaire, Zambia and Ivory Coast, are under intense pressure to implement poli-

This week Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam fled his country. **NEIL HENRY** looks at the 17-year rule of one of Africa's most feared dictators

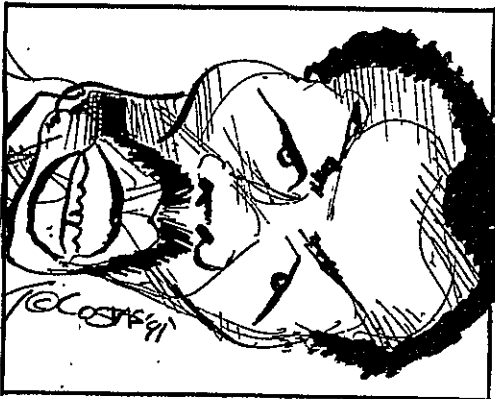
ical reforms from populations restive for greater political freedoms.

These political and social changes in Africa derive indirectly from the worldwide favour that democracy and reform are enjoying in the wake of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The changes also clearly derive from the anger and frustration many Africans feel after suffering from largely incompetent, corrupt and repressive governments for so many years.

But some of these pressures seem to stem, as well, from geopolitical and economic shocks ripping the continent in the wake of the end of the Cold War, when competition between the superpowers saw billions of dollars in vital military and economic support going to sympathetic Third World client states.

With the end of the Cold War, and greater recognition of human rights concerns by donors, such aid from



President Mengistu ... has resigned and fled Ethiopia for Zimbabwe

East and West to African dictators is slowly drying up just as political opposition in Africa grows ever stronger.

Each of these factors played a role in the fall of Mengistu.

He envisioned himself as Africa's answer to Fidel Castro, a Third World champion of communism. He ordered portraits of himself erected in public

# Africa running last in Aids race

WASHINGTON — From truck stops in Tanzania to movie houses in Uganda, Aids prevention is making dramatic strides, but is still losing the race to the deadly disease, according to a US government report.

In an annual report to Congress on Aids, the Agency for International Development said this week that Africa continues to be the continent most affected.

Close to 6 million adults are pre-Aids,

star 25/5/91  
DAVID BRISCOE  
HIV-infected and 700 000 have Aids cases.

Unless effective prevention programmes are started now, the same thing could occur in many countries of Asia, the Near East and Latin America.

The report on prevention and control of Aids in the developing world highlights several programmes, including one to distribute condoms at

truck stops in Tanzania.

At one stop, a guest house owner with the nickname "Bwana Condom" and his associates were said to distribute about 20 000 a month.

Other successes noted by the report include a social marketing program that has sold over 2 million condoms in Cameroon, a television campaign in the Dominican Republic and a movie, financed by the agency, shown commercially in Uganda. — Sapa

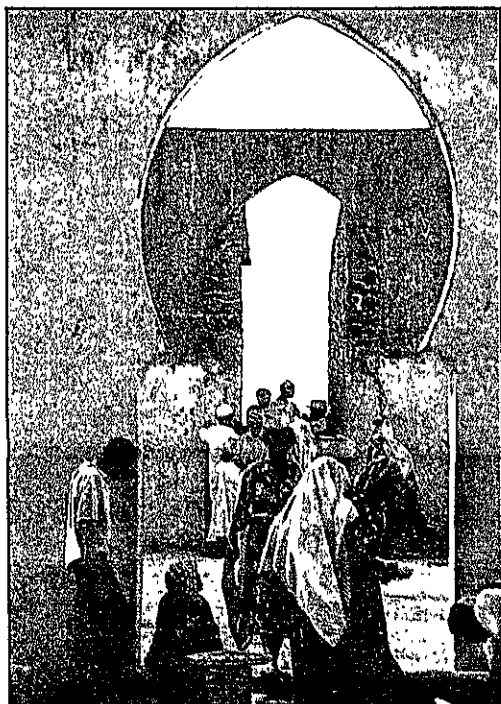
## GETAWAYS

Gardening this week is in the homes section in the main body of Saturday Star.

# A voyage to the very edge of the world

Star 25/5/91.

NEVILLE ADLAM journeys into the Comores time-warp ①



**DOUBLE-TAKE:** Two archways at Mitsamiouli market on Grand Comores island. A feature which puzzles visitors are the countless incomplete buildings in the island. The custom is when a first daughter is born the father builds her a home as a dowry. The houses are put together piece by piece possibly over 20 years — and completed just before the marriage.



IT'S NOT that far to the Comores from Johannesburg. But when you arrive there you get the feeling that you are standing on the edge of the world.

The perception is enhanced by the black igneous rock you stand on as you look northwards out into the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean. There is also the omnipresent and threatening bulk of the volcano of Mount Karthala behind you (you are told it last erupted in 1977 — and is four years overdue).

In the depths beyond the reef at about 100 m coelacanths float and paddle their way as they have for a million years or more.

And the island people themselves seem to be caught up obliviously in ancient Islamic cultures some of which have not quite moved into the 20th century.

It's like standing on the edge of reality. The hands of time on these islands seem to have moved too slowly — and yet you can take a half turn and see the 20th century luxury Le Galawa Beach Hotel cuddling against massive palm trees, the multi-coloured sails of the windsurfers and the bright half-orb of a parasail being pulled against the sunset.

The Martians have landed — and you, the tourist, are one of them.

And, make no mistake, entrepreneur extraordinary Sol Kerzner has made every endeavour to make sure that you are treated like a special visitor from another place.

The islands may be poor, the way of life frugal, but the islanders do not starve. Simplistically, the islanders take care of their own if you don't catch fish overnight, you eat coconut, or bananas.

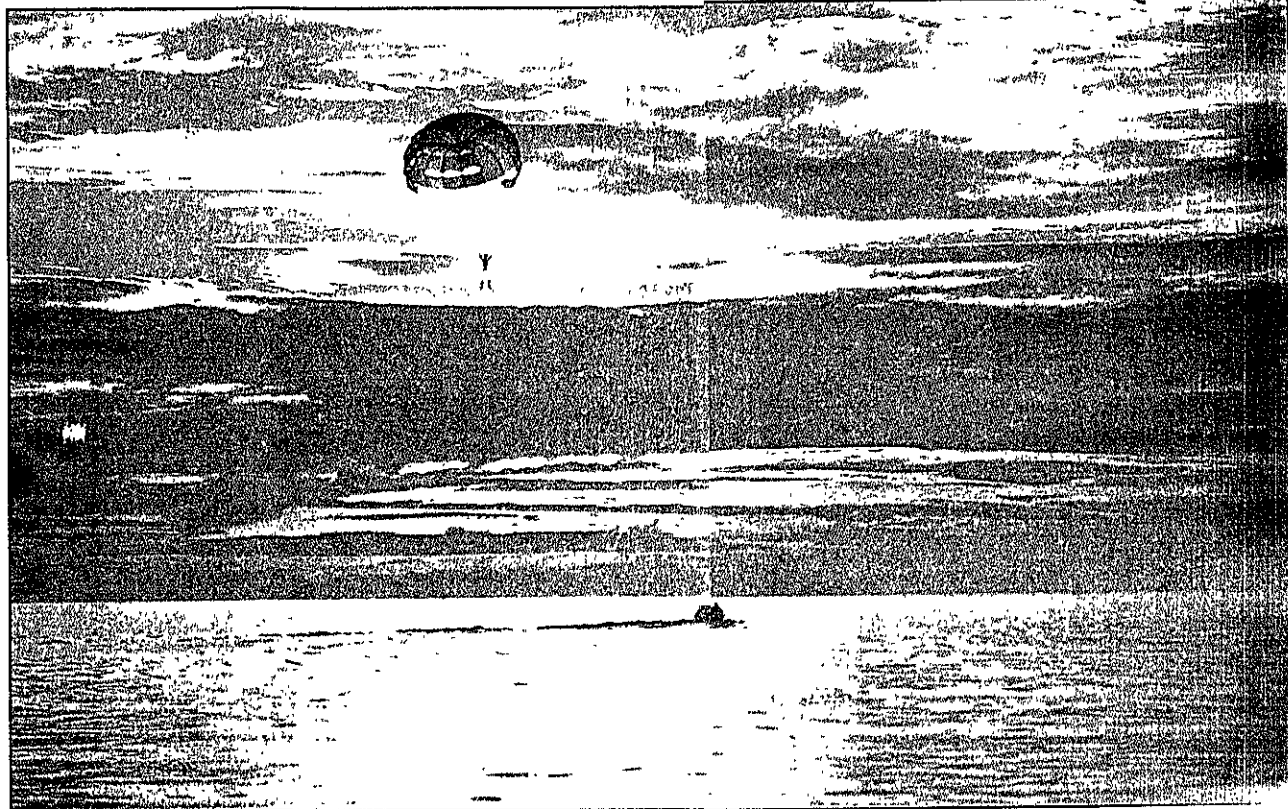
But in the Le Galawa Hotel, it is a transformation. The visitors are the new breath of life to the Comores economy. The hotel complex (and others to come) is seen by the progressive new Comores government as part of the future of the islands. Tourists are welcome, whether they spend in rands, dollars or sterling.

Le Galawa (re-opened in April) is aimed at the international market and, very importantly, the South African connection. One gets the impression that Sol Kerzner has made up his mind that he will not miss out on this opportunity (when has he ever?).

So his World Leisure Holidays has brought in the best management it can find, brought in his flair and flamboyant style — and dared you not to enjoy yourself.

His team has worked out a special seven-day package which will run until December — flying in the Grand Comore (the main island) by South African Airways Airbus on Saturdays and flying back a week later.

This is what holidaymakers will get. Full service and handling of baggage when you get to the airport, free transport to the

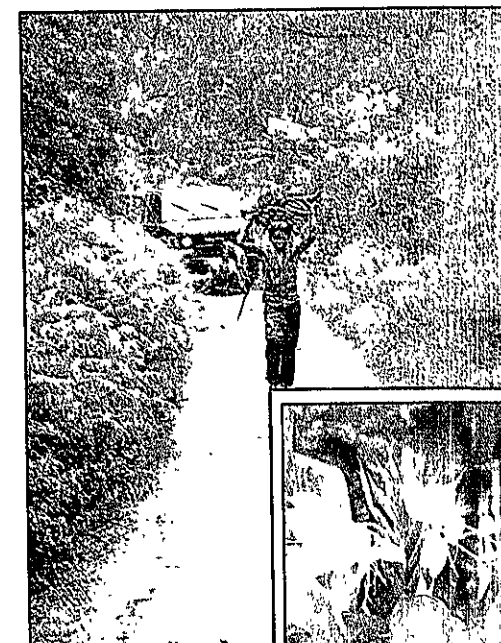


**OUT OF THIS WORLD:** A lone para-sailor "flying on the edge of the world" at Le Galawa Beach in the Comores.

**TIMELESS:** (Left) Local fishing boats, or galawas, are hewn from tree trunks in a scene unchanged in a thousand years.

**TROPICAL BEACH:** (Below left) Golden sand and fun-makers flanked by palms and intrusions of black, volcanic rock.

● PHOTOGRAPHS Neville Adlam



**RAIN FOREST:** Fine mist and drizzle create a green wonderland on Grand Comore. Inset: Wild orchids — typical of the "perfumed isles".



Star 25/5/91.

and wander up to a free cocktail party and the first of the seven gourmet dinners you will enjoy during your stay.

All the rooms are sea-facing and all have TV and air-conditioning. The breakfasts are sumptuous, stylish and, if you choose, long and late into the mid-morning. The exception is that you will have to pay for lunches if you

sort's water sports and this includes waterskiing, windsurfing, sailing, snorkelling, canoeing (with glass bottoms to view the coral and fish), reef fishing, hal cats and pedaloes (and you can play tennis, too, during the evenings). Other water sports like jetskiing, parasailing, glass bottom cruises and water snake rides are available at a nominal

price so you are pampered morning, noon and night — when you can enjoy theme parties, cabaret and dancing under the stars. You can also slip away for an evening's gambling in the smart casino.

There is much, much more. Deep sea fishing tours around the island, drives into the rain forests and even a day, if you wish, to Karthala.

① You get a magnificent view of the green-clad Grand Comore and cloud-covered Mount Karthala from the port-side windows of the Airbus as you leave late on Saturday afternoon.

I wondered if I would ever break into the time-warp again. Into a place where there are no road signs, no trains, trams or robots. A volcano crater into which legend tells us the Queen of Sheba's throne was cast. And

an island where only now, 4th century Egyptian granite is being unearthed.

I found the Comores to be a getaway par excellence and an experience out of this world.

● Drinks are not costly, considering most items must be flown or shipped in. At Le Galawa, a beer cost the equivalent of 100 and cold drinks R3.50. Telephone World Leisure Holidays (at 011) 886-9710/6 for information.

# Hotel rates could take a cut in island resorts

6/10ay 27/5/91  
HOTEL rates throughout the Indian Ocean holiday resorts could drop as hotel groups competed to fill thousands of beds in a shrinking market, a spokesman for a major international hotel groups said on Friday.

Wagons-Lits Accor Indian Ocean area manager Jean-Luc Helary said SA's travel market would soon be the target of special cut-rate package tours to Mauritius as hotel chains tried to rejuvenate travel business to the island, which was still in post-Gulf war doldrums.

Mauritius was also to be marketed in SA as an executive conference venue, said Helary.

"We are hoping that South Africans will account for 25% of visitors to Mauritius by the end of next year," he added.

The island has traditionally been known as an upmarket tourist destination, but Europeans were wary of buying Mauritian package holidays as all flights to the island from Europe are routed over the Middle East.

Pullman Hotel spokesman Christine Dupont said on Friday that SA's proximity to Mauritius, combined with SA's political reforms and strengthening trade links with the island, made the SA businessman and tourist an attractive target.

Wagon-Lits and management partners Accor are taking advantage of liberalising world attitudes towards trade with SA. The

LINDEN BIRNS

group recently teamed with Southern Sun to set up a new company, Formule 1, in order to invest in a chain of 40 hotels in SA.

The group is also looking to SA to fulfil some staff requirements at its new hotels in Mauritius.

Hoteliers on the island may suffer further losses in the short term as Cathay Pacific Airlines plans to stop its flights between Mauritius and Hong Kong, once its direct non-stop flights between Johannesburg and Hong Kong begin.

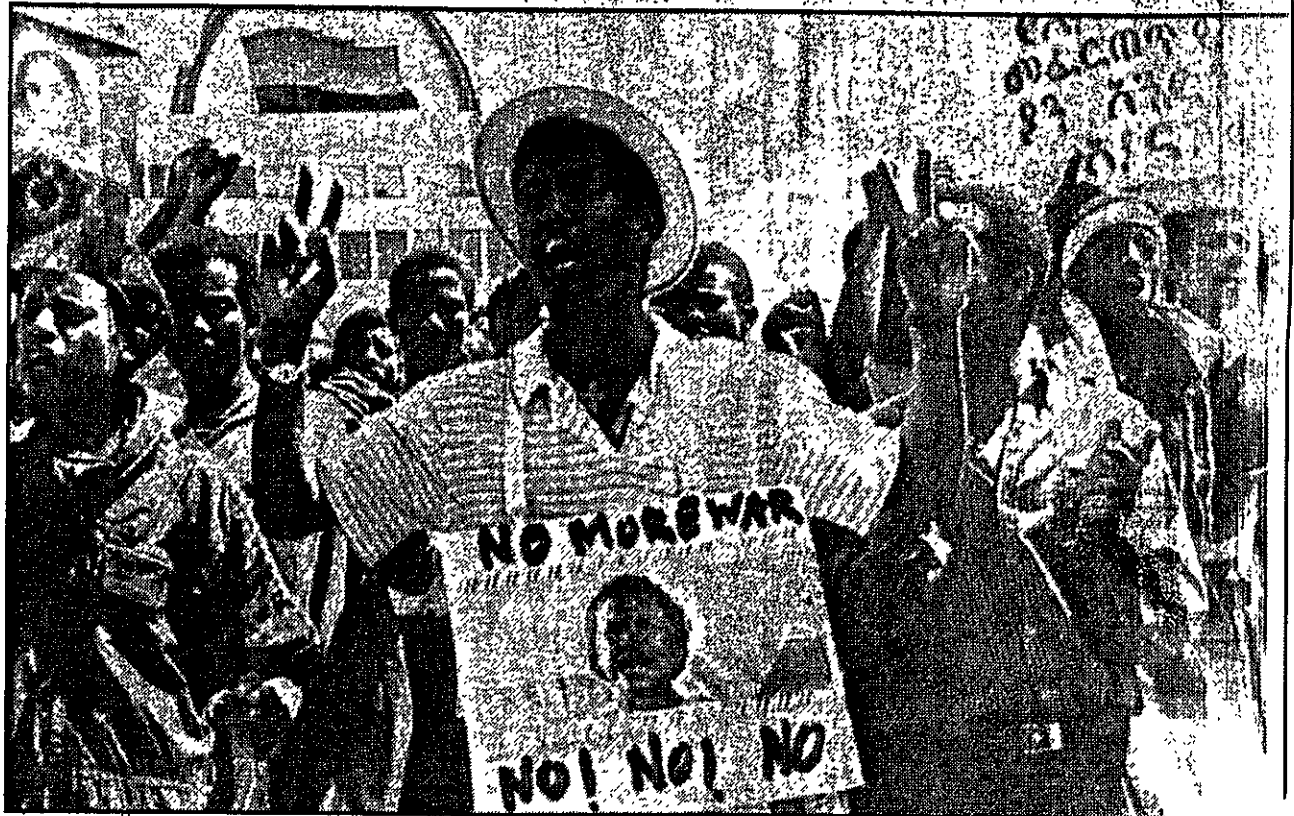
## Preferential

This will mean a loss of stopover visitors for Mauritius.

To soften the blow, and to capture the target portion of SA's travelling market, the hotel group would offer preferential rates on package tours from SA, Helary said. These packages would be offered in conjunction with SAA and Air Mauritius, he added.

Helary predicted that hotel rates throughout the Indian Ocean region would drop as competing groups fought to fill rooms.

The Mauritian government has put a temporary clamp on further hotel development on the island. There are already more than 4 000 hotel rooms in Mauritius.



Peace parade . . . hundreds of Ethiopians march through the streets of Addis Ababa yesterday carrying posters reading "no more war and "peace in Ethiopia".  
Picture: Associated Press

## Ethiopian govt, rebels start talks today

LONDON — US-brokered peace talks to end Ethiopia's long-running civil war open today between the beleaguered government and rebels who have consolidated their military grip over the country.

Up to 1000 Ethiopian exiles planned to stage a peace vigil in London to mark the start of the talks to end Africa's longest and bloodiest civil war.

Their organiser, Mammo Lachie, said they wanted an immediate ceasefire and democratic reforms in the impoverished state.

US envoy Herman Cohen will open the peace talks at an undisclosed location in London by separately meeting Ethiopian Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka and representatives of three rebel groups.

A US embassy spokeswoman said there was no specific time-frame but the two sides were due to hold round-table talks tomorrow.

Rebels now control most of Ethiopia and are on the outskirts of the capital, Addis Ababa.

Advance fighters of the main rebel group, the Ethio-

pian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), were reported only 12 km from the city but said they would not attack unless the peace talks failed.

Rebels said last night they had captured Addis Ababa's international airport and overrun two military airfields, and arms fire was heard in the besieged capital, some near the presidential palace.

However, Western diplomats said it did not appear that rebels had launched an all-out assault on the capital. Diplomats in Addis Ababa

say the government is broken militarily and Tesfaye Dinka, heading an 11-man delegation at the talks, had little choice but to accept rebel demands and sign an unconditional surrender.

He said before leaving Addis Ababa that his priority was to agree to an immediate ceasefire and a transitional government in which all opposition forces would be represented.

The peace talks became possible after the EPRDF's advance forced President Mengistu Haile Mariam to flee after 14 years of brutal rule. — Sapa-Reuter.

# EC to assess aid for Africa

Sowetan 27/1/91

SEB (1)

BRUSSELS - European Community development ministers meet today to assess members' contributions to fighting a famine that threatens more than 20 million Africans.

EC officials said the Council of ministers would examine how much the 12 member states had given to complement Community efforts and discuss how to co-ordinate their initiatives.

"The Council will look at what member states have done to make sure they are doing their bit," one EC diplomat said.

## Stopped

The EC has raised its 1991 budget limits by R453-million to send an extra 400 000 tonnes of food to Africa. The European Commission, the EC's executive, wants members to contribute a further 150 000 to 250 000 tonnes.

Aid organisations are lobbying for faster shipment of food.

"Speed of delivery is the crucial issue at the moment. I'd be surprised if a single ounce of the 400 000 tonnes is moving yet," Tony Vaux, emer-



gency co-ordinator of Oxfam, said.

Oxfam feared much of the aid would reach the Horn of Africa late in the year and coincide with lo-

cal harvests, he added.

The ministers will discuss plans to link development aid to respect for human rights.

The Commission has stopped aid in the past to some countries where human rights were judged to have been violated but wants clear guidelines for future action. - *Sapa-Reuter*



# Rebels advance into Addis Ababa

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopian rebels stormed the capital Addis Ababa at dawn today, firing from tanks at remnants of the army holed up at the presidential palace.

Thousands of rebels poured in from all directions and the sound of artillery and machinegun fire echoed across the city.

The rebels hit an ammunition dump in the palace compound, touching off an explosion in a flash of orange flame and sending bullets and rockets flying.

Rebels moved into key points and ministries in the city exactly a week after Marxist military ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam fled into exile because of their onslaught.

Rebel T-54 tanks poured gunfire into the tree-shrouded hill of the presidential complex overlooking the city.

Red tracers spewed from the palace for about half an hour, but when the rebels hit the presidential ammunition dump government fire ceased.

The acrid smell of explosives drifted across the tree-lined avenues of the city centre where rebel soldiers were poised.

Two government tanks burned near the palace's stone gate entrance.

The intensity of the am-

munition dump explosion forced some of the attacking rebels to withdraw.

The thunder of exploding munitions drowned out the sound of fighting elsewhere in the city. Firing could be heard from the airport 8 km away.

Reuter correspondent Aidan Hartley rode with an advancing column of 40 rebel trucks of troops.

He said the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) rebels were jubilant and waved the red flag emblazoned with an AK-47 rifle, the symbol of their movement.

The rebels secured the Hilton Hotel, to which many foreigners had fled when the city was plunged into darkness on the eve of the assault.

The hotel lay in the path of the rebel advance on the hill.

Bullets flew over the building and hit some windows.

The force of the explosion from the ammunition dump blew in windows in the hotel lobby. Mothers and children cowered in corridors to avoid flying glass.

The remnants of Mr Mengistu's army held out in spite of an order from the government to cease fire and the recommendation by the United States that the rebels enter the city to avoid bloodshed.

Diplomatic sources said

the US charge d'affaires in Addis Ababa had told acting President Tesfaye Gabre Kidan of the US announcement yesterday afternoon.

But the army continued to fire, mainly into the air, throughout yesterday and during the night.

Nearly two hours after the battle began, shooting still raged.

Rebels edged gingerly towards the perimeter fence of the presidential compound, from where 10 m high flames licked the tree tops.

Rebel tanks moved through other parts of the city, followed by infantrymen on foot.

The rebel fire appeared to be carefully aimed at government targets and residential areas seemed to be unscathed.

There has been no air activity during the battle so far.

The battle for Addis Ababa, climax of 30 years of war in Ethiopia, followed the opening day of peace talks in London yesterday.

At the talks, US mediator Herman Cohen urged the rebels to move into Addis Ababa quickly to avert a bloodbath.

But Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka threatened to walk out of the talks, saying that if rebels entered the capital it would explode in violent hand-to-hand battles. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Why SA dwarfs Africa

Star 28/9/91

47 1

South Africa's economic power is vastly greater than that of even the wealthiest countries of black Africa, but it could be threatened by the efforts to create a new political dispensation, reports GERALD L'ANGE.

**T**HOSE who are playing the major roles in shaping the new South Africa could do worse than to keep before them the accompanying graph.

Indeed, it would not be a bad idea if the graph's significance could be brought home also to those who are now promoting violence in South Africa.

The graph shows how very much wealthier South Africa is than any other African country, even Nigeria, the big, populous oil-rich state that is often referred to as the Giant of Africa.

It shows what South Africans have got which is worth cherishing and protecting in this impoverished and declining continent.

It shows what has been threatened by sanctions and what is being put at risk by the present political upheaval and violence, and what would be put at risk in the future by the introduction of bad political and economic systems.

It gives an indication of the wealth that could be spread more fairly among all South Africans by better systems than those that have prevailed in the past, and that could be expanded by sane systems.

Conversely, it gives an idea of the levels to which South Africa might be reduced by political upheaval and instability.

What made South Africa the richest and strongest country in Africa and why has no other African country matched it? The answers to these questions lie in defining the wealth and examining whence it came.

It comes partly from mineral resources that exceed anything in any other African country. The possession of these resources is sheer luck, but the efficiency of their exploitation was not.

If the productivity of a country is measured by the competitiveness of its products in international markets, then it must be said that South Africa's wealth comes in part from the exploitation of cheap black la-

bour. But this is only one factor and certainly not the major one.

To some extent, it comes also from the political stability that the apartheid regime was able to maintain before it was weakened by international sanctions and domestic opposition.

Perhaps more than anything else, South Africa's wealth — certainly its ability to grow wealthier — comes from its free market system and the relative absence of central control of the economy.

It comes from the freedom given to entrepreneurs to seize and exploit opportunities, to take risks and to use imaginative and innovative approaches to creating wealth, and to respond creatively to the demands of the only place where real wealth has ever been generated, the marketplace.

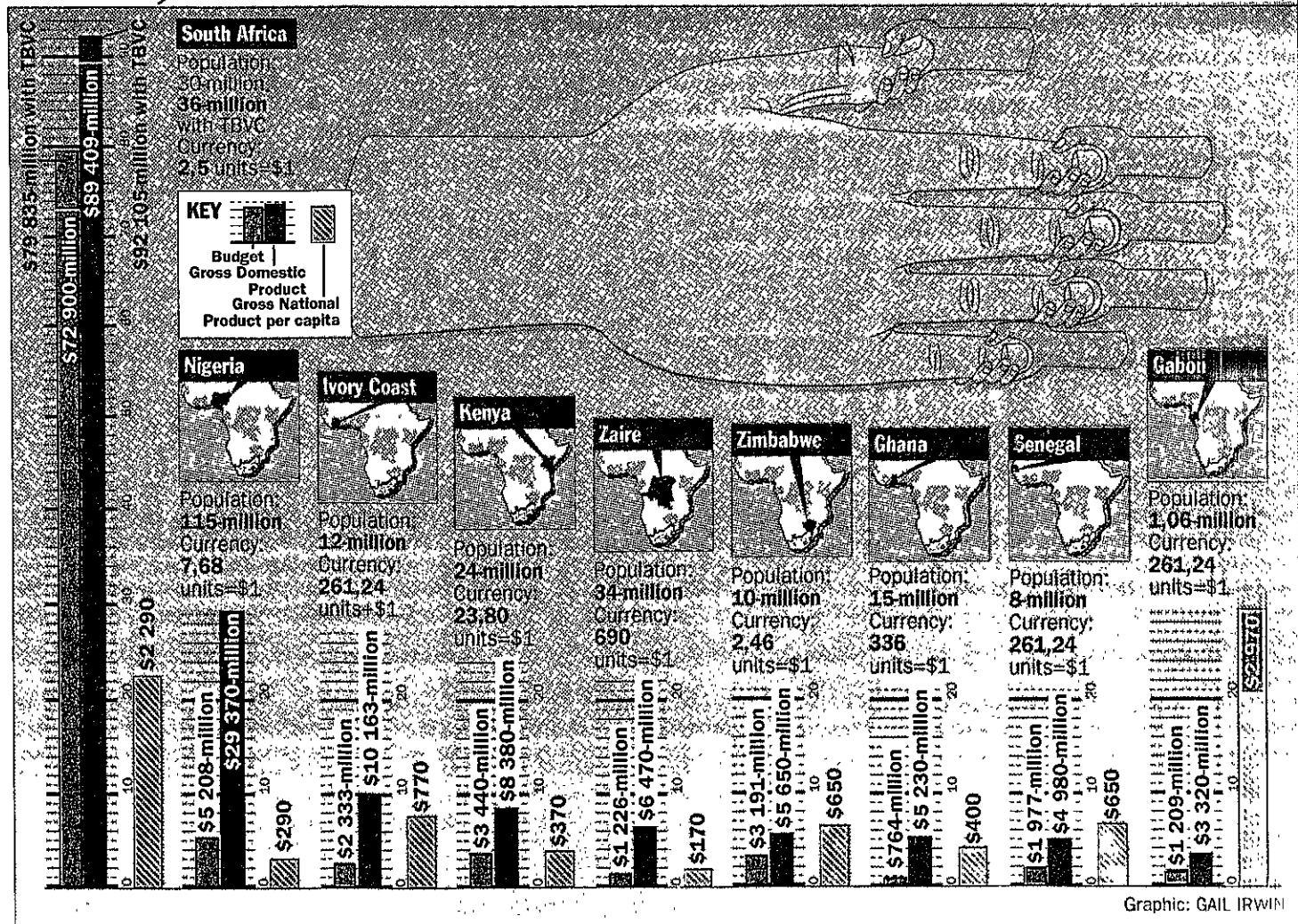
In other words, South Africa's wealth comes from the incentives provided by capitalism and from the skills that capitalism appears to have been able to generate better than any other ideology.

Arguments about whether the wealth could be more fairly distributed in a free market system may be decided in and around the negotiations that will hopefully create the new South Africa.

But if the lessons to be learnt from Africa's experience are applied in those discussions, the negotiations will immediately veer away from the popular concept of wealth as something so concrete and permanent that it can be sliced up like a pie and shared out.

African countries that tried to slice up the wealth pie after independence found that it cannot be done because redistributing wealth is like trying to slice water. They found — or some of their economists did — that wealth is not always rigidly definable but must be seen as a plastic thing that swells and shrinks with changes in the economic temperature.

Or as a living organism that flourishes only in political sta-



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

The tall and the short of the matter . . . In both budget and gross domestic product South Africa towers above even Nigeria. The currency unit figures broadly reflect the relative strength of national currencies against the American dollar

bility and freedom of enterprise and which must be nourished by effort and production.

Or as a substance as fragile as human confidence, and vulnerable to being shattered by violence and political excesses.

It was found that wealth can be defined in the short term in currency units, cattle, land or personal possessions, but that these are all subject to fluctuation and that, in the long term, wealth can perhaps best be defined as the creation and exploitation of economic opportunities in a climate of political stability.

The experience of Africa dictates that when efforts are made to redistribute South Africa's wealth in the post-apartheid era the emphasis should be

put not so much on re-slicing existing pies but on expanding opportunities for the creation of wealth.

That way, everyone would stand a better chance of becoming richer, even though it might not happen overnight.

Africa's experience demonstrates the crucial importance of skills in creating wealth. To a very large extent — perhaps the largest extent — South Africa is richer than other African countries because it has more skills and entrepreneurial experience than any other country in Africa.

That these skills derive largely from white South Africa's connections with Europe is a matter of historic association

rather than racism (although the whites' failure to share those skills more fully with the blacks is a matter of racism).

Countries like Japan, Switzerland, Denmark and Mauritius have demonstrated that it is not raw materials that create wealth so much as human attitudes and skills.

The devastating effect of the withdrawal of skills has nowhere been more dramatically demonstrated than in Mozambique, where the economy collapsed after the flight of the Portuguese. The resulting damage was even greater than that done by the civil war and the economic mistakes of the Frelimo government.

Thus one of the most pre-

vious assets that the new South Africa will inherit will be its large white population, for it is in this population that the skills at present largely reside. This is an asset that no other African country has ever had and its value is immeasurable.

The scrapping of racism of all kinds would allow the skills and experience previously monopolised by the whites to spread throughout the population, turning the innate energy and initiative of the country's black people into what could be the most powerful economic force Africa has ever known.

But only if the opportunities are provided. □

● Gerald L'Ange is editor of The Star's Africa Service





Helmut Schlesinger, who has been proposed as new president of the Bundesbank. Picture: AP

# Ethiopian talks still on — Cohen

LONDON — US mediator Herman Cohen said yesterday London talks to set up a transitional government in Ethiopia would go ahead with or without Ethiopian Prime Minister Tesfaye Dinka, who has threatened to pull out.

"If the government is not at the talks, I don't think it will change a great deal," Cohen told a news conference an hour before round-table talks between three Ethiopian rebel groups and Tesfaye's government were to start.

He said the three rebel groups, including the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), whose fighters captured the capital Addis Ababa early yesterday, "are capable of forming a transitional government", making Tesfaye's government virtually irrelevant.

Outside Addis Ababa's presidential palace yesterday burned-out tanks smoldered under a pall of black smoke. Explosions from blazing ammunition dumps echoed around the city.

Several bodies lay scattered across the main road to the palace, where remnants of Ethiopia's army made a last stand.

EPRDF rebels moved into the capital at dawn and a few hours later commanded all strategic points. After slicing through Ethiopia's army — once one of the most professional fighting forces in Africa — the rebels crept through the outskirts of the

city, encircling the palace where the bodyguard of former military ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam was barricaded.

The two-hour battle that followed saw the heaviest fighting of the rebel takeover.

Entire families took refuge in the nearby Hilton Hotel.

As rebels flushed out the last army stragglers, a wooden hammer and sickle — a legacy of Ethiopia's 17 years of Marxism — cracked in flames outside the palace.

Inside, groups of rebel soldiers danced and sang to Tigrayan music broadcast by the captured national radio station.

EPRDF tank commander Kabrum Nario, 32, said most of the government soldiers had been killed or had fled.

The whereabouts of acting President Tesfaye Gabre Kidan were unknown. He was believed to have been inside the presidential palace, but a helicopter took off from there late on Monday.

Despite a rebel order to all residents to stay off the streets, crowds of young men gathered to watch the takeover.

While several thousand rebel fighters fought for control of the palace, others secured the entrance to the Hilton, later searching hotel rooms for fleeing soldiers.

Anxious hotel staff chatted nervously with the fighters. As their fears evaporated, the staff shook hands with the rebels some as young as 16, and began offering them food and cigarettes. — Sapa-Reuter

## Bundesbank heir proposed

FRANKFURT — German Finance Minister Theo Waigel proposed yesterday that Helmut Schlesinger be



# Bid to avert famine tragedy

# Food aid package

# pledges increase

BRUSSELS - European Community nations have pledged to increase the size of an EC food aid package for African countries facing famine.

Britain went the furthest of all by promising 60 000 tons of food - well over its share of a 200 000-ton package the 12 EC states agreed to May 17.

"We were very happy to see so many states will hand over more than we expected them to," an EC Commission official, who

demanding anonymity, said after a meeting of the 12 EC development ministers.

The EC executive carlier this month promised about R500 million from its budget to buy 400 000 tons of food.

At the same time, it asked the EC governments together contribute a further 200 000 tons.

Besides Britain, Greece promised 10 000 tons and R6,25 million, and Spain offered 11 000 tons. Other countries said

*Sweden 29/5/91*

they were still considering the size of their contributions.

British Development Secretary Lynda Chalker criticised ministers who did not make specific offers at the meeting.

"Today was a day for member states to stand up and be counted," Chalker told reporters. "Some stood up. Some didn't. I hope they will think again, and think and act fast."

She said the 200 000-ton figure was "only a target" that has been

overlaken by the growing tragedy in Sub-Saharan Africa.

"It is not enough," she said. "The situation is getting worse by the day."

About 30 million Africans face starvation because of a food shortage estimated at 1.5 million tons, officials said.

In their day/long meeting, the ministers also discussed a Commission proposal to link future development aid to respect for human rights in recipient countries. SAPA-AP.



An Ethiopian Jew sits in his new Mobile home with his two daughters and grandson in Mabulia, Southern Israel. The family arrived in Israel after a massive airlift of Jews from Ethiopia.

# FW likely to visit more African states soon

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk will visit more African countries soon, Angola's Unita leader Jonas Savimbi said in Pretoria this week after a meeting with the president.

Savimbi has left for Lisbon to sign an official peace accord with President Edward dos Santos of the MPLA.

At a media briefing, Savimbi said he may move to Luanda by next month fol-

lowing the departure from Angola of the last of 60 000 Cubans.

He said Unita had bought a hotel in Luanda and a number of houses.

Savimbi also said De Klerk had told him South Africa would "remain the friend of Unita."

Savimbi said the ceasefire that came into effect on May 15 would hold.

The United Nations already had a

group in Angola to monitor the ceasefire and he expected the Organisation of African Unity to send African peace troops to his country as well.

Savimbi said he was confident he would win the proposed election in September 1992 but added if he was defeated he would accept it.

"We won't go back to the bush fighting guerrilla war."

Savimbi said a new national army comprising 50 000 soldiers would be established from Unita and the MPLA's combined 300 000 soldiers. It was therefore important to obtain foreign investment to reintegrate the remaining soldiers into civilian life.

"We don't expect a major problem," he said. - Sapa.



JONAS SAVIMBI

# Ethiopian capital is captured

**ADDIS ABABA - Jubilant Ethiopian rebels captured the capital Addis Ababa yesterday in a three-hour dawn assault with tanks and infantry.**

Rebels said they controlled the presidential palace where the army had concentrated its defence.

They had also seized the international airport, several ministries, the main police station, the radio station and two central squares.

## Rebels

The rebels were still attacking the defence ministry, where a small number of government troops were holed up, and tackling other small pockets of resistance.

Sporadic machinegun fire resounded around the city hours after the battle began at dawn - the climax of a 30-year civil war in Ethiopia.

*Sowetan 29/5/91*  
Sapa-Reuter

Rebel T-54 tanks, captured from government troops, pounded the hilltop presidential palace and hit an ammunition store which exploded with bursts of shells and bullets.

Hours later, the tanks hit a second store on the edge of the presidential compound which erupted in a ball of orange flame.

The rebels, who forced Marxist military ruler Mr Mengistu Haile Mariam into exile in Zimbabwe a week ago, had been poised on the city outskirts since the weekend.

They had rejected truce calls by the makeshift new leadership.

The main resistance to rebels of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front came from remnants of Mengistu's North Korean-trained Presidential Guard.

EPRDF political commissar Mr Bereket Simon

said the rebels did not face strong resistance and casualties were low.

Meanwhile, the Organisation of African Unity is considering whether to move its headquarters temporarily out of the city.

"We are operating with optimism but we still have at the back of our minds the worst scenario," Mr Ibrahim Dagash, OAU's director of information said. - Sapa-Reuter.

# Ethiopian top rebels in control

*Sowetan 30/5/91* (1)

**LONDON** - Ethiopia's main rebel group assumed interim power after United States-brokered peace talks in London and the promise of democratic elections within one year.

Leader of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front Mr Meles Zenawi pledged to talk to other rebels not later than July 1 to try to form a provisional government.

## Accord

US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen announced the accord in London on Tuesday, warning that American aid depended on a transition to democracy in Ethiopia.

"No democracy, no co-operation," he told reporters who asked about the Marxist leanings of



some of the Ethiopian rebels.

Rebel tanks blasted their way into Addis Ababa at dawn on Tuesday, toppling the remnants of a Marxist government whose 17-year rule brought Ethiopia war and famine.

Rebels effectively control the country but officials in neighbouring Djibouti said thousands of Ethiopian troops who fled there after the Asab port fell to rebels last Saturday were moving back to Ethiopia to regroup in the east of the country.

Meles (36) said ousted rulers who had committed war crimes would be tried and famine relief would get top priority.

The EPRDF is a re-

gional based alliance which has not completely shaken off its Marxist Leninist ideology.

But it says it wants a multiparty transitional government leading to free elections.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front, fighting since the 1970s for independence for the Red Sea province of Eritrea and the Oromo Liberation Front, which is seeking autonomy, were also at the London talks.

## Meeting

But the shape of any future Ethiopian government after Tuesday's meeting was far from clear.

"We won't be part of a transitional government in Ethiopia," said Mr Andemichael Kassai, a spokesman for the EPLF. But he added the EPLF was not planning to declare Eritrea's independence. - Sapa-Reuter.

The OAU — now derisively dubbed the Organisation Against Unity, and with very little to show after 27 years — gets set to meet next week

BARNLEY MTHOMBOTHI, of the Argus Africa News Service, in ABUJA, Nigeria

**T**HE Organisation of African Unity begins yet another summit in Abuja next week with very little to show for its 27 years of existence.

There is no doubt Africa has degenerated to an alarming extent since the founding of the organisation almost three decades ago, and the enthusiasm and optimism of the 1960s has all but vanished.

As the African heads of state take their seats at the luxurious international conference centre in Abuja, Nigeria's future capital, more than 27-million Africans are on the verge of starving to death, civil wars — with thousands of innocent civilians killed or displaced — are raging in more than a dozen countries on the continent and corruption and dictatorships have turned most of these countries into basket cases, deep in debt and surviving on international hand-outs.

What drives many Africans to despair is that there is no hope that this summit will offer any solution, let alone confront these burning issues. It cannot because there simply won't be any agreement. Decisions would lead to a break-up of this loose union.

The disagreements of the early 1980s which led to Morocco leaving the organisation still terrify OAU officials.

Even South Africa, which for decades has served as a unifying subject at OAU summits looks likely to be a divisive issue for the first time between those who want to respond to the changes within the country by having closer contact with South Africa and those who say curbs and isolation should remain until the changes are deemed to be irreversible.

Countries like Kenya, Gabon, Senegal, Morocco and others have already broken ranks and are aggressively working for closer economic ties with the Republic.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim has pleaded with African foreign ministers for a common response

on developments in South Africa.

"What we need is unity of action and one voice. Which ever course of action we take, it must be a common one, arrived at collectively," he said.

Perhaps what symbolises the parlous state of the OAU is Ethiopia, seat of the organisation's headquarters. The country has been embroiled in civil wars for as long as the organisation has existed. It can't feed its people and as the OAU prepared for its summit, Ethiopian strongman Mengistu Haile Mariam stole out in the middle of the night for a quiet life in a ranch in Zimbabwe leaving his beleaguered government to face over-confident rebel forces then just about to capture the capital, Addis Ababa.

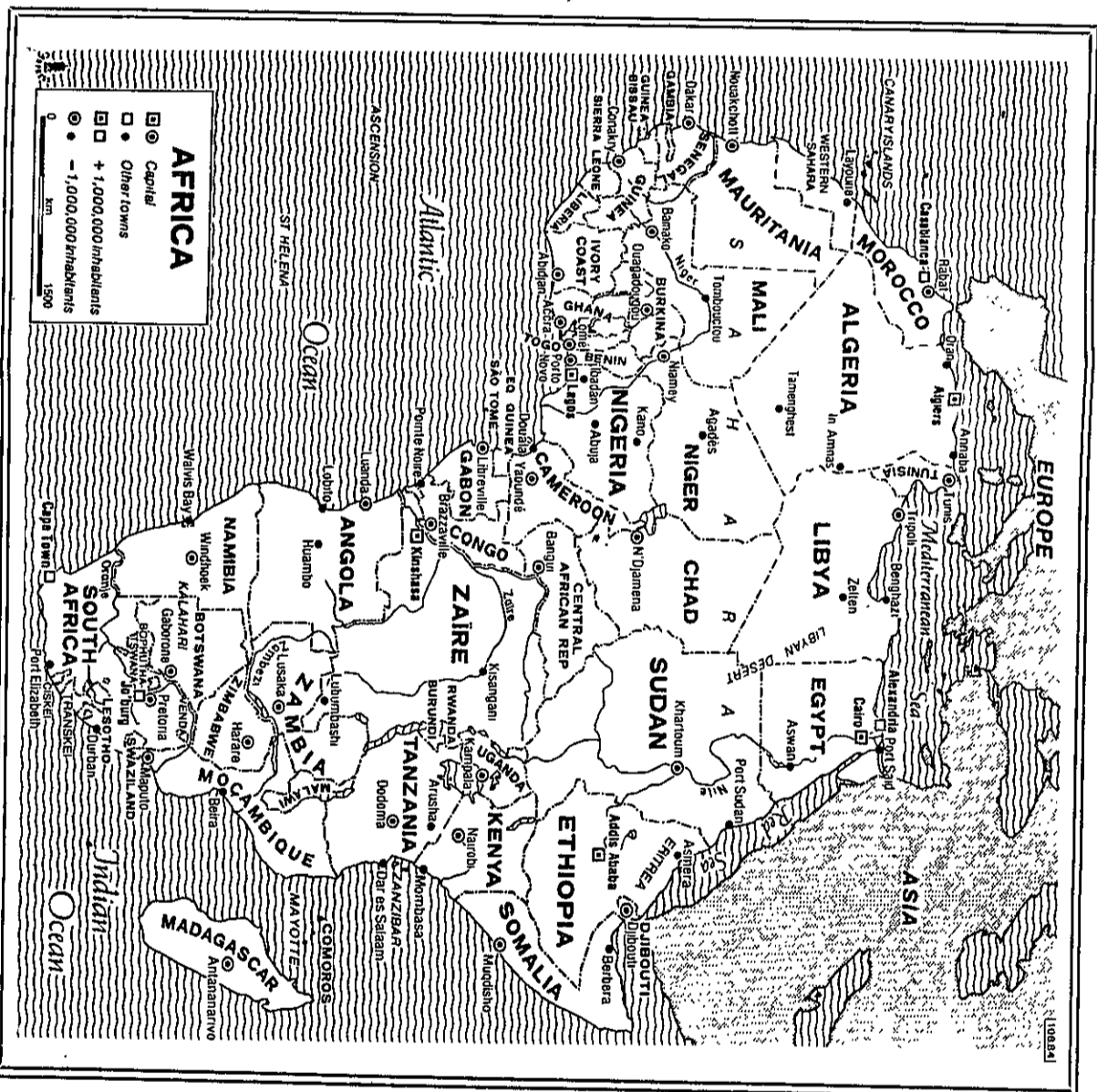
Mengistu's successor was in London this week to negotiate a dignified capitulation to the rebels. No such honour was afforded him. Rebel forces triumphantly moved into Addis Ababa in his absence and he was bluntly told he was out of a job.

The OAU was not even represented at the talks. Dr Salim announced in Abuja that he was dispatching an emissary to the talks. The man didn't make it to the airport. The talks were already over by the time Dr Salim's statement was released and Ethiopia had a new government.

Ethiopia is by no means an exception. All the countries on the Horn of Africa are in a state of war. Siad Barre has been overthrown in Somalia but people are dying from famine and continued fighting because different rebels control different pockets of the country. Sudan's problems do not look soluble either. The Arab north which is in power in Khartoum insists on imposing Muslim sharia law against the wishes of the African south, which is mostly Christian or animist. A suit-

# Africa

① GEN ARGUS 21/1 91



## Continent still in crisis

able mediator has yet to be found for this civil war.

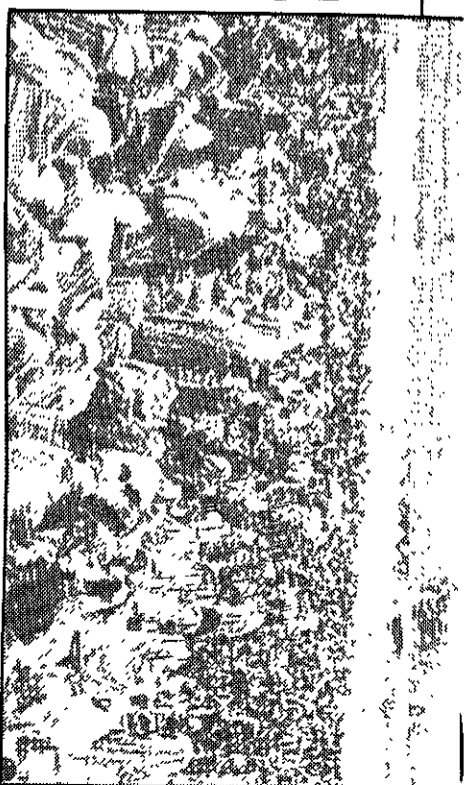
The military government has also alienated international aid agencies by refusing to concede that many peo-

ple are dying in Sudan as a result of famine.

Western governments have also cut off aid to the country because of its support for Saddam Hussein during the

Gulf War.

In Liberia, many people have fled to neighbouring countries because of the civil war. Former president Samuel Doe was captured by one



THIS is the face of Africa, 1991 — starvation and famine.

of the rebels and a movie made of the gruesome spectacle.

But stability has now been brought to Liberia, not by the OAU, but by Ecomog (the Economic Community of West African States) which put together a peace-keeping force made up of units from various countries in West Africa and arranged for the installation of an interim government.

This has been done despite the objection of countries like Ivory Coast and Burkino Faso (strange bedfellows) who want their favourite rebel Charles Taylor and his National Patriotic Front of Liberia to be installed in Monrovia.

But the Liberian experiment has succeeded so far, with minor hiccoughs, because the Nigerians are strongly behind it.

Charles Taylor has exported the conflict to neighbouring Sierra Leone and again the Nigerians have sent troops to quell it.

In Cameroon, the excitement of the World Cup is over and demonstrators want President Paul Biya to resign. In Mali Moussa Traore was summarily dismissed from power by the army after he had ordered soldiers to shoot and kill demonstrators.

But there are also rays of hope elsewhere in Africa. A ceasefire has finally been signed in Angola. In Mozambique the two parties, Frelimo and Renamo are talking and there is hope a lasting agreement would be clinched.

The past year has also seen peaceful transitions in a number of countries. Military strongman Mathieu Kerekou of Benin lost in free and fair elections to Nicephore Soglo, a former World Bank technocrat.

In Sao Tome, long-serving Manuel Pinto da Costa was defeated by Miguel Trovoada.

Nigeria which takes over the chairmanship of the OAU at this summit is also edging towards civilian rule.

Others though still need to be convinced. In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda is ambivalent. In Kenya and Malawi, Moi and Banda are hostile to any notion of multi-party democracy.

These are problems confronting the continent which should be the responsibility of the OAU. But it has been left to outsiders to tackle them. Former colonial powers or the superpowers are mediating in conflicts and aid agencies are feeding the hungry.

One thing that has excited OAU officials in Abuja this week is the signing next week of a treaty creating the African Economic Community. Colonialism as a subject at OAU summits, they say, has lost its fizz. It's time, in the next of Ibrahim Babangida, next OAU chairman, for economic emancipation.

Observers, however, say the problem lies in the organisation's composition. The majority of member-states are dictatorships which cling religiously to the organisation's credo of non-interference in the internal affairs of another members.

The only solution they say lies in the closure of the OAU and the creation of a new organisation altogether along the lines of the European Community, which would put democratic values at the very core of its existence.

One commentator bemoaning the disunity of African countries and their inability to agree on any contentious issue as a result, remarked that OAU has come to mean Organisation Against Unity. Abuja in the local dialect means unity, solidarity. Many would hope that the OAU would at last find it in Abuja '91.

... of a 17-storey office  
n Wednesday night. An electrical fault has been blamed  
Picture: Associated Press.

very much and don't want  
to leave her."

## Defiant Addis demos shot

Star 3/1/79 ①

ADDIS ABABA — Rebel soldiers yesterday put down new demonstrations in Addis Ababa with automatic weapons fire that left at least one protester dead and several injured.

At least three groups of demonstrators defied a ban to protest against what they see as American involvement in Tuesday's insurgent takeover of Ethiopia's government.

Crowds of several hundred, mostly young people, chanting anti-American slogans, gathered near the Defence Ministry, Mexico Square and Revolutionary Square.

Soldiers of the new insurgent administration quickly dispersed them with gunfire

that reporters and photographers said was aimed directly at the protesters.

One body was seen in Mexico Square and at least two people were wounded in the demonstrations near Revolutionary Square, both near the centre of the city.

The new government announced a ban on all demonstrations on Wednesday during a day of protests that left an undetermined number of people dead and hundreds injured.

Reporters said they had seen at least eight bodies, including one in front of the US Embassy, after Wednesday's protests.

There were unconfirmed reports of other deaths, and the

Ethiopian Red Cross said at least 388 people had been wounded in Wednesday's protests, some by gunfire.

During those protests, the embassy was the target of four demonstrations that kept its security forces scrambling throughout the afternoon.

Similar demonstrations took place in a number of other sections of the city.

The US was seen as the architect behind the peace talks, and many of Addis Ababa's 3 million residents apparently resented the manner in which the country's new rulers came to power as well as apparent US support for the breakaway northerners. — Sapa-AP.



# AFRICA'S BIG LITTLE MEN

①  
FM 31/5/91

**AFRICA: DISPATCHES FROM A FRAGILE CONTINENT** by Blaine Harden (WW Norton, 307pp, price on request).

This optimistic chapter is about Nigeria: "horrible, ugly, boastful, coup-crazed, self-destructive, too-goddamn-hot Nigeria — black Africa's principal prospect for a future that is something other than despotic, desperate, and dependent ... In less than 50 years, Nigeria will have at least 618m people — more than the present population of all Africa. Besides sheer numbers, Nigeria has world-class wealth. Below ground there are about 40 years' worth of oil and a century's worth of natural gas. The country's gross national product is bigger, in years when the world oil price is strong, than that of SA and more than half that of all black Africa combined. Above ground, there is a wealth of university-trained and frighteningly ambitious humanity, an estimated 2m university-trained professionals ... the largest, best-trained, most acquisitive black elite on the continent."

But this elite does not come out well in a speech made by Nigerian President Babangida, to the "fat cats and stuffed shirts" of the Oxford and Cambridge Club.

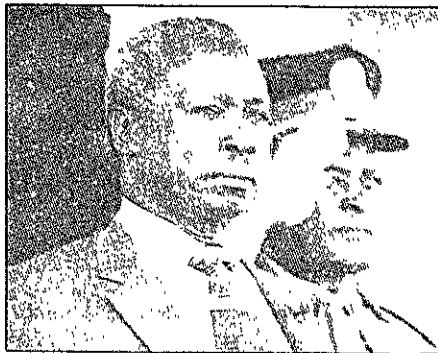
Babangida, seen by Harden as unique among African "Big Men," accuses this same elite of factionalism, disruptive competition, extreme greed and selfishness, indolence and abandonment of the pursuit of excellence, together with a universal search for excuses to avoid taking difficult decisions and confronting hard work, and a penchant for passing the buck. Yet these are the people who will return to the fore if Babangida restores civilian rule under a constitution in

## JACK COPE

**Jack Cope** (born: 1913) died in England last week: he was a novelist, poet, translator and editor — most influentially of the literary journal *Contrast* which he helped found in 1960. He resigned in 1979 and moved abroad to work on a long, ambitious novel which remains unpublished.

A friend of several generations of writers, he was linked to the Afrikaans poet Ingrid Jonker whose work he brought to a worldwide audience after her death. With Uys Krige he edited the *Penguin Book of SA Verse* (1968) and became embroiled in controversy when later editions did not meet his approval.

His many novels include *The Rainmaker* (1971) which won the CNA prize, *The Dawn Comes Twice* (banned for many years because of its political content) and *The Prisoner of Zend*.



Moi ... tools  
of the trade

1992 as he has promised.

Babangida is far from being Nigeria's only critic — indeed, the country is "flailing about in exuberant desperation, struggling not to drown in its daily bath of chaos and self-flagellation, avarice and wild-eyed pride."

Here it contrasts with Kenya, where adulation of President Daniel arap Moi, is the one open-sesame to places of profit. Harden says of him: "Moi is not a buffoon like Doe or a dreamer like Kaunda. He does not sanction the public mutilation of his enemies, nor does he write books about African utopia. He is a stolid, slow-speaking, not-very-dynamic Big Man who deftly uses the tools of his trade — payoffs and coercion — to stay in power.

"His survival requires constant manipulation of the Big Man levers. His need to bleed the business community and grab all political power is inversely proportionate to his legitimacy. Since he comes of a tiny tribe, has little personal charisma, was never elected president, and cannot reasonably expect to rule with the consent of the Kenyan majority, he needs larger and larger amounts of money to reward supporters, more and more power to silence enemies. Wealth that Moi does not control is dissidence. Prosperity is far more destabilising than dissidence."

On Kenya's supposedly progressive free-market investment policies, Harden quotes a Western economist who deals with investors: "Everybody knows what to do if you want to start a business. You see a Minister. The ante is up to between 15% and 25% of the start-up cost. The bribe goes to the Minister, with a cut for the Big Man." Kenya is not so attractive to foreign businessmen that they will throw away their profit margin to bribe politicians. The result is stagnation in its manufacturing sector — and in a country with the world's highest growth rate of population, this means decline despite many advantages it offers.

So much for the last two chapters of the book. I quote from the author's introduction to describe the first five: "I begin with a river-boat passage on the Zaire, a sense-stunning introduction to the sights and



Kaunda ... doyen  
and dreamer

smells of the rain forest Africa. The river journey also launches a major theme of this book: bad leadership and the price it exacts from a continent that need not — except for the venality of its Big Men — be so poor."

The next three chapters are about Africa getting on with the business of living in cultures that have been force-fed change. There is a Ghanaian sociology professor who specialises in African family studies but runs into catastrophe in his own family: a dead lawyer on ice in Kenya because of a custody war over his body (in the litigation between the widow and the tribe, Moi leans on the



Doe ... more buffoon  
than leader

judges to ensure a manifestly unjust outcome), a tall cowherd walks out of the Sudanese swamps and into the US National Basketball Association. Another chapter explains how and why, in one particularly god-forsaken corner of east Africa (Kenya again, with Moi's jackals on the prowl), the good intentions of Western (Norwegian) donors made life shorter and more brutish than it would have been had the white people stayed home.

In the past, too many African Big Men have, by affecting a commitment to free-market economic reform, secured multimillion loans and grants which have run to waste — or enriched only the Big Men and their clientele.

But the World Bank and the IMF are beginning to learn.

Radford Jordan



*(1)*

*(1)*

SCHEDULE 5

AID TO OTHER INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

1988/89 1989/90 1990/91

1)\* 1)\* 2)\*\*

R R R

A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

A.1 Non-recoverable financial assistance

Comores	819 600	681 866	—
Mozambique	5 000 000	2 800 000	—
Malawi	45 996	3 187	1 943
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5 865 596</b>	<b>3 485 053</b>	<b>1 943</b>

B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

Comores	4 494 486	5 014 111	3 320 331
Mozambique	1 950 000	1 050 000	1 757 448
Malawi	8 106 147	141 846	—
Swaziland	9 000 000	—	—
Lesotho	—	379 760	—
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>23 550 633</b>	<b>6 585 717</b>	<b>5 077 779</b>

D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE

D.1 MANPOWER PROVISION

Swaziland	561 111	616 109	805 080
Comores	44 925	119 417	61 123
Equatorial Guinea	27 462	376 150	317 201
Lesotho	—	26 063	97 874
Malawi	—	—	439 194
Namibia	—	77 629	1 702 181
Togo	—	—	67 261
Ivory Coast	—	—	99 721
Gabon	26 890	534 973	169 482
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>660 388</b>	<b>1 750 341</b>	<b>3 759 117</b>

D.2 TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Lesotho	807 698	824 239	1 842 821
Swaziland	1 626 999	1 347 151	1 997 910
Central African Republic	18 700	—	—
Gabon	219 549	1 849 268	40 585
Ivory Coast	344 072	120 744	491 822
Malawi	1 245 822	2 517 970	1 680 200
Zimbabwe	29 760	—	—
Equatorial Guinea	2 007 009	1 414 448	96 862
Angola	90 162	—	250 000
Mozambique	1 530 327	2 224 434	2 431 251
Zambia	1 237	2 679	23 500
Zaire	18 639	695 961	247 082
Cape Verde	532 428	439 050	19 933
Comores	1 807 767	1 013 410	747 160
International Organisations: SARCCUS	175 031	276 539	163 223
Africa: GENERAL	—	1 487 474	4 267 142
<b>TOTAL:</b>	<b>10 455 200</b>	<b>14 213 367</b>	<b>14 299 491</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>40 531 817</b>	<b>26 034 478</b>	<b>23 138 330</b>

NOTES:

- \* 1) Actual expenditure
- \*\* 2) Estimated expenditure

Old-age homes: number of places

368. Mrs C. H. CHARLEWOOD asked the Minister of National Health:

Whether her Department has statistics on the number of places at old-age homes for all population groups in the Republic; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many places are there in old-age homes for (i) Blacks, (ii) Whites, (iii) Coloureds and (iv) Indians and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

No, this is an own affairs matter and each department or administration provides in its specific group's needs;

(a) relevant information obtained is:

- (i) 1 200,
- (ii) 31 720,
- (iii) all institutions are open to all population groups, relevant statistics can therefore not be furnished and

B996E

# Hard for Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA — Mr Meles Zenawi, Ethiopia's interim president, faces enormous challenges as he sets out to try to rebuild a war-shattered nation.

Millions face death by starvation.

Armed groups roam the countryside and many people in the capital sullenly resent his presence.

Other rebel groups want to form independent states while the traditional rulers angrily reaffirm their commitment to "one Ethiopia".

Meles pledged there would be no reprisal killings. - Sapa-Reuter.

# Addis Ababa <sup>(1)</sup> springs to life

Sowetan 14/6/91

**ADDIS ABABA** - Two weeks after a rebel takeover that brought Addis Ababa to a standstill, the main market in the Ethiopian capital is busy again and bursting with goods.

Crowds jostle through the stalls buying grain, vegetables, spices, shoes, cloth and household goods - a display of plenty contrasting with parts of the country where thousands of people are on the verge of starvation.

Aid workers say almost eight million people



are threatened with starvation and that famine relief routes have not been fully restored.

"Prices have fallen, that's the best thing for us," said one resident in the capital.

Last month, the city was cut off from some of

the country's most productive areas because they were in the hands of the advancing rebels of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front.

The country's main port, Asab, fell to another rebel group, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front.

Prices shot up in Addis Ababa and black marketeers took advantage of shortages to send some of them even higher.

EPRDF fighters stormed the city on May 28 and assumed interim authority in the country.

Commerce in the city

ground to a halt for several days as the rebel takeover was followed by anti-EPRDF demonstrations.

Now shops, offices and restaurants are open again, even though they close early because of a dusk-to-dawn curfew.

Gunfire is heard only sporadically at night.

Government ministries are headed by EPRDF officials and top people in the old government of exiled military dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam are in detention. - *Sapa-Reuters*.

# Dramatic spread of Aids virus in Africa and Asia

By ROBERT STEINBROOK: Florence

THE staggering dimensions of the Aids epidemic in Asia and Africa became clear this week as a top World Health Organisation official presented the latest statistics on the global spread of the deadly virus.

New data on human immunodeficiency virus infections in Thailand and India were so compelling that the WHO last week revised its estimate of the current number of HIV-infected Asians yet again, from 500 000 to greater than one million. By the mid-1990s, three million HIV infections are projected for Asia. Just a few years ago, the Aids virus was virtually unheard of in Asia.

"Unfortunately, most of our estimates will not be revised downward," said Dr James Chin, the head of surveillance and forecasting for the WHO's Global Program on Aids. "When we have more data, (the forecasts) will have to be revised probably upward."

In Africa, the number of HIV individuals was projected to increase from six million to 10-million over the next several years, leading to precipitous increases in mortality and sharp decreases in life expectancy. Sub-Saharan Africa remained the area of the world hardest hit by Aids; soon one of every 40 adults will be HIV infected, researchers said.

In the United States and all other Western nations combined, it was estimated that fewer than two million people are infected with the Aids virus.

Presentations at the Seventh International Conference on Aids emphasised how the disease had shifted from an epidemic that primarily involved homosexual men and intravenous drug users in industrialised nations to epidemics primarily affecting heterosexual men and women in developing nations. By the year 2000, about 90 percent of all HIV infections will be in heterosexuals in developing countries, Chin said.

A key reason is that Aids education and prevention programmes in industrialised nations have been far more extensive, and therefore more effective, in triggering behaviour changes to minimise the risk of infection. As a result, the annual number of new Aids cases is likely to peak in the United States and Western Europe within the next several years, Chin said. This peak, however, would represent more than the current level of Aids cases each year. In addition, tens of thousands of new HIV infections will continue to occur each year.

Other researchers reported that intensive educational programmes, such as those for intravenous drug users in Bangkok, Thailand, and for prostitutes in Kinshasha, Zaire, have significantly lowered the number of new HIV infections.



Dangerous . . . an Ethiopian rebel fighter carries his machine gun with an ammunition belt wrapped around the stock and barrel after rebel forces took control of the governmental palace in Addis Ababa. Picture: Reuters

## Africa's old colonial borders now all at risk

LONDON — The colonial past has left a strange legacy in the Horn of Africa, which is being torn apart as liberation movements in Ethiopia and Somalia battle to re-establish the borders once drawn by European officials.

All over Africa frontiers were laid down with scant regard for logic, slicing across tribal and linguistic boundaries, as turn-of-the-century colonisers engaged in a carve-up of the continent that African nationalists blame for most of its woes.

Somehow, those frontiers have largely held, shored up by an Organisation of African Unity policy that they should be retained, whatever their faults.

In the Horn, one area where colonial borders were erased and territories merged after World War 2, guerilla groups now want to return broadly to the situation as it was created by the Italians and the British, the dominant outside powers at

the height of the colonial era.

This would mean splitting Somalia into two and dividing Eritrea from Ethiopia — depriving the Addis Ababa government of its entire coastline.

Some analysts, like Francois Heisbourg, director of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, fear such changes could lead to other African countries trying to redraw their frontiers.

"If both Somalia and Ethiopia do in effect break up, that may be the beginning of a wider trend in Africa, and that of course would be highly destabilising," Heisbourg said.

The question of borders is of particular importance in the Horn of Africa, which lies on the divide between Islam and Christianity and borders the Red Sea, with its age-old trade routes and strategic position beside the Arabian peninsula.

Eritrea, which controls all of Ethiopia's 1 000 km of coastline,

was traditionally separate from the empire of Ethiopia, one of the world's oldest countries dating back to biblical times, and became an Italian colony in 1890.

The Italians ruled Eritrea for little more than 50 years, but left behind an efficient administration, a new political identity, the Italian language and an unabashed appetite for pasta and espresso coffee among the local population.

Britain freed Eritrea and Ethiopia, which the Italians had briefly conquered, in World War 2 and administered Eritrea until the United Nations decided in 1952 that it should be federated with Ethiopia.

In 1962, Emperor Haile Selassie declared Eritrea an integral part of Ethiopia. Eritrean nationalists immediately launched a guerilla war and as victors now seek a referendum on independence for the province.

Government of Ethiopia is

now being assumed for the time being by a non-Eritrean rebel group, the EPRDF, and a forthcoming conference between this and the EPLF may well decide whether the Eritrean referendum plan goes ahead.

The Somalia that Siad Barre ruled was the result of a 1960 merger between the former colonies of British Somaliland and Italian Somalia, both speaking the same language but divided by clan differences.

There was a third Somali colony — French Somaliland, which did not join the united Somalia and instead became independent in 1977 under the name of Djibouti.

Alone among the Horn of Africa states, the small Red Sea state, still heavily influenced by French culture, has gained a measure of prosperity, avoiding the wars and famines which have ravaged its neighbours Sapa-Reuter.

# Africa hopes to lead world body

South 6/6-12/6/91.



DEFT diplomatic footwork, designed to install an African as the next secretary-general of the United Nations, is extending to important capitals around the world

The second five-year-term of the incumbent, Javier Perez de Cuellar of Peru, expires at the end of the year, and there is no shortage of African candidates to take his place.

Among those who have been considered by ad-hoc search committees are Joseph Garba of Nigeria, former president of the UN General Assembly; Ghanaian Kenneth Dadzie, secretary-general of the UN Conference on Trade and Development; Bernard Chidzero, Zimbabwe's finance minister; Senegalese president Abdou Diouf; Tanzania's Salim Ahmed Salim, the current secretary general, of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU); James Jonah, the Sierra Leonean undersecretary-general of the UN; and Olara Otunnu, Uganda's former foreign minister who now heads the International Peace Academy in New York.

For now, the top African contender appears to be retired general Olusegun Obasanjo, a former Nigerian head of state who has won the endorsement of Nigeria's government.

Although the decision to back him has not yet been announced publicly, the government of President Ibrahim Babangida has begun an international lobby campaign on his behalf.

## Persuade

Nigeria hopes to persuade African heads of state attending the OAU summit this month to unanimously accept Obasanjo as "Africa's candidate".

Although the UN Charter does not require a geographical rotation of the secretary-general's position, many believe Africa is due for a turn at running the world body. The past five UN chiefs have come from Europe, Asia and Latin America.

Africa, with the largest group of

Africa, the largest group of member countries of the United Nations, has never produced a secretary-general of that body. But now an international lobby campaign is underway to have an African candidate succeed Javier Perez de Cuellar at the end of the year. **KINGSLEY MOGHALU** reports:

member countries, has never produced a secretary-general. "If we miss this time," says Ibrahim Gambari, Nigeria's ambassador to the UN, "Africa will not have another opportunity this century to fight for the UN post."

Perez de Cuellar has said he would prefer an African to succeed him. If the five permanent members to the Security Council refuse to agree to an African, De Cuellar argues, "Africa will feel excluded."

Why is Africa vying for what Trygve Lie, the first UN secretary-general, called "the most impossible job on earth", when its citizens are struggling daily against poverty and war?

## Racist myths

The reason, analysts here say, include a belief that an African secretary-general can make a success of global assignments and, in the process, raise the continent's international profile and help shatter racist myths of black inferiority.

Gabriel Olusanya, former head of Nigeria's Institute of International Affairs, says that although the position has been traditionally administrative and not a strong decision-making one, "an African secretary-general can influence decisions where Africa is unfairly treated".

Others believe that holding such a powerfully symbolic international position will give the continent greater confidence to push its diplomatic and

economic interests. Greater international co-operation for solutions to Africa's economic crisis is one of those aims. Another, according to diplomats here, is a permanent seat for Africa on the Security Council.

"A continent that accounts for roughly a third of the UN's membership ought to be represented in the most powerful chamber on a permanent basis," Gambari argues.

## Strong leadership

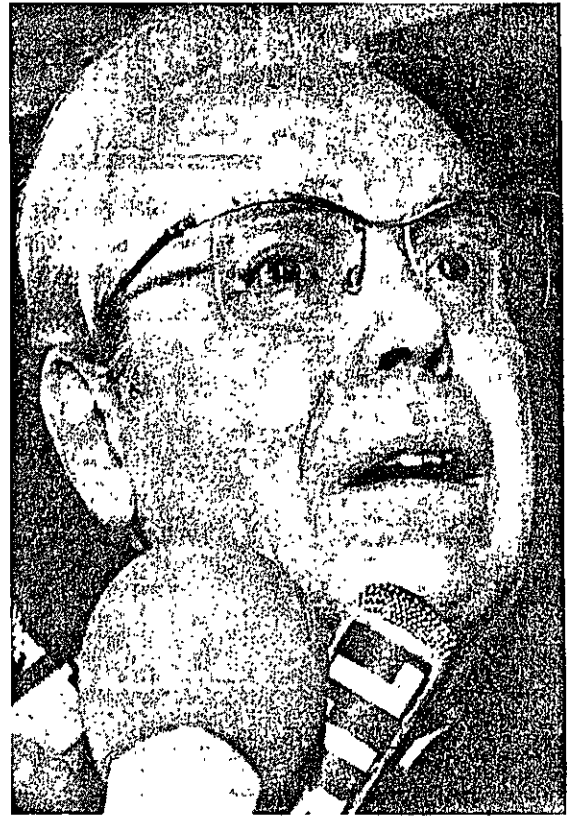
Germany and Japan are also seeking permanent seats in the council

With the wane of the cold war and with the UN's image enhanced following the Gulf crisis, and after such successes as supervising Namibia's independence process, there is a pervasive feeling that strong leadership could help the UN fulfill its original mission of maintaining world order.

Africa's trumpet blowers say the continent has many leaders of international stature on whom the cap would fit.

With these goals heading Africa's agenda, Obasanjo is hardly a surprise choice. A military general who voluntarily handed over power to a democratically elected government, the widely admired leader has chalked up an impressive international resumé since leaving office in 1979.

He has served on several international commissions on security and development issues. In 1988 he



**Perez de Cuellar: An African successor?**

founded the Africa Leadership Forum, a respected think-tank that trains future African leaders and proposes strategies for the continent's development.

In the long run, much is riding on the decision of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. A veto by one of the five will defeat any candidate.

In 1981, Tanzania's Salim, a popular choice of many UN members, was a candidate for the secretary-general-

ship against the incumbent, Kurt Waldheim of Austria, who was seeking an unprecedented third term.

Salim lost, due to a United States veto. China then vetoed Waldheim, leading to the emergence of Perez de Cuellar, a dark horse.

Many diplomats here believe it is unlikely the White House, under George Bush will follow Ronald Reagan's 1981 example and veto an African frontrunner. — **AFRICA NEWS**

# Debt relief for poorest nations

Sowetan 27/6/91.

LONDON - Western nations will announce a R42 billion debt relief programme for the world's poorest countries at next month's economic summit in London, the *Guardian* newspaper reported yesterday.

It said the scale and timing of the programme were regarded as a breakthrough in attempts to co-ordinate Western aid to sub-Saharan Africa, seriously hit by drought and famine.

The deal could be seen as a diplomatic coup for Prime Minister John Major, who launched the idea last year when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, the paper said. Britain is host for the annual summit of the Group of Seven leading industrial nations, beginning on July 15.

The *Guardian* said Major called for the doubling of official debt relief, stretching repayment periods to 25 years and conceding a five-year grace period during which low-income nations would not have to pay either interest or principal on borrowings. - Sapa-Reuter

BY TREVOR GRUNDY

(1) Open 9/16/91

# Hunt for Mengistu

THE hunt for Ethiopia's deposed military head of state - Mengistu Haile Mariam - continues almost three weeks after the 54-year-old Marxist dictator unceremoniously fled Addis Ababa.

Behind him he left the burning embers of a vicious civil war and mass starvation. In Zimbabwe right now he has taken up the life of a kind of feudal robber baron, without a country and probably without a future.

Mengistu flew into Harare Airport shortly before midnight on Tuesday May 21. His arrival was wrapped in a cloak of diplomatic secrecy. Journalists covering the event - an unannounced political happening - were locked in the airport terminal at 11.30 pm shortly after his plane was spotted coming into the country which is now his new home.

Only one hour before Mengistu flew in, Zimbabwean head of state Robert Mugabe flew off to London with a political entourage for talks with Britain's youthful new leader, John Major.

It is certain Mugabe knew well in advance that Mengistu was coming in for refuge and that his flight to refuge was a fairly well-ordered Zimbabwean contribution to peace in Ethiopia. Said one high-ranking official with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Regard his visit as our contribution to peace. Someone had to have him and Mugabe and Mengistu have had very close ties over the years."

Shortly after Midnight, Mengistu left the airport in a diplomatic car accompanied by several other vehicles believed to be carrying staff from the Ethiopian embassy and policeman from Zimbabwe's own Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO).

There have been many reported sightings of Mengistu. But anyone who has lived in the Zimbabwean capital know that rumours such as the following abound:

■ Mengistu sought refuge on a farm

owned by ex-Rhodesian leader Ian Smith. There was not a shred of truth in it.

■ Mengistu, through the ex-Ethiopian ambassador to Harare (Mengistu's uncle) had bought a large farm just outside Harare from an Italian Ethiopian businessman. Reporters found out the businessman has no intention of moving and is continuing to run a successful salami-producing operation.

■ Mengistu had been sighted by a Zimbabwean living in the suburbs of Harare and driving a Rolls Royce which used to be owned by Emperor Haile Selassie. After inquiries, the car

involved was found to be a new import from Britain brought in through Durban. It belongs to proud new owner Sam Levy, a prominent Jewish businessman.

■ The Oppenheims had sold Mengistu one of the country's most successful dairy farms for only Zimdollars 3,8 million and the Ethiopian had surrounded himself with 20 bodyguards.

■ Mengistu had smuggled about 6 billion US dollars from Addis Ababa to a bank in Switzerland and might even go and live in South Africa.

It is clear that very few real facts have emerged since Mengistu touched down at Harare Airport and disappeared from sight.

Letters to the editor of the pro-Government *Herald Tribune* newspaper regularly ask what this Ethiopian dictator, with one of the worst human-rights track records in the world, is doing here, allegedly on a commercial farm with the full protection of the government.

Said "Amen" from Bulawayo this week: "Surely any African country that offers succour to Mengistu must for generations be haunted by the unnerving spectre of hordes of Ethiopians who met their untimely end during nearly two decades of genocide."

The hunt for Mengistu continues. So does the manufacture of some of the country's most fascinating rumours.



Mengistu: fascinating tales are being told.

**Someone had to take him, says Zim official**



# Ivory Coast looks for buyers

Day 28/6/91

ABIDJAN — For sale: ageing luxury hotel in financially troubled West African country. Has 40% occupancy rate, loses money and needs major overhaul.

If it sounds like your kind of deal, phone Ivory Coast's privatisation committee (09-225-328946) and tell them you want to buy the Hotel Ivoire.

For the moment, the phones are not ringing off the hook at the committee's offices, reached through a back door of the defunct Credit Cote d'Ivoire, which made low-interest loans to bureaucrats until it went bankrupt.

"We never expected to be selling one a month," said Amedee Couassi-Ble, one of the committee's financial analysts.

## Jewels

He was referring to a list of 20 state-owned or mixed state/private companies which the committee intends to put on the block.

Since the programme was announced in September last year, none of the companies on the list has been sold, although at least one, the phone company, is on the way.

Others include such crown jewels as the palm-oil company Palmindustrie, state rubber plantations, shares in local petrol distributors and, most visibly, the 750-

room Hotel Ivoire, which serves as hostelry for visiting dignitaries and retainers.

The government and President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, 85, who has ruled since independence in 1960, are being urged to sell loss-making or marginally profitable state enterprises by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

But getting the private sector to have another look at Ivory Coast may not be so simple.

The world's biggest cocoa producer and Africa's largest grower of coffee is in the grips of a galloping economic crisis. The economy shrank by almost 4% in 1989 as world prices collapsed for its two main commodities.

In addition, Ivory Coast is afflicted with energy costs that are among the world's highest, wage rates five times as high as those in nearby Nigeria and huge customs duties and taxes that can add 25% to 50% to the cost of imported goods.

The country is locked in a struggle between opposition parties legalised last year and an entrenched power structure under Houphouet-Boigny, who still makes all important decisions.

The overall picture is discouraging to many would-be investors, say Western diplomats and financial analysts. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Liberia just one problem

① B10 am 28/6/91.

ABUJA — The impact of the Liberian civil war, pro-democracy calls and economic integration are likely to dominate the talks by West African foreign ministers which open in the new Nigerian city of Abuja today.

The talks, ahead of a summit of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas), come amid unprecedented political upheaval and major world economic changes threatening to marginalise further one of the world's poorest areas.

Abass Bundu, executive secretary of the 16-member Ecowas, said the Liberian conflict, calls for democratic reforms, and economic integration, would be major issues at the July 4-6 summit in Abuja.

During the past year, three veteran West African rulers have been swept aside by a political wind of change.

Regional analysts say several more presidents may fall this year, either through elections or military coups, as demands for political changes gain momentum in a region dominated by military or single party governments. — Sapa-Reuter.

# WARBLES AND WHERE

STIMES 9/6/91

# Millions wait to die

## Peace strategy worsens plight of Ethiopians

By PAUL VALLELY: Addis Ababa

I HAD met this child before, I knew that. He was only seven months old, but I knew that I had met him six years previously at the refugee camp in Korem, on the cold high Ethiopian plateau, where the conscience of the world was first awakened to the famine of 1984-85, in which a million people are believed to have died.

The child's name was different then, but I recognized him by the eyes — staring and haunting and enlarged by the shrunken features of his famished face.

### Hidden

I remembered the stomach, swollen with the ache of hunger, and the fragile rib cage above it, where each bone could be counted through the skin. I remembered the arms and legs, so thin it seemed you could snap them with one hand.

I had hoped never to meet this child again. Yet here he was, six years later, waiting once again for food . . . or for death.

In the highlands of northern Ethiopia, hidden from the eyes of the world by the fury of civil war, several million people are on the brink of a disaster of equivalent proportion to that last terrible famine.

For some, like the boy Berhe Gebrawahed, it is already too late. His malnutrition was so advanced

coalition that took Addis Ababa two weeks ago.

Farmers throughout the region told me of marauding troops killing livestock, destroying fields, burning houses, poisoning wells, polluting the grain stores and killing or conscripting those who did not flee.

The villages are full of children who have lost limbs or hands in landmine blasts where the Ethiopian army littered the ground with Soviet devices.

Over the years, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front extended its control over most of the province and established an effective administration.

Its relief arm, the Eritrean Relief Association (ERA), together with that of the Tigrean rebels, the Relief Society of Tigre (REBST), have established

in six years reputations as two of the most efficient indigenous relief organizations anywhere in Africa.

Much of their food since 1985 has been supplied by the US in a covert operation, using as a front charitable Sudanese aid agencies. For five years the food came, with the

requirement that US involvement remained secret.

In 1990 the US donated two-thirds of the 377 000 tons of food smuggled into Ethiopia under cover of darkness by the food routes of relief movements.

Then, on October 24 last year, the US food deliveries ceased. The State Department had decided to starve the rebels to the negotiating table. The consequences for the ordinary people were horrifying.

The US government did not announce its decision to the main aid agency that was administering the programme on its behalf.

### Struggle

In the northernmost province, the Eritrean People's Liberation Front had been fighting for independence for almost 30 years.

Further to the south, the rebels of the Tigrean People's Liberation Front had waged a struggle for autonomy for more than a decade before joining the smaller groups to form the



SOLACE . . . father and son read the Bible outside a church in Addis Ababa

# Death and carnage comes to Ethiopia

S/Times 2/6/91

HUNDREDS of people were burned to death when an ammunition dump exploded on the outskirts of Addis Ababa on the last day of Ethiopia's civil war.

A vile stench hung over hundreds of incinerated corpses strewn around a deep crater when reporters reached the disaster site in the western suburb of Shagole. The area was swarming with looters.

Rebels captured the capital last Tuesday. The arms store exploded on the same day after government troops left Shagole.

"There was a terrible, big blast at about noon on Tuesday," said Giuseppe Osella, an Italian who lives nearby. "I believe more than 1 000 died here."

British television journalist Lindsay Taylor said he had counted at least 150 charred and blackened bodies. Several children were among the victims.

"The scene of carnage at the former munitions site is simply unimaginable."

SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN  
DESK: Addis Ababa

said Taylor. "The smell is nauseating."

A German pastor who lives nearby said up to 1 000 people could have died in the blast.

Meanwhile, the leader of the rebels who captured Addis Ababa arrived this week in the Ethiopian capital and pledged there would be no reprisals against members of the toppled government.

"We are not going for vendettas — there will be no kangaroo courts," Meles Zenawi, 36-year-old leader of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), told foreign ambassadors.

The rebel takeover in Ethiopia has swelled the number of refugees in the Horn of Africa, which already has millions of displaced people.

Famine relief organisations warned that eight million people faced starvation, with the impending famine likely to be worse than in 1984-85 when a million people died.

Paul Ignatieff of the United Nations Children's Fund said: "Children will die if they are not reached within a week."

The additional refugees are trekking through a bleak countryside ravaged by war. Some are ignored, others bombed by the air force of neighbouring Sudan.

Dozens of people are dying every day, particularly in the eastern Ogaden region.

One aid worker responsible for relief in the Ogaden area described the situation there as catastrophic.

"All our operations have collapsed; everything has gone," he said.

## Former foe gives African readers a survey on SA

ROBERT GENTLE

210 day 12/6/91  
A SPECIAL edition survey on SA in the influential African publication Jeune Afrique signals an end to years of open hostility by the magazine.

The 50-page survey in the current affairs journal will bring SA to the attention of Francophone Africa and will also be sold in SA.

The magazine says "a long debate" was necessary before it decided to run the survey. It admits that its readers may be "shocked" to discover advertisements from SA companies.

"One thing is sure: it is not our convictions that have disappeared, but that SA has changed," says the introductory editorial.

The survey contains interviews with President F W de Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It also lifts the veil on SA's increasingly fruitful trade contacts with the rest of Africa, speaking of "liaisons" that have become "less and less discrete".

SA industrial companies like Eskom, AECL, Tiger Oats and research centre CSIR are described as "dynamic" to "high-tech". Engen, Senbank, Dulux Paint and Consol have advertised in words that leave no doubt they are angling for future African business.

The survey ends with a questionnaire addressed to Jeune Afrique readers asking whether African presidents should meet De Klerk and whether readers would be prepared to visit SA.

# SA has given R89,7m aid to Africa, says Pik

Business Day 19/6/91

24817

CAPE TOWN — Government yesterday named for the first time 16 African countries that had received SA financial aid over the past three years.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said in Parliament about R89,7m had been spent on aid to these countries in that time.

However, although R40,5m had been spent in the 1988/89 financial year, it had declined to an estimated R23,1m in the 1990/91 financial year.

Botha was replying to a question tabled by Louis Stofberg (CP Sasolburg).

The countries which had received aid were: Lesotho; Swaziland; Central African Republic; Gabon; Ivory Coast; Malawi; Zimbabwe; Equatorial Guinea; Angola; Mozambique; Zambia; Zaire; Cape Verde; Comores; Namibia and Togo.

In the past, government has refused to supply details on its aid to, or trade with, African countries.

The aid was given in terms of direct financial assistance, project aid loans, manpower provision, technical assistance and general aid.

However, Botha's reply indicates that direct financial assistance dropped from R5,9m in 1988/89 to R3,5m in 1989/90 to

Political Staff

R1 943 in 1990/91. Comores received R1,5m of this assistance, Mozambique R7,8m and Malawi R51 126.

Project aid loans dropped from R23,6m in 1988/89 to R5,1m in 1990/91.

Comores was granted R12,9m in loans, Mozambique R4,8m, Malawi R8,2m, Swaziland R9m and Lesotho R379 760.

Manpower provision in terms of technical and other assistance, which totalled R3,8m in 1990/91, was granted to Swaziland (R805 080), Comores (R61 123), Equatorial Guinea (R317 201), Lesotho (R97 874), Malawi (R439 194), Namibia (R1,7m), Togo (R67 261), Ivory Coast (R99 721) and Gabon (R169 482).

Technical assistance granted in the 1990/91 financial year included that to Lesotho (R1,8m), Swaziland (R1,9m), Gabon (R40 585), Angola (R250 000), Mozambique (R2,4m), Zambia (R23 500) and Zaire (R247 082).

Botha said the technical assistance to Zimbabwe in 1988/89 was R29 760 but it had not received any assistance since then.

Botswana was the only southern African country not to receive SA aid.

# PAC slams African states for SA links

ABUJA, Nigeria. — A senior official of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) yesterday criticised African countries trading with South Africa and challenged them to put their actions to national referendums.

"Those who are stampeding into our country are stampeding on us for crumbs," PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim told a news briefing ahead of an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit meeting here.

"I will challenge any African country to put it to a referendum and see if they will get the support," he said.

The PAC broke away from the African National Congress (ANC) in 1959 after accusing it of being too moderate. It believes armed struggle is the only way to end apartheid.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC was formulating policies on how to deal with any country that traded with South Africa, but did not elaborate.

The OAU's council of ministers, meeting in Abuja before the group's June 3-5 summit, called this week for sanctions against South Africa to remain until apartheid was dismantled.

PAC and ANC officials addressed the council on Wednesday and called on the OAU to mobilise the world community to put pressure on Pretoria to end apartheid.

Any relaxation of sanctions would prolong the anti-apartheid struggle and increase violence in South Africa, they told the meeting.

OAU officials said unilateral moves by some African countries to end sanctions could hamper anti-apartheid moves.

## Madagascar named

However, they said the organisation would not impose sanctions against member nations with links to South Africa.

Mr Ebrahim mentioned only Madagascar by name in his remarks on trading with South Africa.

He said he regretted a Madagascan statement that no one had the right to question its links with Pretoria because it was a sovereign state.

He said he accepted that some countries with historical links had to trade with South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter

# Algerian leader ① declares state of siege <sup>CT</sup> 6/6/91

ALGIERS. — President Chadli Benjedid yesterday clamped a state of siege on Algeria for four months, sacked the cabinet and put off the country's first multi-party general elections after days of protests by Muslim radicals.

Tanks and soldiers took over the capital, Algiers, where police and fundamentalist strikers demanding an Islamic state battled on Tuesday. Several people were killed but no official casualty toll was released.

Western diplomatic sources spoke of at least five dead.

Algiers Radio said the stage of siege, controlled by a public safety committee, would last for four months. Strikes, demonstrations, and subversive publications were banned.

Military tribunals were to be set up to try anyone threatening state security.

In an implicit threat against the militant Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), the decree said political parties acting against the law could be suspended by decree.

The FIS called a general strike last month and thousands of its supporters took to the streets, leading to major clashes. — Sapa-Reuter



**GODE** - Hassan Abdullahi, his skinny body dressed in rags, stood a few metres away as friends shovelled earth into the small grave of his three-year-old daughter.

"She was hungry and sick, too hungry to live," he said, shrugging bony shoulders.

"My other children are very weak. We have not received any food ration for weeks."

Behind him, dozens of graves stretched over a desolate landscape, many of them small mounds where children are buried.

Wars in Ethiopia and neighbouring Somalia have left thousands of people like Hassan destitute in the barren, remote eastern Ogaden region.

Hundreds of people have died of starvation in the past few months in towns like Gode, capital of the Ogaden.

Hassan was one of up to 100 000 Ethiopians who returned home to the Ogaden in the past few months from refugee camps across the border in Somalia - driven out by the war there which toppled President Mohamed Siad Barre last January but then degenerated into clan fighting.

The impoverished region they came home to has little to offer the "returnees", who spent many years on the other

### Camps

side of the border as refugees from the Ogaden war with Somalia in 1977-78.

Fighters of the Hawiye clan-based United Somali Congress which has assumed power in the Somali capital Mogadishu drove the Ethiopians, who are from the Ogadeni clan, out of their refugee camps.

Gode, a desperately poor town, is full of returnees turned beggars. Ragged children peer over the corrugated iron fences of grubby outdoor cafes, pleading with their eyes for scraps of left-over food.

Efforts to provide returnees in the region

# Too hungry to live

## Death and disease stalk returning refugees



Wars in Ethiopia and neighbouring Somalia have left thousands of people like Hassan maimed and destitute in the barren, remote eastern Ogaden region.

with aid were disrupted by the war which drove former Marxist military ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam into exile and brought the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Front (EPRDF) to power last month.

Across Ethiopia, almost eight million people are threatened with starvation. Transport of aid to all areas stopped more than three weeks ago and is only slowly resuming.

The Ogaden was among the regions worst hit by the halting of relief supplies.

A vast area, sparsely populated with nomadic pastoralists and hit by drought, the Ogaden has dreadful roads and con-

stant security problems because of banditry - even in times of peace.

Although EPRDF fighters seized the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa on May 28, they only arrived to take control of Gode last week.

Relief workers say the EPRDF has told them it is not yet safe to truck aid supplies to the Ogaden.

"We can contain the situation - there are enough food supplies ready to go into this region - but we have to do

which relief workers had to distribute quickly because of fear of looting as the Mengistu government collapsed.

One child at the camp three-year-old Karim Mohamed, was a bundle of skin and bones in the arms of his 13-year-old sister Eset.

"Our mother has gone into the bush to collect firewood," said Eset. "I hope she'll bring us something to eat today."

Other scrawny children were taken by their parents to the clinic in the camp - a small hut where local doctors deal daily with dozens of cases of diarrhoea, chest and eye infections, skin diseases, measles and malaria.

### Relief

The United Nations Children's Fund and the Irish charity Concern have started flying in supplies over the past week

to set up an emergency relief programme in Gode, and also in Kelaf 90km to the east.

The UN also hopes to start flying in grain rations in the next week in an airlift which will run for about one month until trucking can be resumed.

For the moment, aid workers can only plan stop-gap measures to prevent a disaster. They hope to be able to move returnees out of camps as quickly as possible to prevent them becoming long-term dependents on aid hand-outs.

Many returnees, relatively well-cared for during their long years in the Somali refugee camps, dream of starting their lives again outside the camps.

"I would like to have a farm again," said Rahi Mounon, a mother of six children. "But we have nothing to start again, no animals. Not even one chicken." - Sapa-Reuter

①  
Sowetan  
24/6/91

it with an airlift and that

airlift must get going

quickly," said one UN

relief official.

Near the graveyard

where Hassan buried his

daughter, at a returnees

camp outside Gode, pain-

fully thin women and

children trek through the

dust with grimy plastic

water containers strapped

to their backs.

They hope to earn a

few cents and a bite to eat

by selling muddy water

from the Wabi Shebele

river in the local market.

### Grim

Other returnees at the Gode camp, a grim sprawl of igloo-shaped huts made from twigs and scraps of cloth, walk for kilometres in the blazing sun to collect bundles of firewood to sell.

Nobody is certain of the number of returnees living in the camp, or in the town itself, especially since many of them drifted away in recent weeks because no food arrived.

But the number is thought to be at least 10 000.

Nobody is certain, either, of the death toll from starvation. But relief officials say 10 or 15 people have been dying every day since April in Gode.

When food supplies stopped coming to the town in May, there were some stocks of wheat

## Algerian front calls off strike

ALGIERS, Algeria. — The opposition Islamic Salvation Front yesterday called off its general strike.

The front said it was ending the strike, called two weeks ago to protest against the regime of President Chadli Bendjedid, as it had received assurances that presidential and legislative elections would be held by the end of the year.

Mr Chadli cancelled elections scheduled for June 25 after campaign violence partly inspired by the strike erupted this week, leaving 12 dead. (T 8/6/91)

The promise of presidential elections this year means Mr Chadli could be ousted from the post he has held since 1979.

Five members of Algerian security forces were wounded yesterday in an exchange of fire with Muslim fundamentalists in Algiers. — Sapa-Reuter

# APARTHEID Bill starts 50

~~30~~ 1 GEN 30 GEN CT 6/6/91

By BARRY STREEK

**MAJOR cornerstones of apartheid, the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, crumbled to cheers from MPs in Parliament yesterday.**

All three Houses had voted for its abolition. The Labour Party, which at one stage threatened to vote against the Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Bill and force the measure to go to the President's Council, against expectations abstained during voting.

The LP has strongly opposed the bill on the grounds that a clause on the maintenance of "norms and standards" was designed to maintain the status quo in white suburbs.

Mr Allan Hendrickse welcomed the repeal of the acts, he placed on record his party's "disgust" at the inclusion of the clause. This meant there was no opposition to the bill in either the House of Representatives or the House of Delegates.

But, in the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party maintained its opposition to the end by calling for a division, which it lost by 112 votes to 30.

The scrapping of the laws, which together with related measures resulted in the removal of more than 3.5 million people, comes into effect on June 30.

South Africans of all races will be able to own and occupy property anywhere, irrespective of their race.

### Signature expected

Only the signature of President F W de Klerk is now required, and he is expected to sign "in about a week's time" once the formalities have been completed, a spokesman for his office said last night.

The 1950 Group Areas Act, one of the first apartheid measures passed by the National Party after it came to power, alone resulted in the removal of more than 834 000 people.

The former minister of constitutional develop-

ment and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in 1985 that 126 176 families had been removed from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act, 2% of whom were white, 66% coloured and 32% Indian.

The DP's Mr Peter Soal said: "We will vote for this bill with joy in our hearts. On happy days!"

Mr Soal also said the norms and standards provisions were a sop to the right-wing and were unnecessary.

The CP's Mr Jan Hoon said the government would have to kill whites to make them give up their beloved land.

The LP said in a statement that its caucus had been placed in an invidious position in regard to the bill.

Its support for the scrapping of particularly the Group Areas Act was very clear, but its opposition to the norms and standards provision had been spelled out.

The other major pillar of apartheid legislation, the Population Registration Act, will also be scrapped before the end of this parliamentary session.

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# Time to settle old scores in Ethiopia

Star 25/6/91

On a rail journey out of Addis Ababa, correspondent RICHARD DOWDEN was caught up in the fierce clashes of a disintegrating Ethiopia.

**T**HE edges of the empire are beginning to fray. The peoples on the fringes of Ethiopia are reverting to tradition: making war on their neighbours.

The collapse of the old regime and the failure of the new to fill the power vacuum in these areas has given some ethnic groups the chance to settle old scores — and create some new ones. Banditry is rife, and in much of Harerge province and the east no one travels without a gun.

Even the United Nations agencies break their rule and carry armed escorts, from the new government's forces, in their vehicles.

The single-track railway which runs from Addis Ababa to the Red Sea marks at one point the front line between the Oromo and Issa, longstanding enemies. The Issa live north of the track, the Oromo south.

Since the buses are not running and the airport at Dire Dawa was completely looted — aircraft parts were turning up in the local streetmarket a week later — the train is the only method of travel.

Travelling first class — distinguished from the bare boards of third class only by grimy plastic on the seats — there was a bank manager, a teacher, businessmen and a family with a week-old baby.

When the rickety old train pulled up at the settlement of Biket we were told that there was fighting just down the line at the village of Afdem. We waited overnight, frequently woken by the sounds of rifle and machine-gun fire.

Biket, a smuggling town, is itself partly Issa and partly Oromo. They are easy to tell apart. The Issa are ethnically Somali: thin-featured nomads who wear cloth wraps instead of trousers and carry a short curved sword. The Oromo are Ethiopian and softer-featured. They are farmers.

Both groups have benefited from the fastest military privatisation scheme in history. When the previous government collapsed, many of its soldiers sold their weapons for a few rands, and now Kalashnikovs and M-16 rifles are as common as umbrellas on a wet morning.

Next morning in Biket every man, Issa or Oromo, walked armed. When a shot was heard,

heads jerked round anxiously. All morning the train waited.

Just after midday it suddenly started up amid great excitement. About 100 heavily armed Issa had decided to go to war by train, and hijacked it.

Crammed into first and second class the Issa fighters chewed khat, the narcotic leaf, and fiddled with their ammunition clips, flicking their safety catches on and off. Their leader gave them a pre-match pep talk, telling them the Oromos were 11 bodies ahead and the scores had to be levelled.

According to the train guard, the small force of fighters from the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the new interim government, which had reached Afdem that morning, had been told of the imminent arrival of the Issa warriors. As the train rattled slowly through the craggy, thorn-covered hills, we could see armed look-outs on the skyline.

Afdem seemed deserted but as the Issa dismounted, brandishing their weapons and shouting, someone raked the train with machine-gun fire and we threw ourselves down among the chickens, khat leaves and spit. When we looked up, a man was being dragged away and the Issa were shouting and quarrelling. As we pulled out, a man walked towards them with an Ethiopian flag.

The Issa greeted him with a burst of gunfire but he stayed upright. It was difficult to know if they were trying to kill him or greet him.

It would have been interesting to observe the meeting between this noisy, wild bunch and the quiet, disciplined soldiers of the EPRDF. They hardly seem to inhabit the same country. They have no common language and their history and culture could not be more different.

At the next stop, Mi'eso, the train was fired on again. Its own guards joined us on the floor as bullets whizzed over the train or smacked around it. The station was deserted.

"They probably don't want to attack the train itself because it's everybody's lifeline," said the guard unconvincingly as we left. "But the track is the front line and the train is an easy target." — The Independent News Service. □

# Fresh misery for developing nations

Star 25/6/91  
LONDON — Third World countries, already blighted by poverty, debt or civil strife, face fresh misery.

Ninety percent of all AIDS cases in the 1990s are likely to be in the developing world.

The message to come out of an international conference on AIDS last week in Italy is that the Third World is bearing the brunt of the epidemic, and little is being done to help.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimated that, of the 40 million people likely to be infected with the AIDS virus by the year 2000, nine out of 10 would be in Africa and Asia.

Sub-Saharan Africa already has about six million cases of AIDS infection, compared with 1.5 million in Europe, the United States and Australia combined.

At the moment, Asia has only a million Aids cases, but in five years, Asia is expected to have five million cases.

"We are facing a growing devastation of national aspirations,"

warned Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni.

But the catastrophic impact of AIDS on the Third World is drawing scant attention from researchers and activists in the developed world.

"Ninety percent of all AIDS cases are in the Third World and 90 percent of the sessions at this conference are about the United States," said one delegate from the Save the Children Fund.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome attacks the body's immune system, leaving its victim defenceless against deadly diseases. There is no cure and only one treatment so far, the drug AZT, slows the progress of AIDS.

The disease first hit homosexuals hardest but almost all new cases around the world are the result of vaginal sex between men and women, WHO said.

Medical treatments that might hold promise in the West are out of reach for poor nations.

Optimists predict an effective vaccine could be ready in just five years from now — but

only for the West.

Almost all research is based on HIV strains found only in the United States and Europe. They vary greatly from African and Asian strains.

Researchers said there was less incentive for drug companies to pour money into a Third World vaccine when it was unlikely anyone would be able to afford it.

The vaccines under development now will also require refrigerated storage and booster shots.

Prevention would seem to be the only solution, but speakers said preventive measures had made little headway in Africa, where condom usage was low and there was scant opportunity to sterilise needles or test blood supplies for infection.

There was also a lack of official commitment.

Uganda's Museveni, despite his dire view of the epidemic's impact, does not support "this idea of condoms". Instead, he advocates self control. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Pik names countries who received SA aid

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE government yesterday for the first time named 16 African countries, including Zimbabwe, who had received South African financial aid over the past three years.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said an estimated R89,7 million had been spent on aid to independent African states during the past three years.

However, although R40,5 million had been spent on this aid during the 1988/89 financial year, this had declined to an estimated R23,1 million during the 1990/91 financial year.

Mr Botha listed the countries which had received South African aid when he replied to a question tabled by Mr

Louis Stofberg, CP Sasolburg.

The countries which received aid during the past three years were Lesotho, Swaziland, Central African Republic, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Equatorial Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zaire, Cape Verde, the Comores, Namibia and Togo. Botswana is the only Southern African country which has not received South African aid during this period.

In the past the government has refused to supply any details about its aid to African states or about South Africa's trade with African countries.

The aid was given in terms of direct financial assistance, project aid loans, manpower provision, technical assistance and general aid.

# African markets opening for SA

① ②  
CT 24/6/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Markets are opening up in Africa, the Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis said at a presentation by local stockbrokers Frankel Max Pollak Vinderine last night.

The minister, who was in the city for the opening of the Reserve Bank's new building, said even a modest increase in SA's current trade of R1bn a year with Africa would make a considerable difference.

Du Plessis said the economic picture for SA was changing fast with approaches from various African countries — many of them were able to pay such as Nigeria and Angola with their oil resources.

And an era of drastic economic

change brought on by the Debt Standstill in 1985 could be eased as foreign capital returned to the country and access to the International Monetary Fund became possible.

Inflation remained a problem and this week's "dismaying" figures did not remove the possibility of a fall in the rate by the year-end.

He told the private sector that it must move away from budgetting for a 15% increase in costs — "if you provide for it, you will surely get that sort of rise in costs".

Some of the inflationary factors were embraced by payments to workers who were not productive — this would have to be dealt with.

The economy was going to be given encouragement so that SA became export-orientated.

A special two-year programme of cash allowances was planned so that the private sector could "concentrate on the window of opportunity that was now opening for exports".

SA should learn a lesson from the closing of the R1bn-a-year American market which was replaced in a matter of months by other markets "which were there all the time, but South Africans had not made the effort to find these markets".

He forecast that, together with political developments, the country was "coming in for a turbulent landing".

# Tread carefully with Africa's shady leaders

JOHN RYAN, Argus Africa News Service

**N**ELSON Mandela first made mention of it and successive world leaders have followed suit to talk about President De Klerk's integrity.

Among such leaders are several Mr De Klerk has met in Africa since that watershed day of February 2 last year. Would that he could honestly say the same thing about some of them.

Take, for example, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko who is alleged to have milked his nation and world financiers of five billion US dollars (R14.5-billion) over 26 years of blatantly corrupt rule.

With extensive mineral deposits, Zaire could be one of the richest countries in Africa. Instead, it is one of the world's five poorest.

Three years ago, Mobutu denied that the fortune he had stowed away in European banks was anything near as big. "I would estimate it to total less than 50-million dollars (R145-million)," he told an interviewer in his grand palace in Gbadolite. "What is that after 30 many years as head of such a big country?"

Yet when International Monetary Fund and World Bank auditors examined Zaire's foreign earnings accounts in 1988, they found officials unable to account for between 300-million and 400-million dollars (R870-million and R1 160-million) earned from exports in that year alone.

Since then, Mobutu has said he will give in to demands to install a multi-party democracy. But six months after Zairean opposition parties became legal last year, soldiers were still breaking up their meetings. And, just this week, two main opposition leaders were detained.

Amnesty International has indicted the Mobutu government for jailing political opponents without trial, torturing and banning them. Mobutu admits airily that some charges may be justified.

Corruption in government, economic dissipation, massive unemployment and the erosion of human and political rights have hit another country with which President De Klerk is in the process of cementing relations: Kenya.

Daniel arap Moi, whom the South African leader visited earlier this month (and Mr Mandela last year), could be facing a revolution while he intractably refuses to consider the multiparty route.

Lawyers, churchmen and academics speak of the prospect of violent change as though there can be no option. Most say the criterion is time but agree that time is fast arriving.

Abject poverty now afflicts three-quarters of a population once seen as a prime example of what uhuru could bring. Many are starving and, to aggravate matters, Kenya has the highest birth rate in the world.

A slump in commodity prices has contributed to the fall in the economy. But government interference and mismanagement probably have played as big a role.

Corruption is reported to be rife in every sphere of the administration and pressure groups that existed to keep government accountability in check — like the strong cor-

fee and tea unions, once at the helm of foreign earnings — have virtually been destroyed.

More ominously, elements of the Moi administration seem to have a bent to murder and persecution to keep in office.

Last year two prominent Kenyans — one a bishop, the other a cabinet minister — were killed in mysterious circumstances. Both had accused certain members of the administration of abuse of state funds.

The two deaths, and the subsequent detention of two former ministers who had called for multi-party elections, caused riots in Nairobi last July.

The army managed to restore order by shooting into the crowds. Observers say more than a hundred people died.

Earlier this year, the editor of the Nairobi Law Monthly was detained for publishing an article accusing the government of favouring members of Moi's Kalenjin tribe. Gichou Imanyara, a respected human rights campaigner, has been charged with sedition.

One of South Africa's oldest friends in Africa is Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast.

Last October, after riots and demonstrations against his 31-year rule, the octogenarian president bowed to pressure for multi-party elections and the first contested presidential poll. Although his Democratic Party (PDCI) retained power by an overwhelming majority, there was a huge stayaway. Police dispersed opposition rallies with teargas and clubs. Voters smashed ballot boxes and claimed fraud. State-controlled television and radio denied opposition leaders air time until the campaign was almost over and then censored their statements.

President Houphouet-Boigny's personal victory was expected, but many Ivorians dispute his claim that he got 81.67 percent of the vote.

As an African model — exporting cocoa, coffee and palm oil — the Ivory Coast was highly successful until a few years ago when world markets took a dive.

The country now bears the continent's biggest debt load, yet Houphouet-Boigny continues to spend as though the slump never happened.

Ivory Coast houses the largest basilica outside of Europe. Modelled on St Peter's in Rome, Our Lady of Peace was built in Yamoussoukro — the president's home town — at a cost of R240 million.

It boasts 2 300 square metres of hand-made stained glass, air-conditioning and space for 18 000 worshippers inside and 350 000 outside.

With some reluctance, the Vatican has accepted the basilica as a gift to Catholicism. Houphouet-Boigny's opponents, however, say the church was an almost criminal squandering of funds that should have been used to reduce the nation's arrears.

Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has hosted both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela. There is speculation the South African president could meet him again this year. It might have to happen soon.

President Kaunda has agreed to a general election in Oc-

Argus 25/1/89. ①

tober. It will be the first since he introduced the one-party system to Zambia in 1973 and the newly formed Movement for Multi-Party Democracy is confident it will sweep the boards.

After 26 years of Kaunda rule, Zambians in large numbers have become openly critical of the man once regarded as the father of the nation.

Rising prices, falling standards, eroded services, nepotism and corruption have brought the country to the brink of change.

Last July, Zambia's foreign debt stood at 7 200-million US dollars (R20 880-million). The MMD has already proposed a plan to the World Bank to reduce that debt.

The ruling United National Independence party, meanwhile, continues to fall further apart with numerous defections to the MMD.

Yet, incredibly, sources close to Kenneth Kaunda say he is convinced he will continue to be president even if his party loses the election. At the moment he is trying to change the constitution to allow an incumbent president to dissolve the national assembly and ban political parties.

Kamuzu Banda of Malawi has yet to be encountered by Mr De Klerk (and Mr Mandela), although he was the first African leader to seek diplomatic relations with the John Vorster regime in the Seventies, when apartheid was anathema.

Life President Banda, now in his nineties, probably has the worst human rights record of any current leader on the continent.

He is an autocrat who has ruled Malawi, seemingly without consideration for life or democracy, for more than 26 years. He once explained his system thus: "The Malawi style is that Kamuzu says it's that and then it's finished."

Finished, certainly, have been several rivals who opposed him down the road. In 1983, three of his most prominent ministers died in a car crash though opposition politicians say they were shot while trying to flee the country. One was Dick Matemba, secretary-general of Banda's Malawi Congress Party, who was once widely tipped to succeed him.

Over the years, an unknown number of political opponents have been jailed and killed. Amnesty International says it knows of at least 30 prisoners of conscience still alive in Malawian jails, including the country's only neurosurgeon.

Over the years, too, thousands of educated Malawians have left to find political freedom. Thousands more are migrant workers in countries like South Africa.

Getting to know his counterparts in Africa has obviously been seen as a priority for Mr De Klerk and, indeed, it is understandable that he should have pursued every invitation to show the world that apartheid on its continental turf is being seen to be dead.

But ironically — when one considers how eagerly previous South African leaders once sought to establish relations with even remote banana republics like Chile and Paraguay when other countries began shunning them — the President may be advised to deal more circumspectly with certain neighbours in the future.



# Presidential race has consolation prize

By John Ryan  
Star Africa Service

①  
3/6/91

PORT LOUIS — The man who would rather not be president shows that reluctance with a wry smile and a raising of the shoulders.

It is a surprisingly moderate reaction from Paul Raymond Berenger, once the leftist firebrand of Mauritian politics. A decade ago, any idea that his claws might be drawn by thrusting him into a rubber-stamp position would have had Mr Berenger seething.

But a good deal has happened in the meantime. Political poles have moved closer together on Mauritius. Coalitions have become the name of the game. Many past differences have been buried.

Clearly, Mr Berenger, a young socialist revolutionary during the 1968 student riots in Paris, has mellowed and matured. He is now a major proponent of such wholesome things as free enterprise and demilitarisation in the Indian Ocean.

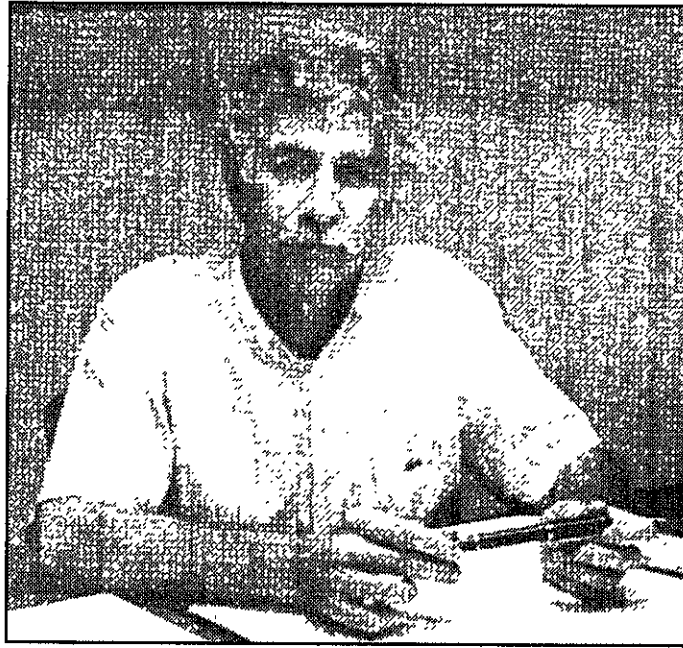
In 1983, he and the present Prime Minister of Mauritius, Sir Anerood Jugnauth, headed the ruling Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM). But then they fought bitterly — mainly because of differences of opinion on economic policy.

## Accepted

Mr Berenger, Minister of Finance, accepted the need for the ailing Mauritian economy to adopt the severe measures on loans the International Monetary Fund and World Bank wished to impose. Sir Anerood and the socialists argued that proposals such as subsidy cuts on rice and flour were too extreme.

Mr Berenger resigned and took the majority of the MMM with him into opposition. Sir Anerood immediately formed a splinter group called the Militant Socialist Movement (MSM) and led an alliance of the new party, the Labour Party and smaller groups to victory in general elections in 1983 and 1987.

After seven years of acrimony, however, the Jugnauth-Berenger team is back in business. Last July, the MSM and MMM signed a power-sharing deal and endorsed a pro-



Hedging his bets . . . Paul Berenger could well end up Deputy Prime Minister of Mauritius.

gramme to make Mauritius an Indian-style republic with the 46-year-old Mr Berenger as president.

Although many Mauritians would like to see Mr Berenger disappear from the party political scene, it is unlikely that this is the Prime Minister's motive in proposing his former rival for the non-executive position.

Mr Berenger has always been a controversial figure, but he is also hugely intelligent, astute and widely read on international affairs.

Sir Anerood needs those talents, as well as Mr Berenger's pragmatism.

He also needs the MMM secretary-general's support on the republican issue. Mr Berenger has long led the vanguard in the argument that Queen Elizabeth should be replaced as head of state.

"We love the Queen," he insists, "but we believe it is time the head of state was a Mauritian."

Now that he is in line to fulfil that role himself, Mr Berenger is obviously torn between a hankering to be a political ruler and considerations of what he might be able to achieve for Mauritius under a presidential hat.

"I'm foremost a party politician," he says, "and I would

miss that. But it doesn't mean I would be stuck in a rubber-stamp situation."

But for Mr Berenger there is a constitutional loophole that may yet allow him to escape back to party politics. Mauritius must hold an election before August next year. After that, the idea of a republic will have to be approved by three-quarters of the elected MPs. The same majority will have to agree to him being president.

Mr Berenger thinks there is a chance that his presidential nomination will fail, even if the MSM-MMM alliance gains a 75 percent majority.

A blocking factor, he believes, could be the Hindus on Mauritius who comprise more than half the population.

Mr Berenger is white. Some years ago he proposed that Creole, rather than English, should become the official language. His proposal was seen as racist by the Hindus — even though most of the island's Muslims support the MMM party — and Sir Anerood made much political profit from that perception.

The two men were then at the peak of their feud.

"I was presented to the Hindus as the devil incarnate," said Mr Berenger.

But it seems the tacit deal which offers him the presiden-

cy has other options. Basically, it calls for a triumvirate of Sir Anerood, Mr Berenger and Deputy Prime Minister Sir Satcam Boolell.

Presumably, if Mr Berenger is denied the presidency because of Hindu antagonism, the nomination will go to Sir Satcam, and Mr Berenger will become deputy prime minister.

Whatever position he lands in, he will be having a great deal to do with the extended continent and South Africa's future involvement in it. Pretoria should be warned.

Already, though he is no longer an MP, he has become the Prime Minister's special adviser and envoy on various subjects. Nuclear disarmament in the southern African region is prime among these. In January Mr Berenger presented a position paper to the United Nations, spelling out his country's argument for a "zone of peace" in the Indian Ocean.

The South African Government has agreed to accept a non-proliferation treaty as long as the Frontline states do so as well.

If South Africa signs, could that be a foot in the door for formal diplomatic relations with Mauritius?

"No," says Mr Berenger adamantly. "Certainly not at this stage. South Africa has a trade mission on the island, but that is very different from a diplomatic mission."

## Cautious

"I have already advised our government to be cautious about formal relations because I believe President de Klerk may in fact have a hidden agenda."

"I have read his statements closely, just over the past few weeks, and my instincts tell me the National Party is not about to surrender power to any black majority government."

"Maybe I will be proved wrong in six months or so. But I have persuaded our government to hold tight until all apartheid legislation has been repealed."

He adds: "In particular, I feel uneasy about the legislation that Mr de Klerk says will replace those laws. And his promises to whites about holding a referendum before making changes. Let us rather wait and see."

# Researching Out to Africa

Star 25/6/91

The Government has repeatedly argued that South Africa must develop new links with other African countries. MARK SLIZMAN looks at the potential partners.

THE State President's recent visit to Kenya has highlighted the Government's intention to break out of international isolation through the continent it once shunned.

"We are part of Africa," declared Mr de Klerk in Nairobi, as he set out parts of a tentative blueprint to revitalise the embattled continent.

The Government's new plan is apparently to establish four allied regional economic blocs, each led by a regional powerhouse: Nigeria in west Africa, Egypt in the north, Kenya in the east and South Africa in the south.

Some analysts predict that when South Africa is admitted to the Organisation of African Unity, this economic co-operation could potentially translate into a loose political alliance to co-ordinate African policy.

Nevertheless, while in African terms these countries are relatively wealthy, all share legacies of economic problems and political instability which may render such grandiose visions of co-operation untenable.

● Kenya: While Kenya has traditionally been regarded as Africa's paragon of democratic government and sound economic policies, over the past decade President Daniel arap Moi has been prone to adopting increasingly autocratic policies.

After an unsuccessful coup in 1982 in which 3,000 people were arrested, the government began to detain and torture dissidents while all opposition parties were banned.

Last year a wave of riots throughout the country had to be put down by force, with a number of people killed. But

President Moi has now entered on a policy of limited reform, although the clampdown on dissidents remains harsh.

Economically the country has a relatively small gross domestic product of about R20 billion. Although it has enjoyed steady growth averaging almost 5 percent over the past five years, the fact that its population growth is the fastest in the world keeps per capita wealth down. Its biggest exports are tea and coffee, while it imports cars and industrial machinery.

After President de Klerk's visit, political and economic relations with South Africa are expected to continue to improve. While the prospects for direct trade are relatively small, one potential spin-off could be persuading some of the many tourists who travel to Kenya each year to visit South Africa as well.

● Nigeria: This oil-rich country, with 110 million inhabitants, is the most populous nation in Africa, and the only sub-Saharan country with an industrial base comparable to South Africa's.

Politically it has oscillated between military and civilian rule, and the last democratic government was overthrown in 1983. The current ruler, Major General Ibrahim Babangida, has promised to restore democracy by 1992.

Like South Africa, the country is divided. In addition to having three major tribal groups — the Ibo in the west (responsible for the Biafra civil war in 1967 when they tried to secede), the Yoruba in the east and the Hausa in the north — the country is divided along re-

gional lines. Most of the north is Muslim while the south is Christian and animist.

To combat these rivalries, President Babangida has dismissed all existing parties as being too focused on old ethnic and religious divisions and has created two new parties based on ideological lines.

Although local elections last December suffered from a low turnout, President Babangida remains resolved to hand over power to a civilian government on schedule.

Economically, Nigeria's GDP is around R67 billion, most of it based on oil.

Although the country is burdened by a heavy debt accumulated in the 1970s, recent economic reforms, approved by the International Monetary Fund, have helped boost industrial production and maintain growth rates above 4 percent.

The mini-oil boom from the Gulf War has strengthened export revenues. Nevertheless, oil still accounts for more than 80 percent of exports and the country is vulnerable to fluctuations in the commodity's price.

There are fairly good prospects for increased trade between Nigeria and South Africa,

and the posting of a senior South African diplomat to Abidjan in neighbouring Ivory Coast suggests that unofficial links are well advanced.

Analysts also suggest that President Babangida would welcome South Africa's recognition of Nigeria as the leader of black Africa — a move that would be a serious snub to Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, who lays claims to the position.

● Egypt: With a population of 50 million people, Egypt is another example of a quasi-democracy with a sizeable, but shaky, economy. Lacking the vast oil revenues of other Arab

states, the country is largely dependent on foreign aid and ran up a debt of nearly R140 billion over the last decade — more than its total GDP of R100 billion.

The Gulf War has both helped and hindered the country: an estimated R10 billion annual revenue from migrant workers in Kuwait and Iraq has been lost, but the United States has forgiven huge chunks of debt as a reward for Egyptian help.

Prime Minister Hosni Mubarak has remained in power since the assassination of Anwar Sadat in 1981. He won re-election in 1987, but the results were recently declared null and void by the Supreme Court and new elections are likely to be scheduled soon.

South Africa's links with Egypt were first made during the one-leg of peace negotiations over Namibia that took place in Cairo and the country is believed to have allied with Nigeria in calling for a softer line on South Africa at the OAU.

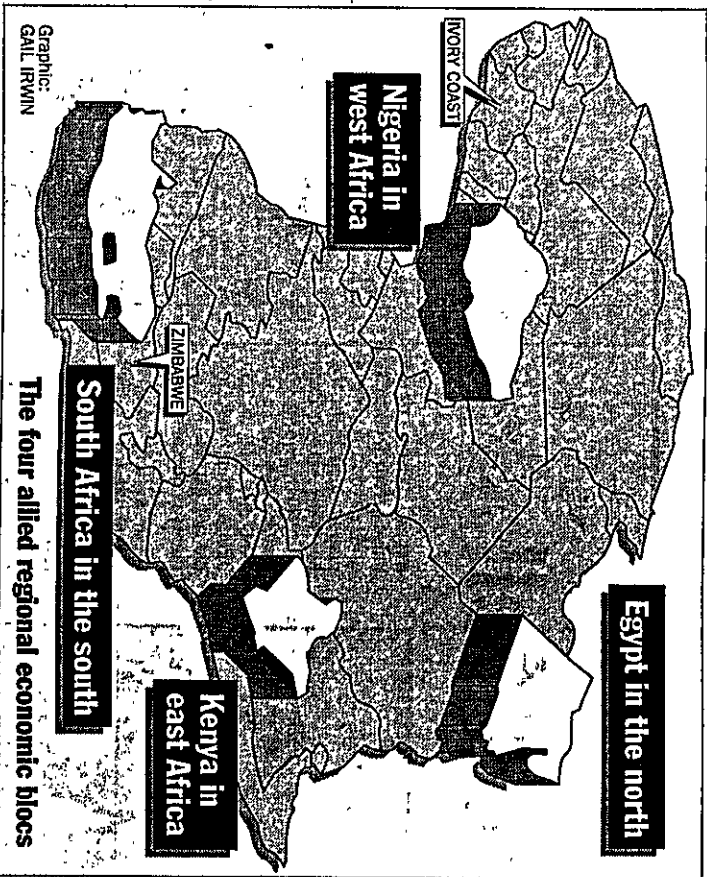
Potential trade areas include chemicals, textiles and foodstuffs.

According to Richard Cornwell, editor of Africa Insight, South Africa's strategy is to help establish a set of power blocs in Africa that may be able to co-operate on economic and political issues.

"While they remain small in absolute terms, Kenya, Egypt and Nigeria all stand out as regional giants," he notes.

Mr Cornwell cautions that the constant threat of instability and fundamental economic weaknesses may yet prevent the formation of such a four-cornered axis from becoming an engine for Africa.

But if the Government's new initiatives do get off the ground, there is significant potential for economic and political co-operation with benefits for both South Africa and the continent it has been isolated from for so long. □



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

The four allied regional economic blocs

# Madagascan opposition names 'govt'

Star 27/6/91

By Barney Mthomboti  
Africa News Service



**ANTANANARIVO** (Madagascar) — Opposition leaders here yesterday named what they called a 30-member interim government in an attempt to put more pressure on President Didier Ratsiraka and his government to resign.

The names of those who opposition leaders hope will soon take over the reigns of government were announced to loud cheers at a huge rally in the centre of the capital, Antananarivo.

Well over 200 000 people are believed to have attended.

The list includes priests, lawyers, journalists, academics and a police officer. It is not yet clear who the leader of this interim government will be but its leading light is Richard Andriamanjato, a well-known local priest, whose name tops the list.

The opposition wants President Ratsiraka's government to resign and a conference convened to draft the new constitution for the country.

The president, however, says he won't go but has offered to accommodate opposition leaders in his government. The offer has been turned down.

Yesterday's demonstration coincided with the country's 31st independence anniversary, and there were expectations the events may finally force the government to capitulate.

But President Ratsiraka and senior members of his government were attending a military parade to celebrate the anniversary. He didn't speak at the celebration.

Many people chose to attend the anti-government rally.

The rally, and the demonstrations which preceded it, was a very disciplined affair except for a thief who stole from a hawker and was apprehended.

A lawyer and political activist Ravony Francisque, who met President Ratsiraka on behalf of the opposition on Tuesday, told the rally the president was prepared to make changes to his government but he was still refusing to resign.

President Ratsiraka's party and its allies won in a general election two years ago, but the opposition says the elections were rigged.

# Economic handshakes awaited

Star 26/1/91

**PHILIP GAWITH reports from London**

THE idea of regional economic integration in southern Africa has been on the agenda since the turn of the century, when romantic engineers toyed with the idea of running the gold mines of the Witwatersrand from hydro-power generated at Victoria Falls.

That was never realised, but the idea of a regional grouping received new vigour earlier this month when President de Klerk floated it on his historic visit to Kenya.

Two years ago such talk would have been inconceivable. But the speed of South Africa's reintegration into Africa has rivalled even the formidable rate of internal political reform. The two, of course, are intimately related.

As Dr Erich Leistner of the Africa Institute in Pretoria observes: Apartheid was the futile attempt of white South Africans to escape the realities of their African existence.

The shedding of apartheid has not only made South Africa more acceptable to its African neighbours, it has also reminded South Africans that their well-being is bound up inextricably with Africa's.

The simultaneous failure of foreign aid and advice to arrest sub-Saharan Africa's de-bilitating economic spiral has also brought South Africa and Africa closer together.

Previously the relationship was distorted by political factors, notably the desire of Frontline states to distance themselves from South Africa. To this end they formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Centre (SADCC) in 1980, with the aim of promoting development in the 10 Frontline states and reducing their dependence

on South Africa. Only now are economic criteria beginning to enter the discussion.

In terms of infrastructure and trade, there is already a substantial base to build upon. Eskom, South Africa's power utility which produces 60 per cent of the continent's electricity, sells to six Frontline states.

Trade between South Africa and Africa is also flourishing. Accurate figures are difficult to come by, but officials estimate it totalled between R7 billion to R10 billion last year.

Developments in South Africa, Angola and Mozambique will all play a part in integration, while South Africa's rehabilitation will be incomplete without the imprimatur of the Organisation of African Unity. Africa and South Africa are enjoying a honeymoon phase. Difficult decisions, however, lie ahead.

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In particular, what form will regional co-operation take? How will existing overlapping structures such as the SADCC, South African Customs Union (which allows for the free interchange of goods among South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, with Pretoria distributing customs revenue among the members according to an agreed formula), and the Preferential Trade Agreement (a grouping which includes 12 southern states) be rationalised?

Dr Leistner, who believes co-operation should initially be bilateral and functional in emphasis, cautions strenuously against grandiose schemes. He is sceptical about the prospects for trade integration between countries with little trade among themselves. He also notes that SA is faced with factors which have bedevilled other African regional groupings: narrow na-

tionalism, failure to equalise the costs and benefits of closer union, disparate ideologies, and the lack of a strong political commitment to regionalism.

For Pretoria's partners, there is danger that their industrial sectors will be overwhelmed if fully exposed to competition from South Africa. If trade is to flourish, South Africa will have to find ways of increasing its imports from the region.

There are other dangers: excessive expectations and excessive introspection. Guilty on the former count are numerous African politicians who seem to think South Africa will be able to wave some sort of magic wand over the continent's problems. It cannot.

Going too far in the other direction is the ANC, which has come close to enunciating a "South Africa first" policy. — Financial Times. □

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Dr Leistner, who believes co-operation should initially be bilateral and functional in emphasis, cautions strenuously against grandiose schemes. He is sceptical about the prospects for trade integration between countries with little trade among themselves. He also notes that SA is faced with factors which have bedevilled other African regional groupings: narrow na-

tionalism, failure to equalise the costs and benefits of closer union, disparate ideologies, and the lack of a strong political commitment to regionalism.

For Pretoria's partners, there is danger that their industrial sectors will be overwhelmed if fully exposed to competition from South Africa. If trade is to flourish, South Africa will have to find ways of increasing its imports from the region.

There are other dangers: excessive expectations and excessive introspection. Guilty on the former count are numerous African politicians who seem to think South Africa will be able to wave some sort of magic wand over the continent's problems. It cannot.

Going too far in the other direction is the ANC, which has come close to enunciating a "South Africa first" policy. — Financial Times. □

Africa's afflictions have been magnified in the battlefield that is Ethiopia

# From horror to faint hope

Star 14/6/91.

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LONG ago, when the Soviet Union and the United States were implacable enemies and history had not come to an end, Ethiopia was a battlefield of the Cold War. On the ideological map of the world, it was Soviet territory, a land of Marxism-Leninism — and of famine, repression and civil war.

Once Mikhail Gorbachev had decided that communism's ideological struggle was lost, or at least too expensive to pursue, Ethiopia might have returned in Western eyes to the position it had occupied 100 years earlier: a place so poor and nasty that no scrounger for Africa would even try to colonise it (except for Italy, which received a bloody nose there in 1896 that kept it at home for 39 years).

Instead, the West is now doing its best to bring order to Ethiopia, and with it the hope of an end to famine, repression and civil war.

Ethiopia's suffering is far from over, but it can at least be thank-

ful that the West in general, and America in particular, is engaged in its affairs. So may the rest of Africa.

Because it escaped the kind of colonial rule experienced by the rest of the continent, Ethiopia has often been seen as an African exception: a country that could not blame its poverty and misgovernment on colonial masters.

In fact the West has plenty to answer for.

Italy returned in 1935, this time under Mussolini, to slaughter Ethiopians, Saddam-style, with poison gas. The League of Nations proved spineless, with America calling for a voluntary "moral embargo", Britain dithering and France bent on appeasement.

In 1952 the British handed over Eritrea, an Italian colony they had captured when they had eventually booted Mussolini out of Africa in 1941, to Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie.

This was partly prompted by guilt, partly by gratitude for Haile Selassie's loyalty to the Western

cause, especially in Korea.

America got a big communitarian base in Eritrea. Ethiopia got a big secessionist movement.

It also got a famine, first in 1958-59, then in 1972-73. This second one, killing more than 200 000 people, set in train the revolution that brought about the pathetic downfall of Selassie, the Lion of Judah, and ushered in the hideous dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam, the tyrant who was driven from office, and from his country, last month.

In the 17 years of his misrule, famines intensified and rebellions multiplied. Eritrea, the Ogaden and the Oromo provinces all wanted out, only the Tigreans, new rulers of



Mengistu ... a hideous tyrant.

Addis Ababa, balked at secession. If Ethiopia is untypical of Africa, therefore, it is only because Africa's afflictions are magnified in Ethiopia, not because they are different.

Ethiopia's dictators (whether Haile Selassie or Mr Mengistu) are more egregious, its secession more determined, its civil wars more prolonged, its famine more fatal.

It seems cruelly appropriate that the Organisation of African Unity, the repository of all the continent's hopes and fears, should be based in Addis Ababa.

Evelyn Waugh would have black-mischievously approved Africa's next century need not be as gloomy as its last.

Democracy is in prospect in South Africa. Despots, unsupported by their cold-warrior patrons, have collapsed in Ethiopia and Somalia. Military rulers are bowing out in Nigeria. Wars are ending in Angola and Mozambique. Economic reform is under way from

Ghana to Zambia.

Above all, the anti-communist revolutions of Eastern Europe have blown a wind of change southwards.

It is bringing democracy to a dozen African countries where multiparty elections had become rarer than white rhinos.

Yet Africa still lags far behind other continents.

Chaos grips some countries like Liberia and government verges on breakdown in many more from Mali to Uganda. Almost all are engaged in an impoverishing race between economic growth and making babies.

Many are still ruled by toughs who delight in central planning and personality cults. Most are riven by tribe and religion.

Getting out of this mess is largely a job for Africa itself. Largely, not solely: the West can help to end wars, as it has done in Namibia (with Soviet help) and is doing in Angola and Mozambique.

And it can encourage democracy: first, by refusing to prop up autocrats like Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko and Kenya's Daniel arap Moi (France has already served notice on its erstwhile clients); second, by coaxing Africans away from dotly Marxism by making help conditional on elections and political reform, which is what America is doing with the new rulers of Ethiopia.

The risk in democratisation is that frontiers as well as rulers will be changed. That is something Africa may have to put up with. Peaceful secession, based on the freely expressed wish of a people, may be preferable to decades of debilitating civil war.

It need not mean a wholesale redrawing of frontiers, or a licence to every prosperous pocket in the continent to copy Katanga.

But, after a generation of independence, Africa may have to shed some shibboleths to catch up with the rest of the world. — The Economist. □

# New encounter for Ethiopia's crippled heroes

DEBRE ZEIT (Ethiopia) — The crippled heroes of Ethiopia's defeated army, hobbling on crutches and propelling their legless bodies in wheelchairs, are ready for a new encounter with the enemy — without bullets and landmines.

The nearest thing to confrontation will be a game of one-legged volleyball with former rebel fighters, who like themselves have been mutilated by 30 years of civil war.

Just over 1 000 crippled and blind ex-soldiers live in Hero Centre, a rehabilitation hospital which Ethiopia's former Marxist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam established in the highland town of Debre Zeit, 45 km south of Addis Ababa.

Now the centre is about to open its doors to injured fighters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the rebel movement which ousted Mr Mengistu last month.

## Revive

The orthopaedic workshop has already stepped up production of artificial legs — artificial arms are a luxury it cannot afford.

There are plans to open a camp soon for 2 500 more disabled ex-combatants at Dila in the southern Rift Valley.

Colonel Getachew Wakjira, the commandant at Hero Centre, hopes to revive vocational training for disabled war veterans.

"Work itself is an occupational therapy. When they work they will enjoy life more," he said in an interview.

Hero Centre has a wing where veterans can learn carpet weaving, sewing, book-keeping and braille.

But most of the classes were suspended in 1989 when Mr Mengistu said there was no point training the disabled if Ethiopia's depressed economy could not even provide jobs for those who were sound in mind and body.

Most of the veterans spend their days chatting idly, listening to the radio and hopping or wheeling themselves around the centre's sparse gardens.

Colonel Getachew, a former police colonel, said many had psychiatric problems.

"They think they are the only people who really helped the country and their demands are unlimited," he said.

Although spartan by Western standards, in Ethiopian terms Hero Centre provides a life of unprecedented luxury.

Nearly eight million Ethiopians face starvation this year, but the centre's residents are well fed and housed. They enjoy television, sports facilities and medical care at their own hospital.

They are free to receive visitors and to go into town if they wish.

The orthopaedic workshop and its attached physiotherapy unit are hives of activity.

Here, many of the veterans have found a new purpose in life making artificial limbs, wheelchairs and crutches.

Fantahun Tsegaye, a paraplegic who has to strap himself to the workbench to avoid falling down, makes cushion pads for crutches.

Colonel Getachew said he aims to make Hero Centre, which is being renamed the "Rehabilitation Centre for War Invalids", self-supporting.

It already has a farm with cattle, poultry and vegetable garden that provides food and earns cash, but this is run by able-bodied employees.

The International Committee of the Red Cross provides equipment, raw materials and training for the orthopaedic workshop, but Colonel Getachew said the restrictions placed by Mr Mengistu on contacts with foreigners made it difficult to get other Western support.

He would like foreign help to buy drugs and physiotherapy equipment and to build the new centre at Dila, which will be situated next to hot springs. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Aids poses major threat to economy

Star 29/6/91.

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INVESTORS should increasingly start considering the potential impact of Aids on their investments.

If Aids does precipitate a major recession and possibly even a depression by the middle of this decade it will have a major impact on the future returns of investments made today.

This is the warning of two eminent researchers who predict that an Aids-induced economic recession would have serious repercussions on the traditional investment instruments like ten-year endowment policies, certain sections of the property market as well as several sections of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

In Durban Jane Wiltshire, corporate planning manager of Tongaat-Hulett has warned that Aids could precipitate a major recession later this decade which would divert money into disease-related areas and restrict spending as sufferers are denied credit and are obliged to rely on cash and savings.

According to Ms Wiltshire the disease is likely to start making itself felt in South Africa by the year 1995 when the maximum infection rate is reached and significant numbers of people are either ill or have died.

"A credit economy is based on future earnings, so it makes sense that where future earnings are uncertain, their value will be discounted," she says.

A switch to cash and savings would cause money supply to contract, causing a "major recession" and changing the inflationary trend in the economy to a deflationary one.

Ms Wiltshire adds that Aids is likely to reverse the current over-supply of labour in "the not too-distant future".

"It is likely that the population will peak some time early in the second half of the nineties and then decline as the number of child-bearing women are drastically reduced. The number of deaths will reach a peak in the late nineties".

Companies with the flexibility to mechanise would avoid the worst effect of a declining labour force, but labour intensive businesses would have a major problem.

It is the diversion of resources into treating and caring for Aids patients in the medium term that will have the most serious effect. Not only will more have to be spent on treatment and funerals, but the economy will suffer from the reduced productivity of sufferers.

**MAGNUS HEYSTEK**  
Finance Editor

In Johannesburg Mr. Keith Edelston, who heads the Aids Economic Research Unit has come up with even more forbidding findings.

He says the number of black workers is likely to shrink substantially in the current decade if the Aids pattern continues. From a peak of around 40 million blacks and coloured people in 1996 the numbers could fall to around 13,6 million by the year 2007, or thereabouts.

Projections made by the AERU indicate that South Africa's natural increase in population will most probably be halted by the year 1998; and decline thereafter.

At the turn of the century this country could be burdened by more than seven million Aids cases. The worst year promises to be 2001, with an estimated 6,77 million people dying in that year.

Thereafter the number of Aids cases will decline and the population will level out at around 13 million.

This will have serious effects on the economic levels in the country.

"When Aids reduces worker numbers to the point at which their ability to produce is reduced, earnings will fall and people will have less disposable income with which to satisfy their needs. This will lead to reduced turnover, a decline in profits and if the trend goes too far, many businesses will fold.

"Long before that happens however, something else will have a powerful effect. Aids makes people sick, and they then need medical treatment. Thus spending patterns will change. As more disposable income is diverted into increased medical spending on drugs and hospital care, so there will be less to spend on other things, such as holidays and petrol for the car."

This is already happening in countries like Malawi and Zambia where copper production is falling rapidly. While affected labour currently can still be replaced by drawing from the pool of unemployed workers, this is done at great cost to productivity and training levels. Mr Edelston expects much the same to happen in South Africa.

But how will Aids affect your investment decision? In my Money Matters column on this page I try to present the picture as how Mr Edelston and others see it.





# 'Coffers' empty'

## Grim message for Ethiopian millions facing disaster

**ADDIS ABABA.** — Ethiopia's provisional leader says the country's former Marxist rulers have left it bankrupt — a grim message for millions of its citizens facing starvation from famine.

Interim leader Mr Meles Zenawi said in a television and radio broadcast last night: "The coffers are empty. The country has nothing to sustain it, even for a few days."

It was his first public speech in Addis Ababa since rebels of his Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) captured the capital.

Mr Meles, 36, spoke as fears grew of a famine disaster in eastern areas with reports that fighting was preventing food aid from moving.

More than seven million people are threatened with starvation in Ethiopia this year because of drought and civil war. Mr Meles appealed for peace to allow his interim government to restore order and cau-

tioned people against following "anti-peace elements" — a reference to anti-EPRDF demonstrations last week.

He said the EPRDF was in control but said an all-party conference would be held within a month to set up a transitional government.

He called on Ethiopians to be prepared for yet more austerity to help the new administration pull the country out of its economic quagmire.

Residents said they were impressed by Mr Meles's stark summary of the crisis.

Many Ethiopians feel betrayed by 14 years of administration by Marxist military ruler Mr Mengistu Haile Mariam which sent the economy into a nosedive.

Reports of fighting in the town of Harar — probably between advancing EPRDF fighters and remnants of the old government's army — dashed hopes for an early resumption of famine relief to more than a

million people in the east, many Somali refugees.

United Nations officials said they were worried that relief supplies would not be resumed in time to save thousands of people from starving to death.

"I fear we will be unable to get the operation going again in time to prevent a disaster," said Mr Michael Ellis, operations director of the UN's World Food Programme (WFP).

Food convoys were halted in the region last week as law and order broke down.

WFP transport chief Mr Anders Ulin said an Ethiopian UN official was dragged from his hotel and shot dead. Another worker was detained in Harar and a third disappeared.

The charity Care said it had begun delivering water to refugee camps housing up to 300 000 Somalis and Ethiopians, using armed escorts.

Care's water deliveries were stopped last week because of insecurity. — Sapa-Reuter.

Argued 3/6/91





□ **FIRST OF MANY:** A man holds a dead baby in the Ogaden desert in Ethiopia where more than 7 million people face starvation. The United Nations says links with most border areas are severed. This child may be the first in a flood of victims.

# Starvation threat to millions

Argus 8/6/91 (1)

GENEVA. — The turmoil in Ethiopia continues to prevent urgently needed food supplies from reaching millions of people in the stricken country.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said links with most Ethiopian border areas remained severed and called the situation in refugee camps "desperate."

Mr Fabrizio Hochschild said limited supplies were entering Eritrean-controlled northern Ethiopia.

Elsewhere relief convoys were deterred by rebels and bandits roaming much of the countryside armed with weapons from stocks once controlled by the former government.

Last month rebels seized control after a 30-year civil war.

Destruction of roads and bridges during the fighting between troops loyal to former President Mengistu Haile Mariam and opposing factions added to the transport prob-

lems, Mr Hochschild said.

More than half UNHCR's fleet of vehicles had been destroyed during the conflict.

He said the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front which took power last month from Mr Mengistu was "positive and pragmatic" toward international agencies but was hampered by the absence of an administrative system and by lack of experience.

## Fled to swamps

UNHCR said the situation was worst in the west of Ethiopia. Up to 100 000 Sudanese refugees had recently fled from the Gambela district to swamps in southern Sudan where they were at even greater risk from fighting between Sudanese rebels and the government.

Before the Ethiopian conflict about 400 000 Sudanese refugees were in UNHCR camps in Ethiopia.

Mr Hochschild said the refugee agency had appealed for aircraft to

airlift supplies into the province.

UNHCR was also trying to help 100 000 Ethiopians who had fled to eastern Sudan in the past two weeks, many suffering from gunshot wounds, dehydration and sunstroke. Sudan was already host to 780 000 Ethiopians from earlier refugee influxes.

Communications with camps housing 794 000 Somali refugees in eastern Ethiopia were still cut. Thousands of Somalis reported to be on the move back to their homeland badly needed help.

A further 120 000 Somalis were likely to cross from Ethiopian camps into Kenya, adding to 22 000 compatriots already in Kenya.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said the Ethiopian authorities had asked it to take care of 150 000 demobilised soldiers and their families and 200 000 Ethiopian civilians displaced within their own country. — Sapa-AP.

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# Tanks roll into Algiers

Armed  
5/16/91  
①

## Teargas salvos

Police fired salvos of tear gas early today as bands of demonstrators, some tossing petrol bombs, attacked police stations and the Justice Hall but were pushed back.

Other demonstrators set up barricades on main roads around the capital, stopping and searching cars, apparently seeking people who participated in trying to quell yesterday's demonstration which brought tens of thousands of people into the streets.

Near the Place des Martyrs, fundamentalists tried to move into the Public Treasury building but were driven back by police lobbing tear gas. — Sapa-Reuter.

ALGIERS. — A state of emergency was declared by Algerian president Mr Chadli Bendjedid today after the government resigned and elections were postponed.

Tanks and heavily armed soldiers have clamped an iron grip on the capital.

The announcement of the resignations came after confrontations between Muslim fundamentalists and security forces yesterday left at least six people reported dead.

Mr Bendjedid said he was declaring the state of emergency "because of the worsening situation which could lead the country into extreme crisis".

He promised to form a new government after consultation with political parties.

"The process of elections is postponed. A decision will be taken to prepare adequate conditions for parliamentary elections," he said.

Two hours before his statement, tanks and hundreds of soldiers moved into the city after a day of violent clashes.

A police officer and several demonstrators had been killed and several wounded, Interior Minister Mr Mohamed Salah Mohamedi said.

The sound of rumbling tanks echoed through the night across the capital.

Reuter correspondent John Baggaley saw dark green and camouflaged tanks deployed throughout the city centre, the streets scarred with their tracks.

Tanks guarded the defence ministry and were deployed near the central communications offices.

Before the army moved in, groups of young fundamentalists armed with axes and stones threw up barricades across roads in the city centre and in some of the teeming stronghold areas of the radical Islamic Salvation Front, eyewitnesses said.

It was the army's first involvement in the unrest, which has pitted riot police and the National Guard against radicals since shortly after campaigning for parliamentary elections started.

A total of 39 parties had registered for the poll, Algeria's first multi-party general election since independence in 1962, with the FIS and ruling National Liberation Front (FLN) the front runners.

The FIS called a general strike last month saying election laws favoured the FLN. They demanded a presidential poll be held.

Demonstrators hardened the claims into outright demands for an Islamic state.

Residents said the army had taken up many of the positions occupied during riots in 1988 when the official death toll was put at 159 and unofficial estimates said nearly 500 were killed.

The riots led to the drastic political reforms now taking place. A new constitution allowed political parties and dropping references to socialism in the once staunch Marxist socialist state.



President Chadli Bendjedid



# Let's work together



**TOP LEVEL:** President De Klerk greets King Mswati outside the Swazi royal palace yesterday.

## Political Staff

**SWAZILAND.** — The emergence of a unified Europe next year and recent changes in eastern and central Europe and the Soviet Union meant that southern African countries had to group together and co-operate more closely to survive, President De Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at a luncheon at the Lozitha State Palace he said Swaziland and South Africa had always had close and friendly relations and ideological barriers in the region were disappearing.

South Africa, he said, wanted to play a role "in full harmony and equality" with its neighbours, and placed its knowledge, experience and expertise at the disposal "of our African friends".

The majority of African leaders not only accepted the irreversibility of political change in South Africa, but they also looked forward to the country playing a meaningful role in African affairs.

South Africa was now on the way back to international acceptance and its return to "regional multilateral organisations" was imminent, he said.

He said peace in southern Africa was in sight and the region had to prove that it had the potential to become "a prosperous region".

He was aware that developments in South Africa had far-reaching consequences for the region.

President de Klerk briefed his hosts and the diplomatic corps about developments in South Africa, saying his government was doing everything in its power to end violence and get constitutional negotiations off the ground.

He had been "heartened" by the enthusiasm with which Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi had agreed with him on the need for the economically-stronger African countries.

Swazi King Mswati III said there was "a real softening of attitude" towards South Africa in Europe. He had told European leaders during a visit that South Africa was on the road to reform.

# African states' influence 'waning'

Argus 26 June 1991  
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — The influence of the African states, once immensely important among the Third World majority of United Nations members, has waned and they no longer command the support and sympathy they used to enjoy, a long-serving UN delegate from Africa believes.

Mr Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Botswana's ambassador to the world body and former deputy head of the UN operation in Namibia, said in an interview that "another developing world," Eastern Europe — had taken over the focus of attention.

"The plight of the Africans is no longer on the front burner and this is reflected at the United Nations," he said. A "creeping marginalisation" had set in.

But a continent that constituted one third of the UN membership still retained some influence and that should increase, because "we are the continent of the future," Mr Legwaila said.

His remarks were reported in Diplomatic World Bulletin, an independent newspaper widely circulated within the UN community.

The African states had changed, away from the "ritualistic" positions and voting patterns that used to exist, he said. Individual members showed a greater degree of independence, unlike the days when "people didn't have to do a lot of thinking" about the votes they cast, because they used routinely to side with the other African members.

As for Botswana, he said its only squabbles were with neighbours who tried to infiltrate and destabilise the region.

Mr Legwaila, who held the rank of UN assistant secretary-general in Namibia having been brought in to boost Africa's representation in the nation-making operation, called the experience "a cherished part" of his diplomatic career.

Respected for his intelligence and moderation, he is the longest-serving UN ambassador after the representatives of Madagascar and Yemen.

# African tourist influx expected

6/10/91 18/6/91  
 PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's breakthrough visits to Kenya and other parts of Africa could herald a large influx of tourists from the north, Fedhasa executive director Peter Hearfield said in a statement yesterday.

"The potential is enormous, and echoes prospects for increased trade in the wake of the political breakthroughs," he said.

"The states immediately north of the Zambezi are in many ways more natural sources of tourism for SA than Europe.

"There is a natural affinity with SA which, after all, is an African state and there is bound to be a high degree of curiosity about the new SA as apartheid finally crumbles."

About half of SA's one million foreign visitors were already from black Africa, "representing an excellent base on which to build a bigger tourism market", Hearfield said.

The growing business links between SA and its neighbours now generated about R10bn a year in two-way trade, in spite of an official sanctions policy by the OAU.

"With the removal of official sanctions now very much in the offing, trade can be expected to increase

even further, generating more traffic by black businessmen, government officials and so on."

Important for tourism was the likelihood that special interest tour groups and study groups would visit SA. General tour groups and individual visits, drawn from middle to upper income citizens, were also likely, he said.

"Bizarre as it may seem, tours of Soweto and Robben Island may very well prove to be a drawcard for visitors from Africa.

"An interesting facet of the situation is that many of the currencies of these states are stronger than the rand.

"Therefore, in converting the local currencies into Deutchmarks or dollars, visitors from these territories would find an SA holiday surprisingly inexpensive, certainly when compared with a trip to Europe," Hearfield said.

Satour chairman Piet van Hoven was quoted yesterday as saying that the number of foreign tourists to SA had dropped by 17% in the January-February season, compared with the same period last year. The drop was attributed largely to unrest and violence in SA. — Sapa.

<sup>8/12/91 12/6/91</sup>  
**Zimbabwe no  
to full SA ties**

HARARE — Zimbabwe is standing firm against SA's diplomatic drive into Africa, holding back on formal contact until various anti-apartheid movements give the green light.

Diplomatic sources said Pretoria felt Zimbabwe was perhaps not giving enough credit for moves to dismantle apartheid.

Harare had approached Pretoria to renegotiate a 1964 trade agreement vital for the success of the five-year economic reform programme Zimbabwe embarked on earlier this year. But at the same time Zimbabwe was making a hard-line call at the OAU summit to maintain sanctions.

SA is Zimbabwe's biggest trade partner.

President Robert Mugabe has welcomed changes but said they fell short of full eradication of apartheid.— Sapa-Reuter.

**Former foe gives African  
readers a survey on SA**

<sup>8/12/91 12/6/91</sup> ROBERT GENTLE (1) (182)  
A SPECIAL edition survey on SA in the influential African publication Jeune Afrique signals an end to years of open hostility by the magazine.

The 50-page survey in the current affairs journal will bring SA to the attention of Francophone Africa and will also be sold in SA.

The magazine says "a long debate" was necessary before it decided to run the survey. It admits that its readers may be "shocked" to discover advertisements from SA companies.

"One thing is sure: it is not our convictions that have disappeared, but that SA has changed," says the introductory editorial.

The survey contains interviews with President F W de Klerk, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It also lifts the veil on SA's increasingly fruitful trade contacts with the rest of Africa, speaking of "liaisons" that have become "less and less discrete".

SA industrial companies like Eskom, AECL, Tiger Oats and research centre CSIR are described as "dynamic" to "high-tech". Engen, Senbank, Dulux Paint and Consol have advertised in words that leave no doubt they are angling for future African business.

The survey ends with a questionnaire addressed to Jeune Afrique readers asking whether African presidents should meet De Klerk and whether readers would be prepared to visit SA.

6/10 am 12/6/91

# Pretoria touts its plan to cure Africa's woes

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha are aggressively marketing the concept that Africa's best chance of economic survival is to divide into regional economic blocs modelled on the EC.

Within each common market, the most powerful national economy would act as an "engine of development" for the region.

While the various "dynamos of development" would help to co-ordinate the continent's economic revival, regional self-interest would remain paramount.

In their recent African safaris — many of them unpublicised — SA politicians have proposed that the continent be carved up into at least four economic blocs, each with an integrated plan to encourage trade and attract foreign investment.

Unsurprisingly, Pretoria is proposing SA as the "locomotive" of development for southern Africa, with Kenya fulfilling this role in East Africa, Nigeria in West Africa and Egypt in North Africa.

Just how Zaire and some of the other Francophone countries will fit into this game plan is still unclear.

But the proposal has clearly struck a responsive chord in a number of African states, particularly with those considered suited to leading regional development.

ANTHONY JOHNSON

SA Foreign Affairs officials say there is a growing appreciation for the proposition that Africa, as a unit, is too large, diverse and unwieldy to put together an economic rescue plan.

African leaders are now having to come to grips with the fact that the continent, after decades of economic decline since the heady days of independence, is no longer regarded as interesting by investors or even development economists.

The imminent economic union of Western Europe, and the developed world's preoccupation with rebuilding the economies of Eastern Europe, have highlighted the possibility that Africa, with all its problems, could be bypassed.

In its contacts with African leaders, Pretoria has been at pains to emphasise that unless countries in the proposed development zones give the outside world the impression that they are relatively stable and working constructively towards specific targets, they face a bleak future.

Botha is upbeat about the prospects of the SA approach to Africa. Indeed, buoyed by the success of his latest African expedition, he was confident enough to say: "I love it when a plan comes together."

7:31 pm 12/6/91

# Third World's policies take a knock

Star 4/16/74

THE scathing attack on the political policies of Third World countries, including Zimbabwe, had the audience of senior civil servants transfixed.

Everything derogatory that could be applied to them, was. Huge inefficient bureaucracies, tyrannical one-party cliques, adherence to nonsensical and bankrupt ideologies, suffocating regulations, corrupt State-run enterprises, an inability to confess past errors — these and more characterised the countries of the Second and Third World, said the speaker.

The astonishment arose from the fact that the man de-

livering the blistering criticism was Dr Eddison Zvobgo, a member of President Mugabe's Cabinet and former spokesman for the ruling party which for a decade preached socialism as the answer for the world's ills.

Dr Zvobgo said: "Nine years from the advent of the 21st century, certain truths which have hitherto been self-evident to all reasonable men and women have compelled recognition in various dramatic ways.

"In the process, half truths and downright lies have been cast aside or trampled underfoot by angry millions around the world. Everywhere in the

## ROBIN DREW of The Star Africa Service reports from Harare

Second and Third World leaders are talking about reform or adjustment in a bid to stem the tide."

He was addressing the very subject of Zimbabwe's own economic structural adjustment programme. Economic adjustment had to be viewed as a matter of life and death. There must be no doubt as to the only ideology that worked. Everyone had to embrace pragmatism. What did not work must be discarded. Dr Zvobgo, who is in charge

of the Public Service Ministry, is still a heavyweight in the Zimbabwean political ring though he fell from favour several years ago when he criticised the leadership and became involved in a tribal wrangle.

He said that for economic reform to succeed, all aspects of human endeavour had to be reformed or readjusted. Human rights had to be held sacrosanct. Governments must be freely elected.

Dr Zvobgo warned of the sense of insecurity which would affect Ministers when the time came for the government to be made smaller and more affordable, while bu-

reasurers would have to learn to govern with a minimum of regulations.

"The elected government must be prepared to dismount from the backs of the people. We must let the people go," he declared.

The independent weekly newspaper, The Financial Gazette, which splashed a report of the speech while the government-owned dailies ignored it, said Dr Zvobgo had taken a risk and had possibly invited the wrath of his colleagues.

But, it said, his pronouncements had come as a breath of fresh air to many who would give him a standing ovation. □





A worrying sort of TV programme is becoming more frequent, writes Angela Lambert

# The pornography of poverty

See-416191

**D**O THE desperate, negative images of starving children and poverty-stricken people that are coming out of Africa degrade their subjects — victims first of famine and then of the camera lens — thereby doing more harm than good?

That was the question posed by Oxfam last night in a BBC-TV programme, "Framing the Pain", which challenged the media's approach to the problem.

Commentators questioned the value, even under the guise of information, of programmes that suggest millions of Africans have no place or power in the world, except as bearers of a begging bowl proffered towards the West. Such programmes may extract a few hundred thousand pounds, just as charity concerts and telethons extract a few million, but this is small help beside the vastness of the need.

It serves to salve the conscience of the givers, but does nothing to stimulate long-term economic change.

Can concerts or images — especially beautiful, harrowing images

— ever change anything? And if you reply that it is not the job of the media, it is up to the politicians/aid agencies/charities/clinics to change. I would answer: In that case, why show such programmes at all?

Even if we accept the need for news reports about Third World catastrophes, many documentaries move swiftly beyond information to an indulgent and inappropriately aesthetic exploitation of those they purport to pity. In much the same vein, a new and worrying sort of programme is becoming more frequent.

A recent film about street violence in Brazil was one particularly horrific example among many. Blurred as "a disturbing documentary" journey through poverty, crime and violence", it had little commentary, offered no hope and no conclusion, and seemed merely to cater to the "there but for the grace of God go I" mentality.

Viewers comfortably ensconced on their sofas at home were regaled with photographic details of the visceral brutality of the lives of Brazil's urban poor.



Famine . . . an Ethiopian child suffering from malnutrition.

Behold — cue for close-up — this 12-year-old's amputated leg. See this emaciated dog in its death throes. Observe the moment

of decapitation as a bullock is sacrificed. Shudder at the faeces-filled streams that run through the shanty town, displayed in a

lingering, arty camera shot.

These programmes do not appeal for my help, either in purse or person. They offer no solutions, and, indeed, it is impossible to think of any. The lives depicted are usually the inescapable result of overcrowded cities, over-fertile families living in slums without access to family planning, low or non-existent incomes leading to high crime rates, poor educational facilities leading to a thriving drug culture, drugs and crime both producing a gun-toting underworld, the whole producing police brutality.

At what point can this vicious circle be interrupted, least of all by me? Will they be seen by the police or politicians of these tortured communities? You bet your life they won't.

What, then, is the purpose of these beautifully filmed programmes about street crime in Buenos Aires or Rio de Janeiro, prostitution in Bangkok or the Philippines, beggars in Bombay? Can it be that viewers revel in the smugness of knowing they belong to the fortunate quarter of the globe? Is it to indulge our prurient

fascination in the antics of transvestite prostitutes or go-go dancers rolling their perfect, globular buttocks?

In my case, the only consequence is guilt. For having watched, and more importantly, for being helpless.

I cannot affect these lives, not unless I abandon mine and travel to countries whose languages I do not speak and whose customs I do not know. I cannot even affect, by more than a handful of small change, the lives of London's street poor. Am I any the better for knowing that a child dies violently — was it every 90 seconds or every 90 minutes? — on the streets of Rio?

This guilt merely blankets me in impotent despair. I can support Amnesty or Oxfam or the Red Cross. I can educate an orphan child or two. But these programmes do not solicit such actions. They are not polemical, political, or ideological. They are nothing but the pornography of poverty. I resolve not to watch any more. — The Independent News Service. □

# Africa seeks solutions for ills in economic community

LAGOS — Africa, feeling marginalised in a world dominated by powerful economic blocs, this week began a long and difficult journey towards a common market in the world's poorest continent.

African leaders signed a treaty on Monday establishing an African Economic Community at the start of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Nigeria's future capital Abuja.

The treaty laid down a framework for a common market within the next 34 years and is seen as crucial to efforts to reverse the decline of African economies in an unfavourable international economic environment.

The community aims to mobilise and co-ordinate largely untapped human and material resources to strengthen the continent's bargaining position in the world.

"To arrest nose-diving economic growth and terms of trade, and rising poverty, we have to act together... on external debts and other depressing economic matters which we have faced... as individual countries all these years with diminishing success," Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said at the signing ceremony.

Crippled by low pro-

ductivity, mass poverty and an estimated \$270 billion debt, Africa must solve grave economic problems from the inside and unite to press for changes in the world economic order, African leaders said in Abuja.

Africans fear that as Europe and other Western blocs become more protectionist or divert resources to Eastern Europe, their continent will become even more marginalised.

Measures by industrialised nations to reward Poland for leading changes in Eastern Europe, and Egypt with huge debt write-offs for supporting allied forces in the Gulf War have driven home stark realities to African nations.

"It's not enough to be poor to get aid, you must also be politically relevant," said a delegate at the OAU meeting.

With the Soviet Union, former benefactor of some African nations, now clamouring to join the queue for Western aid, African nations fear they will be pushed to the back.

Barber Conable, president of the World Bank, told the summit on Tuesday: "If governance is not

seen to improve in Africa, if development is not seen to be taking hold, then 'Afro-pessimism' may indeed set in and Africa's great needs may be set aside."

Plagued by numerous regional conflicts, Africa also needs political stability to pursue its economic goals.

"We must link strategies and processes of economic development with those of conflict resolution and pursue them in tandem," OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim said in Abuja.

Business analysts say that, although an African Economic Community looks good on paper, failed attempts to harness Africa's resources within regions show that wider integration may be difficult.

African countries mainly export primary products and import processed and manufactured goods, and face difficulties shifting trade from industrialised nations, mostly former colonial rulers.

The OAU's new chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, said well planned development strategies adopted by African leaders in the

past had been poorly implemented.

Building an African community is probably the most challenging task African leaders have given themselves since independence three decades ago.

"It will involve the setting up of complex structures, moving from sub-regional economic integration groupings and harmonising their work," UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar told the OAU summit.

To share the OAU's headquarters, the community will need substantial funds for its work, not always easy to squeeze out of cash-strapped African states.

Mr Salim told OAU member-states on Tuesday that only 25 percent of their total contributions to the secretariat's 1990-91 budget, which ended last week, had been paid, with \$52.3 million still owing. — Sapa-Reuter.

"Participation bond rate better than average."

Garner Thomson looks at the role of the environment in Africa's conflict

# Greenwar's vicious downward spiral

**T**HE dramatic role of the environment on Africa's crippling factional disagreements and full-scale wars is the focus of a new and ground-breaking report by the international information and policy studies group, the Panos Institute in London.

Written by 11 Sahelian writers, it sounds a note of warning in a bid to "move beyond theoretical concepts and to present the perspective and experiences of people for whom accelerating environmental decline and increasing conflict have become a reality".

The issue of what Panos has dubbed "Greenwar" has been surprisingly neglected, says the institute's president, Jon Tinker. "The Greenwar cycle is a vicious downward spiral, in which

environmental degradation leads to communal tensions, which lead to local disputes, which lead to violence, which leads to civil wars and inter-state wars — which, in turn, cause yet more environmental degradation and yet more famine."

The report blames the Greenwar factor for much of the starvation facing at least 15 million Africans in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Mozambique, Angola, and elsewhere on the continent.

"There is a direct causal link between deforestation and soil erosion and years of miserable civil war," says Mr Tinker. "Cut down trees today and you may have tanks there tomorrow. Deforestation and desertification are a direct cause of warfare right across the Sahel, like Emperor

Haile Selassie, Colonel Mengistu was driven out of Addis Ababa by the devastated Ethiopian environment."

But Panos warns that the Greenwar factor is showing itself in a number of countries other than those of the Sahel. "The environment is a major contributing cause of current wars, civil wars or threats of wars in Palestine, the Punjab, Sri Lanka, Peru and elsewhere."

The writers of the report stress that they are not suggesting that all wars are caused by environmental devastation, or that such degradation always leads to war. But the environment is "an important and growing strand in the complex web of causality which ends in war", they say. For all the devastation that has

already killed, injured, and displaced millions of people, Panos believes there is still time to act.

Says Mr Tinker: "The lesson of Greenwar is that a peaceful world is impossible if we continue to devastate our environment."

"One way of avoiding wars, perhaps the best prospect for international peace-making in the post-Cold War era, is to tackle severe environmental stress, especially in regions where there are already deep-seated religious, ethnic or political tensions.

"Ecology has become an essential subject, not just for ministries of the environment, but for foreign ministries and defence ministries as well. When we start by making war on our environment, we end up by making war on one another." — The Star Bureau. □

Gill Tudor reports from Accra on the swing against non-party rule

# Bumpy time for Flight Lieutenant

Star 19/6/91.

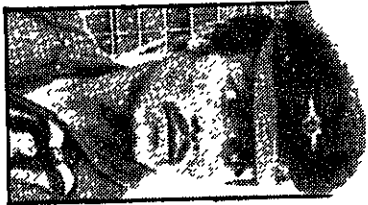
①

AT a time when veteran African leaders are being kicked out, voted out or eased out, Ghana's populist leader Jerry Rawlings is facing the biggest challenge yet to his authority.

Across Africa, a wave of pro-democracy demands has seen old-guard presidents fall to coups, free elections and reformist national conferences. Now the spotlight is on Mr Rawlings, the Flight Lieutenant who himself came to power through a coup.

Pressure from opponents at home and donors abroad forced his Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) last month to pledge a return to multiparty politics after 10 years of what Mr Rawlings calls non-party rule. Anti-government demonstrations, unheard of in the last decade, have started in several towns and the capital Accra is buzzing with discontent.

Jerry Rawlings... his charisma and relatively clean reputation may carry him through.



But some people say the charisma and reputation of the 43-year-old Rawlings as a man of the people could carry him through. He mounted a 1979 coup to flush out rampant corruption in this West African country — executing three former military presidents — then handed power back to an

elected civilian government.

But relations between the new regime and the youthful coup-leader were tense. Mr Rawlings seized power again in 1981, banning political parties and establishing PNDC rule.

His image as an honest revolutionary with a down-to-earth manner has worn well at home and abroad. Domestic critics accuse him of high-handedness and say he can be naïve, but many say he is an unusually clean politician.

Diplomats say his human rights record, while not impeccable, is better than that of many African leaders. International donors have poured praise and cash on Ghana's structural adjustment programme, which the government has stuck to since 1983 despite its devout left-wing rhetoric.

But life for ordinary Ghanaians remains tough and economic discontent has fuelled the country's

pro-democracy mood.

The PNDC, one of the slowest governments in the region to respond to demands for reform, has promised multiparty polls after a constitutional referendum some time next year.

But a row has erupted over the consultative assembly it has set up to draft the new constitution.

The broad-based Movement for Freedom and Justice, the Ghana Bar Association, the Christian Council and other prominent groups say participation is skewed towards the PNDC and accuse it of trying to twist reforms to cling to power.

"Nobody can trust Rawlings to carry out a fair transition," said exiled former Minister J H Mensah in neighbouring Ivory Coast.

"He has a messianic mission to continue his revolution regardless of the opinions of Ghanaians." — Sapa-Reuter. □

# Famine<sup>①</sup> in Africa: Star 19/6/91 new plan for UN aid

LONDON — An international operation to help Africa's 30-million famine victims and avoid a catastrophe on the continent is being considered by Western governments and aid agencies.

Aid officials have warned that without an initiative loss of life could exceed the Ethiopian famine in the 1980s when up to one million people are thought to have died.

The plan envisages the appointment of a United Nations supreme to co-ordinate aid efforts, with authority to call for military help to overcome logistical problems with food supplies and provide technical assistance such as bridge building.

Some aid officials are also pressing for the UN to have the right to override governments which obstruct relief agencies from reaching parts of their country on grounds of sovereignty. Britain and the United States are resisting this proposal.

Although the first priority is Africa, the proposed supreme would also co-ordinate disaster relief operations elsewhere in the world such as in Bangladesh and the Philippines.

Britain and Germany are expected to raise the issue at the European foreign ministers meeting under way in Luxembourg, and at the European Community heads-of-government meeting on June 28 and 29. It is also expected to be on the agenda of next month's meeting in London of the leaders of the seven main Western industrialised countries.

Dutch Development Minister Jan Pronk wants Western troops to help transport emergency food aid and has discussed the idea of an international force for Africa, similar to that which helped Kurdish refugees.

Aid officials say that military aircraft are needed to move food promptly to the worst-hit areas. — Financial Times News Service.

# 'Too early' for full ties

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mauritius is unlikely to establish full diplomatic links with South Africa unless there is a democratically elected government in power, according to the secretary-general of the island's Labour Party, Kailash Purryag.

Mr Purryag, who arrived in Durban yesterday, served as Minister of Social Security and then of Health. He is in Durban to attend the African National Congress conference.

He said that while Mauritius had business and other links with South Africa, the idea of full diplomatic relations was not part of the island's approach in its contribution in helping to remove all apartheid. "Neither the present Mauritian government nor a Labour Party future administration can be seen to have official diplomatic relations when apartheid is still alive," said Mr Purryag.

He said that his party would be contesting all 62 seats in the election which was expected to be held shortly. At present Labour is the Opposition in Mauritius.

# Boomtime as trade rumbles

## Messina braced for big spin-off

Star 22/6/91  
DIRK NEL

AS sanction-busting political changes in South Africa continue, Messina, the town described as "The Gateway to Africa" is gearing itself for a major trade explosion.

Private enterprise in this country has taken to the roads in a big way, and Messina is feeling the impact of a procession of huge container trucks bound for central and east Africa, carrying appliances, spares, food and other commodities, returning with fertiliser, cement, tobacco, and other regional products.

Through refusing to comment on the actual containers being carried, Messina Development Association chairman Jack Klaff told Saturday Star that almost 3 000 heavy-duty consignments were crossing

Beit Bridge near Messina every month. He said tourism from Africa was showing a rapid upward trend, and this meant more money for Messina, as the first town on the route south of the border.

"The facilities at Beit Bridge are completely inadequate — it is becoming quite embarrassing, and something drastic will have to be done if trade with Africa continues to grow at the present rate," said Mr Klaff.

He saw decentralisation by major exporters to Messina as a logical de-

velopment in the near future.

Seven trainloads of goods cross the bridge every day for delivery to African states, a Spoonet spokesman said.

This week a new passenger train service between Bulawayo and Johannesburg was launched as a result of improved tourism prospects.

A visit to the Messina station and the congested Beit Bridge border post confirmed Mr Klaff's claims.

Many of the truck drivers at the bridge said they did round trips which included Zimbabwe, Zaire, Zambia and Botswana.

Most of the trucks were fitted with sleeping bunks

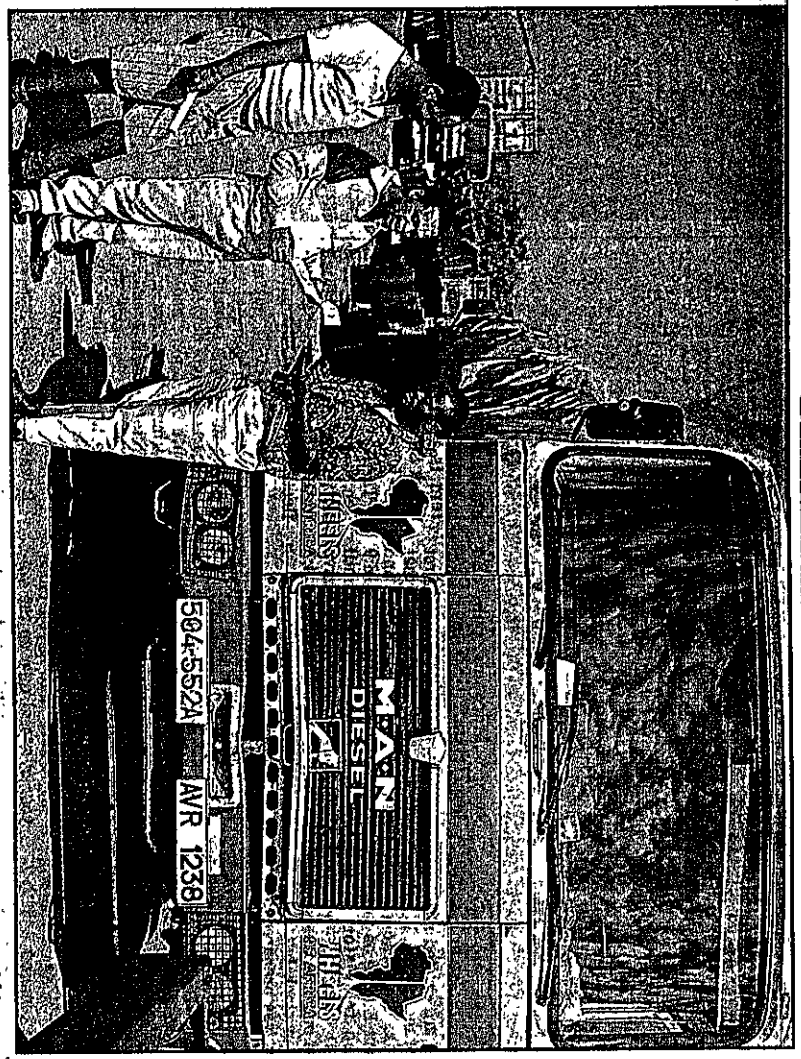
and the drivers carried international credit cards for fuel, food and spares.

"It's a tiring job, but I enjoy it, and the pay is good," responded cheerful Egyptian Dhanni of Durban, when asked about his daily routine.

"On the road again — no time to lose," Anderson Chivovopo of Zimbabwe said as he slid behind the wheel, after checking through customs.

About 600 km a day appeared to be routine for these hardy travellers.

They welcomed the road-widening construction work in progress on the N1 between Louis Trichardt and Messina, saying they thought it was long overdue.



BUSY TIMES COMING: Heavy duty truck drivers relax for a chat before continuing on their way across Africa.

# Our destiny lies in Africa

**P**RESIDENT De Klerk's message to Africa has been straightforward: The countries of what is fast becoming a forgotten continent must stand together and co-operate more closely in order to survive.

On his visits to Kenya and Swaziland he spoke against the background of the emergence of a unified European Community next year and recent changes in eastern and central Europe.

He put it beforehand in a message to 35 Organisation of African Unity heads of state, speaking of "dramatic changes in the international environment, of shifts in economic patterns and in power balances which provide both challenges and opportunities for our continent."

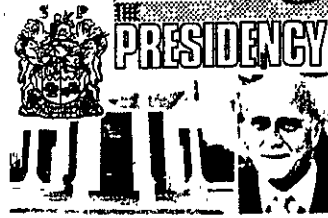
In that message he also said numerous African leaders had acknowledged to him that they accepted the irreversibility of the process of change in this country, and that they looked forward to South Africa playing a meaningful role in African affairs.

It was in that message that Mr De Klerk also said: "it is primarily in Africa that our destiny lies."

Some may describe this as a political cliché, but it is a fact that the attention of South Africa's rulers were for so long fixed on Europe that ties with Africa, even when this was still possible, were neglected.

The few ties we had — South Africa still had diplomatic ties with Egypt, for instance, up to the 60s — were destroyed by apartheid.

It is only recently that it has dawned



COMMENTARY BY  
TOS WENTZEL

on the government that South Africa's way to re-acceptance into the international world might go through Africa.

Now Mr De Klerk has told the African leaders:

"We share Africa's dream, its aspirations and its disappointments. We believe we have a contribution to make, with special reference to our own Southern African region, in the search for peaceful solutions to conflicts, towards economic and technological development and co-operation in a multitude of fields affecting our progress.

"We believe the time has arrived for Africa to note the developments that have occurred in South Africa, and to respond in a way calculated to encourage the transition to a new South Africa and to promote co-operation between us."

What has been called South Africa's "Africa first" development model is based on the concept of economic regions in the continent in which countries like South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and Egypt can play a leading role. The emphasis is also on increased co-operation within the continent.

According to Mr Pik Botha, economic sanctions against South Africa in Africa will be a dead letter by the end of the month. All the major apartheid measures will then have been scrapped.

Although Nigeria reacted cautiously to the suggestion, it seems that Mr De Klerk may go there on a visit in the near future. Egypt is another country he may go to.

South African envoys have been very active recently on trips throughout Africa. A training programme for black diplomats is being started.

One African country, Zaire, appears so keen to have diplomatic relations with South Africa that it announced the name of its ambassador without it having been cleared with Foreign Affairs.

In Kenya Mr De Klerk made bold to say that he hoped the recent OAU meeting was the last one to be held without South Africa.

WHILE NOT exactly complacent about the polarisation in politics, Mr De Klerk again showed that he was a wily politician when he dealt with the matter in Parliament this week.

He said the polarisation was not always as serious as it might appear in the future.

It was necessary to distinguish between propaganda, posturing and political positioning on the one hand, and fundamental polarisation on the other.

He was positive in his approach to the ANC, saying that the government was not interested in disorganising it, but that it rather wanted the organisation to get its house in order and to become a well-organised political party.



It's like a dam wall bursting - De Klerk

# Africa sanctions crumbling

Star 10/6/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
and Sapa-Reuter

**NAIROBI** — President de Klerk ended a historic visit to Kenya yesterday, saying black African resistance to trade "with South Africa was crumbling as fast as apartheid."

"It's like a dam wall bursting," he told reporters on his flight home. "If we can have a successful visit to two more important countries in Africa we will have turned things around."

He refused to tell reporters which countries he hoped to visit next.

But Foreign Minister Pk Botha told Kenyan television that Mr de Klerk might visit Nigeria later this year, and it is known that Egypt is seen to be of crucial importance.

Mr Botha said last night that Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's Libya was now the only African country with which South Africa did not trade, and African sanctions against South Africa were a thing of the past.

Briefing for the return of SAA's "Spirit bo", Mr Botha said Mr de Klerk's visit was very important to Kenya's economy. It was felt

## African sanctions crumbling - FW

Star 10/6/91  
were welcome in South Africa.

He said he would soon formalise this invitation.

The visit by the South Africans received exhaustive coverage in the local press.

It was a lead story in all Sunday newspapers.

The Kenyan Sunday Times main story, headlined "New De Klerk vow to Africa", was based on Mr de Klerk's press conference after his three-hour meeting with President Moi.

"De Klerk invites Moi to SA" was the Standard on Sunday's lead story, and "De Klerk extends hand of friendship" was the Sunday Nation's main story.

Mr de Klerk and his delegation - which also included Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk, Trade and Industry Minister Dr Org Marais, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlet - will pay a one-day working visit to Swaziland today.

## African sanctions crumbling - FW

From Page 1

his visit of a new wind of change blowing across Africa.

He said, at a state banquet given on Saturday by President Moi, that in this critical time in Africa, only countries such as Kenya and South Africa had the power, energy and initiative to rescue the continent.

Mr de Klerk said South Africa had embarked on a process which Kenya had accomplished many years ago - the reconciliation of all its races.

But, he said, the winds of change were blowing across Africa and soon there would be total democracy in South Africa, with fairness and justice for all.

At a press conference, Mr de Klerk indicated that President Moi might visit South Africa in the near future.

Mr de Klerk said he had an open-door policy and President Moi, his Cabinet Ministers or his senior government officials

powers such as Kenya in east Africa, South Africa in the south, Nigeria in the west and Egypt in the north that could play a vital role in stabilising the continent.

Mr Botha said the other African countries were trading with South Africa directly or indirectly, and those whose trade with South Africa was still indirect could "score" by doing so directly. He said now that Pretoria's "score" by doing so directly. He said now that Pretoria's "score" by doing so directly.

sible for the average African country to trade with South Africa, a country which oppressed their African brothers," Mr Botha said.

South Africa, Mr Botha said, had for the past three years been advocating regional development in Africa but its views did not find favour because of apartheid.

That problem was now over because, South Africa was into

taining sanctions until more political change occurred in South Africa.

Unconfirmed reports say new OAU chairman, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, will lift OAU sanctions shortly after the ANC's national congress in Durban next month.

Mr Botha said the attitude of the most important countries in Africa towards Pretoria was beginning to change.

Mr Botha said although South Africa's trade with Kenya used to be relatively small, it would "increase massively" from about R10 million a year to anything between R200 million

and R300 million. Kenya, Mr Botha said, made about \$6 billion a year through tourism, and this was three times more than what tourism was bringing into South Africa.

It was also an economically stable country whose citizens were very hard-working.

Mr Botha described Kenyan leader Daniel arap Moi as one of Africa's elder statesmen, and said he and the leaders of Nigeria and Egypt could play an important role "to change the whole situation vis a vis South Africa" on the continent.

Mr de Klerk spoke during

● To Page 3



# Reforms in Africa: Times calls on UK to suspend aid to Kenya

The Argus Foreign Service LONDON. — The Times has called on Britain to suspend aid to Kenya to prove that donors are serious about demanding democratic reforms in Africa.

And in a leading article yesterday, it also urges the Organisation of African Unity to escape its "timewarp" and think hard about pluralism, instead of quarrelling over South African sanctions.

"South Africa is relevant only as an example of an African state struggling to find a path away from dictatorship towards multi-party or multigroup democracy," it adds. "Finding such a path is as important for Africa as was the collapse of communism for Eastern Europe."

Black leaders can no longer sermonise about one-man one-vote south of the Limpopo, the Times observes, "without inviting the exasperated retort: 'What about you?' Even international bodies and aid agencies, after years of de facto support for state plunder in Africa are taking up the same refrain."

But in spite of the popular pressure on them, many of Africa's leaders still hold powerful cards: strong and highly politi-

cised armies and pervasive political patronage, and "they will not put their money where their mouth is until the flow of aid money is conditioned on their doing so".

Donors have threatened to favour only those countries committed to democratisation, but the Times questions whether they mean what they say.

Britain should immediately re-

duce its aid to Kenya — the largest recipient of British aid in Africa — in line with its own protests about the need for "pluralism, public accountability and respect for the rule of law".

Part of that aid might even be transferred to the "responsible hands" of the newly elected President Nicephore Soglo of Benin who has set Africa an example ... "and aid policy should use carrots as well as sticks".

## 300kg of dagga was destined for SA

HARARE. — Three hundred kilograms of dagga destined for South Africa went up in smoke in Harare yesterday putting paid to a deal which would have been worth nearly R1 million.

Police said the dagga, neatly packed in boxes, had been seized in Bulawayo and two men had been arrested.

It was grown in the eastern districts of Zimbabwe and transported via Harare to Bulawayo under police surveillance until the trap was sprung.

A police officer said commercial

deals were becoming rife. But the police were aware of what was going on and knew the transport companies involved in smuggling the drug to neighbouring countries, especially South Africa. — The Argus Africa News Service.

### Killer bomb

LAHORE (Pakistan). — A bomb planted on the rear seat of a bus exploded in the Pakistani city of Lahore today, killing one person and seriously injuring five, police said. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Arrests in Algiers

NEWS 11/19/71

## Fierce clashes after Islamic 'conspirators' seized

ALGIERS. — Heavy automatic gunfire ripped through Algiers only hours after Algerian security forces arrested two top leaders of the main Islamic opposition.

Algerian television, quoting a military communique, said Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) leader Abbassi Madani and deputy Ali Belhadj had been arrested for involvement in a conspiracy against state security. It said they would be tried.

The two men were seized late yesterday. Around 100 heavily armed National Guard surrounded the Rue Charras headquarters of the FIS, inspiration of demonstrations for an Islamic state.

Tracer bullets ripped over the seafront towards the Martyrs' Square, rallying point for FIS street protests before President Chadli Benjedid imposed a state of siege on August 5 and sent in the army.

More shooting was heard in another FIS stronghold, El Biar.

The gunfire followed 24 hours of intermittent but savage clashes in the city. For several hours bullets crackled into the sky and slammed into walls in the poor neighbourhood of Belcourt, focus during the previous night of what diplomats called the heaviest gunfire of the unrest.

Yesterday tanks moving in daylight for the first time arrived in the city centre. They deployed on the main seafront boulevard.

Officials say 42 people were killed in clashes last month. Eyewitnesses said two more died yesterday in Belcourt. Diplomats put the death toll for June around 70.

By last night light, anti-riot tanks and National Guard had deployed around the Belcourt neighbourhood.

Heavier tanks moved in near the FIS headquarters as troops took up positions.

The military said Madani and Belhadj had been arrested "for having formulated, organised, launched and led an armed conspiracy against the security of the state."

"The attempt at disorder aimed at achieving power, for which they were responsible, caused loss of life and destruction of property . . . they will have to answer individually to the judiciary, as will others who think of doing the same thing," a military communique, quoted by the Algerian news agency APS, said.

Madani was arrested 30 minutes after security forces surrounded the building, one source close to the FIS said.

Earlier yesterday a statement by a group calling itself the Organisation for Struggle against Tyrants in Algeria said if the state of siege was not lifted in 20 days the group would hijack aircraft, kill Algerian officials, kidnap their children and attack foreign interests in the country. — Sapa-Reuters.

# Grassroots view of a fragile, complex continent

Blouay 11/19/1

**AFRICA: DISPATCHES FROM A FRAGILE CONTINENT**, by Blaine Harden (HarperCollins, R79.99)

LIKE an optimistic probation officer dealing with hardened recidivists, Barber Conable urged African leaders attending this month's OAU summit to follow the precepts of "good governance." Old lags in the audience such as Kenneth Kaunda and Mobutu Sese Seko heard the World Bank president urge the virtues of "accountability, transparency, predictability, adherence to the rule of law."

"In a world where the competition for scarce resources has never been more intense, we will be paying increasingly more attention to them in years to come," he said.

Blaine Harden, who spent four years in Africa for the Washington Post, puts it more bluntly: Western donors, he says, should "insist on free elections in the same way that they insist on a rationally valued currency. No devaluation, no loans. No certified fair election, no loans. No independent judges, no loans."

He reaches this conclusion towards the end of an outstanding account of the complexities of a fragile continent where 30-million people face starvation and the anarchy of Liberia or Somalia seems a portent of further horrors to come.

He looks behind chilling statistics about the continent's crisis, and goes beyond mere portraits of venal or brutal African leaders. Few writers can match Harden's insights into the continent's malaise, drawn from experience of Africa at the grassroots. He explores areas most journalists do not reach, what Harden calls "the business of living in cultures that have been force-fed change."

The body of a dead Kenyan lawyer lies on ice as his widow, a member of a different tribe, battles with his relatives for custody of the corpse. The courtroom becomes "a proxy battlefield for a tribal war." But there is much more to it than that. The struggle is also between Christianity and indigenous faiths, as well as over women's rights.

A 7ft 6in Dinka cowherd from Sudan undergoes a cultural trauma when he becomes a professional basketball player in the US, a story into which Harden weaves an explanation of the relationship between the tribesman and his cow.

Perhaps the most instructive chapter is set in Ghana, although the lessons apply to Africa as a whole. Harden accompanies a Ghana University sociology lecturer on his journey to his home village: his account illuminates the safety-net role of Africa's extended families and the pressure it imposes on a wage earner who is obliged by tradition to share his income with less

well-off relatives. Oduro resents his rural family: "They are cultures, pickpockets. They want money from you and they know how to get it."

The episode prompts a sombre warning: "Kwasi Oduro's trip home ... showed that the extended family in Ghana and across Africa functions under immense stress. Like a bridge that has borne too much high speed traffic for too many years, its foundations are cracking." Africa owes much of its resilience during decades of economic pain and political upheaval to this bridge and the cracks

code ill for stability. A second theme is the pitfalls that await well-meaning aid donors, ex-

emplified by "the frozen fish plant in the desert", a tragicomic tale of a Norwegian project in north-west Kenya. It hurried out that freezing the fish cost more than the fillets were worth. A dam which the EC helped fund is described as "the richest dirty deal in Kenya's history", providing large kickbacks to Kenyan officials, according to a Community memorandum.

Harden derives some comfort from this apparently bleak picture. "A learning curve can be discerned in modern Africa," he writes. "Governments have finally started to sift sense out of nonsense." The superpower rapprochement which helped

empowered by "the frozen fish plant in the desert", a tragicomic tale of a Norwegian project in north-west Kenya. It hurried out that freezing the fish cost more than the fillets were worth. A dam which the EC helped fund is described as "the richest dirty deal in Kenya's history", providing large kickbacks to Kenyan officials, according to a Community memorandum.

## Witty and accessible guide to income tax

Blouay 11/19/1

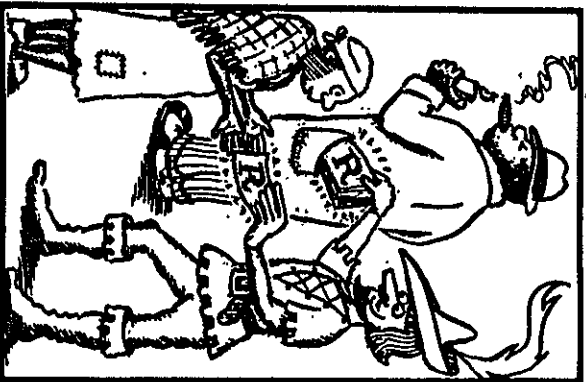
**INCOME TAX MADE SIMPLE**, by MATSHERU MATSHERU (Butterworths, R35)

TO FIND a book on taxation which is witty and does not, as a matter of course, project Revenue as the big bad wolf is refreshing. Matshern has compiled a book on SA income tax that not only makes "taxese" accessible to laymen but explains why taxes are collected.

He begins with the premise that tax is essential but "the law on the subject is weak. The zeal of the Official is strong and the ignorance of the Taxpayer is colossal."

He then goes on to tell his readers that tax is a game between two players, the taxpayer and the tax collector, where both players should know the rules so the game can be won or lost on fair grounds. He makes the legitimate comment that conflict sometimes arises because the tax collector adheres to departmental rulings, while the taxpayer is not given access to all these rulings.

But the book is not a stab at the fiscus on incompetence, unfairness or unnecessary complexity. The author stresses it is the taxpayer's responsibility to know and stand up for his rights.



Robin Hood stole through a progressive stealing structure.

Matshern explains basic tax concepts in a way that makes them sound logical and understandable. Issues such as capital versus income

are covered, as is tax and the individual, employee and business, and tax planning opportunities.

Nothing is assumed and a useful dictionary on tax terms explains terms which most of us are too embarrassed to admit we do not understand.

Wonderful cartoon illustrations and amusing comments put this in a class of its own.

Although the book is obviously targeted at SA blacks, it is equally relevant to all South Africans who need a simple explanation of what tax is and what it means.

In his introduction Matshern justifies the creation of yet another tax book for one's shelves saying: "Taxation, like cold air in winter, reaches into every corner of everyone's life, directly or indirectly, for better or for worse.... Surprisingly, thousands of people still pay their tax annually without the slightest idea whether or not they are paying the correct amount of tax."

Matshern is an independent tax adviser who gained his expertise through the tax and business law programme at Unisa and various other tax courses at Wits University. GILLIAN HAYNE

pave the way to Namibia's independence has raised prospects for an end to other conflicts, while the surge of support for democracy throughout Africa is accompanied by economic reform.

But the complexity of the continent and the extraordinary stresses posed by painful economic and political reform make one wish that Harden had dwelt more on the link between aid and democracy.

The principle is admirable and has been endorsed by British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd. Hurd has taken aid conditionality a step further than Conable, who told the OAU the bank would not seek to influence Africa's choice of political system provided aid was used efficiently.

Aid, Hurd wrote last October, should be tied not only to economic reforms, but to political reform, in which "accountability must be a central plank." This, he says, "goes hand in hand with political pluralism and with more open government."

Aid recipients should be left "in no doubt about our concerns. We should expose and condemn abuses of human rights when they are uncovered by the media, by our posts abroad and by non-governmental organisations, like Amnesty International".

These structures have had no discernable effect. British aid to Malawi, for example, whose human rights record is deplorable, has not been reduced.

So far neither the World Bank nor other donors have specified the yardstick against which reform will be judged, or allayed suspicions that donors' relationships with Africa will remain influenced by security or commercial considerations.

For their part, African opposition leaders have yet to set out their new constitutions. How do they intend to confront thorny issues such as tribalism, and how do they ensure that this time round checks and balances curb executive power as well as keep the army at bay? These might be the themes of Harden's next book. — MICHAEL HOLMAN

# Soekor explores further afield

CAPE TOWN — Soekor has been talking to several African countries, including Angola and Mozambique, about exploring oil and gas deposits off their coastlines.

The state-funded exploration corporation recently struck encouraging gas wells off the south coast near Mossel Bay.

It has publicly stated that it intends raising additional funds by selling its technical expertise outside SA.

Recent improvements in relations between SA and the rest of the African continent have paved the way for new exploration opportunities reasonably close to home.

Sources confirm that Soekor officials have visited several African countries to talk about hydrocarbon exploration.

They say Soekor has shown particular interest in Angola and Mozambique.

B10am 2/7/91

LESLEY LAMBERT

Delegations from Africa have also visited SA.

The talks have been exploratory and to date no formal agreements have been reached.

Angola has a sizeable oil field which it exploits commercially, while Mozambique has made discoveries of both oil and gas but requires additional funding and expertise to explore further.

Both countries are understood to be exploring new prospects and Mozambique has made it known that it requires foreign assistance.

Sources say that if Soekor did become involved it would be looking for new deposits rather than at existing oil fields or gas.

# Calls for a Holy War<sup>1</sup> in Algeria<sup>star</sup>

ALGIERS — Algerian security forces seized hundreds of Islamic militants in a nation-wide clampdown 24 hours after the arrest of their two main leaders.

Algerian radio and television said 800 people had been arrested by last night, a day after Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) chiefs Abbassi Madani and Ali Belhadj were detained.

Shortly after the 11 pm curfew went into force, four tanks and a jeep rumbled through the centre of Algiers. One eyewitness said the armour went into the defence ministry compound.

There was no immediate explanation for the move but the army has used various tactics, relaxing and tightening its grip on the city since President Chadli Benjedid declared a state of siege on June 5 following widespread anti-government protests by fundamentalists calling for an Islamic state.

Gunfire from automatic weapons was heard shortly afterwards around Martyrs' Square, a rallying point in the capital for FIS protests before the state of siege.

But calm returned during the early morning.

The two men face charges of organising and leading an armed conspiracy against State security.

## Secret

"These are grave accusations and the two men risk heavy penalties," a radio commentator said.

The arrests sparked calls for holy war from some town mosques and clashes between militants and security forces.

Violence broke out in the western city of Constantine.

Mosque loudspeakers called for a "Jihad" (Holy War) through the day and barricades of burning tyres blocked several roads.

Shooting erupted and a soldier was killed and six people were wounded.

The FIS won power in over half of the country's municipalities in local elections last year, emerging as the main opposition. — Sapa-Reuter.

# SAA free to fly over north Africa

ON SUNDAY night SAA flew a scheduled flight over north Africa for the first time in 28 years.

The airline has permission to route its planes to Europe over Egypt and Sudan.

SAA CE Gert van der Veer said yesterday that all flights to Rome, Milan, Vienna, Paris, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Zurich and Tel Aviv would be rerouted over north Africa eventually.

This would save the carrier 10 tons of fuel on each flight and about R2m a month. Van der Veer said SAA's monthly expenditure was about R250m a month.

The development follows the rights to overfly the "bulge" of Africa, secured a month ago, which cut flying times to Europe by about an hour. The latest deal will lop another hour off flying times.

Yesterday Van der Veer landed at Jan Smuts Airport on board a scheduled SAA flight that had touched down in Cairo on its way from Frankfurt.

Van der Veer and SAA chief liaison officer Leon Els had made a secret trip to Cairo to tie up loose ends of the overflight and landing rights deal.

Until the weekend agreement Sudan was the only country preventing SAA from flying over north Africa.

A proviso of SAA using the north Africa

LINDEN BIRNS

route is that its aircraft will land in Cairo en route to and from Johannesburg to drop off or pick up passengers. Van der Veer said he expected the proviso to be relaxed soon, once the Egyptian government had a clearer idea of how neighbouring countries felt about the development.

Egypt Air, which last week operated several charter flights between Cairo and Johannesburg, would introduce a weekly scheduled service on the route.

At the same time, Egypt has announced that SA travellers no longer require visas for that country as long as they arrive in Cairo on an Egypt Air flight. The first group of SA tourists to fly directly to Cairo left on Egypt Air's last of eight charter flights from Johannesburg on Sunday.

SAA and Egypt Air were still finalising the frequency of flights between Cairo and Johannesburg, Van der Veer said.

SAA would now study the feasibility of reintroducing flights to Athens.

The London flights would not be rerouted, as the flying time over west Africa was about the same as over north Africa, Van der Veer said.

□ To Page 2

SAA

SAA was also negotiating with Angolan authorities for overflying rights, which would cut another 15 to 20 minutes off flights to London, Kinshasa and Abidjan.

Air fares would not be brought down despite the savings. But SAA was considering introducing some discount special fares on European flights, he added.

"What we will try to do is retard any increase in fares for as long as possible."

The new north African route will take SAA aircraft over Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Sudan and Egypt before entering southeastern European airspace.

Only Tanzania stands in the way of SAA

being allowed to fly over Africa to Europe and the Middle East via Nairobi.

Van der Veer said SAA was investigating the feasibility of introducing a scheduled service to Dakar, Senegal, which could be an extension of the current Johannesburg/Kinshasa/Abidjan flight.

Incoming passenger volume on SAA flights was down by about 18% on the same period last year. He attributed this to the world recession and to the picture of SA violence being painted abroad.

Van der Veer said he was optimistic that both the US and Australia would become accessible to SAA in the near future.

□ From Page 1

# 'Too early' for full ties

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mauritius is unlikely to establish full diplomatic links with South Africa unless there is a democratically elected government in power, according to the secretary-general of the island's Labour Party, Kailash Purryag.

Mr Purryag, who arrived in Durban yesterday, served as Minister of Social Security and then of Health. He is in Durban to attend the African National Congress conference.

He said that while Mauritius had business and other links with South Africa, the idea of full diplomatic relations was not part of the island's approach in its contribution in helping to remove all apartheid. "Neither the present Mauritian government nor a Labour Party future administration can be seen to have official diplomatic relations when apartheid is still alive," said Mr Purryag.

He said that his party would be contesting all 62 seats in the election which was expected to be held shortly. At present Labour is the Opposition in Mauritius.



# SAA back in Cairo after <sup>① 251</sup> 28 years

CT 2/7/91  
JOHANNESBURG. — A South African Airways aircraft touched down at Cairo airport and took on passengers yesterday for the first time in 28 years.

According to an SAA statement, released yesterday, permission was granted to the South African airline to overfly Egypt and Sudan while en route from Cairo to Johannesburg.

The first passengers to embark on flight SA 253 at Cairo were a group of South African Muslim pilgrims.

The flight departed from Frankfurt yesterday, took on the pilgrims in Cairo and then flew on to Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport.

Simultaneously, Egypt Air operated a direct flight from Johannesburg to Cairo with 24 South African passengers on board. — Sapa

● Travel agents jubilant — Page 7

# Algeria arrests hundreds in crackdown on Islamic militants

①

ARG 217/91

ALGIERS. — Algerian security forces seized hundreds of Islamic militants in a nationwide clampdown 24 hours after the arrest of their two main leaders.

Algerian radio and television said 800 people were arrested up to last night, a day after Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) chiefs Abbassi Madani and Ali Belhadj were detained.

Shortly after the 11 pm curfew went into force, four tanks and a jeep rumbled through the centre of Algiers. One witness said the armour went into the defence ministry compound.

There was no immediate explanation for the move but the army has used various tactics

— relaxing and tightening its grip on the city since President Chadli Benjedid declared a state of siege on June 5 following widespread anti-government protests by fundamentalists calling for an Islamic state.

Automatic weapons fire was heard soon afterwards around Martyrs' Square, a rallying point in the capital for FIS protests before the state of siege.

But calm returned early today.

Madani and Belhadj face charges of organising and leading an armed conspiracy against state security.

Immediately after their arrest, the FIS top body, the

Madjlis Echoura, went into secret meeting, state radio said.

On Monday, remaining officials were ejected from party headquarters by police who took over the building, leaving no central contact point for activists.

The two men's arrests sparked calls for holy war from some town mosques and clashes between militants and security forces.

Violence broke out in the western city of Constantine, the first since June 5.

Mosque loudspeakers blared "Jihad" (Holy War) through the day and barricades of burning tyres blocked roads. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Algerian army takes control

Sowetan 2/7/91 ①

THE Algerian army assumed its full authority under the state of emergency yesterday, occupying the headquarters of the main Muslim fundamentalist party after arresting its two leaders and detaining hundreds of others.

Authorities also closed two mosques considered hotbeds of fundamentalist activity.

Sporadic clashes between youth and security forces continued following a weekend of violence in Algiers and around the country which left at least four people, including a policeman, dead and 15 others injured.

The latest deaths bring the known toll to nearly 40 since June 4, when fundamentalist protests turned violent.

Military authorities said 700 people had been arrested since Sunday. Fundamentalist sources put the figure at 2 500.

## Soldiers

Armed soldiers stood guard at the headquarters of the Islamic Salvation Front, the main opposition party, following the arrests on Sunday of its president and vice-

president, Abassi Madani and Ali Belhadj.

The two were accused of "fomenting, organizing, triggering and leading an armed conspiracy against the security of the state", authorities said.

A military communique said the men would "answer to their actions before justice".

Madani and Belhadj had issued a call on Friday for a "jihad" or Islamic holy war, if the government did not lift the state of emergency. They had defied summonses served on them after their speeches. - Sapa-Reuter

# Islamic opposition leaders held in Algiers

ALGIERS — Heavy automatic gunfire ripped through Algiers early yesterday morning only hours after Algerian security forces arrested two top leaders of the main Islamic opposition.

Algerian television, quoting a military communique, said Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) leader Abassi Madani and deputy Ali Belhadj had been arrested for involvement in a conspiracy against state security. It said they would be tried.

The two men were seized late on Sunday after about 100 heavily armed National Guard members surrounded the headquar-

ters of the FIS, inspiration of demonstrations for an Islamic state.

In May, the FIS launched a strike against electoral laws it termed unfair. Violence followed and on June 5 President Chadli Benjedid declared a state of siege.

He sent in the army, sacked the government and postponed general elections due last week. The new government has said it is preparing for general elections this year.

Officials say 42 people were killed in clashes last month. Diplomats put the death toll for June at around 70. — Sapa-Reuter.

Bidou 217191

**IF PEOPLE  
ALL OVER THE WORLD  
ARE TALKING ABOUT  
BRUSSELS,  
IT IS BECAUSE**

11-11-91



ment said seven people had been killed in confrontations with security forces on Thursday.

up their businesses in sympathy with strikers. — Sapa-AP.

skys. 3/7/91

## Algeria's opposition warned

ALGIERS — Algeria's new premier says two top opposition leaders arrested on Sunday, who spearheaded violent protests and called for an Islamic holy war, will have to "answer for their actions" in court.

In comments to Algerian journalists reported in yesterday's newspapers, Premier Sid Ahmed Ghozali also denied having promised presidential elections by the end of the year.

Abassi Madani, president of the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front, and his vice-president Ali Belhadj were arrested on Sunday for what a military communique called "fomenting, organising and carrying

out an armed conspiracy against the security of the State".

The Islamic Salvation Front has been at the forefront of violent protests since the beginning of the month that have left at least 33 dead and some 300 injured. The front opposed laws governing legislative elections scheduled for late June, and demanded early presidential elections.

The legislative balloting was postponed until later this year, and the government has pledged an early presidential election. However, no dates have been announced for either election. — Sapa-AP.

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# T-shirt revolutionaries

Star 3/1/91

①

**ADDIS ABABA** — You can't always tell movements by their dress. Ethiopia's new rulers are wild-looking, mild-mannered youths from the mountains of Tigray. They wear plastic sandals, khaki shorts, cloth headwraps and many T-shirts.

One of the fighters who led the final assault on the presidential palace on May 28 wore a T-shirt emblazoned with the eagle of the 82nd Airborne. His companion wore one from Wells Cathedral Choir School. British rock bands featured widely.

One commander, carrying a rocket-propelled grenade launcher, wore a Smiths T-shirt which read: "I'd like to drop my trousers to the Queen."

"Where did you get your T-shirt?" seemed a trivial question to ask these serious-minded, disciplined soldiers. Most seem to be benefactors of Brit-

ish jumble sales.

Even when they took over the country's main garrisons, the fighters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front avoided complete military uniforms, choosing to wear one or two garments to remind everyone they were a people's army which would disband as soon as it had overthrown the tyrant.

## Guidance

In theory the EPRDF sees itself holding the ring in the aftermath of the overthrow of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam until basic freedoms and democracy are established.

Under United States guidance it opened a conference yesterday in Addis Ababa of 26 Ethiopian political groupings to establish an 81-member state council to act as an interim government and draw up a new constitution.

The EPRDF is committed to establishing a "broad-based" government, but observers estimate that the EPRDF will claim 32 seats on the council and continue to dominate the country politically.

The bulk of the EPRDF fighters, however, are from Tigray and are now thinly spread throughout the country.

The movement needs political allies if it is to stabilise the country and it is anxious to appear to share power with other groups.

Only two movements have excluded themselves from the conference: The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) and the All Ethiopia Socialist Movement (Melson).

The EPRP, an independent socialist movement which has been underground since the 1974 revolution, has launched guerrilla warfare against the EPRDF in Gondar and Gojjam

provinces.

A more immediate problem is the relationship between Ethiopia and its northern province of Eritrea, a former Italian colony which has control of both Ethiopia's ports.

## Opposed

Most Ethiopians, especially in the capital, are deeply opposed to Eritrean independence, but the EPRDF was an ally of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) against the Mengistu regime and has now agreed to the EPLF demand for a referendum on independence for Eritrea.

Relations between the movements deteriorated after the overthrow of Mengistu and the EPLF has already begun to demonstrate its muscle by blocking oil supplies to the rest of the country from the port of Assab. — The Independent News Service.

## Little reporting out of Africa

NEW YORK — While apartheid remains grist for the global media mills and horror stories from starving Ethiopia receive wide coverage, much of the rest of Africa is virtually ignored.

The United Nations wants to change this and an international conference at the UN this month aims to review Western media attitudes and recommend how coverage of African news may be improved.

The BBC's Africa Service, the Voice of America and the magazines Time, Newsweek, The Economist, Ebony and Black Enterprise will all come under scrutiny, with the emphasis directed at magazines both within Africa and abroad.

The conference hopes to develop lasting contacts between African magazine publishers and their counterparts in the West, now regarded as "negligible". — Star Bureau.

# Protest over UK refugee controls

Star Bureau *Jan 4/7/91*

LONDON — British government plans to introduce stringent regulations to stem the influx of refugees from Third World countries have been met with condemnation from refugee rights groups and charges of racism.

In the Commons, Home Secretary Kenneth Baker said controls, including preventing refugees from leaving their countries and denying them legal aid if they got to Britain, were necessary to stop "great migratory pressures".

He said such pressures affected not only Britain but most Western European countries.

He revealed that 5 000 people had applied for asylum in 1988. But between January and May this year 21 000 had asked for refugee status.

The British govern-

ment would try to stop refugees from leaving their countries through strict document checks at airports and stiff fines on airlines carrying refugees without a visa.

The plan was immediately criticised by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, whose spokesman, Anne Owers, said: "This system will not find and protect genuine victims. It is designed to keep refugees out."

A black Labour MP, Bernie Grant, said Mr Baker would have "blood on his hands" when the measures came into operation. "It is no coincidence that all this comes at a time when the prime minister himself has entered the numbers game of immigration."

Premier John Major said during the European Community summit last week that the EC must not be "wide open to all comers just because Rome, Paris and London are more attractive than Bombay or Algiers".



## VAT alarms <sup>3</sup> meat meat producers

By George Nicholas <sup>ster</sup> 4/7/91

Red-meat producers have joined Cosatu and agricultural and consumer organisations in protests against the Government's decision to include all basic foodstuffs in VAT.

Mr Gerhard Bronn, chairman of the Red Meat Producers' Organisation, says meat producers are not in a position to absorb the potential financial shock if they were required to pay the Value Added Tax.

At the same time, he adds, the economy is not performing well enough to absorb the VAT price rise on foodstuffs by means of an increase in the buying power of consumers.

Studies by economists indicate the Government stands to gain approximately R1 billion a year from the 12 percent on meat sales alone.

## Two more <sup>1</sup> Algerians die in clashes

ALGIERS — Two more people, including a young girl, died in clashes between Muslim fundamentalists and security forces in eastern Algeria, as a relative calm returned to the capital following the army's three-day crackdown.

In a report late on Tuesday, the official Algerian news agency said two people died and 21 others were injured in clashes in the city of Constantine and the coastal town of Jijel.

Up to 40 people were arrested, said the agency, citing military and police sources.

By official count, more than 1 000 people have been arrested in the crackdown aimed at quashing anti-government protests and agitation by fundamentalists which has left more than 40 people dead over the past month.

Fundamentalists attacking a police station fought for four hours with security forces, leaving 14 injured. A young girl was killed in another clash in the city which left five injured. Another person died and two were injured in clashes in Jijel.

### Foreigners

Algerian television reported four foreigners arrested in confrontations on Monday in Annaba.

Officials spoke of possible foreign involvement in the protests by fundamentalists which led to the June 5 proclamation of a state of emergency.

At least two Frenchmen were arrested earlier, and one said he had met Islamic Salvation Front leader Abassi Madani, who was arrested on Sunday along with the party's number two Imam Ali Belhadj.

Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali said on Tuesday that Madani, 60, "sought power ... through violence".

The military presence in the capital eased somewhat following the three-day crackdown, allowing residents to resume their normal activities. The army continued with searches and arrests. — Sapa-AP

# Malagasy strike aimed at overthrow

Star 5/7/91.

ANTANANARIVO — Transport strikes spread and civil servants took to the streets yesterday as the opposition stepped up pressure on Malagasy's President Didier Ratsiraka to quit.

Residents said most buses and taxis in the capital stopped in response to a call for a 48-hour public transport strike.

Thousands of workers from government ministries joined demonstrations in support of opposition leaders, due to hold the second day of talks with the ruling Militant Movement of Malagasy Socialism (MMSM) yesterday.

Banners carried by civil servants from the finance ministry called on the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to stop bankrolling the government.

A strike at Air Madagascar has grounded the national carrier until today, and dockers at the country's main port, Toamasina, have stopped work.

Seven leaders of the opposition, a coalition of groups calling itself the Active Forces, told MMSM leaders on Wednesday that a transitional government should be formed to work out a new constitution.

In a statement on Wednesday, the Active Forces condemned a night-time curfew in Toamasina this week after riots and looting in which five people were injured.

They called on foreign governments to withdraw support for Mr Ratsiraka.

A former radical naval officer in power since 1975, Mr Ratsiraka has shifted the Indian Ocean island towards multi-party politics in recent years to match economic liberalisation.

But critics have accused him of rigging polls in 1989 and have rejected as inadequate recent government revisions to the country's socialist constitution.

Diplomats say the crisis is the biggest challenge in Mr Ratsiraka's 16-year rule. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Ethiopia moves towards first free elections

(1)

w/m and  
517-1117/91.

**A**mid a riot of sights and sounds, Ethiopians are making their first rough attempts at unraveling decades of autocratic tradition and introducing a form of democracy.

A national congress in Addis Ababa this week presented a charter that takes the first step towards forming a broad-based transitional government that is to organise the country's first free elections. It described the establishment of democracy as "a categorical imperative".

Twenty-four groups meeting under the auspices of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, which seized control of the capital five weeks ago, endorsed the principles of basic human rights and self-determination for Ethiopia's ethnic regional groups.

The charter proposes that national elections be held in two years, an issue participants will vote on later.

The conference, which was conducted under the eyes of international observers, began discussions on the composition and structure of the transitional government. A key issue, and a sensitive one, is how seats will be

apportioned between various ethnic and political groups in the interim legislative body.

Conference sources say the Democratic Front, which met privately with the various groups prior to the conference, has already suggested a rough breakdown of seats, giving approximately one-third to itself.

A potentially explosive issue is the subject of how the interim government will handle its relations with the newly declared provisional government of Eritrea, a province under the former regime that was won by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front after a bloody, 30-year struggle for independence.

The Eritrean Front has said it does not wish to take part in a transitional government, but seeks Ethiopia's support and co-operation for a United Nations-supervised referendum in

Democracy has become a "categorical imperative" in Ethiopia, reports

JENNIFER PARMELEE

Eritrea on independence to be held within two years. In exchange, the Ethiopian government would be granted access to Eritrea's Red Sea ports.

Meanwhile, at town meetings all across Ethiopia people are selecting "peace and stability commissions" that will act as de facto local governments until after the transitional national government is established.

On a small scale, the town meetings are the first public test of the Democratic Front's avowed commitment to political pluralism. Commission members are chosen often by a seemingly incongruous mix of insider politics and boisterous public debate.

The first round of meetings took

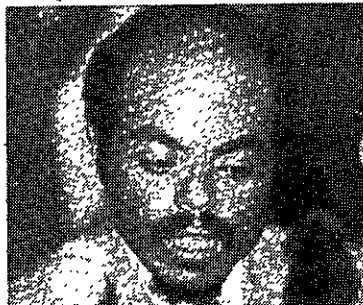
place three weeks ago in the capital, at the "kebeles", or local councils, that once served as the eyes and ears of the authoritarian government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam, who was ousted from power in May. Participants described the elections as the freest

they had ever experienced, with open and vigorous debate about and between candidates.

Most observers agree the democratic process has a long way to go before it provides genuine representation. But they also concede that there have already been two critical improvements: Candidates were chosen by a broad group of people, and people were less afraid to air their views.

Although the majority of residents were left out of the actual selection of names, many aspirants to power were dropped from the list during the public meetings after they were denounced by participants for alleged misdeeds.

Yet despite the apparently amicable feelings, Ethiopia's new rulers face enormous difficulties in administering a country that is a vast spider web of ethnic groups, languages and regional interests. — The Washington Post



Ato Meles Zenawi, provincial leader who opened the conference

# Africa plans for Earth Summit

By EDDIE KOCH

AFRICA'S heads of state will meet with more than 100 environment and development groups at a summit in Cairo this month to ensure a common position for the continent is tabled at the Earth Summit due to be held in Brazil next year. *w/mal*  
*5-17-11/7/91*

"The Cairo conference will adopt a common position on the African agenda for sustainable economic and environmental development to be presented to the Brazil summit," said a press statement by the organisers.

"Also planned is a debate on what impact on the structure of African economies the environment and sustainable development has. Regional issues in global environmental management will be discussed."

The African summit, due to take place from July 11 to 16, has been organised by the Economic Commission for Africa.

The United Nations Earth Summit in Brazil, scheduled for the middle of next year, is being billed as the biggest international conference ever to be held.

Its purpose is to design strategies for preventing the global slide into ecological chaos that do not harm economic growth.

# EC aid to be linked with human rights

Sowetan 8/7/91

**APELDOORN** (The Netherlands) - European Community member states agreed at the weekend on the need to co-ordinate their emergency humanitarian aid.

"We are giving hundreds of millions of dollars each year and it is not being done in a very efficient way," said Dutch Development Minister Jan Pronk.

He was speaking after the first day of an informal two-day meeting of EC development ministers in this northern Dutch town.

The EC has recently mounted major relief operations for Kurdish refugees, victims of cyclones in Bangladesh and people facing famine in Africa.

Pronk said the ministers discussed the possibility of creating an EC aid agency - an idea favoured by EC Development Commissioner Manuel Marin. The ministers agreed that there should be a link

between the Community's long-term development aid to Third World countries and their record on human rights.

Pronk said the EC planned to send its diplomatic "troika" - ministers from the last, current and next holder of the EC's rotating presidency - to developing countries in Africa and Asia. Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and Bangladesh were possible destinations.

## Fear grips Philippines

**TAAL, Philippines** - Mount Pinatubo's devastation, and runnings deep inside the earth here, are raising anxiety among thousands of Filipinos who live on one of the country's most active volcanoes.

Three months before Mount Pinatubo erupted scientists became concerned that Taal Volcano was gearing up for a new eruption because of earth tremors and other activity. - Sapa.



Gangsters disguising themselves as military commandos pose for police photographs at the weekend after being arrested on charges of swindling and gangsterism. On display are their bayonets and other military equipment.

## Guns still rule in Kuwait

**KUWAIT** - Violence is palpable everywhere in Kuwait where, four months after the Gulf War, power still comes out of the barrel of a gun.

On Kuwait city's seafont an angry Kuwaiti teenager settles a row with a friend using the Kalashnikov assault rifle he keeps in the boot of his car.

Outside the city's al-Sahab hospital, a Pales-



tinian couple abduct a Kuwaiti woman, beat her up so badly she can hardly see and dump her in the street.

Shootings and beatings still occur daily. The government has been unable to persuade its people to hand in the weapons abandoned by the Iraqi army after its rout by the US-led allies.

Anti-aircraft guns, rocket-propelled grenades and heavy machineguns are among the weapons in private arsenals. "The situation is scary. There are a lot of

guns around and if someone doesn't like you, all it takes is a bullet," said Ghannem al-Najjar, an opposition politician and leading human rights activist.

The Gulf War has shattered the peace among Kuwait's mosaic of nationalities and ethnic groups and spawned a pervasive sense of insecurity at every social level. - Sapa-Reuter.

## Rebels set up a radio

**RWANDA** - Rwandan rebels have set up a mobile radio station which their commanders say will support a stepped-up military and political campaign in Africa's newest civil war.

Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe, chairman of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), said the radio. - Sapa-Reuter.

# West African leaders hope for peace

ABUJA (Nigeria) - West African leaders have ended a summit in Nigeria hopeful of achieving regional solutions to strife-torn Liberia, widespread political unrest and slow-paced economic integration.

A new spirit is born, said Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, elected new chairman of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Diouf said West African leaders had realised that domestic stability was needed to integrate their impoverished economies.

## Account

The leaders were optimistic that a Liberian peace accord, reached in the Ivory Coast last week between Liberia's interim

president Amos Sawyer and rebel leader Charles Taylor, would speedily end the 18-month-old conflict.

ECOWAS was formed in 1978 to remove trade barriers and promote integrated industries.

## An army(y) and a leg

WASHINGTON - The world spends more than R2,8 trillion a year on military troops and hardware, according to a World Bank report released yesterday.

"Governments need to take every possible step to reduce military expenditure," the report says.

In the late 1980s military spending totalled R2,4 billion a year for high-income countries and R476 million for developing nations.

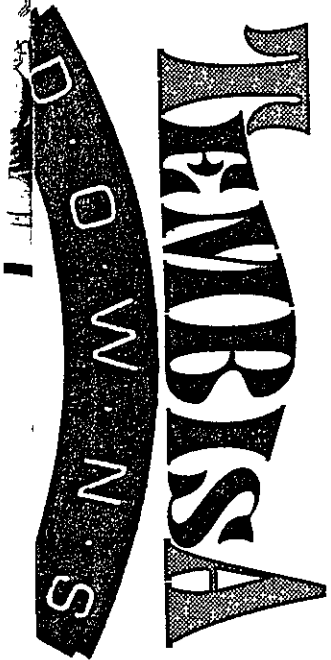
"If military expenditures were reduced, the world would be a better place," the report says.

It cites Costa Rica, which has reduced military spending in favour of more support for health and education.

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# Waltzing to the strain of strife

Star 9/7/91. (1)

**O**N the day he was expected to fall from power, Malagasy President Didier Ratsiraka was captured by television cameras serenely waiting with his wife to the strains of sweet music. It was not the action of a man in trouble.

"That's maybe the last dance before resignation," said Richard Andriamanjato, a well-known priest and leader of one of the opposition parties.

President Ratsiraka may act like a man without problems. But he has. Plenty of them.

Maybe the clear blue skies had something to do with the wide smile he was wearing on his face. For he once told his countrymen he was giving trees a wide berth during rainstorms because, he said, some sorcerers wanted to kill him by lightning.

But judging from recent events on the island, the president would do well to forget about the skies and concentrate on what is happening on the ground.

For the past two months the streets of the capital, Antananarivo, have been teeming with demonstrators. And the numbers have been

pretty impressive. Between 200 000 and 400 000 people a day have been marching in the past month, and this in a country of only 11 million.

The protesters want President Ratsiraka and his government to resign and a national conference convened to draw up a new constitution. So far the president has remained unbowed.

The demonstrations that have clogged the centre of Antananarivo have been peaceful. Opposition leaders say they will not use force or violence.

They will, they say, go round and round and pray until the walls of Jericho collapse. The president has responded with his own religious metaphor. Let those threatened by turbulent waters out there join Noah's Ark, namely his government, for protection.

The demonstrations were timed to reach a climax on June 26 — Madagascar's 31st independence anniversary. Opposition leaders were hoping public discontent would be such that the government would be forced to resign. But the walls did not come tumbling down.

Instead President Ratsiraka was seen taking the salute at an

independence ceremony, and puffing merrily at his long cigar. Thereafter he took his wife Celine on to the dance floor.

"The president is free to dance with his wife," said Mr Andriamanjato. "But this is to hide the fact that) the situation is not comfortable for him."

The bone of contention is the current constitution, which was drawn up in 1975 and which the opposition says outlaws all other parties except those forming the governing coalition. They also claim outdated Marxist principles are enshrined in the constitution.

Early last year, however, parliament voted to allow a multiparty system in the country, without amending the constitution.

At the moment schools and universities are closed, only urgent cases are treated in hospitals and even civil servants are striking.

President Ratsiraka's response so far has been to go on a speaking tour of rural areas, telling rural folk the trouble is caused by a handful of hotheads in Antananarivo.

President Ratsiraka has survived a number of attempts to remove him from office since he took power in 1975. Last year

three people were killed and several injured after a coup attempt. Two years ago broadcasters were instructed to take karate lessons after a group armed with one revolver seized the state radio in an attempt to launch a coup.

But the challenge he faces now is no joke. It is by far the most serious threat to his regime since he came to power.

President Ratsiraka, a former naval commander, rose to prominence as Foreign Minister in 1972 when Philibert Tsiranana, Madagascar's first president after independence in 1960, was swept aside on a popular wave of dissatisfaction, and power was handed over to General Gabriel Ramanantsoa.

The new regime immediately established ties with the Soviet Union, China and other communist countries. It also embarked on a period of rapidly deteriorating relations with the US and other Western countries.

In 1975 General Ramanantsoa handed over power to Colonel Richard Ratsimandrava, who held office for only six days before being assassinated.

Mr Ratsiraka assumed power as president a few weeks later, advocating socialist policies.

His critics say it is these policies that have almost brought the country to its knees. Madagascar is the 11th poorest nation in the world, and joblessness is put at well over 50 percent.

It is primarily these stark figures that compelled Mr Ratsiraka to seek closer ties with South Africa, culminating in a visit by President de Klerk to the island last year.

President Ratsiraka and his allies in the MMSM coalition won a seven-year term in a general election two years ago. But his opponents say the elections were rigged, and took place at a time when no opposition party was allowed to take part. And in any case, they add, seven years is a very long time to wait for a change in the constitution.

The opposition also wants the Supreme Revolutionary Council (CSR), a Broderbund-type outfit, to be abolished. Its members are appointed by the president and it is much more powerful than the cabinet.

An amendment was pushed through parliament last week proposing a name change for the CSR and bringing it under the supervision of parliament, which will also

elect half its membership. The other half will still be appointed by the president.

President Ratsiraka is a shrewd politician. On the eve of the independence celebrations, the opposition parties sent a lawyer to try to persuade the president that resignation would be an honourable path for him to take. The president duly offered the man the pre-

membership if he would change sides. Two days later rumours were so rife in Antananarivo that the man was forced to resign from the opposition.

The political logjam poses serious problems for the opposition. They have led their supporters to believe President Ratsiraka could be brought down by peaceful protests. June 26 was D-day and the president did not fall.

Having failed to achieve their goal, there are now fears that people could run out of patience and resort to other means. Already there are reports of violence in Toamasina, where a curfew has been imposed by the government.

One newspaper has likened the opposition movement to a train that is charging at high speed towards the buffers with the driver incapacitated. □



# Violent change foreseen for Africa

Star Bureau

Star 9/7/91

LONDON — Delegates to the first meeting of a new pro-democracy pan-African organisation have warned of violent and drawn-out change across the continent.

"This is not going to be a rerun of eastern Europe's sweeping changes with their domino effect," one delegate said in London.

"Ours will be more violent and drawn out because of the depth of our social crisis."

## Review

The remark came after opposition parties, church leaders and academics had met to review human rights and democracy in Africa at the invitation of exiled King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho.

The body, called the International Institute for Human Rights in Africa, was founded by pro-democracy activists from countries as disparate as Mozambique, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Professor Samir Amin, from Senegal, told the meet-

ing that violent and even revolutionary change could be expected as Africans revolted against ruling elites.

This would be fuelled by the gap between their own living standards and those in the West.

Professor Wamba dia Wamba, of Tanzania, warned against "Mobutuism without Mobutu" — new regimes in multiparty states, surviving on repression, corruption and patronage, with the support of the West.

He said: "Africans will not accept a meaningless pluralism or semi-fabricated democracy, to stabilise the unbearable."

King Moshoeshoe spoke of the continent's "narrowing choices, either to be ever more marginal and impoverished, or to move on, using the strength of the mass movements emerging on the continent, as they did in Eastern Europe".

Several delegates — including Oginga Odinga, a former vice-president of Kenya — were prevented by their regimes from attending the meeting.

ADDIS ABABA — A two-year interim administration agreed upon during round-table talks last week offers destitute Ethiopia its best chance in years of peace and economic progress, diplomats and analysts said.

"It was quite an achievement for the talks to take place and should lead to a new system," said one Western ambassador.

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) called the conference of 24 political groups after ousting Marxist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam in May.

The former rebel group, based in the northern province of Tigray —

## Interim rule gives Ethiopia hope

*Siwan 9/7/91*  
will dominate the new administration ahead of elections in 1993.

But despite worries over the commitment to democracy of the formerly Marxist EPRDF, diplomats were loath to criticise it.

"You need a strong leadership in Ethiopia after all these years of dictatorship, but you also want to begin forming the structures of democracy," said the ambassador.

Former guerrilla chief Meles Zenawi is assured of the presidency

① when a new 87-member parliament meets for the first time. The EPRDF has the largest block in the assembly with 32 seats.

"After so many years of fighting you could hardly expect them (the EPRDF) to give away the spoils of victory. What matters is how it behaves from now on," said one analyst.

Its first test will be to stick to a national charter adopted by the conference, which guarantees basic human rights for Ethiopia's 50-million-strong society. — Sapa-Reuter.

ANTANANARIVO — An opposition leader said yesterday that legislators were debating whether to declare martial law, amid growing protests demanding the resignation of President Didier Ratsiraka.

AP-DJ reports that at least 300 000 people were gathered in the May 13 Square on the second day of a general strike that has halted all transport and most other public services.

Albert Zafy, who heads a coalition of protesting groups, told the crowd that the People's National Assembly, meeting in extraordinary session, was studying a measure allowing the president to declare martial law.

The protesters have been gathering peacefully for weeks in the centre

## Madagascans fear martial law

of the capital to voice their demands for democratic elections, the replacement of the socialist constitution and an end to Ratsiraka's 16-year rule.

Negotiations between protesters and the authorities continued, meanwhile, behind closed doors, with no statement on how the talks were proceeding.

Martial law would mean an end to the protest movement, which has continued for several weeks without incident and with security forces out of sight.

Sapa-Reuter reports that Antananarivo remained virtually paralysed yesterday.

Shops, banks and offices were closed and there were no buses, trains or planes operating.

"Sixteen years of misery is enough," read one banner carried by the crowd, referring to the 16 years in office of Ratsiraka.

Civil servants were out in force despite an appeal on state radio on Monday by Prime Minister Victor Ramahatra for government employees to return to work.

Yesterday's rally — the second this week — and the general strike were the latest in a month of protests against Ratsiraka, a former naval officer who took power in a 1975 coup.

## Malaria is rampant

MALARIA is still one of the most important parasitic diseases on the African continent, says Dr Simbarashe Mpfu of the Department of Medical Parasitology in London. *Sowetan 10/7/91* ①

Speaking at the Epidemiological Society of Southern Africa's conference in Cape Town yesterday, Mpfu said there were more than 20 million cases of malaria reported every year in Africa, but this figure could be higher.

He said malaria still accounted for the high infant mortality rate, and of children below the age of five years, SABC radio news reported. - Sapa

# Unheralded and unnoticed, a nation is born

By Alan Rake  
12/17-18/79

WHILE the international media concentrated on the flight of Mengistu Haile Mariam from Ethiopia and the downfall of his government, few newspapers noticed that Somalia was also changing the course of its history.

On May 18 the former British Somaliland, comprising the whole of northern Somalia, set up its own Republic of Somaliland. Since then it has confirmed that its decision to secede is irreversible and that it will not yield to the pleading of the Mogadishu government to preserve Somali unity.

Like Eritrea in Ethiopia, the Somaliland Republic has been born out of a guerrilla struggle, by a people long estranged from the government at the centre.

The new state is the creation of the Somali National Movement (SNM), a guerrilla organisation which at first fought the tyrannical government of Siyad Barre almost single-handed.

The SNM was launched at a press conference in London in 1981. It was founded out of the disillusionment and demoralisation felt in Somalia over the national defeat in the 1977-78 Ogaden war against Ethiopia. It felt Siyad Barre had pursued the wrong cause and been proved a loser.

The SNM was formed mainly by the Isaq clan, though some of its top leaders come from other clan groups such as the Hawiye. They share a British, not Italian colonial tradition, and their second language is English.

Millions of Somali exiles live abroad. Many are Isaqs living in Britain as students or political refugees. They are a dominant force in the renowned Somali service of the BBC. In the early 1980s the SNM drew financial and logistical support from Ethiopia. It set up camps in the Oga-

A new nation is being created, almost unnoticed, in the troubled Horn of Africa.

By ALAN RAKE

den desert, along the border of northern Somaliland and made daring raids attacking military posts and blowing up strategic targets.

The situation changed dramatically in April 1988 when Siyad persuaded Mengistu to sign a peace agreement. Under it both countries resolved to drop support for the rebel movements they harboured in their countries.

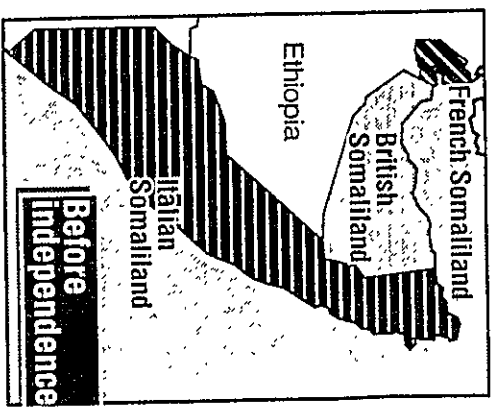
Ethiopia betrayed its former SNM allies and closed Radio Halgan that had been broadcasting SNM propaganda from Addis Ababa. The SNM leadership became afraid that it would be expelled from the country, or even arrested and murdered. Such betrayals were a hallmark of the Mengistu regime.

Instead of waiting for the Ethiopians to drive them out, they simply put all units into action and invaded northern Somalia, their homeland.

Their action was so swift and decisive it took the Somali government entirely by surprise. With remarkable speed the SNM took the northern provincial capital of Hargeisa, Burao and other northern towns. They tried unsuccessfully to take the port of Berbera, where the United States navy has facilities.

Siyad's response was swift and brutal. He hired foreign pilots, including South Africans, because many of his own airforce refused to bomb their fellow countrymen. He relentlessly bombed the northern cities, reducing them almost to rubble.

One visiting Dutch journalist said hardly a building left standing in Har-



geisa was more than one storey tall. Siyad's troops followed, pursuing a deliberate policy of eliminating the Qurimis, a derogatory term used by Siyad's son-in-law, General Morgan, meaning "the rotten ones".

Morgan's troops razed whole towns and villages. Using a typical Somali metaphor he said: "It is essential to sweep away the broken glass without leaving a single piece behind."

He unleashed officially sanctioned genocide against the northerners. There was even evidence that poisoned gas, supplied by Libya, had been used in some raids. *New African* magazine published photographs of the test kits used by government troops to test for poison gas.

Northern Somalia was raped and traumatised by Siyad's troops. Mines were sown everywhere. In Hargeisa alone an estimated 50 000 people died in the bombardments and only five percent of the buildings were left standing, according to official estimates. Millions were left homeless

and hundreds of thousands fled into Ethiopia.

When the United Somali Congress stormed to power in Mogadishu in February and put Siyad to flight, there was a moment when a new, united Somalia could have been created. But the USC set up an interim government without consulting the SNM.

The SNM remembered when, after independence in 1960, the southerners had taken the premiership and all the most important ministries for their own. That time they had co-operated in the interests of Somali unity.

Some SNM central committee members wanted to continue the tradition of co-operation. Others wanted to seize the opportunity to break away.

The SNM knew it was the best organised, most homogenous, and most viable of all the Somali liberation movements. After weeks of debate the hawks prevailed. Independence was declared.

Their country was shattered by war and plagued by the drought and famine. It has no economy or regular source of finance. War has prevented normal planting or harvesting.

The new government is dependent mainly on the funds of Isaq exiles, but many have lost their jobs in the upheavals of Kuwait, Iraq and the Gulf.

Diplomatically the world does not want yet another secessionist regime. The United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity are still trying to digest the much older and more justifiable claims of Eritrea that will soon be asking for its own independence.

They are worried about further secession and the fragmentation of the Horn of Africa. And the Arab League has already condemned the secessionist move. — Gemini News

AFRICA

**BAD TERMS** FM 12/7/91

Rising oil prices last year and the drop in prices of nonfuel primary commodities slowed growth in Africa. The latest IMF *World Economic Outlook* says commodities most affected were tropical beverages (coffee, cocoa and tea) which fell to their lowest since 1980.

The IMF expects higher growth by 1992 — 4.75%, up from 2% in 1990.

But "little progress is expected to be made: in alleviating poverty and real per capita GDP would remain near the level of 20 years ago. The short-term outlook is particularly bleak in Ethiopia, Mozambique and Sudan, where drought, in conjunction with ongoing civil wars, threatens another episode of famine.

"In Ethiopia there will also be continued transitional costs, in 1991, associated with market-orientated economic reform and the suspension of economic support from Eastern Europe and the USSR."

Sluggish growth has been accompanied by average inflation of about 15%-20%. "In 1991 inflation is projected to increase to 22% from 16% in 1990, reflecting in part the lagged impact of higher oil prices, before falling to 10% in 1992."

The IMF says differences in policy stance have resulted in considerable variance in economic performance.

The inability of Cameroon, Liberia, Somalia, Sudan and Zaire to implement structural reforms, and social and political conflicts, have brought a deterioration in their economies. In contrast, in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Togo and Tunisia, "structural re-

Fm 12/7/91

forms and stabilisation policies are being successfully carried out and real growth has increased." ■

continue →

# Shock forecast for millions of African babies

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — By the end of this decade 10 million babies will be orphaned by the Aids epidemic sweeping through Africa.

And a million women die every year in pregnancy-related deaths — with millions more left permanently disabled.

Health services mostly “remain inaccessible and unresponsive to women”, says Dr Helga Morrow of the United States and formerly a consultant at the International Council of Nurses.

Dr Morrow was speaking at the 10th Epidemiology Conference at the University of the Western Cape this week on the challenges of nursing in Africa.

She said nurses in Africa needed to form a strong, unified professional association and to educate their members.

Dr Morrow added: “Enormous energy and resources are devoted to finding methods to stop and control the transmission of Aids and to discovering drugs to bolster the immune system.”

But, she said, the health and home care of people affected by Aids were severely neglected.

And, especially in developing countries where resources were already scarce, the extra bur-

den resulting from the Aids epidemic was already compromising other health programmes.

Dr Morrow compared the figure of a million women who die every year from pregnancy complications to one jumbo jet — filled with 270 pregnant or recently pregnant women — crashing every two hours.

“Almost all of these deaths and disabilities from pregnancy are avoidable,” she said.

The risk of a woman in a developing country dying of a pregnancy-related illness was as high as one in 15 while that of a woman in the developed world was as low as one in 10 000, Dr Morrow said.

“Perhaps nurses have failed to recognise their responsibilities as health-care providers in meeting the needs of the most vulnerable populations.”

Nursing’s challenges now were “how to harness its own resources, and how to influence health-policy makers in making health care accessible and affordable for everyone”.

She said there were no easy or fast ways to change old traditions, the powerful medical and political machinery, and discrimination, but change was inevitable.

“The more a profession can forecast demographic, social, scientific and economic trends, the more it can be in control of its own direction.”

# Mauritian producers 'inhibited'

Star Africa Service ①

PORT LOUIS — The elimination of constraints on sugar production to make Mauritian producers more competitive internationally has been urged by the president of the Chamber of Agriculture, Antoine Harel.

He cited export duties, labour laws, socio-economic burdens, dispersed processing facilities and low domestic prices as some of the factors inhibiting production.

He said Mauritian sugar

producers were efficient and did not fear competition, but should be given the means to fight on equal terms in constantly evolving foreign markets.

"No other sector in the economic field is so regulated. No enterprise can be subjected to such constraints without suffering lasting damage to its production structure."

Sugar production this year was forecast at 590 000 tons, compared with 624 302 tons in 1990.

Agriculture minister Madun Dullool said the ef-

fects of the drought last year and early this year had been offset by rains and Mauritius would be able to meet its export commitments.

Mauritius's share of the European Community market for 1990 was 503 198 tons as a result of a short fall declared by Guyana, which led to Mauritius' share increasing by 12 168 tons.

Exports to the United States could be reduced from last year's 24 410 tons to 15 000 because of the glut on that market.



# Aids to orphan 10-m by 2000

TEN million babies will be orphaned by the Aids epidemic sweeping through Africa by the end of this decade.

And a million women die every year in pregnancy-related deaths - with millions more left permanently disabled.

Health services mostly "remain inaccessible and unresponsive to women", said Dr Helga Morrow of the United States and formerly a nurse consultant at the International Council of Nurses.

Morrow was speaking at the 10th Epidemiology Conference at the University of the Western Cape on Wednesday, on the challenge facing nurses in Africa.

She said nurses in Africa need to form a strong, unified professional association and to educate its members.

Morrow said: "Enormous energy and resources are devoted to finding



methods to stop and control the transmission of Aids and into discovering drugs to bolster the immune system."

But she said the health-care and home-care of people affected by the disease are "severely neglected".

## Burden

And, especially in developing countries where resources are already scarce, the extra burden resulting from the Aids epidemic is already compromising other essential health programmes.

The World Health Organisation estimates that more than a million

women die every year as a result of complications associated with pregnancy.

Morrow compared these figures with one jumbo jet - filled with 270 pregnant or recently pregnant women - crashing every two hours.

"Almost all of these deaths and millions of disabilities from pregnancy-related illnesses are avoidable," said Morrow.

The risk of a woman in a developing country dying of a pregnancy-related illness is as high as one in 15 while that of a woman in the developed world is as low as one in

10 000, Morrow said.

"Perhaps so many children and mothers still suffer and die unnecessarily because nurses have not been adequately prepared educationally and politically to speak out about the inequalities that still exist.

"Or perhaps nurses have failed to recognise their responsibilities as health-care providers in meeting the needs of the most vulnerable populations."

## Policy

Nursing's challenges now are "how to harness its own resources and how to influence health policy makers in making health care accessible and affordable for everyone".

She said there are no easy or fast ways to change old traditions, the powerful medical and political machinery, and sexist bias and discrimination, but that change is "inevitable". - *Sowetan Correspondent*

## Crowds welcome returning exile

YAOUNDE (Cameroon) — A Cameroon opposition leader received a hero's welcome when he flew back from 26 years in exile in France and declared that President Paul Biya's one-party government was scared.

Simeon Kuissu, deputy secretary-general of the exiled wing of the Union of Cameroonian Peoples (UPC), was greeted on Saturday night by thousands of supporters defying army attempts to seal off the airport at Douala, Cameroon's economic capital. Star 15/7/91

The government, battling pro-democracy protests and a general strike in the west and north, banned six opposition groups on Saturday.

"Kuissu was cheered by the people when he said victory was at hand and that the six dissolutions shows that the government is afraid," Celestin Monga, a writer and leading opposition activist, said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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~~Star~~ Africa eyes ①

## investment in SA property

Finance Staff <sup>Star</sup> 16/7/91

Affluent residents of other African countries are eyeing the South African residential property market as a potential investment, reports Ronald Ennik, director of Pam Golding Properties (Transvaal).

Mr Ennik says the organisation has already met a delegation from Kenya and has had enquiries from such countries as Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast and Nigeria. "South Africa is recognised as the powerhouse of Africa and, like Botswana, is one of the most successful economically.

"It therefore comes as no surprise that wealthy people in the rest of Africa will want to be part of this success story.

"Despite its present problems, this country and its economy are perceived as a sound long term investment."

Mr Ennik says an inflow of investment could have a significant impact on the local market.

# It's the thought that counts in Somali security

Star 16/7/91.

WHEN a soldier walked through the metal-detecting archway at the Mogadishu Airport check-in counter recently, the thing went hysterical, insofar as a metal-detector can get hysterical.

Its whooping and peeping was hardly surprising, considering that the soldier was carrying a Kalashnikov AK-47 automatic assault rifle with fully loaded magazine.

The prime purpose of airport metal-detectors is, of course, to detect guns carried by prospective passengers so that they can be prevented from using them to hijack planes. And that AK-47 must have been the biggest gun yet detected by that particular detector. No wonder it got excited. Not that there was any difficulty in detecting the gun — the man had it in his hand.

He was called back by the security official manning the metal-detector and asked to lay his AK on the table and go through again, which he did.

Again the metal detector shrieked in alarm and the soldier was asked to disclose any other ironmongery on his person. From a holster on his hip he took a .45 calibre pistol — which, for those unfamiliar with firearms, is one of the biggest — and laid that on the table beside the AK-47.

Again he walked through the detector and this time it passed him through clean. Not a peep.

Then the soldier put his pistol back in its holster, picked up his AK-47 and all its bullets and went off to board his flight.

What the other passengers said about it I do not know, but they probably said nothing at all. You don't argue with a man carrying an AK and a forty-five.

In particular, you don't ask him whether he intends to hijack the plane.

When you are in Somalia and there is a war going on you apparently put up with having a heavily armed soldier sitting next to you.

And if you are an airport security official you don't try to take his guns away. But you do make sure that they are detected by the metal-detector, even if he is waving one of them under your nose. Rules are rules, after all.

Like so many of the stories that are told about odd incidents in

Out of  
Africa

GERALD  
L'ANGE



Africa, this one had passed through many ears and tongues before it reached me and its accuracy cannot be vouchsafed.

Most Africanists hearing the story would probably not query its accuracy but just say: "TAB", which is what they usually say about this kind of story.

TAB? It stands for "That's Africa, Baby".

□ □ □

ODDS and ends of information from the Organisation of African Unity summit in Nigeria last month are still dribbling in. Like the bit about Namibia's President Sam Nujoma's argument for maintaining sanctions against South Africa.

When you are fighting an enemy, he said, you should always make sure you have spare bullets because if you run out of bullets you can no longer fight.

And if you discard sanctions, he asked, where are your spare bullets?

Spoken like a true freedom fighter — although there is, of course, the question of whether it is any good for a freedom fighter to inherit an economy shot full of holes.

□ □ □

TEACHERS at a Swaziland high school have complained that they work in a blackboard jungle — but one with a difference.

They say one of the main reasons for the difficulty they have in controlling their students is that some of the pupils are more than 25 years old.

The teachers had been accused of kicking and punching pupils to keep order. In their defence, they pointed out that students in their mid-twenties resented discipline and considered themselves above the rules.

Some of them came to school drunk, they said. A female student was said to have gone into an examination so drunk that she vomited when the invigilator tried to remove her. TAB? □

Star 16/7/91.

## Mali coup bid thwarted

**BAMAKO** — A coup attempt in Mali was foiled yesterday and the ringleader detained, official sources said.

They named him as Captain Lamine Diabira, the Territorial Administration (interior) Minister.

Captain Diabira was among a group of officers which toppled President Moussa Traore on March 26 after pro-democracy riots.

A Transitional People's Salvation Committee, composed of soldiers and civilians and headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Amadou Toure, took power and promised early multiparty elections.

Few details of the alleged coup plot were immediately known. But sources said some soldiers in the key army base at Kati, near Bamako, were also involved.

Shops and offices closed in Bamako as the news spread.

Preparatory work on Mali's national political conference was suspended. It was due to start on July 29.

When the TPSC seized power, Colonel Toure promised early elections after the conference, which was intended to chart a democratic future.

He pledged to return power to elected civilians by January next year.

But there was soon evidence of tensions within the 25-strong ruling council.

Two influential members, Lieutenant-Colonel Oumar Diallo and Anatole Sangare, were arrested last month and are still detained. State radio has said only that they were under investigation.

Colonel Diallo was ex-president Traore's aide-de-camp and Mr Sangare was his state security chief.

Young radicals in Bamako have staged protests over the presence of former Traore stalwarts in the government. They were also angry about delays in prosecuting Mr Traore and his wife, both of whom are in custody. — Sapa-Reuter.

## Bank faces \$20-m loss in scandal-hit BCCI

Staw 16/11/91  
ABIDJAN — The African Development Bank (AfDB) may have as much as \$20 million frozen in the scandal-hit Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), a senior AfDB source said yesterday.

"It's not peanuts, but the bank can cover it. It will not affect the bank's day-to-day operations," the source, who declined to be named, told Reuters.

The AfDB, which has 51 African and 25 non-regional members, finances projects throughout the continent.

Since authorities in several countries, including Britain and Luxembourg, ordered the Luxembourg-headquartered BCCI closed on July 5 amid allegations of massive fraud, the AfDB has

kept silent about the extent of its exposure.

A spokesman at the bank's Abidjan headquarters declined to comment about un-sourced reports of heavy potential losses.

The senior source said the bank had been withdrawing funds from BCCI for some time.

### Delicate

"There may have been up to \$20 million left in various accounts," he said.

A senior AfDB official said the matter was "too delicate" to be discussed in public.

"But it is clearly overdramatic to say the bank is facing collapse because of over-exposure in BCCI," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

star 19/7/91

# Cape-to-Kenya reserve possible, says Clarke

Staff Reporter

that tourism was set to burgeon as a global industry.

With improving relations between east Africa and South Africa, the time is approaching to revive General Jan Smuts's idea of a contiguous international wildlife park stretching from South Africa to Kenya, James Clarke, The Star's environmental specialist, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The purpose of 21st century national parks would not be exclusively to protect wildlife — they would also protect ecologically sound human activities such as farming, fishing, logging and hunting.

"When it comes to Africa and the other parts of the world whose ambience has not been wrecked by over-development, visitors are as fascinated by rural life as they are by wildlife and grand scenery."

Mr Clarke said Britain had long recognised this, and its national parks incorporated farms and even villages.

He told the Johannesburg central Rotary Club

"Already, according to a recent Government statement, South Africa makes R9 billion a year through tourism.

"Africa is the world's most exciting tourist destination. Its attractions are unparalleled.

"Anthropologically, eastern and southern Africa constitute the world's most important and fascinating region — the cradle of man.

"The region's wildlife has no equal. It has beautiful undiscovered beaches, jungles, and a colourful human fabric.

"When it comes to tourism, South Africa's biggest rival is Kenya. Yet we should not be rivals. We should be planning now how to cooperate in attracting maximum tourists with the minimum environmental impact.

"We must avoid undercutting each other to the point where we start accepting cheap pay-back-home package tours which are more of a pollutant than a blessing."

star 17/7/91

## Kenyan police hunt boy killers

NAIROBI — Kenya said yesterday it would flush out and arrest boys hiding after a night attack on a school dormitory in which 19 girls died and many were raped.

President Daniel arap Moi visited St Kizito boarding school in central Kenya and described it as a "death chamber".

A government official said the boy pupils would be investigated, and those who did not come out of hiding in the countryside would be "flushed out and their parents arrested".

"We have interrogated all the teachers. We shall screen all the boys and arrest those involved,"

Peter Saisi, Meru district commissioner, told reporters.

Mr Moi said the violence on Saturday was a tragic example of what indiscipline could do.

Most of those who die suffocated in a panicked struggle to escape when the boys, apparently angry because the girls would not join planned student protests, attacked their dormitory.

At least 70 girls were injured. Yesterday five were still in hospital.

Police said they wanted to question every boy at the school, which is run by the State and the Catholic Church.

Before the disaster it

had 577 pupils aged between 14 and 18 — 271 girls and 306 boys.

Assistant Education Minister Matthew Karauri criticised police for not arriving at the school until several hours after the attack.

The school has been closed indefinitely. An official said all the girl pupils would go to other schools.

Kenyan newspapers have published outraged editorials.

"The crazed attack ... is the most bizarre exhibition of delinquent anarchy this country has had the misfortune of handling," said the Daily Nation. — Sapa-Reuter.

star 17/7/91

## Eight die in political violence in Cameroon

YAOUNDE — Witnesses yesterday said eight people had died in political violence in Cameroon, where a general strike is strangling the economy.

The sources said seven people were killed in the northern town of Meiganga on Monday when angry farmers of the Banya tribe tried to force traders to open up a market.

A general strike, called by the opposition to force President Paul Biya to convene a pro-

democracy conference, is in its fourth week.

Farmers unable to distribute or sell produce are among the main victims.

In the economic capital of Douala, an opposition stronghold where port activity is almost at a standstill, police shot dead a demonstrator on Monday, local journalists said.

The outlawed umbrella committee of more than 20 opposition par-

ties that organised the general strike and which continues to meet clandestinely, agreed on Sunday to turn down Mr Biya's offer of talks unless he met three conditions.

They were the unbanning of the six opposition groups, the release of hundreds of people detained "during the struggle for the national conference" and the dismantling of the army's three new operational commands. — Sapa-Reuter.

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# SA firms may be able to bid for EC-funded projects

310 a) 17/7/91  
SA COMPANIES could be eligible to participate in major African development projects funded by the EC, Safto says.

The European Development Fund has committed R40bn to projects in African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. Most of the money, which comes from the EC, is to be used for infrastructural development from this year until 1995.

Safto executive Paresh Pandya said yesterday his organisation estimated that about 90% of the fund's aid would be channelled to countries in Africa.

He said SA companies could participate under certain circumstances. Until now, it was thought that only EC and ACP companies were eligible to participate in the fund's projects.

However, provisions were made for firms from non-member countries to participate, if certain criteria were met.

Pandya would not give details of the criteria, but said SA was at an advantage

over many other countries in terms of fulfilling the criteria, and he was confident that SA would meet them.

This was because SA was close to the rest of Africa, it could be competitive in terms of costs, and its technology was suited to the continent.

SA was in a good position to participate in new business opportunities arising from international aid agencies.

Also, only 70% of funds previously committed had been spent, indicating a lack of viable projects.

The balance would be added to the R40bn.

Aid was mainly given for projects including agricultural and rural development, transport and communication, social development, industrialisation, water engineering and social development.

MARCIA KLEIN

# Togolese demand more than wealth

*Sweeten 17/7/91 (1)*

## FOCUS

AFRICA is the poorest continent in the world, but the unrest that has shaken this continent's dictators has scored most of its successes in richer countries like Togo.

Under President Gnassingbe Eyadema's 24-year-rule, Togo has achieved an economic growth rate that is the envy of many countries on the continent.

The US Embassy's economic report says it has "one of the most favourable investment climates in Africa" and predicts for Togo "continued moderate growth" on a continent where most countries' economies are declining.

But the Togolese apparently want more. Eyadema has been forced to accept an interim government chosen at a national conference last week.

### Control

Last month a similar conference in Brazzaville stripped Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of everything but the title of president.

Congo is also among Africa's most developed nations south of the Sahara.

A national conference in Togo's eastern neighbour, Benin, last year took control of the government from President Mathieu Kerekou and gave it to an interim government headed by Nicephore Soglo.

Soglo defeated Kerekou in presidential elections in March, the first time an African president had been deposed by ballot.

Dictators have been toppled or



**FACE OF WAR:** The sight of armed soldiers as in this picture of one of Somalia's women militia units is common in many parts of Africa where guerillas have won many concessions from the dictators who run their countries. But in relatively well-off Togo the people apparently want more.

forced to make concessions ranging from power sharing with the opposition to at least permitting opposition parties to exist, in nearly half of the countries south of the Sahara.

In some countries, including Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and Somalia guerilla wars forced the concessions.

But strikes and demonstrations forced presidents Omar Bongo of Gabon, an oil-rich country with the highest per capita income in black Africa, and Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, often called Africa's "economic success story" to permit multiparty rule.

Cameroon and Senegal, also relatively rich by African standards, have also been hit by waves of unrest.

Though students led the charge in many countries, the real pressure came when government employees - who make up the vast majority of the middle class in most countries - joined the struggle.

Clearly, the revolts of Eastern European countries stirred many.

The ending of the Cold War also made it no longer necessary for Western governments to sup-

port dictators for strategic reasons.

Western donors publicly made a commitment to democracy a condition of aid after the unrest had already begun.

A senior Togolese official said the economic cuts required by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund in the past decade forced governments to lay off employees, freeze salaries and raise prices for petrol and food.

The World Bank and IMF have acknowledged the austerity programmes they required have resulted in lower standards of living in many countries.

### Protests

These measures made governments unpopular with the middle class. And when the measures failed to revive economies, strikes began.

Some governments were virtually shut down.

Soon the strikes became protests against one-party rule.

The Togo official said: "The Western countries now are telling us we must accept multiparty rule.

"They are accelerating the process beyond its natural course

and this has caused things to explode."

Eyadema, speaking to journalists recently, said he had offered his people the choice between parties in 1969, when Togo's economy was booming and they turned him down.

Togo's economy has declined sharply due to a drop in prices for its chief export, phosphates and rising prices for imports, especially petroleum.

Mr Yawovi Agboyibo, a leading Togo opposition leader, said the country's economic problems have played a major role in generating unrest.

He added in an interview, "Democracy won't solve all our economic problems.

"It isn't the only thing. But you need stability to bring economic improvements, and you can't have that without democracy."

It also remains to be seen whether the democracy won so recently will survive if their economies do not pick up.

Some argue that democracy will lead to the break up of countries who were artificially created by former colonial powers.

Sapa-AP.

FM 19/7/91  
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ①

## HOW TO GROW

Improved saving and investment performances in developing countries could lead to growth of over 3% a year from 1993, argues the IMF's latest *World Economic Outlook*.

In the Eighties, developing countries that relied on external borrowing to augment domestic savings (like Zambia, Somalia and Nicaragua) were struck by higher interest payments and saw investment and growth drop dramatically. Countries with high savings rates (Botswana, Cyprus and Malaysia,

FM 19/7/91 ECONOMY & FINANCE

for example) tended to show higher investment, stronger growth, lower inflation and less reliance on foreign borrowing.

Foreign finance can assist development only if it stimulates sufficient growth to repay the loans and that requires removing impediments to local investment. "In a situation of high inflation, volatile real interest and exchange rates, fiscal deficits and other macro-economic imbalances, investors are likely to postpone investment plans because of pervasive uncertainty."

Reducing economic distortions, instability and inefficiency also stimulates savings, as the experiences of Korea, Sri Lanka and Taiwan show. "On balance, it appears that a financial environment characterised by positive real interest rates, an efficient system of financial intermediation and a structure of taxation that does not discourage private saving offers the best prospect of increased savings, investment and improved allocation of financial resources."

The IMF adds, however, that failure to reach agreement at the Uruguay Round of trade talks could harm developing countries' growth prospects, by depriving them of the benefits of trade liberalisation and increasing trade friction. ■

# Govt to blame for killing fields - Mandela

Star 20/7/91  
**JULIENNE DU TOIT**

THE ANC and the Government were now clearly on a collision course, said ANC president Nelson Mandela last night, commenting on the shock disclosures of Government funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving on an overseas trip, Mr Mandela said if the Government continued with its "criminal operations" it was doubtful that a complete breakdown in relations could be avoided.

He was reacting to yesterday's Weekly Mail report that the Government had funded Inkatha operations. This was admitted

by State President F W de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok last night, but denied by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr Mandela said at least the Government had had the decency to admit the allegations were true.

There was "no question" of the ANC resuming discussions with the Government if it did not react positively - by seeing that the violence that had killed 10 000 since 1984 ended, and by seeing that the SADF confined itself to maintaining law

"We have said all along that the Government is following a double agenda - "while talking to us, they were also conducting a war against us."

Mr Mandela said on countless occasions he had taken details of State involvement in killings to Mr de Klerk. He had asked for proof, and now he had proof, said Mr Mandela.

He urged people who had been "used for the purpose of committing crime" to come forward, as some had done, to confess.

The mass media and businessmen had not been very vocal in condemning

the Government for its complicity in killing individuals. He hoped they would now come out and condemn this, he said.

In an additional statement issued last night, Mr Mandela said the transformation of Natal and parts of the Reef into killing fields should be laid squarely at the Government's door.

He reiterated the ANC's demand that Mr Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan should be fired. "We shall test President de Klerk's own commitment to maintaining the search for peace on course against his actions in this regard."

# SA tourists in rescue dramas as Madagascar braces for unrest

A GROUP of South African businessmen and tourists have been flown out of Madagascar in a dramatic early-morning rescue, as the island steels itself for massive unrest following President Didier Ratsiraka's decision to brazen out mass demands for his resignation.

But at least 10 other South Africans remain stranded on the island, with no immediate rescue in sight. It is expected that today's SAA flight to the island will be cancelled because of possible unrest and a lack of fuel on the island.

The continuing crisis in the country deepened on Thursday evening when in a radio address to the nation, Mr Ratsiraka rejected an ultimatum to resign issued by the "Forces Vives" mass opposition grouping.

Instead he called in security force chiefs, who reportedly gave him their backing should he decide to declare either a state of emergency

However, informed sources on the island say this is unlikely to be acceptable to the opposition, and widespread unrest is predicted.

Yesterday the capital, Antananarivo, was reported to be deathly quiet, with shops, banks and government offices remaining tightly shut.

It was in this eerie situation that the dramatic rescue flight of the South Africans took place.

A Datoka DC-3 belonging to Lan-seria-based Ancom Aviation took

off late on Thursday night. After refueling and picking up extra drums of fuel at Beira in Mozambique because none was available in Madagascar, the plane flew through the night to Antananarivo.

Ancom's Connie Bently said preparations for the flight had been going on for almost a week, but the intervention of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs had been instrumental in getting the flight off the ground.

KEN VERNON  
Africa News Service

or martial law in response to demonstrations and violence.

As a sop to the opposition grouping, who have paralysed the country with mass demonstrations of up to 400 000 people, he is reported to be ready to sack his entire Cabinet and bring in some members of the opposition.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, centre, arrives at the opening of the Inkatha Freedom Party's 16th conference in Ulundi on Saturday, amid controversy over disclosures that government had funded Inkatha rallies.

Picture: AP

# AIDS burden will be worst in Africa, Asia

By Guy 22/7/91

TANIA LEVY

AFRICA and Asia would suffer from the AIDS pandemic "long after it is forgotten in Europe and the US" but it was clear that the West would offer them little support, National Health Department spokesman Dr Manda Holmshaw said at the weekend.

Speaking at an AIDS Economic Forum in Midrand on Friday, Holmshaw said she had returned from the recent International AIDS Conference in Florence feeling very despondent.

The conference had heard that in the mid 1990s sub-Saharan Africa would account for about 61% of the world's HIV cases, although the area was inhabited by only about 8% of the world's population.

There were an estimated eight to 10-million people infected with the virus worldwide.

Holmshaw said it was predicted that the child mortality rate in sub-Saharan Africa would double by the mid-1990s and the average adult lifespan would decrease.

She said the disturbing thing about the conference was that despite the clear evidence that Africa and Asia would bear the greatest AIDS burden, no one had really been interested in them.

It was obvious that Africa would have to find its own solutions.

National Health Minister Rina Venter said in her opening address that the extent of the AIDS pandemic in other African countries underlined the need for a united and wide-ranging response to AIDS in SA.

Venter said 300 people were being infected with the AIDS virus every day in SA, about half of them women.

She said the most conservative estimates showed at least 100 000 people were now HIV-infected in SA.

It was obvious that government alone could not fight the spread of the disease.

Holmshaw said a multisectoral approach was vital.

The state could do a great deal at the macro-level and a mass campaign would be launched in August or September.

But on a more personal level, employers and non-government groupings had to try bring about behavioural changes.

Venter said it was clear that HIV would be a fact of corporate life for decades to come and that quick-fix solutions would not make much impression.

## New ruler

ADDIS ABABA -

16/1/79  
Ethiopia's national assembly has unanimously elected the country's interim president, former guerrilla chief Meles Zenawi, as head of state and government.

The Ethiopian News Agency said yesterday Meles was elected unopposed by the 81-member assembly as president of the country's transitional government. Two other candidates had withdrawn. - Sapa-  
Reuter.

# Rwanda rebels<sup>①</sup> to start<sup>South</sup> talking<sup>18/7-24/7/91</sup>

WASHINGTON — Talks between the government of the Rwandan President, General Juvenal Habyarimana, and a rebel group will begin soon and a peace agreement should be only a few months away, says a senior Rwandan government official.

Dr Casimir Rizamungu, Rwanda's foreign minister, said here last month that he did not believe that sporadic fighting between his government and the rebel groups would "stop our resolve towards democratisation".

Rwanda has been embroiled in a series of violent clashes between its two main ethnic groups, the minority Tutsi and majority Hutu, for nearly 30 years.

The most recent clashes took place last October when nearly 10 000 Ugandan-based Rwandan exile rebels invaded the country in an attempt to overthrow the government.

## Tensions

The attack rekindled tensions between the Hutu people and their former Tutsi overlords who form the bulk of the invading force.

The Hutus form about 80 percent of the population, dwarfing the Tutsis (15 percent) and the Twas (five percent).

Rizamungu was in Washington as part of a trip to North America.

He said his government had tried to involve the opposition forces in the democratisation process.

They have not been willing to listen, he added.

Human rights groups have attacked the Habyarimana government for its poor human rights record, which includes the jailing of several Rwandan journalists and political activists.

A spokesperson for the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists said the group had filed protests with the government and would continue to remind the world that there were journalists in custody for "just doing their jobs".

Rizamungu said nearly 8 000 homes and businesses had been destroyed because of the fighting. — IPS



# Seychelles delegation due to visit SA

A DELEGATION of at least 50 top Seychelles businessmen will visit SA next week to mark the inauguration of Air Seychelles' direct service between Mahé and Johannesburg.

Arriving on the first flight next Saturday will be the airline's chairman Conrad Benioton, a number of his board members, leading hoteliers and directors of Seychelles Breweries, the Seychelles Marketing Board — the governing agricultural cooperative — and tourism industry representatives.

An Air Seychelles spokesman said yesterday representatives of shipping and marine charter firms would accompany the

delegation, which will spend a week in SA.

The delegation's primary task will be to discuss ways to increase imports and exports between the Indian Ocean islands and SA.

The members will discuss also ways of replacing Seychelles' socialist structures.

The Seychelles government is looking to increased import and export capacity resulting from the introduction of Air Seychelles' wide-bodied Boeing 767-200 Extended Range aircraft on the weekly flights.

6/day 25/7/91  
LINDEN BIRNS

# Civil services are bigger than ever

*Bl Day 25/7/91*

GRETA STEYN

THE number of people employed in the governments of non-independent homelands rose to record levels this year despite official policies to reduce the size of the public sector.

Central Statistical Service (CSS) figures show employment in the six self-governing territories reached 198 447 in March, more than 2% higher than the previous year and almost 8% up on the same month in 1989.

The salary bill was R754m, almost 13% up on a year ago.

Development Bank GM Deon Richter said the civil service in the homelands functioned as an employment safety net in many cases.

The bank, in its financial adjustment programmes in these territories, hoped to curb the rapid growth in bureaucracy.

"But we do not expect to see an actual reduction in staff numbers, at least not in the near future."

Financial adjustment programmes have been implemented in only two of the six self-governing territories, Lebowa and Gazankulu.

The bank expects to help implement further financial adjustment programmes in at least some of the other homelands during the course of its current financial year.

The TBVC states, the public sector employment figures of which are not included in these CSS statistics, are also in the process of financial adjustment.

Richter said "continuous unfinanced government deficits" often triggered the realisation that structural adjustment was needed.

In some cases, deficits of up to

45% of GDP were reported.

But he added that in some of these territories, government spending accounted for virtually the entire GDP.

Structural adjustment paid special attention to the role of the public sector, with emphasis on "making more effective and efficient use of scarce resources".

Budgeting procedures were overhauled with emphasis on longer term planning.

The efficient employment of large budget allocations was analysed in detail even when they seemed justified, as in the case of education.

Richter regarded the ad hoc nature of budgeting encountered in some homelands as a "legacy of apartheid".

## Retard

He insisted the bank's credibility was not threatened by helping these governments.

Refusing to deal with them would retard the development process, he said.

"One of the reasons for the bank's involvement in the programmes is that they bring greater certainty that a continuous capacity will prevail for states to take up loans from funding agencies such as the bank," Richter said.

Development structures in the homelands were being rationalised, as there was a multitude of development corporations. In QwaQwa, for instance, there were five development corporations.

## Africa's opening doors do not signal easy pickings

WITH even the Organisation of African Unity warming towards SA, an increasing number of doors are opening on the continent. However, local computer companies viewing this market as "easy pickings" should realise that exporting to African countries means creating a new market.

MD of local computer exporter Habega Trading International, Corrie Lamprecht, says that as trading restrictions ease, SA computer companies are poised to "jump into Africa."

Although there was undoubtedly a potentially lucrative market for the ailing local computer industry, companies should realise that a need for technology was not acutely felt or identified by businessmen in some African countries.

"It's certainly not as simple as starting a PC company in another country, opening the doors for business, and then sitting back to wait for orders to flow in," said Lamprecht.

Before the selling can begin, companies must invest heavily in terms of time and money to stimulate what is, effectively, a brand new market.

Some African states preferred barter to cash deals.

It's believed the world's largest computer network is in the Soviet Union, and this was allegedly paid for in vodka. Similarly, Mozambican buyers may want to pay for commodities like computers with salt.

# Rawlings keeps tight rein on power

①  
South  
25/7-31/7/91  
11.18-11.23 H

From Ruby Ofori  
Accra

GHANA'S once popular and youthful leader, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, is facing increasing opposition to his government's handling of the return to multi-party democracy. Two prominent organisations have boycotted the consultative assembly elected this month to draft a new constitution.

On June 29, the eve of a public holiday to celebrate Ghana's 30 years as a republic, pro-democracy activists transformed the streets into a scene reminiscent of the passive resistance protests of Mahatma Gandhi.

Since his 1990 promise of a return to multi-party democracy by 1992, Ghana's government has kept a tight rein on the political process, refusing to lift the ban on party politics or press restrictions.

It also continues to deny that political prisoners are being held, although according to Amnesty International, there are at least 50 people imprisoned without trial under the preventive custody regulation, Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Law 4.

## One-party

Rawlings, who installed his military government in December 1981, has reportedly said he prefers a one-party system. Pro-democracy campaigners argue that the process so far is merely a stage-managed attempt by the PNDC to perpetuate its rule.

"The constitutional process set in motion by the PNDC is not aimed at securing this sovereign right," said a recent statement of the powerful lobby group, the Ghana Bar Association.

But with external pressure from Western governments, like the United States and Britain, to set up democratic structures, the government must continue the process. It has had a 260-member consultative assembly elected and announced a conditional amnesty for political exiles.

"The consultative assembly is just a rubber — stamping body," said Paul Adu-Gyampfi, the national secretary



RAWLINGS: Clinging to power

PIC: AFRICA REPORT

of the Bar Association. He also questioned the purpose of a proposed referendum on the constitution. "If the consultative assembly represents all Ghanaians, why take the draft constitution back to a referendum?"

The Bar Association and the National Union of Ghana Students have boycotted the assembly to highlight this point and, with the Movement for Freedom and Justice, demanded "a constituent assembly ... elected through universal suffrage".

Although Rawlings continues to cling to the theory that Ghana will

not copy foreign models or proceed at a pace determined by others, pressure from the opposition may change his tune.

During the past year, 12 groups in Ghana — ranging from teachers' and nurses' — associations to church organisations have called on Rawlings to restore democratic rule.

And Ghana also runs the risk of being engulfed by the pro-democracy demonstrations in West Africa, which have already brought steps towards change in neighbouring countries. — IPS

# Four forces battle in strife-torn Somalia

①  
South  
25/7-31/7/91

From Yusuf Hassan  
Harare

HOPE of an early return to peace in Somalia has been shattered by four armed groups who are threatening the very existence of the country in a civil war that was thought to be over when dictator Mohammed Siyad Barre was deposed.

Barre, one of Africa's most ruthless dictators, was removed from power six months ago.

Somalia has been locked in a civil war that has lasted for 10 years.

The United Somali Congress (USC), which captured the capital Mogadishu in January, is locked in bloody confrontations with the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) for control of the southern region.

Earlier this month, the SPM claimed that its fighters had taken the second-largest city, Kismayu, and were heading towards Mogadishu after inflicting a series of defeats on the USC.

In the central regions, the USC is pitted against the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) which controls the Indian Ocean port of Bosaso. Recently, it has also claimed some military successes against the USC

The Somali National Movement (SNM), the oldest of the fighting forces, is in full control of the northern regions — what used to be known as British Somaliland, before it became independent in 1960 and formed a union with the southern regions then known as Italian Somaliland.

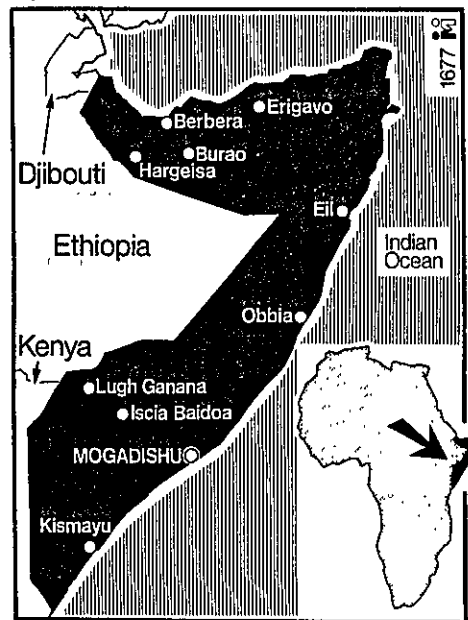
The SNM announced on May 17 that northern Somalia had seceded from the rest of the country and was to be known as the Republic of Somaliland.

Somalia is almost totally isolated from the rest of the world. Communication links, severed early in the year at the height of the civil war, are yet to be resumed.

Thousands of refugees have fled to Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia. And tens of thousands are internally displaced. The death and destruction caused by the on-going conflict is hard to verify, but relief agencies say many people are on the brink of starvation in many parts of the country.

Mediation attempts by Egypt, Sudan and Djibouti have so far failed. President Hassan Aptidon of Djibouti hosted a peace conference in March which was attended by the USC, SSDF and SMP.

But it ended inconclusively



# Killer disease spreads

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do we know 25/7/91

N'DJAMENA — Cholera has killed 900 people in Chad over the past two months, swelling the death toll of the epidemic in West and Central African states to nearly 1,700 since May.

Chad's health minister said last week reported more than 8,000 cases and said 900 people had died in the huge, impoverished country since the outbreak was confirmed on May 11.

## Died

The health minister of neighbouring Niger announced 210 cholera deaths, mainly in the

centre and west of the country and in border regions. Benin, which saw 30 cholera deaths in May, is battling with heavy floods and Prime Minis-

ter Nicephore Soglo warned of fresh outbreaks unless quick relief action was taken. The disease, which causes severe diarrhoea, spreads quickly through contaminated water and

in poor sanitary conditions. Doctors say West Africa's rainy season, which runs roughly from May-June to September-October, helps it develop and

spread. Chadian government sources say the European Community delivered 27 tons of anti-cholera drugs to the country on Saturday.

The United States, Malta and Libya have also sent materials and money to curb the epidemic. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Political changes open new vistas for Development Bank

By Barney Mithomboh  
Star Africa Service

The Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) is looking forward with undisguised relish to developments on the continent.

Since President P.W. de Klerk fired his starting gun on February 2 last year, political developments have been flitting past at bewildering speed.

New vistas are opening up, doors that were firmly shut for years are opening, some admittedly reluctantly, and foes are suddenly discovering they have had lots in common all these years.

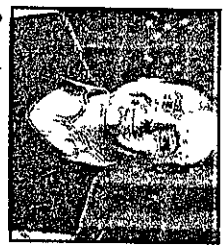
No institution has metamorphosed as rapidly in the eyes of its critics as the DBSA.

## Misfortune

Founded eight years ago by the South African government and its satellite homeland states, it soon received a reputation as an apartheid bank.

It was also the bank's misfortune that its launch coincided with the heat generated by P.W. Botha's trilateral constitution and such government initiatives as the Koophof Bills.

To government critics, therefore, the bank was indistinguish-



General manager Nick Christodoulou . . . EC is saying "Please talk to each other."

able from the nuts and bolts of Mr Botha's total strategy.

February 2 1990 changed all that. Senior bank officials now talk enthusiastically and openly about its projects in neighbouring countries.

Two of its officials a few weeks ago returned from the annual meeting of the African Development Bank (AFDB) in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, elated by their reception.

The two here also co-incides with a new realism in Africa and an emphasis on economic integration.

Regional institutions like the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) are being strengthened and are playing an increasingly important role in

foreign policy and security matters. There are also attempts to resurrect the East African Community.

It is expected that these regional organisations will form a firm foundation for the new African Economic Community (AEC) launched at the OAU summit in Nigeria.

## Co-operation

These developments therefore augur well for future co-operation between the DBSA and other institutions on the continent. The key is the normalisation of political life within SA.

Within the country itself foes are becoming friends. The bank is discussing with Kagiso Trust co-operation in rural development projects.

Kagiso Trust, funnelers of EC funds to help victims of apartheid, would not have touched the bank with a barge pole two years ago.

First, that amazing " says Nick Christodoulou, one of DBSA's general managers.

We have lunch together nowadays with Eric Moloi and Achmat Dangor (Kagiso officials) and we laugh about it because it's crazy. We were doing the same thing all along.

But now the EC is saying "But now the EC is saying, 'The DBSA and Kagiso are doing the same thing, please talk to each other' and we are."

Even before the thaw flowing from Mr de Klerk's reforms the bank was already involved in projects in Mozambique, Lesotho (mainly to do with the Lesotho Highlands Water Project) and Namibia.

In fact, the bank has had approaches from almost all southern African countries, except Zimbabwe.

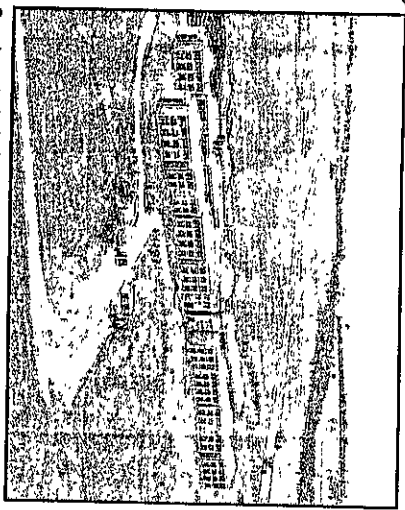
The bank's chief executive, Dr Simon Brand, is now having talks with the new administration in Windhoek to see what role it could play in the changed environment there.

"We could be funding projects in Zaire tomorrow if we had the resources," Mr Christodoulou says.

## Were hostile

In most of these projects the bank has found itself in parallel funding arrangements with agencies like the World Bank, the African Development Bank, the Commonwealth Development Corporation and the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC).

This therefore allowed the



On almost virgin land . . . the Midrand headquarters of the Development Bank of Southern Africa lie alongside the Pretoria-Johannesburg highway, probably the busiest road in southern Africa.

bank an opportunity to establish contact with institutions it would not normally meet and which in the main were hostile towards the Republic.

"There was always clearly a strong argument for economic co-operation. But it was imparted by the political situation. The moment that some relaxa-

realisation of our being swallowed up by the other.

But Mr Christodoulou says the functions are so broad and the geographic area so vast that the resources of both organisations put together may not be enough to address the regions' problems.

The belief also that South Africa will be the engine that would revitalise the entire continent - which seems to be behind the stampede by some African countries to establish contact with SA despite sanctions - is also misplaced.

South Africa simply does not have the resources to play such a role and, secondly, a new majority rule government will have its own backyard to sweep first.

## Basic needs

DBSA's Johan C van Zyl says in a discussion paper: "A post-apartheid SA would have to pay serious attention to the alleviation of poverty at home and the elimination of major socio-economic backlogs in education, health, welfare and housing."

"In fact, to stand any kind of chance of meeting these basic needs SA would have to improve its own recent poor economic performance very significantly."

It's a point that seems to have been well-taken by SADC's senior officers. Kgobane Mosei, of SADC, said in an interview recently the advent of majority rule in SA would not necessarily change the unequal relationship between SA and SADC countries.

The new government will obviously pursue policies that in its opinion best serve the national interests of the country."

Mr Mosei said: "With the complexity of socio-economic problems that will confront a post-apartheid SA, it is likely that the country will be a competitor for aid, and not a donor."

## Takeover

The exaggerated perception of SA's economic plight is also linked to the fear among SADC countries of an economic takeover of the region by the Republic, flooding the markets with its products.

"That's not true," Mr Christodoulou says. "But where SA and organisations like the DBSA could be of enormous assistance is in acting as a channel for international aid to all countries in southern Africa."

# Madagascar crisis talks collapse

ANTANANARIVO — Talks aimed at ending more than six weeks of strikes and anti-government demonstrations in Madagascar broke down yesterday over the detention of senior opposition members.

News that the church-mediated talks had collapsed came soon after the opposition said two people died in protests against the government of President Didier Ratsiraka in the port of Toamasina on Thursday.

If confirmed, the deaths would be the first in a mainly peaceful protest campaign which has put Mr Ratsiraka under pressure to step down.

A joint statement after the church-mediated talks broke up said the opposition would not take part until the government released detainees arrested this week. The opposition say five people have been held.

The talks, which began on Thursday, had appeared to offer at least a slender chance of a

settlement to the deepening political crisis.

Mr Ratsiraka, a former naval officer who took control of the ruling military junta in 1975, ordered a clamp-down on the unrest and declared a state of emergency in the capital Antananarivo last Tuesday.

But protests have continued unabated. Rallying tens of thousands of people at daily protests in Antananarivo, the opposition this week began occupying government ministries, installing self-styled "ministers" named last week in a shadow government.

They occupied the Social Affairs Ministry yesterday, bringing to seven the number of ministries taken over. But the show of strength was largely symbolic because all government ministries were paralysed by a strike by civil servants.

Three of the people detained are self-styled "ministers" who had moved into government

buildings.

The government says the takeovers are illegal and undemocratic. But the crowds who took over the ministries met virtually no resistance from security forces apparently loth to use violence.

The opposition Active Forces coalition began protests on June 10, calling for a new constitution and fresh multiparty elections.

They charge that 1989 presidential and parliamentary polls were rigged.

The joint statement said the Christian Council of Churches, mediating at the meeting, had called for the two sides to agree on a transitional structure for the country and urged them to resume talks next week.

The church representatives also urged the government to stop arrests and lift the state of emergency, and the opposition to stop occupying government ministries. — Sapa-Reuter.

1



Living force ... Demonstrators take to the streets, demanding President Didier Ratsiraka's resignation

Photograph: CHRIS MCGREAL

# President's glass palace shatters

w/mw/ 26/7-11/8/91.

**O**n the edge of Antananarivo stands a North Korean architect's idea of a presidential palace. With its glass spires and turquoise beams, it resembles the mongrel offspring of a Stalinist sugar palace and the Southgate shopping mall. It was built for President Didier Ratsiraka because the North Koreans said he needed better security than was provided by his former palace, where he was vulnerable to the wrath of a population weary of his incompetent dabblings in Marxism and corrupted discovery of market forces.

It was a wise precaution. The Malagasy leader has managed to unite God, Mao and the middle-class in a *hery velona*, or living force, against his 16-year dictatorship. This week, Ratsiraka imposed a State of Emer-

gency as the opposition coalition tried to install a parallel government. Ratsiraka sits atop a pyramid that, at least for the moment, has no base. His ministers go to their desks each morning while their civil servants gather at the anti-government demonstrations. It was the opposition's attempt to fill those desks that provoked the imposition of the state of emergency, the banning of protests and arrest of at least two opposition leaders. The opposition named a transitional government last week. On Monday, its "ministers" and their supporters seized

Madagascar has been brought to a standstill as Maoists and Marxists, animists, the church and the middle-class unite in opposition to the president.  
**By CHRIS MCGREAL**

government buildings, including the Finance Ministry, and set to work with the assistance of striking civil servants. They planned, they said, simply to ignore Ratsiraka and run the government on their own. But Ratsiraka did not ignore them.

The *hery velona* was born from an alliance of the animist, Catholic and Protestant churches with the middle-class and renegade political parties, Maoist and Marxist, formerly allied to Ratsiraka. The middle-class, which in Madagascar includes just about anyone with a regular income, has brought what is left of the economy near to a standstill with a three-week general strike. Although it has eased the strike in parts of the private sector, the banks remain closed except for brief periods, and petrol and transport are difficult to find. Tens of thousands of demonstrators have filled the capi-

tal's centre in a daily demand for Ratsiraka's resignation, a transitional government, a non-socialist constitution and free elections. Ratsiraka justifies his claim to power on the result of a 1989 election in which only parties linked to his socialist alliance were permitted to participate, although he subsequently permitted relatively free political activity. He still took only 62 percent of the ballots. Ratsiraka abandoned his Marxist experiment after dragging Madagascar down to the world's 12th poorest nation. But his brand of capitalism has not won him many friends. The International Monetary Fund, as a condition for loans, requires that the two-thirds of industry in government hands be privatised at a minimum of 20 firms a year. Most of the denationalised industries have fallen into the hands of just 19 families with ties to the government.

Ratsiraka's opponents want someone else to clean up the mess, chosen through free elections. But while the middle-class may yet prove able to bring down the government, it is the 80 percent of the population trapped in dire poverty that, in a free vote, will decide the result. The signs are they are not unsympathetic to parties that describe themselves as *perestroika* Marxist and liberal Maoist. Beyond their titles their leaders offer little insight into what their policies might be other than that they are "for the people."

But Ratsiraka's fate will ultimately be decided by the military, and the French. The military is hesitant in its support, as was seen when it stood back while demonstrations took place despite the ban. But it is encouraged to continue to back Ratsiraka by France, which has made a considerable investment in the leader of its former colony.

Paris prodded and enticed Ratsiraka toward the free market with grants and loans, with an eye on Madagascar's considerable untapped mineral wealth. After the World Bank declared Madagascar's three state-run banks insolvent in 1989, France provided the money to put them back in the black. While French President François Mitterand says publicly that France favours democratic rule, his 140-man embassy in Antananarivo is taking a different tack.

Josua Rakotoniraine, an opposition leader, observes: "My impression is France wants to keep Ratsiraka in power. It's a real problem to find a strategy to get rid of him when foreign powers are interested in keeping him."

At the centre of the French strategy is its embassy's military attaché, Jean-Bernard Vialle, who is responsible for Ratsiraka's security and took over training the secret police when the now defunct East German Stasi left. His brief is to ensure Ratsiraka remains in play until a replacement can be found in France's best interest.

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# Apartment lives in Mauritania

**NOUAKCHOTT** - While South Africa dismantles apartheid race laws, opposition groups at the other end of the continent say Mauritania is crushing its black majority under an Arab yoke.

Amnesty International, which recently listed Mauritania among the world's worst human rights offenders, has accused the Arab-led military government of waging undeclared war on blacks.

Activists and diplomats in the north-west African country say up to 600 blacks, mostly soldiers, were executed or tortured to death late last year after an alleged black-led coup attempt.

They say security forces have killed hundreds of black villagers in the south of the vast Saharan state and expelled at least 40 000 to neighbouring Senegal in 1989 after race riots in the two countries claimed hundreds of lives.

"It looks like genocide to us. They want to deny Mauritania," said a black doctor, who described treating men physically and mentally crippled by torture.

## Denies

"It's an apartheid that won't speak its name," said prominent opposition activist Sy Zein el Abidine.

The government officially denies allegations of torture and wholesale killing, saying soldiers reported missing by relatives have deserted or are away on business. But the army is quietly paying compensation to some bereaved families.

Straddling the Arab world and Black Africa, Mauritania is dominated politically and economically by fair-skinned Moors of Arab and Berber stock.

Census results remain unpublished but unofficial estimates say these "white Moors", traditionally nomads, form between a fifth and a third of the sparse two million population.

The majority of blacks are divided into two well-defined groups. The

Haratin, Arabic-speaking former slaves, have adopted Moorish customs and are often called "black Moors", while tribes such as the Hal-Pulaar have maintained their own distinct culture.

Most Mauritians say the communities have gotten together fairly well in the past. Inter-marriage has been common and different groups live side-by-side in towns and some villages.

But many blacks say President Maouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya's military government, which came to power in a 1984 coup, has played on existing divisions in a deliberate divide-and-rule policy to keep control in the hands of the minority white Moors.

"It's under him, in particular, that Arab chauvinism has taken on an official character," said opposition campaigner Daffa Bakary.

## Advance

Independent analysts say Iraqi Baathist philosophy, which glorifies the Arab nation, has taken root in government circles.

Mauritania sided with Iraq in the Gulf war and last year's crackdown on blacks came at a time when President Saddam Hussein was riding high in the eyes of white Moors.

The creeping southward advance of the Sahara desert has aggravated racial tension by increasing pressure on the little cultivable land that remains in the parched country, the analysts say.

Non-Moorish blacks say a new constitution adopted this month, which enshrines Arabic as the sole official language, fails to recognise Mauritania's multiracial character and represents increasing Arabisation in all walks of life.

## They say they are systematically sidelined from positions of power and face everyday racial discrimination, ranging from problems registering their newborn or getting onto electoral lists, to exclusion from bursaries to study abroad.

Haratins feel caught in an ambiguous position. Arabs by language and culture, they are traditionally allied with the white Moors and have been party to much of the violence against non-Moorish blacks.

But many Haratin intellectuals feel increasingly alienated by what they see as white Arab racism.

Most white Moors deny racial prejudice in Mauritania and point out that there are several black government ministers.

"We've never wanted to make a distinction between white and black,"

## Information Minister

Ahmed Ould Khalifa Ould Jiddou said in an interview.

"The extremists are

Many people fear the racial tension may boil over into full armed conflict.

"There are Moors and

black Mauritians who think the only way out is civil war," one long-time foreign resident said.

Sapa-Rewer.

G



World Bank president Lewis Preston presents his annual address yesterday at the World Bank and IMF conference at Bangkok's Queen Sirikit Convention Centre. Picture: AP

## Africa 'needs more aid to fight poverty'

BANGKOK — African nations yesterday painted a grim picture of growing poverty, meagre investments and environmental crisis while asking the international community for large aid input.

But Steven Kibona, who heads Tanzania's delegation to the World Bank's annual conference, stressed African states were implementing economic reforms despite "the difficulties and sacrifices encountered".

"It must be unmistakably clear that African governments are committed to doing what is necessary and feasible to rejuvenate their economies and set the stage for improved standards of living," he said. *B/day*

Kibona, who is Tanzania's finance minister, spoke on behalf of the African members of the World Bank and IMF. *16/10/91*

"The debt overhang is still an albatross around the neck of many African countries," Kibona said.

"There is now a heightened risk that Africa will be left on the periphery of the international economy."

He said it was critical that domestic and foreign investment be increased and that debt relief be offered by foreign monetary institutions.

He said that the ratio of investment to national income had fallen by some 25% since 1980. Warnings about a global capital shortage meant that African countries would have difficulty competing for capital.

"In sum, we are appealing to the donor community to increase its support of our growth-oriented adjustment efforts," he told the 155-member World Bank. — Sapa-AP.

## free trade zones

91. duce significant steps toward liberalisation, trade zones have become one of the best hopes for reducing impediments to trade.

Summers said the benefits of free trade zones, the spur of competition and the transfer of technology, would extend to all nations, even those not included in a bloc.

But to those that do not see themselves included in any trade group, the blocks

are a threat.

"Trade packs are groupings of nations that one way or another are likely to make preferential arrangements with each other," said Peter McCawley, deputy director general of the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau.

"They are interventionist, protectionist policies."

He and officials from other countries said blocs

present a two-fold problem: blocs could use the threat of lifting trade barriers to muscle advantageous trade agreements from isolated nations; bloc participants might win access to markets at the expense of those on the outside.

In addition to the EC's drive toward a common market in 1992, the US and Canada have already begun negotiating a free trade agreement with Mexico and an Asian trade group has been proposed by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahamad Mahathir. — Sapa-Reuters.

# SA 'seen as the way into Africa'

Monday 30/7/91

Reports by  
MARCIA KLEIN

THE lifting of sanctions and SA's readmission to international sporting events could open up exciting new avenues for SA advertisers in other countries.

International Media Representatives (IMR) director Robin Hammond said in an interview that SA agencies were looking to Africa as an area of development, while the rest of the world saw SA as a route into the growing markets in Africa.

Hammond said some international companies might have already burnt their fingers by trying to go into Africa direct. SA was "a natural home base".

A recent spate of visits to SA by directors of international advertising agencies with SA subsidiaries showed a renewed interest in SA and Africa.

SA agencies which had affiliations with international firms were often expected to do the development in Africa on behalf of the international parent company. Countries including Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Malawi were now open to development from this region. He felt development coming from within Africa would be best.

There had been many indications over the last few months that opportunities worldwide did not look as

rosy as those in Africa, Hammond said, and his company had seen a large increase in inquiries for media in Africa.

IMR officially represents about 250 foreign publications mainly for advertising, giving SA companies an opportunity to communicate abroad. It also acts as a clearing house of information about communications opportunities in foreign countries, keeps statistical marketing information and does its own research.

Hammond said much of the development in Africa would be in product advertising and tourism, with some recruitment and financial advertising.

While there were some problems in Africa with the frequency of media and quality of production, SA manufacturers in particular were awakening to opportunities to export and for two-way trade.

Many SA companies were "sitting on the fence", but growth in adspend — currently about R5m for companies which did not have their own agents for advertising overseas — was expected to be significant from next year.

# Survival first, but Africa does care about land

Star 30(7)9

**E**XPECTING Africans to worry about desertification is a bit like asking a hobo to give up caviar for Lent.

It is all very well for restaurant-fed environmentalists in New York to decry the destruction of the tropical rain forests but it is another matter to ask a peasant in Cameroon to stop slash-and-burn farming when it is all that lies between him and starvation.

And it doesn't make much sense for European governments to expect the Gabonese to stop felling trees for lumber when this is one of the few ways they have of raising money to buy the imports they need from Europe — and to repay the money they have borrowed from Europe for this purpose.

It would make more sense, actually, for the rich European governments to cancel Africa's debts, or at least to pay higher prices for the raw materials they import from Africa.

In a continent where the chief preoccupation of millions of people is simply staying alive from one day to the next, ecological issues can hardly be expected to arouse much enthusiasm.

Oddly enough, there is interest in Africa in environmental matters and it is growing.

In Mali, for instance, a "green" political party has been formed, called the Ecological Party for Integration (PEI in the French acronym). A green party has also been formed in Burkina Faso. And environmentalists are becoming politically active in Niger. PEI has established links with these groups and with greens in France, the Netherlands and Canada.

The party's secretary, Professor Ibrahim Traore, believes it is the party of the future because, as he observes with chilling logic, "there is no alternative to development without destruction".

That would, in fact, make a fine slogan for environmentalists the world over. And perhaps an even better one for developers.

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



**JOHANNESBURGERS** who are getting tired of being mugged and having their cars stolen and their homes burgled might be interested — only academically, of course — in what the government of Zanzibar has decided to do about the growing problem of street crime.

In addition to being jailed, burglars and robbers will be flogged — once when they enter prison and again when they come out.

The second whipping is presumably intended to discourage them from thoughts of resuming a life of crime when they are released.

□ □ □

IT seems hard to believe, but then, considering Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's reputation, maybe it shouldn't be.

According to a report from Tripoli, the Libyan president has submitted his candidacy for the presidency of Italy.

He justified his action by pointing out that during the Italian occupation of Libya before World War 2, Rome conferred the same status on Libyans as on Italians.

Even though Italian rule is a thing of the distant past, Mr Gaddafi said he intended taking advantage of the old law to offer himself as a candidate for the Italian presidency "in order to transfer power to the Italian people".

Given Mr Gaddafi's reputation, it is a prospect that might fill the Italian people with dread.

Gaddafi said he was just as serious about this as Italy had been in its intention to make Libyans into Italian citizens.

So the question remains: is he serious? Or does he just want to get his revenge on Mussolini? □

# Ratsiraka must go, opposition insists

(1) Star 30/7/91

**ANTANANARIVO** Madagascar's opposition yesterday rejected political concessions made by President Didier Ratsiraka and vowed to continue its seven-week campaign of strikes and protests until he stepped down.

"What we demand is his resignation," senior opposition leader Jean Rakotoharison told tens of thousands of protesters in Antananarivo.

Mr Ratsiraka, facing the biggest challenge to his 16-year rule, said on Sunday he was sacking the government and planned a new constitution by the end of the year.

In a further concession yesterday, the 54-year-old former navy officer stopped a decree ordering the arrest of opposition leaders, apparently paving the way for the release of six already in detention.

Mr Rakotoharison, a retired general named "president" in a shadow government formed by the opposition earlier this month, told the cheering crowd in May 13 Square that Mr Ratsiraka had extended his olive branch too late.

Few people appeared to have been swayed by his concessions, which in-



President Ratsiraka

cluded a call for talks with the opposition on reforms of the electoral code.

Mr Rakotoharison said the only conditions on which the opposition would talk with Mr Ratsiraka were if detained opposition figures were freed and the state of emergency in the capital lifted.

Mr Ratsiraka, who assumed power in 1975, clamped a state of emergency on Antananarivo last week in an effort to stem anti-government protests which have thrown the island into turmoil.

Political analysts said earlier that even if opposition leaders wanted to negotiate with Mr Ratsiraka, they would have to reckon with the huge crowds of protesters, many of whom clearly wanted him to step down. — Sapa-Reuter.

# "second liberation"

\*From previous page

Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, learnt too late to save their thrones.

The huge debts of the rest of Africa persuaded Western governments to encourage economic reform but they soon realised that this was predicated on political reform.

So the United States is talking about democracy in Africa and has allowed the overthrow of its allies, the dictators Samuel Doe of Liberia and Siad Barre of Somalia.

France encourages reform and has not helped its friends who resisted it. Britain speaks of "good government".

Only Israel has continued to identify with some of the continent's worst dictators: Doe, Mengistu, Paul Biya of Cameroon and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

### Crippling

At the same time the argument in favour of one-party rule in Africa has worn thin. According to its supporters, ethnic and tribal divisions would tear these poor new countries apart unless there was national unity with a centrally directed economy under a centralised government.

However, the Western-inspired borrowing which marked the '70s ended in the crippling debt burden of the '80s while prices for coffee, cocoa, copper and other African commodities crashed.

### Classes

Africa's urban poor and even its salaried professional classes began to suffer and grumble and finally burst on to the streets of capitals in protest.

They blamed their leaders.

The generation of leaders who had led their countries to independence

and thereby wore the title "Father of the Nation" have almost died off but not even that venerable status could protect Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast or Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Both were faced with open demands that they should be replaced. Elsewhere the old leaders have been replaced by technocrats who are more in tune with the IMF and the World Bank than with the peasants who make up most of their populations.

### Chaos

Although the upsurge of political discontent gathers round the banner of multiparty democracy, it would be wrong to see all the new movements as standard bearers of liberal democracy in the European tradition.

Many of the leaders are opportunists and tribalists camouflaged in democratic uniforms. The overthrow of dictators in Somalia and Liberia has resulted in disintegration and chaos.

Nevertheless, every African leader has to respond to the democratic movement and face the

question: "Am I a genuine popular leader or am I reviled as a dictator?"

They have broadly responded in three ways: to resist change, to manage it or to accommodate it.

Nine Heads of State have been removed from office in the past 10 months - the biggest-ever number of changes in such a period.

### Dictators

By the end of the year there are certain to be more. Four were megalomaniacal dictators, resisters of democracy, who were overthrown in bloody conflict: Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, Moussa Traore of Mali, Doe and Barre.

Traore even called the tanks out to fire on pro-democracy demonstrators. Others in the same mould, such as Mobutu, Biya and Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, may soon end the same way while unbending one-party state proponents such as Hastings Banda of Malawi and Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya could face a similar fate but have been protected by Britain.

More significantly, three other Heads of State

who have departed this year were voted out of office after they bowed to the wind of change and allowed an election.

Some Heads of State have accepted a constitutional framework in which they will subject themselves to election or hand over to a democratically elected successor.

The military government of Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria has set up two parties, written their constitutions and funded them, in the hope that democracy in Nigeria will be channelled into these moderate movements.

### Transition

Chissano of Mozambique, Dos Santos of Angola and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia are managing the transition from one-party state to multiparty democracy - a process which may see them removed from office.

Most leaders are accommodators who are trying to keep power and democratise at the same time.

Some like former one-party-state leaders Houphouet-Boigny and Omar Bongo of Gabon

have subjected themselves to electoral tests and survived.

Others are trying to involve the people in government while holding on to power.

Jerry Rawlings of Ghana and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda are

both military men who seized power and are now trying to impose a preplanned democratic system which they will preside over.

Presidents Moi and Biya are both fighting for their positions but are being forced to make

more and more concessions to their opponents.

In Zaire, Mobutu - essentially a resister - has tried to dissipate the movement by allowing multiparty democracy but encouraging so many parties to be set up. - Sapa-Reuter.



Yoweri Museveni



Jerry Rawlings



Daniel Arap Moi

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**THE GIFT & TOILETRY KINGS**

# Guerilla chief is PM <sup>①</sup>

ADDIS ABABA — Ethiopia's new national assembly has approved the appointment of former guerilla chief Mr Tamirat Layne as prime minister in a transitional government.

The council unanimously elected Tamirat, a member of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front which ousted former dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam in May.

Last week, EPRDF leader Mr Meles Zenawi was endorsed as president of the

*Sowetan 3/17/91*  
new government which will rule until multiparty elections scheduled for 1993.

Tamirat was expected to choose a broad based cabinet out of the 81-member assembly.

The new prime minister is head of the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement, one of four former rebel groups in the EPRDF coalition which waged a bush war against Mengistu's government. - Sapa-Reuter



# Africa is shaken by

**Dictators,**  
**benevolent**  
**or otherwise,**  
**are learning**  
**to reform**  
**or perish.**

AS they were about to meet, the roof fell in. On Monday in Niamey, the capital of Niger, more than a thousand of its citizens from every walk of life were supposed to meet in the national convention centre to discuss, in open-ended debate, the route to multiparty democracy and free elections - the first since the country became independent from France 31

years ago. But on Saturday the roof of the convention centre collapsed.

It symbolises what is happening in Africa today. South Africa is rocking the continent, reverberating with the slogans of democracy and freedom.

But as the people gather to express themselves and seize the op-

portunity, the continent is engulfed by economic collapse, war, famine, Aids and virulent malaria which may bury hopes of freedom, peace and prosperity.

Those very images of hopelessness, perhaps perceived more strongly from outside Africa than felt within it - make the rest of the world turn away from Africa and its problems.

Five years ago sub-Saharan Africa was largely ruled by dictators, barbarous or benign, who allowed no voice to be raised in criticism. They had inherited their states from their colonial masters and, in the name of freedom, gathered into their hands the powers of the colonial administrations.

Since independence, only one African leader

had resigned and allowed a peaceful replacement by his chosen successor - but nowhere had a leader been voted out of office.

Most changes of government were by coups, bloodless or otherwise.

With the exception of Mauritius, even those countries which enjoyed multiparty democracy were de facto one-party states, since the state centred around a presi-

dent who was leader of the ruling party.

The others were one-party states in which the state and its revenues were used to maintain one man and his supporters in comfort and power.

In many cases that meant enriching his family and tribe while the rest of the nation's revenues were used to buy off his opponents or buy weapons to suppress them.

The movement for multiparty democracy which has swept across the continent since 1989 seemed to jump like a forest fire from Eastern Europe.

Had not the continent's leaders been thick with the Ceausescus, the Honeckers and other proponents of the single party socialist state? If they could be toppled, why not...?

The end of the Cold War meant that capitalist and Communist countries were no longer in competition in the Third World.

The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe bade goodbye to their erstwhile allies in Africa and left them to the tender mercies of the West.

## Abandon

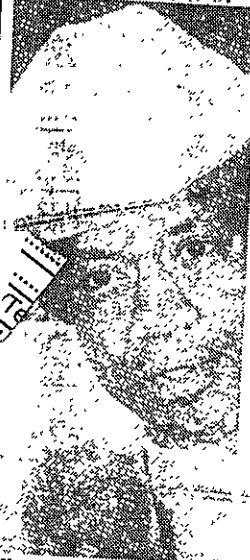
Some, such as Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, were quick to abandon Marxism and learn the language of Western democracy and free market economics.

Both have introduced multiparty constitutions. Others, like Mengistu

\*To next page



Eduardo dos Santos



Ibrahim Babangida



# Rupert's EDESA is back home

Star 2/18/91  
By Sven Lünsche

A leading African development agency which was started by Dr Anton Rupert in 1973 but has been operating only in other parts of Africa, yesterday launched its South African subsidiary.

The Economic Development for Equatorial and Southern Africa (EDESA) which is based in Switzerland but fosters and funds private enterprise venture in 21 African countries, plans to "support and sell SA technology and knowhow to the rest of Africa."

Victor Viseu, who heads the Johannesburg operation, says the company operates very much like the IMF's International Finance Corporation (IFC), which focuses exclusively on funding private business interests.

EDESA's projects are to a large extent funded in co-operation with other multi-lateral agencies such as the IFC, the World Bank and USAID.

## Share capital

Its share capital of \$20 million is held by 25 large corporations from eight countries, including South African groups such as De Beers, Anglo, and Murray and Roberts.

It was founded by Rembrandt's Dr Rupert to fund development projects in South Africa but shifted its attention to the rest of Africa when the Development Bank was founded in the early seventies.

EDESA acts as a catalyst for projects and in this way has raised total funds amounting to more than \$500 million. Its main activities include consulting private enterprises in evaluating business strategy in Africa, financial management support for projects and lending to government agencies and banks in sub-Saharan Africa.

Mr Viseu says the demand from SA companies for joint projects in Africa has already been overwhelming.

The board of the local company is headed by Professor Danie Joubert, the principal of the University of Pretoria and also includes Rene Gerber, the chief executive of the EDESA group.

# Cholera epidemic sweeps Africa

LAGOS — Africa's worst cholera epidemic in years is spreading fast and has struck hardest in Nigeria, where health officials reported yesterday that the disease had killed 843 people in the past 10 days.

Nearly 13 000 Nigerians had contracted the disease in that time, bringing the overall toll since cholera hit in May to 22 901 people infected and 2 161 dead.

The new figures came in a report published yesterday by Dr Gabby Williams, Nigeria's director for disease control.

One of the cholera deaths occurred in Lagos, the capital, Dr Williams said, raising fears the disease could spread wildly in the sprawling metropolis where slums have open sewers. It is not known how many of Nigeria's 100 million people live in Lagos. The other victims come from 15 of

Nigeria's 21 states.

Across the border, Cameroon's Health Minister Joseph Mbede reported 955 cases, including 176 deaths, up to July 26.

Mr Mbede and Dr Williams warned that the reported figures probably were much lower than reality because of communications difficulties.

Cholera, a disease of poverty spread by faecal-contaminated water and food, has infected about 60 000 Africans in 11 countries this year and killed more than 4 500. Health officials said it was the worst epidemic in 15 years.

The disease is easily prevented if communities have safe drinking water and proper sanitation. The cure also is simple: oral rehydration salts to counter the diarrhoea that causes a quick, painful death if not quickly treated.

The UN Children's Fund and World Health Organisation and the US Agency for International Development are helping governments to buy and dispatch rehydration kits to affected areas.

Other countries suffering cholera epidemics are Angola, Benin, Chad, Ghana, Liberia, Mozambique, Niger, Togo and Zambia.

But Africa is not the only continent to be affected by cholera.

It is reported from El Paso in Texas that a cholera epidemic that has struck down more than 250 Mexicans is moving north toward the United States border.

The warning came this week at a cholera prevention conference in El Paso called by the Pan American Health Organisation to stem an epidemic that has killed more than 2 500 people in South America. — Sapa-AP.

# BCCI 'helped to loot Third World countries'

WASHINGTON — The Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) served as a worldwide haven for thousands of criminals, undermined Third World economies and stayed in business only by buttering up top US officials, a congressional panel was told last week.

Despite signs of trouble at BCCI as long ago as the 1970s, regulators waited until last month before they closed the bank, said Senator John Kerry.

Kerry's senate subcommittee was told the US and its allies had closed businesses operated by the Abu Nidal guerrilla organization through the Warsaw branch of BCCI.

As "the biggest bank fraud in history" spread its tentacles, US banking regulators said the CIA never told them of a 1986 report disclosing that the BCCI had held a hidden interest in Washington's largest bank since 1982.

Kerry said the CIA report alleged BCCI was engaged in illegal activity and that it secretly controlled First American Bank.

The Federal Reserve approved the 1982 takeover of First American by Arab investors only after assurances from chairman Clark Clifford that BCCI would have no control or influence over the bank.

The probe comes amid growing allegations of corruption — from drug money laundering to bankroll-

ing gun-runners — and an increasing number of questions about how much bank regulators knew and when they knew it.

BCCI's founder and a top executive have been indicted by a New York grand jury on charges of fraud, money laundering, bribery and theft, and the Federal Reserve has slapped a \$200m fine on BCCI, saying it had violated banking laws.

BCCI had previously escaped scrutiny by winning the trust of influential people, said Kerry.

Former customs commissioner William von Raab said influence peddling was behind the investigative go-slow.

"The result is that senior US policy-level officials were constantly under the impression that BCCI was

probably not that bad because all these good guys who they play golf with all the time were representing them," Von Raab added.

But BCCI was allegedly wading knee-deep in crime before the July 5 shutdown.

Senators on the foreign relations subcommittee on narcotics and terrorism were also told the bank was in business just to serve thousands of criminals, such as former Panamanian leader Gen Manuel Noriega.

Jack Blum, a former Senate investigator, said the Luxembourg-based bank was a conduit to drain funds out of ailing Third World economies.

There was a "looting of the Third World by some very rich people who made themselves richer", he said.

— Reuter.

# Comores president says he's still in control<sup>1</sup>

MORONI — The president of the Comores has said in a radio address that he is still in control of his country, despite an attempt to oust him.

And SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Saturday SA would be willing to bring opposing groups in the Comores together in an effort to end the political unrest.

President Said Mohamed Djohar told citizens in his address on Saturday to stay calm and said those responsible for the coup bid would be brought to justice.

Information Minister Mohamed Adamo, speaking from the Comores' capital Mor-

oni, said supreme court president Ibrahim Ahmed Halidi and members of a disgruntled opposition party had staged the coup attempt by using an outlawed radio station early on Saturday to say Djohar was no longer in power.

Adamo said the supreme court had tried to invoke a constitutional clause under which the head of state was automatically replaced by the supreme court president if he died or was physically or mentally incapacitated. "But this is not the case with President Djohar," he said.

Djohar, 71, himself a former president of

the supreme court, assumed power through the same constitutional clause after President Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated in November 1989.

Botha said SA businessmen in the Comores did not seem to be in danger. Earlier, Foreign Affairs spokesman Rafique Gangat said SA tourists would be evacuated from the island if necessary.

Botha said SA had taken note of the events in the Comores and would not interfere, adding that SA would be "willing to bring the opposing groups together". — Sapa-Reuter.

Govt won't  
interfere in  
Comoros,  
says Pik

Stew 5/8/91  
1111  
1

South Africa would be willing to bring opposing groups together in an effort to end the political unrest in the Comoros, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Saturday night.

In a statement he said South African businessmen in the Comoros did not seem to be in any immediate danger following a coup attempt staged by Supreme Court president Ibrahim Ahmed Halidi and members of a disgruntled opposition party.

Mr Botha said South Africa had taken note of the events in the Comoros and would not interfere.

But, he added, South Africa "would be willing to bring the opposing groups together if it is asked to do so".

"All indications are that South African citizens in business in the Comoros are not in any danger," he said.

● Mr Halidi was detained yesterday following the failed attempt to depose President Said Mohamed Djohar, opposition sources said.

A spokesman for the opposition movement in Paris said Mr Halidi was being held together with two journalists.

The opposition movement, in a statement released in Paris, said Mr Halidi's detention made a mockery of democracy. It called on Comorans to back the removal of Mr Djohar.

"We ask Mr Djohar to display wisdom and goodwill to prevent the country from sinking into troubles and violence," it said.

President Djohar, in a radio address to citizens of the Indian Ocean republic, told them to stay calm and said those responsible for trying to oust him would be brought to justice.

Mr Djohar (71), a former president of the Supreme Court, assumed interim power after former president Ahmed Abdallah was assassinated in November 1989.

He won a presidential election four months later.

President Djohar was absent at the time of his deposition.

He was visiting Anjouan, another island in the Comoros archipelago.

State radio said on Saturday evening that the president had returned to the capital Moroni at about noon and held a special Cabinet meeting which condemned the "anti-constitutional" move by the Supreme Court. — Sapa-  
Reuter.

# World Leisure plans for Comores to go ahead <sup>1</sup> MD

*10 am 6/8/91*

DESPITE the weekend's political unrest on the Comores, World Leisure Group was not reconsidering its expansion plans there, World Leisure Holidays MD Bruce Hutchinson said yesterday.

Hutchinson said there were no indications to suggest that the group should reconsider the R150m expansion plans announced by Sol Kerzner in April. These involved a new hotel and expansion of the Le Galawa Beach resort.

MARCIA KLEIN

Hutchinson said no date had been set for the plans, which were merely a master-plan pending government's approval and the correct finance package.

Hutchinson said it looked like work on the first phase — the expansion of the Le Galawa Hotel — would begin "after the Christmas season".

He said the hotel was full, both with SA tourists and with tourists from Reunion, and all operations were normal.

The government of the island said on Sunday that an attempted coup at the weekend by politicians and Supreme Court judges had failed.

Hutchinson said the events were inspired by the opposition party and involved no force, no violence and no threat to residents, or to hotel staff and guests.

# Comoran security forces shoot at demonstrators

Star 6/8/91

1

By Ken Vernon  
and Sapa-AP

Security forces opened fire yesterday on counter-demonstrators trying to disrupt a rally in support of President Said Mohammed Djohar, a French news agency reported.

The shooting took place at Mitsamudu on the island of Anjouan, the second largest island in the Comoros Republic, according to Agence France-Presse (AFP), citing its correspondent at the scene.

AFP did not say whether there were injuries or arrests, and other details were not immediately available.

The reported shooting followed a weekend of uncertainty in the three-island republic that began with a Supreme Court announcement on Saturday that Mr Djohar had been impeached.

The abortive takeover failed because France continued to give its

backing to President Djohar, diplomatic sources on the island said yesterday.

Under a treaty signed when mercenary Bob Denard was forced out of the island republic two years ago, France effectively controls security on the islands.

The sources said the "constitutional coup" was precipitated when representatives of Moheli, one of the three islands that comprise the republic, walked out of constitutional talks because Moheli was not being accorded the political clout it felt in deserved in a proposed new constitution.

Opposition groups then prevailed upon Supreme Court president Ibrahim Ahmed Halidi to use his constitutional powers to declare President Djohar "not lucid enough" to continue to rule and issue a statement saying he intended to take control of the republic.

Giving three days' no-

tice of a coup is not standard practice in Africa but could be said to be typical of the laid-back Comoran approach to politics.

It enabled President Djohar, on nearby Anjouan island with his top officials for a religious ceremony, to return and reassert control.

Since the abortive takeover, Mr Halidi has been under house arrest. Initial reports of two journalists being detained in the aftermath of the coup were yesterday denied by diplomats on the islands.

President Djohar was head of the Supreme Court when then President Abdullah Abderramane was assassinated two years ago.

He used the same constitutional articles at the weekend that Mr Halidi tried to use against him to take power before going on to win an election following the removal of Colonel Denard and his mercenary band.

uncertain.

## Chidzero calls for Africa to set up monetary union

*Stew 6/8/91 (S) (1) ~~PTA~~*

HARARE — Zimbabwe's Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero has called for an African economic community and monetary union to make the continent a power to be reckoned with in the global economy.

He told the closing session of a meeting of African central bank governors that the single European market and proposed monetary union within the European Community threatened to stifle Africa's traditional markets.

"Africa remains fragmented with economically weak regional groupings like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Develop-

ment Coordination Conference (SADCC), the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) and the Maghreb Union, to mention just a few.

"The establishment of the African Economic Community would ... render Africa an economic force to reckon with in the global economy much to the benefit of her economies," he said.

"The establishment of a monetary union is by no means an easy task and hence has no overnight solutions. However, it is a direction in which Africa inexorably has to move and efforts at both national and regional levels have to continue," he said.

Chidzero said Africa's

debt burden threatened the international monetary system because the continent was exporting capital to developed countries, through debt servicing.

The governors said in a communique at the close of the meeting that little progress had been made in arresting the protracted and deepening poverty in several African countries.

The governors said some of the preconditions for monetary integration were the increase of trade among African countries, cross-border investment, the flow of labour among African states and encouraging joint ventures.

— Sapa-Reuter.



# Ray of hope amid the African gloom

Sowetan  
6/5/91.

**DEVELOPMENTS** in South Africa offer a glimmer of hope in a continent enveloped by gloom and doom.

The spillover of a negotiated settlement here to other countries in southern Africa will be substantial in terms of relative peace, security and reduced military expenditure, says former Nigerian military leader General Olusegun Obasanjo.

Writing in *Africa Forum*, a new magazine aimed at the African elite Obasanjo, the magazine's publisher, says there is convincing evidence that current leadership on both sides of the "apartheid divide" can bring about a new society of peace, tolerance and prosperity.

"There is a realisation that Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk need each other," he says.

SA is the cover story of the magazine's latest issue and a number of experts give their views on developments in the Republic, including three South Africans - Mr Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa, and Mr Kevin Davie, editor of *Executive*, a Johannesburg-based business magazine.

"The most daunting problem SA must face," Obasanjo says, "will be how to bring about justice and equality without destroying the economy."

"The structure and content of the economy is strong and resilient and could cope, given prudent management."

Obasanjo says De Klerk has, in words and in deeds, reached a point of no return.

"De Klerk is a shrewd politician; he understands power and he may not want to be deprived of access to it. Yet there is a



Sowetan Africa News  
Service

need, and an urgent one at that, to establish a permanent structure which gives confidence to all sides.

"Legitimacy is crucial to any new constitution. It is therefore necessary for an overwhelming number of the constituent assembly for the new constitution to be elected and be seen to be the real representative of the people.

"But if initiative for the process of negotiation is not shared between the negotiators, negotiation can degenerate, or be frustrated, into ultimatum and/or surrender.

## Pupils

"In the SA context, success must be apparent on all sides for them to be able to satisfy their individual constituencies. This will not be easy and it will ultimately depend on the realisation that Mandela and De Klerk mutually need each other."

Obasanjo says one issue which deserves urgent attention is the rehabilitation of the so-called "lost generation" - black pupils who've dropped out of school since the student uprisings of 1976.

"They form a potentially dangerous group if they are not productively re-integrated into society," Obasanjo says.

Professor Adebayo Adedeji, the outgoing executive secretary of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa, says in an article

entitled *Nirvana or Armageddon?* that the most central economic concern is whether SA will, after apartheid, continue to do "business as usual", and whether a majority government will allow business to be run.

"Taking the Zimbabwean example, an exodus of whites out of South Africa after apartheid and majority rule could have a detrimental impact on the SA economy for quite some time," he writes.

Adedeji says the post-apartheid economic policy agenda should aim, among others, at reducing poverty and inequalities, increased spending on education and training, social services and the remodelling of the entire public administration from enforcing apartheid to implementing anti-apartheid policies and programmes.

He says, however, that it is questionable whether SA will find the resources and the will to implement such a gigantic agenda.

"Yet it is also obvious that if the above agenda is not tackled, post-apartheid SA might find itself torn apart in total turmoil from within its many social, political and economic contradictions.

"One has just to hope that, whatever the economic agenda that will face post-apartheid SA, the policymakers will have the will and that the economy will retain enough resilience and strength to go through the transition to economic stability."

Slabbert says neither the National Party nor the ANC has evolved a coherent strategy or policy to cope with the kind of transition to which they have committed themselves.

The NP has for years presented a policy of white domination,

while the ANC countered with a policy of struggle against domination.

Both policies ill prepared the respective sides for the kind of transitional demands they now have to cope with.

Slabbert says this was evident at the ANC's consultative conference in December "where they appeared to vacillate between insurrectionary rhetoric and adversarial mass action on the one hand, and exploring the dynamics of serious negotiation on the other.

"In the same vein, De Klerk in his end-of-the-year address, came across as judge, jury, prosecutor and defendant on the trials and tribulations of transition."

Slabbert says the dilemma is, however, understandable and is compounded by the fact that there is no clear cut historical precedent for the kind of transition they are trying to bring about.

## Transition

If a democratic outcome is to be successfully negotiated, Slabbert says, it would at least be necessary to:

- \* Negotiate conditions for transition as well as the outcome of transition;

- \* Create opportunities for multiparty participation in government during transition as well as participation in transformation, and;

- \* Include civil society in the process of negotiated transformation and enable it to contribute to the growth of a democratic culture.

Davie says apartheid has been Africa's equivalent of the Berlin Wall, and now that it is crumbling, Africa and South Africa are discovering one another at staggering speed.

# Winds of change blow across Africa

Sowetan 7/8/91 (1)

ABIDJAN - Last year, Togo's President Gnassingbe Eyadema was undisputed ruler of the tiny West African country.

Today his authority is being chipped away by a national pro-democracy conference which, if the pattern of conferences elsewhere in Africa holds, could strip the military leader of power or even boot him out of office.

"Eyadema didn't want this conference but he had no choice," said Mr Jean-Pierre Fabre, spokesman for the conference of some 1 000 delegates which opened last month.

"The conference is going to be responsible for its own acts, it will be sovereign," Fabre said by telephone from the capital Lome. "There is too much pressure from the rest of the nation."

## Problems

In a distinctly African way, using the tradition of "inkundla" - or village meetings - where everyone gathers to discuss problems, the continent with the world's largest number of single-party states is undergoing democratic change unprecedented in 30 years of post-colonial history.

A much-postponed national conference due to have opened in Zaire yesterday pits President Mobutu Sese Seko, who set the mould for African strongmen, in a battle for his political life against returning exiles and former ministers who say he spent 26 years plundering the treasury.

National conferences are under way in Mali, Niger and Togo, have been held in Congo and Benin, and are being sought in several other countries.

## Power

The conferences, which usually group a thousand or more delegates representing every important religious, political and civic association in the country, are cumbersome and a far cry from the streamlined committees which sparked democratic change in Eastern Europe.

When I first heard that a thousand people were going to get together, I thought all they were

going to do was talk," a Western diplomat said.

But autocratic presidents, who have held virtually absolute power for decades, have every reason to fear them.

## Apartheid

"The old leaders are getting swept aside by the pure current of events," the diplomat said.

"Everyone in Africa knows what is going on elsewhere, and once it got started there was no stopping it."

Even in South Africa, removed from the African mainstream by its legacy of apartheid, the movement has its echo.

The African National Congress recently held a conference in Durban where they resolved to demand a constituent assembly and an interim government as mechanisms for transition to non-racial democracy.

In addition, the ruling National Party has called for a multiparty conference where mechanisms of a transition to democracy could be hammered out.

## Reforms

The genesis of the national conference is a bit hazy and it is not clear why it seems to be more favoured in former French or Belgian colonies than in English-speaking ones.

Some political analysts see France pulling the strings and impetus for change in French President Francois Mitterrand's speech at La Baule last year linking aid to democratic reforms.

But there is no dispute that the first conference was held in Benin in 1990 and that it turned into a rout for the man who proposed it, former Marxist military leader Mathieu Kerekou.

Kerekou, faced with a

14-month walkout by unpaid civil servants and under pressure from Western donors to make reforms in exchange for aid, may have thought the conference he called in a December 1989 speech would focus on economic issues.

Instead it appointed a transitional government, scheduled presidential elections which Kerekou lost and put him out to grass.

## Pressure

Next to feel the pressure was Congo's President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, who reluctantly convened a conference that bogged down in procedural wrangling when it opened in February.

Interest soared, however, when delegates regaled a live television and radio audience with



Mobutu Sese Seko spent the last 26 years plundering the treasury.

tales that the military president had assassinated opponents, knew beforehand about a plot to bomb an airliner and salted away millions in overseas bank accounts.

In June, the conference stripped Sassou-Nguesso of all but his power to sign international agreements, appointed a transitional government and set presidential elections for

permit a conference, dozens of people have died during strikes and demonstrations supporting reforms.

## Disease

The violence has hardened positions and intensified tribal tensions - always a danger in Africa where even the smallest country may contain dozens of different ethnic groups.

That, plus the continent's woeful state of economic collapse, poor prospects for growth and overwhelming problems with disease, drought and poverty, may quickly dash high hopes for democracies emerging from national conferences.

## Tolerant

"We know our new government will face enormous problems," Togo's Fabre said. "It will have to reorganise society... after 25 years under one president."

"But with modern communications, the world has become a small place. Africa, like the rest of the world, is less and less tolerant of governments that are not accountable to the people." - Sapa-Reuter

May, two years ahead of schedule.

The conference even recognised Israel, a pariah state for much of black Africa since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, without consulting the president.

## Transition

Although Benin and Congo made the transition without bloodshed, that has not been the case everywhere.

At least 50 people died in pro-democracy violence in Togo, including 20 whose bodies were dredged from a lagoon.

Some 200 people were killed in Mali before soldiers overthrew President Moussa Traore and installed a civilian-military council, which convened a national conference last month.

In Cameroon, where President Paul Biya has steadfastly refused to

The continent's dictators are learning to reform or perish, says Richard Dowden

# Africa's new freedom struggle

Star 7/18/91

could be toppled, why not in Africa too...?

**A**S they were about to meet, the roof fell in. In Niamey, the capital of Niger, more than 1 000 of its citizens from every walk of life were supposed to meet in the national convention centre to discuss the route to multiparty democracy and free elections — the first since the country became independent from France 31 years ago. But two days before the scheduled meeting the roof of the convention centre collapsed.

It symbolises what is happening in Africa today. A political earthquake is rocking the continent, reverberating with the slogans of democracy and freedom.

Five years ago sub-Saharan Africa was largely ruled by dictators, barbarous or benign, who allowed no voice to be raised in criticism.

Since independence, only one African leader had resigned and allowed a peaceful replacement by his chosen successor but nowhere had a leader been voted out of office. Most changes of government were by coups, bloodless or otherwise.

The movement for multiparty democracy which has swept across the continent since 1989 seemed to jump like a forest fire from Eastern Europe. Had not that continent's leaders been thick with the Ceausescu, the Honnecker and other proponents of the single party socialist state? If they

could be toppled, why not in Africa too...?

The end of the Cold War meant that capitalist and communist countries were no longer in competition in the Third World. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had goodbye to their erstwhile allies in Africa and left them to the tender mercies of the West.

Some, such as Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, were quick to abandon Marxism and learn the language of Western democracy and free market economics. Both have introduced multiparty constitutions. Others, like Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia and Mathieu Kerekou of Benin, learnt too late to save their thrones.

The huge debts of the rest of Africa persuaded Western governments to encourage economic reform but they soon realised that this was predicated on political reform. So the United States is talking about democracy in Africa and has allowed the overthrow of its allies, the dictators Samuel Doe of Liberia and Sidi Barre of Somalia. France encourages reform and has not helped its friends who resisted it. Britain speaks of "good government".

Only Israel has continued to identify with some of the continent's worst dictators: Doe, Mengistu, Paul Biya of Cameroon and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

At the same time the argument in favour of one-party rule in Africa has worn thin. According to its supporters, ethnic and tribal divisions would tear these poor new countries apart unless there was national unity with a centrally directed economy under a centralised government.

However, the Western-inspired borrowing which marked the Seventies ended in the crippling debt burden of the Eighties while prices for coffee, cocoa, copper and other African commodities crashed. Africa's urban poor and even its salaried professional classes began to suffer and grumble and finally burst on to the streets of capitals in protest. They blamed their leaders.

The generation of leaders who had led their countries to independence and thereby wore the title "Father of the Nation" have almost died off but not even that venerable status could protect Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast or Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. Both were faced with open demands that they should be replaced. Elsewhere the old leaders have been replaced by technocrats who are more in tune with the IMF and the World Bank than with the peasants who make up most of their populations.

Although the upsurge of political discontent gathers round the banner of multiparty democracy, it would be wrong to see all the new movements as standard bear-

ers of liberal democracy in the European tradition. Many of the leaders are opportunists and tribalists camouflaged in democratic uniforms. The overthrow of dictators in Somalia and Liberia has resulted in disintegration and chaos. Nevertheless, every African leader has to respond to the democratic movement and face the question: "Am I a genuine popular leader or am I reviled as a dictator?"

They have broadly responded in three ways: To resist change, to manage it or to accommodate it. Nine heads of state have been removed from office in the past 10 months — the biggest number of changes in such a period. By the end of the year there are certain to be more. Four were megalomaniacal dictators, resisters of democracy, who were overthrown in bloody conflict: Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, Moussa Traore of Mali, Doe and Barre. Traore even called the tanks out to fire on pro-democracy demonstrators. Others in the same mould, such as Mobutu, Biya and Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, may soon end the same way while unbending one-party state proponents such as Hastings Banda of Malawi and Daniel arap Moi of Kenya could face a similar fate.

More significantly, three other heads of state who have departed this year were voted out of office after they bowed to the wind of

change and allowed an election.

Some heads of state have accepted a constitutional framework in which they will subject themselves to election or hand over to a democratically elected successor. The military government of Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria has set up two parties, written their constitutions and funded them, in the hope that democracy in Nigeria will be channelled into these moderate movements.

Chissano of Mozambique, Dos Santos of Angola and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia are managing the transition from one-party state to multiparty democracy — a process which may see them removed from office. Most leaders are accommodators who are trying to keep power and democratise at the same time. Some like former one-party-state leaders Houphouet-Boigny and Omar Bongo of Gabon have subjected themselves to electoral tests and survived.

Others are trying to involve the people in government while holding on to power. Jerry Rawlings of Ghana and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda are both military men who seized power and are now trying to impose a preplanned democratic system which they will preside over. Presidents Moi and Biya are both fighting for their positions but are being forced to make more and more concessions to their opponents. In Zaire, Mobutu — essentially a re-

sister — has tried to dissipate the movement by allowing multiparty democracy but encouraging so many parties to be set up, under his overall paternalist rule, that the movement became known as "multi-Mobutism". The opposition has not fallen for this ploy and the three main parties which have emerged are showing little sign of being bought off. Mobutu is in deep trouble.

The most common response by leaders, both accommodators and managers, to the demand for more democracy has been to set up a national convention. Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, for example, agreed to such a body but then withdrew from it. This was after the meeting decided it was the supreme power in the land and could change the constitution. The President's boycott did not work and his party has been forced to rejoin it.

Mali, the Central African Republic and, in theory, Zaire are taking this route. On the other hand, Hassan Mwiriyi of Tanzania has set up a commission to ask for views on the one-party state. Frederik de Klerk of South Africa is committed to ending constitutional one-race rule through talks with the black opposition. Meanwhile, in Niamey, undermined by the collapse of the convention centre's roof, the national conference met — in the soccer stadium. — The Independent News Service, London. □

## McCann-Erickson looks to Africa

INTERNATIONAL advertising giant McCann-Erickson Worldwide is expecting its SA subsidiary to play a crucial role in Africa.

Malcolm Miles, chairman of McCann-Erickson UK and area director Africa and the Middle East, is in SA to visit the SA agency, McCann, following a decision by McCann-Erickson to increase its interests in SA and the continent.

Miles said in an interview yesterday the group — which had billings of \$4.5bn and 160 agencies in 72 countries in 1990 — had decided 18 months ago “to take the African continent seriously”.

The African region has branches in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Mauritius, Nairobi, Douala, Lagos, Abidjan, Dakar and Casablanca.

Miles said although GDP

5/10/91 8/8/91  
MARCIA KLEIN  
in Africa was small and short-term growth opportunities were limited, the continent represented a huge market for some of the group's clients.

Worldwide accounts included Coca Cola, Agfa, Gillette, Johnson & Johnson, Camel (R J Reynolds), L'Oreal, Martin & Rossi and Vandenberg Foods.

The interest in Africa was “not an act of faith, but an intelligent investment in the future”, said Miles. Africa had 600-million people and a “consistent presence of the majority of the world's top companies”.

Eastern Europe had distracted investment and management time from Africa in the short term. However, with some of the attention wearing off,

Africa would become the focus, he said.

McCanns MD Tim Bester said apartheid and sanctions had “fuelled the lack of a global outlook in SA”.

He said the pace of SA's re-entry would be slow and it would be via Africa. “Africa has the need, and SA the locality, expertise and desire to engage the rest of Africa”.

# Kaunda, Mugabe in clash over SA

From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE. — President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia clashed yesterday over sanctions against South Africa.

President Mugabe's statement on sanctions was in direct conflict with one reportedly made the previous evening by President Kaunda in an address to Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party.

According to Ziana, the official Zimbabwean news agency, President Kaunda, who is chairman of the frontline states, called for sanctions to be lifted and for the ban on contact with South Africa to end "to start off the key dialogue on a new non-racial constitution for that country".

"What is happening in South Africa now is not just token symbols but realities," President Kaunda was quoted as saying.

The Zambian leader has reportedly been hesitating for the past year over the opening of a South African trade mission in Lusaka. The South African trade mission in Harare assumed in 1980 the functions of the former South African diplomatic mission to Rhodesia, but President



**CAMPAIGN TRAIL ...** President Kaunda canvassing for votes yesterday before the UNIP congress. Picture: AP

Mugabe forbids ministerial-level contacts with Pretoria.

Yesterday's disagreement was the first blatant public divergence of views on South Africa between the two presidents.

In his speech to a conference of African socialist parties, President Mugabe said

Zimbabwe must continue to insist on sanctions against South Africa until the advent of an "administration that does not owe its existence to apartheid".

It was his most categorical commitment to indefinite boycotts since February 1990.

The Zimbabwean leader said "the confidence we had begun to develop in President De Klerk has been severely shaken by "recent revelations of the South African government machinations in fostering division, violence and banditry among the black people".

Mr Mugabe said that although Zimbabwe welcomed reforms that had taken place in South Africa, it was still governed by a regime elected under apartheid laws.

In June, Zimbabwe asked South Africa to update its 1964 "most favoured nation" trade treaty, arousing expectations of a drastic policy change.

In his address, Mr Mugabe defended socialism, saying it was "a fundamental tenet of African society" that had been interrupted by imperialism and colonialism.

He warned that strikes and divisive nationalism such as those at present breaking out in Eastern Europe could bring chaos to Africa.

Britain has to do much more in Sierra Leone, says Richard Dowden

# More than a little local trouble

WHEN the Liberian hell began to spill over into Sierra Leone in March, the government in Freetown appealed to Britain for help. Britain sent maps, some of which were out of date.

The assessment in London appeared to be that this was a little local trouble which the Sierra Leonean army could sort out. Perhaps some wit at the Foreign Office had been reading too much Graham Greene. His travel book "Journey Without Maps" was set in Sierra Leone.

The problem was far more serious. The barbarism which tore Liberia to pieces last year was spreading into its poor but peaceful neighbour — according to the Sierra Leonean government deliberately exported by heavily armed, Libyan-backed guerrillas of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

See 8/8/91

The Sierra Leonean army, which has always been small and ill-equipped, ran away, exposing large parts of the east of the country to the horrific chaos which has engulfed Liberia. Nigerian and Guinean troops dispatched from the West African peace-keeping force have been unable to contain the invasion. Since April the Liberians have crossed and recrossed the border, killing and looting at will, and at one stage occupied the towns of Bo — 95 km from the border — as well as Kenema, Pujehun and Kailahun.

According to Abdulai Conteh, Sierra Leone's Attorney-General, hundreds of thousands of Sierra Leoneans have fled their homes and 300 000 Liberian refugees are in Sierra Leone. Washington estimates that the disruption has cost the country \$75 million (£210 million). More seriously, Mr. Conteh explained in London this week, the delicate processes of introducing multiparty democracy and economic reform will be seriously jeopardised.

"And that is exactly what it is — an invasion," he said. "We believe there is a deal between the rebels and Libya so there will be anarchy and these people will emerge as the only force in the country."

Mr. Conteh said that more than 400 well-armed Liberian fighters were waiting to cross into Sierra Leone to attack strategic points. Captured Liberians have said they were trained in camps in Tripoli and weapons and ammunition captured from them have Libyan army markings, he added.

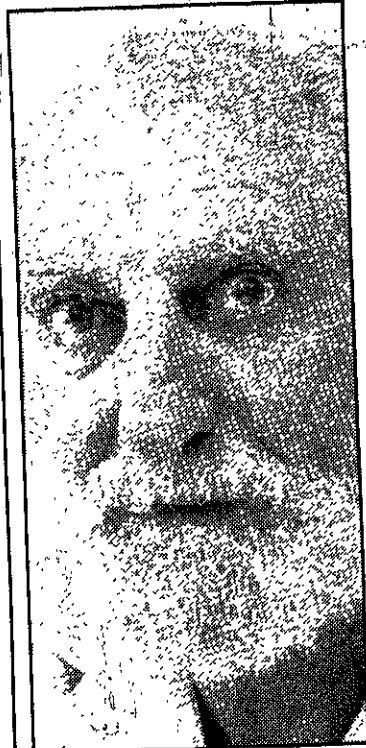
In the past year, as the West has been absorbed by Iraq, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has turned his attention to West Africa, supply-

①

ing and training Mr. Taylor's movement, and giving aid to Burkina Faso and dissidents in Ghana.

The region is particularly vulnerable at present, as it is undergoing rapid and fundamental political and economic change. Countries such as Sierra Leone are undertaking rigorous and unpopular economic reforms under the guidance of the International Monetary Fund. President Joseph Momoh has also agreed to restore multiparty democracy. A vote on a new constitution will be put to a referendum this month.

If Britain wants its former colony to survive, it may find it has to provide more than maps. This week Mr. Conteh asked Lynda Chalker, the Overseas Development Minister, for guns and training. Mrs. Chalker is considering the request. — The Independent News Service □



Prof Rubin Sher . . . vaccine would be expensive.

① 1988  
**10-m orphans  
from Aids - prof**

Sub-Saharan Africa can expect to have 10 million orphans in the near future because of Aids, according to Professor Rubin Sher of the South African Institute of Medical Research.

Speaking at the annual Fed-hasa congress in Durban, he said Africa would have about 17 million cases by 1994.

In South Africa, the "worst case" projection was that there would be about 3 million deaths from Aids by 2006. *Sher 8/8/91*

There was little prospect of a vaccine before at least the mid-Nineties. Even if one were discovered, it would be expensive.

Professor Sher said education remained the only "vaccine".

Making the disease notifiable would serve no purpose, nor would pre-employment testing.

Money should be spent on in-company information programmes on Aids prevention. — Medical Reporter.

Newspapers in Africa are displaying a new daring, reports Robert Weller

# Pressing the cause of freedom

finds himself lambasted or lam-  
pooned in a dozen papers.

**T**OGO'S biggest independent newspaper asked for permission to begin publishing again — and “when we didn’t get permission we went ahead anyway”, said Riko A Tettekpoe, editor of *Courrier du Golfe*.

The incident exemplifies the new daring of journalists in many African countries, where longtime press restrictions have been lifted or simply ignored as authoritarian regimes give way in the post Cold War-era.

Most of the new publications have been created by opposition groups, which are campaigning for multiparty democracy but have staked out few ideological positions beyond calls for honest government and new leadership.

President Gnassingbe Eyadema, who had shut down Tettekpoe’s paper several times for articles critical of his government, now

In the neighbouring state of Ivory Coast, a vigorously independent press has appeared in the past year. But in July Liberte newspaper manager Jacques Kacon and reporter Georges Koffi were sentenced to three months’ jail for insulting President Felix Houphouët-Boigny in a story headlined “Look out, Houphouët has lost his mind”.

The wave of demands for democracy that is sweeping the continent has shaken the foundation of information control that was a key element of one-party rule.

Adam Finestein, managing editor of the *International Press Institute* in London, said in a telephone interview: “The general picture is a mixed one with the countries that were doing well... falling behind on the press freedom

front. The ones that before were completely stifled are starting to produce some independent papers not of high journalistic quality but certainly (with) an investigative daring...”

In Zaire, where editors once feared torture if they offended President Mobutu Sese Seko, newspapers have become audacious critics of Mobutu since censorship was lifted in April 1990.

Ehima, a newspaper that once supported Mobutu, now calls for his resignation and a dozen new publications feature stories and cartoons that hammer at Mobutu and his cronies for allegedly raiding the nation’s treasury and killing opponents.

Mobutu appears largely unconcerned. Few of the papers are sold outside Kinshasa, and as in many African nations the literacy rate is low. Most people rely for news on

radio or television, both still controlled by the government.

Elsewhere:  
● Benin, which had 12 newspapers when it became the first African country to hold a national conference that led to the ousting of a one-party ruler, saw 40 papers sprout up within 18 months.

● In Chad, desk-top publishing has made it possible for independent papers like N’djamena-Hédo to flourish. It sells 12,000 copies weekly — a huge circulation for one of the world’s poorest nations.

● In Mali, small independent papers are overtaking the circulation of official papers. The number of newspapers rose from four in 1989 to 12 in 1990.

● In Angola, the media remain state run but have been giving wide coverage to Unita since peace accords were signed. — Sapa-AP. □



# South 8/8-14/91 Democratic reforms for Togo <sup>①</sup>

A QUARTER of a century of dictatorship in Togo is coming to an end after months of strikes and demonstrations that forced the government of President Gnassingbé Eyadema to agree to democratic reforms.

Last month, 900 representatives of political parties and civic and professional organisations met in the capital, Lomé, to choose a transitional government.

Opening the conference, Eyadema said Togo was entering a new era.

"We must prepare ourselves to manage this democratic opening with wisdom, tolerance and, specially, calm and peace," he said.

The sustained campaign of defiance had brought normal life in Lomé and several other cities to a standstill and dozens of people died in clashes with security forces.

The Togolese military, which was allocated 16 seats at the conference but did not send any representatives, reacted warily to the change.

In June, soldiers staged a one-day protest, which included occupation of the national radio stations, to underline grievances over pay. There

are signs that lower-rank troops are more sympathetic to the opposition than the senior officers, who enjoy Eyadema's patronage.

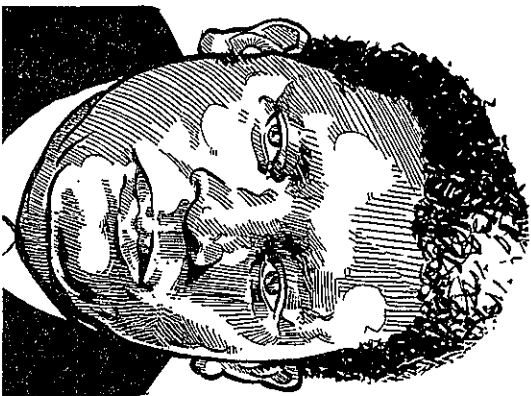
Although the president had agreed to the conference in principle, it was postponed several times over disagreements between government and opposition negotiators.

Most serious was Eyadema's initial insistence that national conference decisions be advisory rather than binding and that he stay on as president.

After more street protests, Eyadema agreed to a compromise that will allow him to serve out his term in office during the transition period but will vest executive power in the hands of the new Prime Minister.

Another important concession won by the opposition was a democratic election for conference participants from around the country.

"We really insisted that the govern-



**Gnassingbé Eyadema**

ment's idea of appointing the delegates was not acceptable," said Messan Gninivi, head of the coalition of political parties which planned

the meeting. Eyadema has ruled since a 1967 coup.

In 1964, as an army sergeant, he staged post-independent Africa's first military takeover, in which then-President Sylvanus Olympio was killed — reportedly by Eyadema himself.

The coup leaders handed over the government to opposition leader Nicolas Grunitzky, who served until Eyadema seized control four years later.

Gninivi says the opposition's acceptance of Eyadema's continuation in office is a necessary compromise.

"It was not easy to get him to agree to the conference and we had to offer something to convince him to cooperate," he explains.

Most Togolese do want Eyadema to resign now, says Nicholas Lawson, a newspaper publisher who is spokesperson for the opposition coalition.

"It is difficult for us to defend the compromise we made, but it is the responsible thing to do."

"We have to start learning that in a democracy, when you don't like a president, you don't just oust him by demonstrations or coups. You wait for elections." But the mood in Lomé is not one of waiting.

"After 25 years of a government that has done nothing for the people, the situation is catastrophic," says Joseph Alfa Pocanann-Dosseh, a national conference delegate and secretary-general of the Togolese Women's Association for Democracy and Development.

Attorney Dyanama Ywassa agrees that "profound change" is coming to Togo and she welcomes it.

But she is worried about the high expectations the national conference has generated.

"I fear that many people think democracy is a magic word, that with democracy everything is going to change," she says.

"The long march to democracy is punctuated with difficulties." — AFRICA NEWS

# Madagascans reject compromise leader

ANTANANARIVO, 8/10/91 — Madagascan President Didier Ratsiraka named a new prime minister yesterday but his choice was rejected by the opposition, which is campaigning with strikes and protests for radical political reforms.

State radio said Ratsiraka, who sacked his government 10 days ago, had asked Antananarivo Mayor Guy Willy Razanamasy to form a new government. It said Razanamasy would be given "every latitude" in making his choice.

But opposition leader Jean Rakotoharison told a protest rally in the capital that Razanamasy was unacceptable because the opposition had not nominated him.

The opposition's reaction to the appointment of Razanamasy, who has mediated between the government and the opposition during the nine-week protest campaign, appeared to dash hopes of a quick settlement to the crisis. Rakotoharison said the opposition planned a "freedom march" tomorrow to Ratsiraka's heavily guarded palace, unless the president agreed before then to talks.

The opposition Active Forces Coalition has said repeatedly in recent days such a meeting could only discuss the terms of Ratsiraka's stepping down.

But Ratsiraka has said he had made enough concessions to the opposition and would not resign.

Ratsiraka sacked former prime minister Victor Rahamatra and the rest of his government on July 28 as one of a series of concessions which included inviting opposition leaders to talks on constitutional and electoral reforms.

Yesterday large crowds of demonstrators marched to leading embassies and UN agencies in the capital and demanded they stop giving aid to Ratsiraka. — Reuter.

BUSINESS

SOUTH AFRICAN business is looking north again.

Despite sanctions posturing by most African countries in the past, trade with Africa is already quite substantial — estimated at R10-billion during 1990. While many companies did terminate their dealings with Africa, others maintain their operations there at low-key levels.

Now that secrecy is no longer required there has been a spate of renewed interest in the markets across the Limpopo. The South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safro) says there was a 22 percent increase in trade last year.

Major South African corporations such as Premier International, JCI, Anglo American, De Beers and retail chain Metro are exploring markets to the north.

Infrastructural development projects in African countries has aroused a lot of interest among South African companies. War-ravaged Mozambique and Angola have attracted particular attention.

Safro regional trade manager Angela Self says although there has been a surge of interest in Africa among local

# Renewed scramble for Africa

As sanctions fade away, more and more South African businesses are looking to the rest of the continent for expansion, reports **MONDLI MAKHANYA**

“Our great asset is our construction and engineering skills. In a lot of these countries infrastructure needs to be rehabilitated,” she says.

The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) is also planning to step up its involvement in Africa. The organisation — which is already involved in 13 countries — is also doing a lot of work on the restoration of the African infrastructure.

The CSIR boasts of having Africa-specific technology which will be in demand as the continent picks itself up. Director Nico Walters feels the task of his organisation and others involved in reconstruction is to create an “enabling environment” for regional trade.

Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa spokesman Mike McDonald makes the point that certain engineering projects are necessities rather than mere marketing op-

portunities.

“We no longer need to build Sasol and Mosgasses anymore. We need to use our know how and technology elsewhere. Our technological equipment will lie idle if we don't do this.”

Murray and Roberts and Dorbyl have gone into Africa in a big way. M&R has procured construction contracted in a number of countries, notably Angola and Mozambique.

Dorbyl is involved in agricultural projects and diesel generating schemes.

Dorbyl marketing manager Mike Smytheman says the lack of hard currency in African states has slowed down investment. “They they have to prioritise the projects they embark on. So we either have to wait a long time until they earn foreign currency or until

a foreign aid grant is given,” Smytheman says.

Premier International — whose chairman Albert Nillesen is reputed to have extensive contacts in Africa — has its foot deeply rooted in Africa. The company's African interests are bakeries in Zimbabwe, food exports to many countries and it has established itself as the main supplier of food relief to Mozambique.

Motor manufacturers are also making inroads into Africa. Nissan and the South African Motor Corporation have established special divisions entrusted with exporting to Africa.

Sancor managing director Spencer Sterling says the absence of motor industry in Africa means there is a great demand for South African cars there. At present the company exports about 800 cars annually — mainly to Zambia and Zaire — and is gearing up for bigger business. He concedes, however, that poor economies in African states put a ceiling on trade.

“Vehicle exports are increasing be-

cause of the great demand for our cars. But the biggest problem is the shortage of hard currency in these countries.”

International aid to these countries alleviates the foreign exchange crisis. For instance, a lot of the CSIR's payment comes from foreign aid.

Protectionism, too, is an obstacle. Spencer points out that Malawi has tried to protect its fledgling motor industry but “it is unable to meet demand so our cars are needed there too”.

Most ventures undertaken by South African companies in Africa have been joint ventures with other local firms and foreign operations. These foreign interests are usually from the former colonial powers — such as Portuguese firms in Mozambique and Angola.

Penetration of the African market by South African companies is likely to have spinoffs as other local companies get subcontracted for specific projects.

A classic example of this is the restoration of the Polana Hotel in Maputo. Three South African companies are involved in this R25-million venture, with hotel chain Karoo spearheading the project. South African architects Osmond Lange and construction company Concor are also involved.

DECIDED to launch an independent newspaper in Liberia at a bad time.

Samuel Doe's military coup had just taken place on April 12, 1980, and he had murdered several ministers and top officials.

My wife, Mae Gene, and I were living in Kenya at the time and we were advised not to start publishing.

But on May 17 we were on a plane to Monrovia and the following week Mae Gene was preparing documentation offering shares in our venture.

The bank manager insisted we raise the first 30 000 dollars, which wasn't easy as soldiers were harassing, maiming and killing. Property was looted, destroyed or occupied and massive capital flight was underway.

Our shareholders bought the 10-dollar shares in little lots, but in the end we raised the money.

On February 15 we were ready. We worked until 4 am and took the dummies to the printer in an old Peugeot station wagon. We got to bed at six and had to get the children to school by eight. We then picked up the first copies.

The 12-page *Daily Observer* was barely a month old when we had our first clash with the government—over an interview with three detainees held for several months without being charged.

The then Minister of Justice, Chea Cheapoo, summoned me and blasted me before state-owned television cameras, threatening that the next time we carried such a story he would hunt my family and "shoot us dead".

Three staffers working on the paper, a Ghanaian artist, a Ghanaian reporter and a Nigerian proofreader were thrown in jail for working in Liberia without a permit.

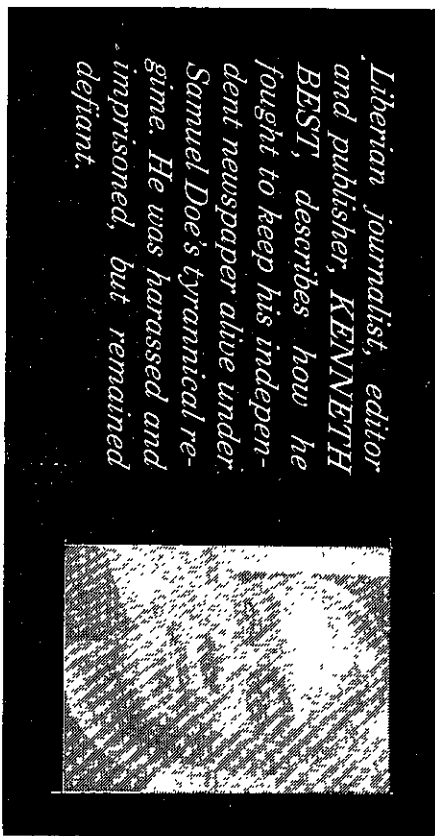
We were ordered to pay a 500-dollar fine for each person arrested and the cost of their deportation.

Three months later Doe arrested a student leader, Commany Wisseh,

# Fight to keep the truth alive

APR 11/89

*Liberian journalist, editor and publisher, KENNETH BEST, describes how he fought to keep his independent newspaper alive under Samuel Doe's tyrannical regime. He was harassed and imprisoned, but remained defiant.*



and we carried a front-page story headlined "Student leader banned".

I was going to the printers when a police jeep arrived.

"Are you Mr Best?" an officer asked.

"Yes," I replied.

"Follow us!" he said.

Ten of us from the newspaper were whisked away to the notorious Post Stockade prison.

My wife was also picked up and held for four days. We were detained for 10 days.

In August 1981 a Guinean teacher asked me to publish an open letter to President Sekou Toure of Guinea.

I took the letter to the Guinean ambassador for comment and two weeks later he denied all the allegations made.

Though we warned the teacher of the dangers he begged us to publish.

We published the story: "Abolish one-party system, Guineans tell Toure."

That morning my phone rang. It was the new Justice Minister, Isaac Nyeplu.

"What kind of embarrassment have you caused the government?" he snapped. "Don't you know that Doe is a good friend of President Toure? You will be hearing from me."

Twenty minutes later a busload of baton-wielding police stormed the building and picked me up.

That night I got a letter from Doe accusing me of being counter-revolutionary and unpatriotic.

He warned that I would remain in

prison until I produced the Guinean teacher, who later surrendered.

I was released after nine days, but the Guinean was handed over to his government and jailed.

In December 1981 I re-started the paper and 1982 was a good year—no closures.

But in August 1983 we carried a picture of two trucks stuck in the mud, with a caption "Bad, bad road".

A few hours later the police arrived, threw everyone out and locked the building.

The third Minister of Justice since the coup, Jenkins Scott, then closed the paper for a month.

In 1984 we published a controversial education story and were closed down again.

Vice-President Nicholas Podier (later killed by Doe), announced that *The Observer's* legal right to exist was to be revoked.

On Independence Day, July 26, 1984, Doe lifted the ban on party politics that had been in force since 1980 and also unbanned the *Observer*, so we resumed publication.

In 1987 we published a story of a man who had killed his wife and four children and carried a story about Doe on the same page.

That morning the electricity was cut on the pretext that we owed 800 dollars. We said they owed us 1 000 dollars in unpaid advertising. Under protest we paid, but the power was not restored.

Later we found that Doe was angry because his picture had been published next to the murderer's and he had ordered the switch-off.

Three weeks later the power was restored because Doe needed to publicise a visit by President Ceausescu of Romania.

In December 1989 the civil war started and Doe began to exterminate members of the Gio and Mano tribes.

One day a woman approached him in the street wailing: "Where is my husband?" (He had been killed).

Our photographer took her picture and we interviewed her. The following day we carried the story and the foreign press broadcast it around the world.

That night four armed men jumped our office night guard and set the building on fire, destroying the library and newsroom.

We hit the streets and our circulation soared from 10 000 to 18 000 copies that day. We could not print fast enough to keep up with the demand!

We tried to report the civil war though Doe covered up and admitted no defeats. He warned that if any newspaper talked about rebels, its editor would be treated as a rebel.

One morning we came out with a blank front page and sold 17 000 copies.

When Doe was captured in September 1990 and killed, his soldiers torched buildings in Monrovia chanting: "No Doe. No Liberia."

They attacked our office and burnt it down. Only a concrete shell remains. Doe's wish was granted—after his death.

Liberian human rights campaigner Albert Porte once told Doe: "You can destroy our body, but not our soul."

He was right. Our soul, our spirit remains.

When peace comes we will return and rebuild the *Observer* and resume our work—*New African*



MILITARY TYRANT ... Liberia's Samuel Doe seized power in a 1980 coup.

# Pretoria seen as pivotal to Africa's economic axis

THE establishment of a Pretoria-Abuja-Cairo trading and investment axis has been suggested as a way to upgrade Africa's economic performance.

The idea first surfaced during a meeting between President F W de Klerk and former Nigerian head of state Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, writes Nigerian newspaper editor Olantunji Dare in the latest edition of the magazine, Africa Forum.

"The discussions with De Klerk at the Union Buildings in July flowed so smoothly, amiably and constructively that Obasanjo suggested that Pretoria and Abuja (the next seat of the Nigerian government) could constitute a kind of axis on which the continent would spin. De Klerk was clearly excited. He suggested that the concept be expanded to include the Egyptian capital, Cairo," Dare writes.

"Developments in Europe and elsewhere and the emergence of the post-apartheid SA could provide the catalyst of the economic transformation of the continent with a major axis pivoted on Pretoria, Abuja and Cairo," says Dare.

TIM COHEN

Nigeria and SA are roughly equally powerful economically in relation to their neighbours, although in real terms SA would wield more power because of the greater diversity of its economy, Dare writes.

Both countries offer major investment and trading attractions to the outside world as core centres of manufacturing for their regions and because of the size of their markets.

Nigeria offers by far the largest trading market on the continent, and has a greater long-term potential, although SA is more attractive in the short term because of its more developed market and infrastructure.

For Africa, Egypt is a major gateway to the Middle East as well as the Mediterranean. Its infrastructure is one of the best in North Africa and the Middle East and it provides skilled manpower for many Arab countries, he says.

Dare adds that the single European market of 1992, and developments in the Pacific Rim and Eastern Europe are a warning to Africans to look to themselves, rather than others.

## Black business tours Far East

THEO RAWANA

SIXTY-FIVE black businessmen have planned a 16-day trip to the Far East to set up links with their Asian counterparts, SA Business Interest Group (Sabig) president Lucas Seboke said on Friday.

The Business Observation Mission to the Far East would visit Taipei, Tokyo, Shenzhen, Gungzhou and Hong Kong, and would participate in the International Electronics Show at the World Trade Centre in Taipei.

"The primary objective of the mission, which leaves on October 3, is to assist small businessmen to establish international contacts for future networking, communications and technological cooperation," Seboke said.

Highlights of the trip included attending the 80th National Day Celebrations as guests of the Chinese foreign affairs ministry, meeting machinery and plant manufacturers in the Japan Information Exchange Forum, as well as officials of the Keidanern (Federation of Japanese Economic Organisations), and visiting Japanese companies Sony and Nissan.

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# Many Madagascans killed in clashes

① ET 12/8/71

ANTANANARIVO. —Madagascar's opposition, declaring "open war" on President Didier Ratsiraka, said yesterday that at least 31 people were killed in separate weekend clashes with security forces on the Indian Ocean island.

An opposition spokesman said at least 20 people were killed on Saturday in the north-eastern port town of Mahajanga.

He gave no other details and there was no independent confirmation of the report.

Meanwhile, a government communique

confirmed that 11 people died and over 200 were injured in a parallel anti-government demonstration near the capital, Antananarivo.

It said they were killed during "an illegal assault" on the presidential palace, 12km south of the capital, but denied that troops had shot anyone.

They had fired over the heads of the demonstrators and used teargas to disperse them when they began stoning soldiers.

Saturday's clashes were the first major

violent incidents in a 10-week opposition campaign to force Mr Ratsiraka to step down after 16 years in office.

Thousands of people thronged the capital's May 13 Square yesterday morning to demonstrate their continuing opposition to Mr Ratsiraka and renew calls for radical reform.

Yesterday the Council of Christian Churches, an ecumenical organisation, issued a statement condemning what it called Saturday's "armed repression" at the presidential palace. — Sapa-Reuter

Madagascar's mass kung fu movement failed to unseat president Didier Ratsiraka seven years ago. But journalist TONY PINCHUCK says this week's huge protests against the weekend deaths of 51 demonstrators could finally topple the despot.

# Killings threaten Ratsiraka's hold on Madagascar

South 15/8 - 21/8/91

**T**HOUSANDS OF angry people are striking in Madagascar's capital, Antananarivo this week in the strongest threat yet to the 16-year reign of President Didier Ratsiraka.

For years the president has stubbornly resisted all attempts to oust him including that by a kung fu youth movement in the 1980's.

In the latest resistance, 10 weeks of opposition action reached crisis point last weekend when troops opened fire on crowds demanding Ratsiraka's resignation, killing 51.

On Monday, the opposition Active Forces coalition responded angrily saying that it was declaring "open war" on Ratsiraka.

While the current political storm is undoubtedly the severest test to Ratsiraka, he is certainly no novice to political turbulence and has graphically demonstrated that he is prepared

to cling to power through a mixture of compromise and force.

During the past two months he has given in to all the original demands made by the opposition culminating in the resignation of prime minister Victor Ramahatra and the entire cabinet.

"Even if I'm right, I will bend," Ratsiraka told the country on state radio.

"I ask the opposition to talk to us so this threatened country can remain united."

Ratsiraka was invested as president in March 1975 after the six-day-old presidency of Colonel Raisimandrava came to a bloody end when, under unexplained circumstances, his official vehicle was riddled with bullets.

At first the French-educated Ratsiraka was popular among both business people and students, taking a staunchly nationalist and anti-imperialist stance.

He quickly moved to nationalise the banks, the shipping companies and mineral resources. In July 1975 he closed the US satellite-tracking station.

Later that year he made a week-long series of broadcasts outlining his "Malagasy socialist" policies which were later published as the "Little Red Book".

But it wasn't long before the economic situation in the world's eleventh poorest nation began to worsen under his dictatorial and corrupt rule.

**D**URING 1978 AND 1979 sporadic unrest broke out in some drought-ridden rural provinces and in the towns of Fianarantsoa and Manakara. This gained momentum ending with riots in early 1981.

Throughout the 1980's unrest continued in one form or another, the most serious arising from the banning in 1984 of kung fu, which had become popular among

the youth of Antananarivo.

On August 1, 1985, tanks were sent to attack the headquarters of the kung fu societies, accused of plotting against the government, killing 20.

Throughout his term, Ratsiraka proved adept at manipulating the constitution to retain power — having twice been re-elected amid accusations of ballot-rigging and on a number of occasions having postponed or brought forward elections.

He has weathered demonstrations, riots and several coup attempts — most notably an alleged plot in 1982 by a mixed bag of conspirators supposedly comprising high-ranking officers, South African mercenaries and Malagasy sorcerers.

There were a further two abortive coups in 1989 and last year. He managed to steer his way through the dissatisfaction arising from a sharply declining economy by playing off both sides in the Cold War as

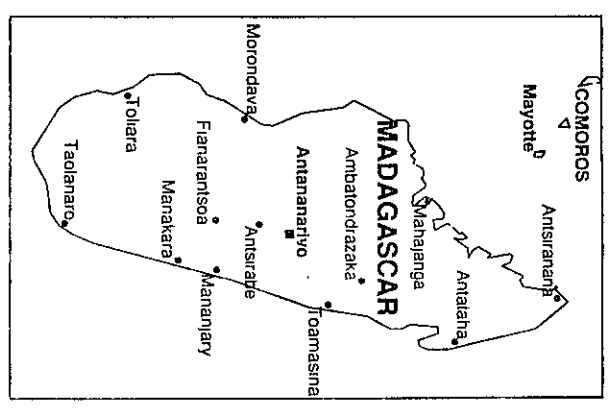
a strategy to get foreign aid.

He accepted food, equipment and funds from the US, Germany and Japan, while the Soviet Union and North Korea provided vocational training and the military hardware that could now provide the president's last line of defence.

Last year's renewal of economic links with South Africa reflects the desperate state of Madagascar's economy — and consequently of his own shaky position — as well as a new orientation forced on Ratsiraka by dwindling support from Eastern Europe.

It represents a trade-off of a long-standing anti-apartheid stance in favour of hoped-for economic benefits and, as Ratsiraka no doubt calculated, his own political survival.

Ratsiraka's penchant for the twin tools of compromise and force may yet see him out of trouble. But in the stormy seas he currently finds himself it could equally prove to be inadequate.





## WORLD IN FOCUS

By HEBA SALEH

ANTANANARIVO, the capital of Madagascar, has been the scene of mass demonstrations by hundreds of thousands demanding change. President Didier Ratsiraka responded by sacking his government and promising multi-partyism.

But that was not enough for the protestors, who demanded the resignation of the president, a naval officer who came to power in 1975.

It took little persuasion from the Lifeblood coalition, an alliance of six opposition parties, to bring about a crippling civil service strike in June and drive tens of thousands of protestors into the streets of Antananarivo.

Demonstrations have taken place almost daily ever since. They often involve up to 300 000 people supporting opposition demands for a new non-socialist constitution and for reform of electoral laws. Now they also want Ratsiraka to resign.

## Lifeblood is ①

W/MAN 16/8-22/8/91

During 16 years at the head of the Malagasy state, Ratsiraka first experimented with a centrally-planned socialist economy, then changed course toward a free-market economy.

The change came about because the economy was performing badly and by 1980 the Malagasy had lost up to half their purchasing power.

Economic reform involved swallowing the bitter pill of a structural adjustment programme from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which drove up prices, revived growth in the banking and trade sector but did little for the most people.

The Malagasy live mainly on farming and the export of cash crops such as coffee, olives and



# draining Didier's power

16/8-22/9/91

vanilla. The prices of those commodities have slipped, leaving Madagascar one of the 15 poorest countries of the world.

Unhappiness with the economy and with declining health and education services made it easier for the Malagasy opposition to win support among the middle classes.

Though Ratsiraka embarked on political reform and by 1990 allowed the formation of opposition parties, the political system is still weighted in favour of the president and his party, the vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution. In 1989 he was re-elected for a third seven-year term. The opposition says the election was rigged.

The demonstrators soon realised how much power they had. The civil service strike para-

lysed the administration and the protests brought many businesses to a standstill. The overwhelming response to calls for a campaign of civil disobedience emboldened the opposition.

In July, to increase the pressure on Ratsiraka to step down, it named an alternative government complete with president, prime minister and cabinet. While ministerial offices were empty because of the strike, eight opposition ministers took over the offices to which they had been "appointed" in a symbolic show of strength.

Ratsiraka responded by arresting four opposition leaders and declaring a State of Emergency which banned gatherings and imposed new restrictions. To date, demonstrations

have been mostly peaceful with the president ordering security forces not to fire on the crowds.

The suggestion of compromise with Ratsiraka has been rejected by the demonstrators. The leaders of the Lifelihood coalition are riding a tiger quickly getting out of control.

It is doubtful that opposition leaders could make a deal with the president given the demands of their supporters.

After nearly two months of protest, Ratsiraka made some concessions but to no avail. He released opposition leaders, sacked his government and promised to draft a new constitution in consultation with the opposition.

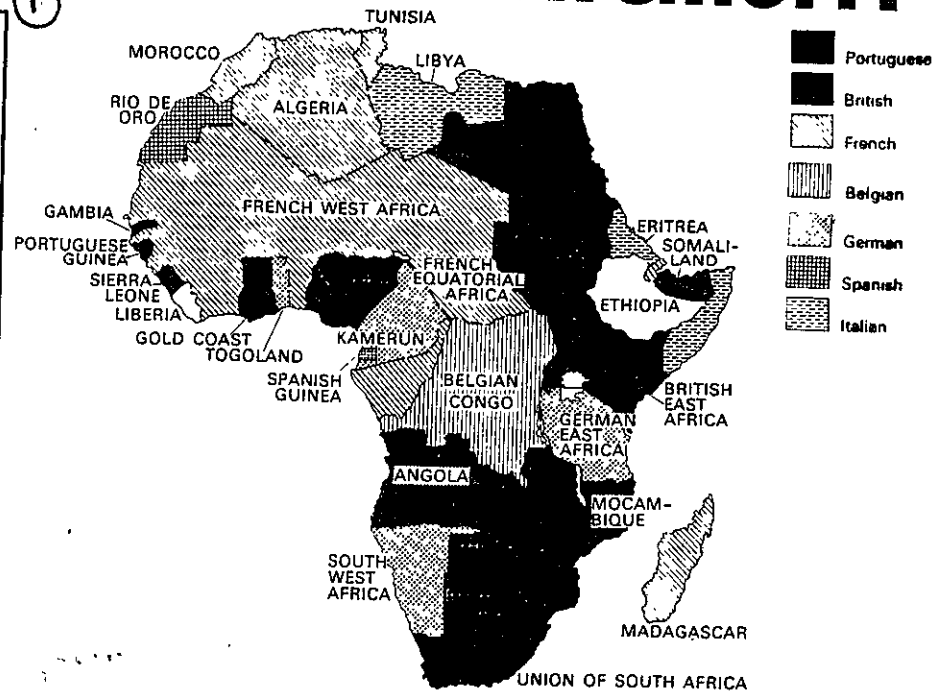
The demonstrators made it abundantly clear that it was not enough and repeated their demand for Ratsiraka's resignation. — Gemini News



# Africa: Seedbed of Colonialism

New Nation (Learning W) 16/8-22/5/91

For most of the last 4 centuries the people of Africa, Asia, South America and parts of Europe and North America were ruled by a few European countries like Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal. This period which largely ended in the years after the Second World War is called the period of colonialism. The period of colonialism ended with mass struggles by the colonial people against the foreign oppressor in countries such as India, Ghana, Kenya and China. Yet most of these countries found that political independence did not bring democracy and development for the working people. Instead, most of the countries of the ex-colonial world remained poor and suffered under military dictatorships and civil wars. They were even more at the economic mercy of the capitalists of Europe and North America. What had happened by the end of the 19th century was that the powerful countries of Europe and North America had become imperialist countries. Imperialism is the modern phase of capitalism in which monopolies control the world and distort the development of all countries in favour of profits for the wealthy few in countries like the USA, Britain, Germany and Japan. Colonialisation may have ended with the achievement of political independence but under imperialism the big industrial countries no longer required political control over the ex-colonies - they could keep them economically poor and dependent because of their control of the imperialist world market.



This is a map of Africa in 1914. As you can see, European countries control the whole continent.

History shows us how the industrialised European countries exploited Africa, Asia and South America and their peoples. In fact, underdevelopment in Africa was essential for the development of the industrial countries of the western world. Britain only became 'Great' Britain because of the wealth she was able to extract by colonising and underdeveloping areas on several continents.

Kwame Nkrumah, President of Ghana, the first British colony to gain independence, said,

*"The aim of all colonial government in Africa and elsewhere has been the struggle for raw materials; and not only this, but the colonies have become the dumping ground and colonial people the recipients of manufactured goods of the industrialists and capitalists of Great Britain, France, Belgium and other colonial powers who turn to the dependent territories which feed their industrial plants."*

## Colonialism

European countries robbed the African continent of its natural resources, labour and wealth in order to benefit their own economies. Words or terms used by historians can often confuse students, so it is important for you to understand the difference between the terms undeveloped and underdeveloped. Those people who talk about the ex-colonial world as being undeveloped assume that these countries will one day catch up with the developed countries. But the fact of the imperialist stage of capitalism and the domination of the world market by the major capitalist countries makes this process extremely difficult.

Socialist writers refer to the underdevelopment of Third World countries. Often colonialism had limited or even prevented economic growth in these countries. Let's look at an example. Britain

colonised Ghana and centred the economy of Ghana on the production of cocoa for the world cocoa market. The price of cocoa was determined by the demand for and supply of cocoa to the world's population. If the price was high, Ghana prospered. But if the price dropped, Ghana's economy would suffer.

Britain, France, Portugal, Germany and Belgium colonised the African continent. Only Liberia, Egypt and Abyssinia (Ethiopia) were independent states, but they too fell under the financial control of other countries. For example, the USA invested millions of dollars in Liberia and owned one million acres of land there. Similarly, British and French companies owned the Suez Canal Company in Egypt until Abdul Nasser nationalised it in 1956. Britain's colonies in Africa included Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria. The French colonised large areas of north-western Africa, including the Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Mauritania, Chad, the Cameroon and the Central African Republic.

Belgium controlled Zaire (formerly the Belgian Congo). Portugal colonised Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, whereas Germany controlled Namibia until it became a mandate of South Africa in 1919. South Africa was supposed to look after Namibia until independence. In reality, South Africa tried to incorporate Namibia and the country only gained independence on 21 March 1990.

## Life in Africa under colonialism

Here we will look at certain areas such as the exploitation of African workers, racism, the creation of wealth, social services, communication and administration. The African subsistence farmers (those who produced for their own needs) were gradually forced off their land as large overseas companies bought large tracts of land to produce food for the world markets. Dispossessed of their land, subsistence farmers were forced to move into the

towns and look for work. They became the wage-labour needed by overseas companies. Their wages were generally low. The indigenous people lost their traditional way of life. Overpopulation in towns often led to unemployment which then increased starvation and malnutrition.

Racism grew. Colonists generally believed that they were 'superior' to the indigenous people. They used this to justify wage differences. During the worldwide depression (1929 - 1933), wage levels were the lowest possible and poverty became the norm in Africa.

The natural resources and minerals of Africa enabled overseas companies to make large profits. Phosphates, oil, lead, zinc, manganese and iron ore were exploited in North Africa; copper was mined in Zambia, tin in Nigeria, gold and manganese in Ghana and chromium in Zimbabwe. These minerals were only the tip of the iceberg of all minerals found in Africa. Yet the profits from the world sales of these minerals only benefited overseas companies and countries. Likewise, the indigenous African people employed on the land produced cash crops for the export market. Many African farmworkers were forced to grow cash crops by 'gun and whip'.

Social services in colonial Africa were provided for the colonists and a small, educated African elite who worked hand-in-glove with the colonists. Medical, health and educational services were not provided for the majority of people. Historian Walter Rodney wrote,

*"in Algeria, the figure for infant mortality was 39 per 1 000 births among white settlers; but it jumped to 170 per 1 000 live births in the case of Algerians living in the towns"*.

Education in colonial Africa rested in the hands of the Christian churches. Missionaries were sent out to spread the gospel and convert the indigenous people to Christianity. Mission schools were established and education was the tool used for con-

version. A UNESCO report of 1958 stated,

*"Of this population (of around 170 million), a little more than 25 million are of school-going age and of these nearly 13 million have no opportunity of going to school - and of the 'privileged' 12 million, less than half complete their ordinary education. Only three out of every 100 children see the inside of a secondary school, while not even two of every 1 000 have a chance of receiving some sort of higher education in Africa itself. The overall estimated illiteracy rate of 80 to 85% is nearly twice that of the world figure"*.

Communication and transport networks via road and rail were essentially geared to assist trade between the colonies and the 'mother' country. Only major towns were connected to harbours so that imports and exports could be transported easily.

Each colonial power used a different method to administer its colonies. Britain practised decentralisation. Indigenous African leaders from the educated elite were chosen to rule on behalf of the 'mother' country. These leaders had been schooled in the missionary, colonial tradition and imposed different values on their people, in contrast to their traditional values. France, Belgium and Portugal centralised their administration and colonial governors administered their colonies.

Life under colonial rule was harsh on the indigenous people and resistance against foreign rulers grew. This resistance gained support after World War Two when soldiers who had fought for their colonial 'mother' countries returned home and translated the war message to their own situation. One Nigerian soldier commented, *"We want freedom. Nothing but freedom"*.

In next week's article, we will discuss the independence movements.

Old attitudes are giving way to realism, writes **Barney Mthombothi** from Lusaka

# Africa's new wind of change

Spr 19/5/91.

①

**I**F Harold Macmillan were to return to Africa he would make changes to the famous "winds of change" speech he delivered in front of a somewhat sceptical House of Assembly in Cape Town 30 years ago.

For a new wind is sweeping through the African continent — a wind of realism.

Macmillan's speech was one of hope, coupled with a warning to SA to change in order to earn the warm embrace of what was then hoped would be an African giant. The giant, however, failed to rise and has almost been forgotten by the rest of the world.

Pre-independence optimism has now given way to despair — and a lot of soul-searching. According to Africa watchers, the old pastime by African leaders of looking for scapegoats elsewhere, or blaming others for problems whose sources and authors are nearer home, seems to be receding.

There is now emerging a refreshing spirit of self-criticism, a perception that if African cour-

tries themselves had adopted some policies and renounced others, things could have turned out differently.

A little-noticed conference in Kampala earlier this year called by General Obasanjo's African Leadership Forum is seen by many as marking a turning point in how Africa sees itself and how it intends to solve its problems.

Former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere has described the conference — attended by about 500 people, including five heads of state and technocrats from various non-governmental organisations (NGOs) — as "the most significant forum we have ever had since the first time we got together to form the Organisation of African Unity".

Since the Kampala conference, there has been a perceptible change of tone in the public utterances of some African leaders. There is a realisation that lack of democracy on the continent lies at the root of its underdevelopment. Dr Alex Boraine, of Ilassa, who has attended a number of meet-

ings in Africa, said he was struck by the reasoned tone of most of the contributions at that meeting.

"There was an attitude of self-criticism which I hadn't expected before," he said.

"There is a feeling that Africa cannot go on blaming all its problems on colonialism.

"I was very encouraged and very impressed with a lot of the discussions."

Dr Boraine said agitation for multiparty democracy had for a long time been put down by the leadership in Africa. But the liberation of Eastern Europe, pressure for reforms from organisations like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and the disenchantment of Western countries with Africa and their insistence that aid should be conditional on adherence to acceptable human rights standards, had convinced African rulers that unless democracy prevailed the whole continent would be marginalised.

"People are looking at Eastern Europe and are saying if it can happen there why can't it happen

here?" Dr Boraine said.

It was going to be difficult but there was no alternative to democracy.

Most African leaders, he said, were now reading the writing on the wall and were getting on the multiparty bandwagon.

"I was surprised by Nyerere. He talked a different language. He said at one stage, with President Kaunda sitting next to him, that senior statesmen in Africa should realise that there is a time to come and a time to go. There was wild applause. Old KK simply waved his handkerchief."

Democratic Party MP Colin Eglin, who was also at the conference, said there was a feeling among participants that the OAU was merely serving the vested interests of African governments.

"There is a young cadre of leadership in Africa in government who are simply saying, 'We refuse to accept that Africa is a lost continent', Mr Eglin said.

This leadership understands that in order to encourage development in Africa, they had to

take ordinary people along with them.

"There has been little or no development in Africa because there is no democracy. Governments have to be representative and accountable," Mr Eglin said.

Dr Boraine said he noticed that many at the conference paid particular attention to President Quett Masire of Botswana. They had suddenly realised, he said, that Botswana's stability, democracy and prosperity were no coincidence.

But according to Professor Claude Ake, an African who teaches politics at New York's Columbia University, the new mood was evident early last year.

A similar conference to the one in Kampala was held in Arusha, Tanzania, in February 1990 which adopted what was called the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development Transformation.

The charter affirms that Africa's economic crisis cannot be solved without the introduction of multiparty democracy.

Professor Ake wrote recently: "Most African regimes have been so alienated and so violently repressive that their citizens see the state and its development agents as enemies to be evaded, cheated and defeated if possible, but never as partners."

"The leaders have been so engrossed in coping with the hostilities which their mistrust and repression have unleashed that they are unable to take much interest in anything else, including the pursuit of development."

Dr Boraine warned that there was a likelihood of the military, as the only organised social force in most African countries, grabbing power in newly democratised countries unless civil society was developed and strengthened.

The fall from power of some of the continent's most ruthless despots is evidence that, in the words of Dr Boraine, "something is stirring in Africa". Those that are still in power are beginning to shift uncomfortably in their seats. — The Star Africa Service. □

## Third World 'must provide good govt'

LONDON — Third World regimes must respect human rights and provide "good government" if they want Western economic aid, says Britain's Overseas Development Minister.

Writing in the Sunday Times of London, Lynda Chalker said taxpayers "were repelled" by aid going to corrupt, oppressive regimes.

"For 20 years, smart opinion dubbed any criticism by Western countries of the political systems of developing countries as 'neo-colonialist'. Like much of the conventional wisdom of the period, this was claptrap.

"Errant regimes can no longer cloak their authoritarian tendencies in Marxist jargon or look to a superpower to bail them out." *Star 19/8/91*

She defined good government as sound economic and social policies, government accountability and respect for human rights.

Britain had cut off all but humanitarian aid to Sudan, Somalia and Burma. — Sapa-AP.

# Something rotten afoot in Africa — you can bank on it

Star 19/8/91.

Only BCCI's African branches are still open while branches in the US and Europe have been closed down.  
RICHARD DOWDEN finds out why.

IN EUROPE, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) was closed down when it was found to be corrupt. In Africa, its branches have been kept open for the same reason. In many of the 17 African countries in which BCCI operates, it is close to the politically powerful — who are also rich.

There are reports, proven or rumoured, that BCCI was as corrupt in Africa as elsewhere. The closure of its branches in Europe and the United States caused a run on its branches in Africa, but in Nigeria, Egypt, Kenya, Seychelles, Mauritius, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Cameroon it has stayed open.

Unlike in Europe, BCCI played a central role in many African economies, and where it has closed, even temporarily, credit has run dry and business has ground to a halt.

But probably more important in the minds of some powerful politicians who stepped in to keep their local branches going was the fact that it provided them with easy loans and transferred their funds, often illegally, to Europe, where they and their families could shop and spend their holidays.

It was used by many African millionaires and east African Asians whose main wealth was kept in Europe but who maintained businesses in Kenya or tried to re-establish businesses in Uganda or Tanzania.

In west Africa, BCCI was used widely by the Lebanese community, who carry on much of the trading — legal and illegal — along the coast. Some of them will have been ruined by its closure.

BCCI appears to have wooed the rich and powerful in Africa in the direct personal way that became its hallmark, transferring funds with a minimum of paperwork compared with the painfully slow bureaucracies of most banks in Africa.

The bank seems to have made a particular pitch for African ambassadors and high commissioners, many of whom had their personal and embassy accounts with BCCI in London.

It also demonstrated its political commitment by enabling at least two poor countries to stand up to the International Monetary Fund at crucial moments, giving rise to suspicion in many African countries that its closure is yet another plot against the poor and Islamic.

BCCI also supported the Third World Foundation and

former US President Jimmy Carter's agriculture assistance organisation, the Global 2000 Foundation. It maintained South magazine, which promoted a "Third World" view but folded in 1990.

"The Third World Prize", a cash award to heroes of developing countries, was also backed by the bank. Nelson and Winnie Mandela won it in 1981 and Julius Nyerere, the socialist former President of Tanzania in 1985.

The biggest BCCI operation in Africa lay in Nigeria, where it had 48 branches and its assets were valued at \$584 million (about R1.6 billion).

Like most private institutions in Nigeria, it has a reputation for corruption and in the past five years Nigeria has become a major drug-smuggling staging-post.

News of BCCI's closure caused customer panic, but the branches stayed open and the bank changed its name to African Bank International after the 60 percent foreign stake was bought by the Sultan of Sokoto, a close associate of Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida.

In Kenya, BCCI was found guilty of coffee-smuggling three years ago and fined \$30 million (about R84 million). In 1987, after BCCI was found to be transferring money out of the country illegally, George Saitoti, then Finance Minister, issued a notice saying it was not allowed to deal in gold or transfer money out of Kenya.

Despite this reputation, the 49 percent overseas stake in the country has been bought by Ketan Somaia, a Kenya Asian close to President Daniel arap Moi.

Mr Somaia has also bought the overseas stake in the branches in the Seychelles and Mauritius. He is believed to have paid around \$35 million (about R98 million) for the stake in BCCI Kenya.

In Botswana, rumours of corruption led the Governor of the Central Bank to admit there had been an investigation, but he said there was no evidence of corruption.

In Zimbabwe, where the government has a 53 percent share, BCCI has remained open despite heavy withdrawals.

In Cameroon, the bank first announced it would close down then changed its mind, but accounts are frozen and it is said to hold a third of the government's reserves. — The Independent News Service. □

When families run away

# Caring for <sup>①</sup> Ivory Coast's abandoned Aids patients

Sowetan 20/8/91

MR Roger Fayehou pointed a thin finger at a volunteer hospital orderly and said, "Without him I wouldn't be alive today."

Fayehou (32), a skeletal man who says his legs are now too weak to support him, is terminally ill with Aids in an Ivory Coast hospital.

A native of Benin, he worked in Ivory Coast as a shipping agent. Now that he has no income, his wife and five children have gone home to live with relatives, leaving him alone.

Without the help of a volunteer organisation called Espoir-Cote d'Ivoire (Hope-Ivory Coast), Fayehou would have nothing but a bed and a bit of hospital food until he died.

## Scared

"There are plenty of people here who have been abandoned," said the 28-year-old orderly, Espoir-Cote d'Ivoire volunteer Mr Adama Nitiema. "When the family finds out people have Aids they just go away."

"Sometimes it's because they're scared of the

disease, but also it's because they know it costs a lot of money for the medicine and the patient will die anyway."

Cash-strapped countries throughout Africa can't cope with the Aids epidemic, which is overwhelming their health care systems.

Ivory Coast, which has seen its cocoa-based economy collapse due to low world prices, has one of the highest Aids infection rates in the world. The disease is the leading cause of death among adult males in Abidjan.

The epidemic has knocked big holes in the traditional African health safety net provided by an extensive family network.

In many parts of Africa, families of hospital patients provide food, do the washing up, change bed linen and wash clothes. When the patient has to come home - to convalesce or to die - the family is there.

But not necessarily for

Aids victims. Fayehou depends on volunteers to help him survive in a spartan room with five other men at the infectious diseases ward of Ivory Coast's busiest hospital in the Treichville district of the capital Abidjan.

He said he had had only 10 cents worth of bread to eat the previous day.

The pills he takes to control chronic diarrhoea, which has left him weighing about 35kg, and were bought for him by Espoir-Cote d'Ivoire, have run out.

## Pains

He smiled, despite what he said were shooting pains in his stomach and intestines. "They tell me my entire stomach is infected," he said. "But when I get better I'm going to go straight back to Benin - to my wife and children."

Nitiema and 22 other Espoir-Cote d'Ivoire volunteers make the rounds of the infectious

diseases ward every morning. They greet patients, help them tidy up and arrange their bed linen.

In almost every bed there is a thin man who has barely enough energy to respond. Some of them do not know they are infected with the incurable Aids virus that wrecks the body's immune system.

Ivory Coast, which reported 118 Aids cases four years ago, told the World Health Organisation it had 6 836 full-blown cases of Aids as of March this year. Health researchers estimate the number is at least six or seven times that.

Dr Kevin de Cock, of the US-funded research programme RETRO-CI said: "There could be 200 000 to 300 000 HIV infected people in this country in the next 10 years."

"The patients are flooding in ... It is an enormous problem."

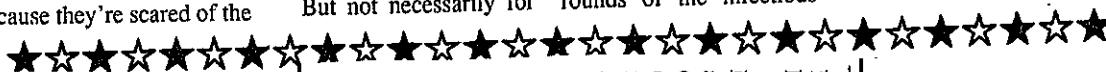
Dr Justine Agnes, one of the founders of Espoir-

Cote d'Ivoire, said the Aids problem is overwhelming. "People are afraid of Aids, they are afraid of death. They know there is no cure. We have to teach them not to be afraid."

Agnes, Belgian nun Sister Catherine Mauseux and three doctors formed Espoir-Cote d'Ivoire last year to try to fill the gap left when families abandoned Aids patients.

They readily admit their 22 volunteers are overwhelmed. Their funds - some R18 770 - are paltry.

"The economic crisis



"We want to sell them everywhere. We sell them in night clubs and hotels frequented by prostitutes. We sell them to the prostitutes themselves, who sell them to their clients," Clancy said. Sapa-Rewer.

International started in February. Project director Mr Peter Clancy expects to sell at least 1.5 million inexpensive condoms, 10 cents for a package of four, this year and is aiming at sales of 7.5 million condoms within six years.

A condom marketing campaign run by the US-based non-profit organisation Population Services

After failing at first to recognise the seriousness of its Aids crisis, Ivory Coast has begun trying to stem the spread of the disease.

## Condom

Dr Makam Coulibaly, a co-founder of Espoir-Cote d'Ivoire and a member of the national Aids committee. "And families just cannot deal with a patient who never gets well."

# Cameroon conference invites SA business

SA businessmen will be prominent participants in the first "Cape to Cairo, all Africa business conference" to be held in Cameroon in October, says an organiser.

The conference, which plans to attract about 600 business leaders from all African regions, was officially announced in the Cameroon capital Yaounde yesterday, said local organiser Jacques Verster, who is MD of public relations company Bairds.

The latest issue of Leadership magazine reports that several prominent SA companies have contributed to funding the conference, including Eskom, Transnet, M-

5/Dec 21 8 91.  
TIM COHEN

Net, Safair and Senbank.

Leadership reports that the conference will be local businessmen's first opportunity to meet openly and informally with their African counterparts.

The conference is being organised by the Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation (MDC), a Paris-based organisation.

Verster said yesterday funding for the conference, expected to run to about R2,5m, would come from African businessmen across the continent. He did not com-

ment on the SA contribution. ①

The conference will be held from October 28 to 31.

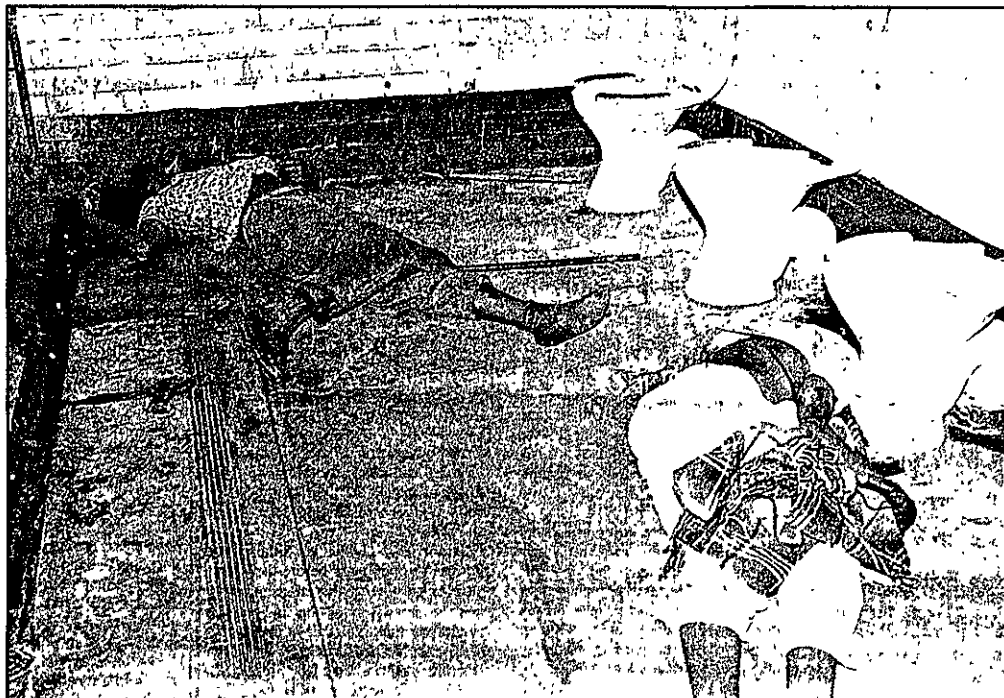
Keynote addresses will be delivered by Pan African Institute of International Relations chairman and former OAU secretary-general Edem Kodjo, Preferential Trade Area secretary-general Binga wa Mutharika and Eskom CE Ian McRae.

Verster said the ANC, the PAC and other political and business groupings had been consulted about the conference.

More than 1 500 companies will be sent invitations to the conference.



# Left to die in toilet terror



These two bodies were among those police found yesterday morning after a bloody attack on dwellers at Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto at the weekend. Pic: LEN KUMALO

# Hostel horror: 24 die

**TWENTY-FOUR** hostel dwellers were shot, stabbed and hacked to death during a raid by armed men in Soweto at the weekend.

Seven of the 12 injured were still in a critical condition late yesterday. Five were treated and discharged. *Sowetan 5/31/91*

The attack took place on Sunday at the Concor section of Meadowlands Hostel where workers employed by Concor Construction are housed.

Soweto police said yesterday the incident was a revenge killing.

Soweto police spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said: "The attack was carried out by Zulus. It seems they were avenging the death of

By KENOSI MODISANE

another Zulu who was killed by unknown men at the hostel on Saturday."

Survivors of the attack, however, dismissed the police claim. They said their attackers had told them Xhosas should leave the area.

## Brandishing

Mr Zamile Katu (33), who was shot in the right elbow, said a mob wearing red headbands and brandishing sticks and assegais gathered at the gate about 2pm.

"They told the security guard at the gate they had come to drive Xhosas out of the hostel. There was chaos as people ran for cover

● To Page 2



A special people

John P

Made in South Africa



The benefits of Gorbachev's policies for southern Africa will stay, says Gerald L'Ange

# No turning back the clock

Star 21/8/91.



**T**HE reform of apartheid will not have to be reversed and the ANC will not return to exile. The Cubans will not come back and neither will total onslaught.

None of the trends in southern Africa that were associated with Mikhail Gorbachev's coming to power in Moscow will be turned around by his ousting as president of the Soviet Union.

What many South Africans have come to regard as the bad old days of the Red Menace in Africa have gone for good and the Kremlin hardliners who have toppled Mr Gorbachev will not be able to bring them back, even if they succeed in making his ousting permanent.

The clock has gone too far to be turned back — in Africa, at any rate — since Mr Gorbachev's arrival on the scene signalled the start of perestroika and glasnost.

Those anxious times when ANC insurgents brought in bombs and bullets from across the borders, when white South Africa's sons went to fight in distant Angola, when the sanctions screws were made tighter and tighter, when South Africans were conditioned to resist a total onslaught, were

directly related to the era of Soviet expansionism in Africa.

The Kremlin at that time found it necessary to compete with the West, and the United States in particular, on a worldwide front and to promote the influence of communism and Soviet hegemony as widely as possible.

Armaments were poured into the wars in Africa: in Angola, Namibia, Somalia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rhodesia and elsewhere. Armies, training and other support was given liberally to the ANC and Swapo.

In this atmosphere, the South African Government would have found it extremely difficult — even if it had wanted to — to abandon apartheid and the desublimation of neighbouring countries that was considered essential to its defence.

But the cost of the Soviet Union's hegemonic efforts and of trying to match the United States in armaments and other technology was too much for its economy and it began to collapse, opening the way for perestroika and glasnost.

The Soviets began to make peace with the US and to support political rather than military solu-

tions to regional conflicts.

Abandoning its hopes of a Red Africa, Moscow collaborated with Washington in bringing about independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

It left its former proteges in Ethiopia and elsewhere to fend for themselves and made no effort to oppose the rising opposition to Marxism and one-party rule in Africa.

Even if the new bosses in Moscow want to return to the status quo ante, they will not be able to do it. They might cool the rap-prochement with Washington, put brakes on arms control and reverse the trend towards democratisation within the Soviet Union.

But they will not be able to get back to where the Soviet Union was in Africa, any more than they will be able to divide Germany again.

The Soviet Union does not have the economic wherewithal to again fund political movements and back wars and in any case Africa's wars are fading out.

Political currents in Africa today are driven more by a desire for multiparty democracy and free-market economies than by

the Marxist-Leninist dogma that tended to fill Africa's post-colonial ideological vacuums.

Namibia is happily independent, Angola seems set to find peace, Mozambique is heading fitfully in the same direction.

Cuba is not going to return for more Angolan-like adventures in Africa because it will no longer get funding from Moscow and can not finance them itself.

South Africa remains volatile, poised precariously on the edge of an unknown fate but driven by a powerful and universal urge to find a sane and safe future.

It would take more than interference from Moscow to upset this balance. For it would not be easy for the ANC to return to armed struggle and to again establish the necessary bases in or transit routes through neighbouring territories.

It is in any case highly unlikely that it would see any profit in doing this.

The long and short of it is that nobody in southern Africa wants to return to the old situation and it is doubtful that the Kremlin will want to either. They will be too preoccupied there with urgent internal politics to worry about all

but the most essential international affairs.

The new regime has in any case professed a desire to maintain the new thinking of which Mr Gorbachev was the chief exponent.

One of the main worries in Africa has already been identified by Zimbabwe's leading newspaper, The Herald, which usually reflects government thinking. It expressed the hope that the fall of Mr Gorbachev would not lead to a reduction in Soviet aid in Africa.

Sharp cuts in this aid were predicted even before Mr Gorbachev's removal, however.

Despite the Soviet Union's own economic problems it had budgeted to provide for R22,4 billion in assistance to African countries between 1986 and 1990, according to figures reported by the Soviet news agency, Novosti. Much of this was in the form of credits and delayed loan repayments.

This year the Soviet Union was expecting to get only R4,200-million of the nearly R22,000-million due to it from Third World debtors.

Soviet academics had warned that a drastic cut in Soviet foreign aid was inevitable, although some had warned against the ending of

all aid because of the damage this would cause to relations with developing countries.

"Oaths of ideological loyalty will substitute for all-round economic expertise, while joint projects will be given priority over free tank and missile deliveries," Novosti said.

Moscow's influence in Africa — as in the rest of the Third World — will be reduced more or less in proportion to the reduction of its aid. Given that a prime preoccupation of the new regime in Moscow will be to resolve the economic problems for which Mr Gorbachev is blamed, it is highly unlikely that it will reverse the reduction of foreign aid.

This will become even more unlikely if the Western countries implement their threats to withhold aid to the Soviet Union because of Mr Gorbachev's removal.

All in all, then, the prognosis must be that the toppling of Gorbachev from his pedestal will not reverse any of the benefits that came to southern Africa from his ascent to the pedestal.

It could affect benefits that might have been gained in the future, but it is unlikely to change the past. □

WORLD

# Chaos as govt and opposition 'rule'

①  
B10ay  
22/8/91

ANTANANARIVO — After 11 weeks of street protests against the rule of President Didier Ratsiraka, confusion reigns in Madagascar with both the opposition and government claiming to be in charge.

Informed sources said Prime Minister Guy Willy Razanamasy held talks yesterday on forming a new government, two days after the opposition said it was assuming power because Ratsiraka was no longer in control.

The Active Forces Coalition of opposition groups across the political spectrum said it was suspending until today the daily rallies that have been mounted by tens of thousands of people to press Ratsiraka to step down after 16 years in power.

The coalition said it had held meetings to thrash out common policy and agree on a new government.

Ratsiraka and Razanamasy appeared on state television on Monday to reject the opposition's claim to rule and signed a decree extending for a further 15 days a state of emergency declared on July 23.

The informed sources said officials of

Ratsiraka's government were still at work on Wednesday in five of the six provinces.

Last weekend those five provinces declared federal status within a state headed by Ratsiraka — a manoeuvre widely seen as a ploy to undermine the opposition.

The only province not to go along was that of the capital Antananarivo, bastion of the anti-Ratsiraka opposition.

After 11 weeks of strikes and demonstrations, most banks and businesses in the capital are closed and long queues form outside the few petrol stations still open.

The position of the 54-year-old leader, reported to be at his desk in his bunker-like presidential palace 20km south of the capital, looks hopeless, political analysts say.

One minister in the opposition "shadow government" has resigned — underlining strains within the anti-Ratsiraka coalition — after criticising the decision to organise a march on the presidential palace that erupted in violence and at least 16 deaths, after the weeks of peaceful protest.

Yesterday, a group of retired army officers added its voice to calls for Ratsiraka to quit in the interest of national unity. — Sapa-Reuter.

# 'Soviet Union a spent force'

**M**IKHAIL GORBACHEV is generally credited — or blamed, depending on the point of view — for drastically altering the Soviet profile in Africa. In 1985 the Soviet Union was the ally of progressive forces in Africa, including the national liberation movement. By early 1991 the picture had changed.

The Soviet government curtailed its "fraternal" support to African states, stopped military credits to former allies (Ethiopia, for instance), and established an understanding with Western powers on the remaining conflicts in Africa — an understanding not universally welcomed by African leaders.

Gorbachev's demise and his replacement by a traditionalist team raises the question of whether we will now see a return to the old Soviet policy of active opposition to capitalist interests in the Third World.

I think that this is highly unlikely, although the new rulers in Moscow are invoking images of the Soviet Union as "a great power exerting a fundamental influence on the inter-

will be relatively low on this priority list.

Anyway, a possible Soviet military role in Africa depends on their being invited to play a role. I doubt that there are groups and leaders in Africa who seriously contemplate this.

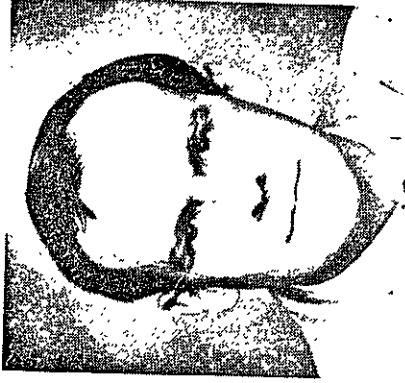
At the end of the day we will have to accept that Africa has become so marginalised that a repeat of the East-West competition which took place on the continent during the Cold War is virtually impossible.

If such rivalry is revived it will probably be in the Middle East.

The era of superpower competition in Africa is something of the past — and a good thing that is too — Africa was caught up for too long in the ideological battles precipitated by colonialism and anti-colonialism.

Now is the time for post-colonial reconstruction.

The Soviet Union, whether under Gorbachev or under a traditional cabal, still has to convince us that it can play a significant role in the reconstruction of Africa.



**DR PHILIP NEL** (right), head of the Institute for Soviet Studies at Stellenbosch University, analyses whether the post-Gorbachev USSR will reassert its role in Africa. Dr Nel, who freely admits to have done research for South African military intelligence in the past, has more recently been working with Soviet academics on a travelling exhibition illustrating the diverse historical ties between South Africans and the Soviet Union: South 22/8 - 28/8/91

On the military front, the Soviet defence force has been so disadvantaged economically and in terms of disarmament treaties that it hardly retains a global reach, either directly or by means of an aid policy.

For the foreseeable future the Soviet defence force will concentrate on consolidating its position within the Soviet Union, and on its posture in relation to NATO in Europe. Africa

as the "non-capitalist path".

Until such time as the Soviet leadership can come up with a new model, Africa will hardly be interested in what the Soviet Union has to offer. In terms of economic aid the USSR is also a spent force. Today they themselves are recipients of "imperialist" aid and it is difficult to see how the weak Soviet economy could soon regain a competitive edge.

national situation throughout the world", as one of them put it. Perhaps they will try to regain lost ground in Africa, but I remain sceptical about their chances of success.

The first reason is that the Soviet Union has very few levers of influence to its credit.

Most of its erstwhile African allies have turned their backs on the Soviet model of development, also known

# Anti-Colonialism in Africa

New Nation (Learning/N) 23/8 - 29/8/91.

①

In the previous article we highlighted the evils of colonial rule and the domination of European powers in Africa. The struggles by the people of Africa for political independence and national liberation achieved successes after the Second World War (1939 - 1945). The crisis of world capitalism which brought about the war and was intensified by the war gave the space for the colonial peoples to score victories in India, China and increasingly in Africa. But the Second World War also signalled a change in imperialism. No longer were colonies essential to capitalist exploitation of the Third World. In fact, the chief imperialist power after the Second World War was the USA which had never had colonies like Britain, France and Portugal. The victorious anti-colonial struggle of the African people therefore found that on achieving political independence they were still at the mercy of the imperialist world market which was dominated by the USA.

These ex-colonial countries such as South Africa, (which obtained political independence in 1910), Australia and Canada and achieved economic growth, did so to the extent that their growth tied in with the interests of imperialism. Most of the rest of the ex-colonial countries won political independence but with the tentacles of imperialism strangling them economically.

The first president of independent Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, summed up the forces behind the independence movements when he stated that "the African revolution ... is defined by three political components of our liberation movement - namely: Nationalism, Pan Africanism and Socialism". We shall focus on these concepts in relation to the anti-colonial struggle within Africa.

African nationalism was a desire to see African countries organised powerfully and free from oppression by other countries. It was a protest against foreign rule and domination. The key aims of the African nationalist movements were to end foreign rule and domination, reject racial prejudice, demand equality and the hope that political independence would lead to economic independence.

Different methods and tactics were used to achieve independence. Although both Ghana and Kenya were British colonies, different methods were used to achieve liberation from British rule. Kwame Nkrumah favoured non-violent struggle and used the strike and boycott weapon. On the other hand, Kenya was forced to resort to the armed struggle. Oginga Odinga of Kenya said, "Kenyan nationalism turned violent because for thirty years it was ... denied all legitimate outlet."

Pan Africanism focussed on the need for all African countries to unite on matters of common interest to Africa. Generally, Pan Africanism aimed to end colonial rule and achieve independence for the entire African continent and its people. George Padmore said that "for Pan Africanism, the self-determination of the independent territories is the prerequisite to the federation of self-governing states on a regional basis, leading ultimately to the creation of a United States of Africa".

Socialism was seen by many people as the possible solution to the problems of colonialism and imperialism. Socialism was the belief that the working people, not private capitalists, should control and own the means of production, such as land, factories, banks, railways and so on. Socialism would ensure the equal distribution of the wealth of a country amongst its people. Capitalism, had resulted in unequal distribution of wealth and land.

All three ideologies were present in the movements for African liberation and independence. Now we shall briefly examine the struggles in Ghana, Zimbabwe and Zaire. You should try to see the different methods used to achieve liberation.

## The Gold Coast (Ghana)

This was the first British colony to gain independence. In 1947, Kwame Nkrumah and his supporters formed the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) but had little



Nkrumah and the Queen of England during a garden party in 1961.

success. In 1948, Nkrumah founded the Convention People's Party and used strikes and boycotts as weapons to force Britain to recognise the independence of Ghana. In 1957, Britain agreed and Nkrumah was elected the first president of Ghana. He followed a Pan Africanist line and also maintained contact with eastern European countries and the People's Republic of China. Although politically independent, the economy of Ghana was dependent on one export crop - cocoa. Ghana was unable to break all economic ties with Britain. In 1966, Nkrumah's government was overthrown in a coup by Akwasi Afrifa.

Afrifa renewed contact with Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

## South Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)

The struggle for Zimbabwean independence was summed up in one word, Chimurenga. This was interpreted to mean revolution, war, struggle or resistance. In 1965, the Rhodesian Front (RF), under the leadership of Ian Smith and representing the settler population, made a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from its colonial ruler, Britain. The RF did not want the vote for all inhabitants of the British colony of Southern Rhodesia. They denied political rights to the indigenous people. Britain, in collaboration with the United Nations, applied economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. The RF banned the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), declared a state of emergency and detained political leaders, including Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. The Zimbabwean people resorted to the armed struggle to gain freedom. Guerrilla warfare intensified and attempts to find a negotiated peace settlement failed. In 1979, at Lancaster House in London a constitution was worked out for the Zimbabwean people by Britain and the leaders of the Patriotic Front. In 1980, the Patriotic Front won the elections which followed the Lancaster agreement. Robert Mugabe became the first president of Zimbabwe.

## The Belgian Congo (Zaire)

Ideological differences were highlighted in this liberation struggle. In 1960, Patrice Lumumba, a socialist, became the first President of an independent Zaire. He was opposed by Moise Tshombe, who had the support of the mining companies in the rich copper Katanga region as well as from the western capitalist countries including Belgium. A civil war broke out between the supporters of socialism and capitalism. The United Nations Organisation sent an armed force to monitor the situation. In 1961, Lumumba was assassinated. Guerrilla warfare spread throughout the provinces. Tshombe eventually became Prime Minister but worked hand in glove with the USA government. In 1965, he was also overthrown and a military dictator, Colonel Mobutu, came to power.

Today, African countries play a dominant role in world politics and are a powerful bloc within the United Nations Organisation. In the next article we shall discuss the formation and structure of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

## ACTIVITY

Pair the words in the left hand column with the ones in the right hand column. You might like to join them with a line. We have done the first one for you.

### Column A

1. liberation
2. democracy
3. nationalism
4. panafricanism
5. socialism
6. capitalism
7. colonialism
8. anti-colonialism
9. guerrilla warfare
10. civil war

### Answers

1.e; 2.i; 3.d; 4.c; 5.j; 6.f; 7.b; 8.g; 9.h; 10.a;

### Column B

- a. war between inhabitants of a country
- b. when one country rules another
- c. the unity of African countries
- d. a protest against foreign rule
- e. freedom
- f. private ownership of land, factories etc.
- g. to rule independently
- h. unconventional warfare
- i. one person one vote
- j. state ownership of land, factories etc.



# African debt woes pile up

Star 24/8/91

LUSAKA — The alarming levels of external debt in the preferential trade area (PTA) member states in Africa indicate the urgent need for regional co-operation in trade.

The editorial of the PTA newsletter says the total debt of the 17 members, excluding Somalia, rose from \$36,42 billion in 1985 to \$54,44 billion in 1989.

An economist at the PTA secretariat in Lusaka says the figure stated in the newsletter is conservative and estimates this to have gone up to \$64 billion.

Zambia's debts amounted to \$7,2 billion by 1989, second only to Sudan, whose external debt amounted to \$12,3 billion in the same year.

The lowest figure is for Djibouti, with only \$191 million.

Increases over 1985 figures in terms of rank percentage and not in real terms show Angola recorded the highest, followed by Burundi and Lesotho.

This aspect is attributed to donors demanding conditions on borrowed funds, while some of them require the debtor countries to source goods from them even if such goods are available locally.

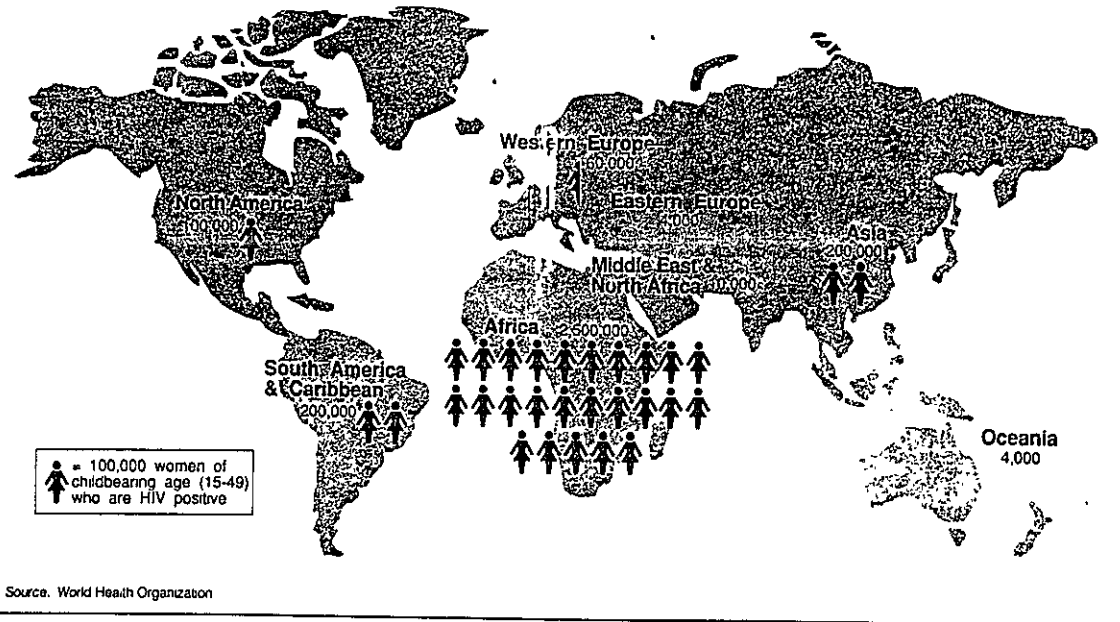
Inadequate production of quality export goods has contributed to trade imbalances, falling prices of primary commodities, high interest rates, depreciation of national currencies and dependence on mono export products. — Sapa.

# African babies' Aids nightmare

Star 24/8/91

① (1991) (1990) (1989) (1988)

Estimated numbers of HIV-infected women



THE devastating impact that Aids is going to have in Africa is dramatically shown by this graphic.

One of the most tragic aspects of the Aids pandemic in Africa is that, unlike other regions of the world, nearly half of those infected with the disease are women.

This means there are more doomed babies being born with Aids in Africa than anywhere else. The graphic, based on figures supplied by the World Health Organization, is published in the latest edition of the United Nations magazine Africa Recovery.

Whichever way it is looked at, it shows the severity of the Aids infection in Africa compared with the rest of the world. The situation has been described by the UN Children's Fund (Unicef) as "a ca-

## AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

lamity whose dimensions are scarcely comprehensible".

Of every 100 000 women of child-bearing age in Africa, 2 500 are infected with HIV, the virus that causes Aids. The comparative figure is 140 in North America, 70 in Western Europe and 30 in Asia.

Of the 8 million to 10 million adults estimated to be HIV-infected throughout the world, nearly 6 million are in Africa. And of these, 800 000 have full-blown Aids. In addition, 900 000 children are HIV-infected and nearly 500 000 of them have Aids.

The International Research Office of the United States Census

Bureau estimates that in 25 years' time 70 million Africans could be infected with HIV.

UN estimates are that "child mortality rates may rise as much as 50 percent in much of sub-Saharan Africa during the Nineties, wiping out the gains in child survival that have been achieved over the past two decades.

"Another 10 million children may be orphaned by the deaths from Aids of their mothers or both parents."

Unicef says the key to preventing a massive toll among children is to contain the spread of Aids among women, since about a quarter of all pregnant women who are HIV-positive pass the infection on to their new-born.

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# A SITUATION NEEDING its mouth looked at

Star 24/8/91

## SVEN LUNSCHKE

EARLIER this month US Congressman Stephen Solarz expressed surprise and bewilderment at the failure of the ANC to welcome a multi-billion-dollar aid package for South Africa with open arms.

The ANC responded by saying an aid package of such proportions, offered to a post-apartheid government, needed careful consideration.

While there are lots of questions marks over the ANC's general economic policy, the organisation is right to study the package in detail.

There seems to be a consensus that the economy will not survive without foreign investments and aid.

But it is vital that the power players in SA consider carefully the conditions attached to such aid.

Development aid to many Third World countries has not succeeded in boosting economic growth.

To the contrary. In a recent article, appropriately entitled "Beware the Siren Call of Foreign Aid", Nedbank chief economist Edward Osborn warns of the dangers inherent in such aid.

"Foreign aid has resulted in a syndrome of aid dependency where the aid intended for economic stability and growth has failed in achieving that, and hence more and more is requested," he writes.

Nowhere is this more evident than in Africa.



The World Bank estimates that Africa's external debt totals \$226 billion this year, more than 50 percent of the continent's gross domestic product. Over 50 percent of foreign exchange earnings go towards servicing interest and capital on foreign loans.

Despite the billions poured into Africa, there has been a serious decline of national income and a spread of poverty and destitution. The situation is similar for states in Southern Africa. In the circumstances it is not surprising that Mr Osborn says: "Aid is not a precondition for growth or the elimination of poverty."

"Indeed there is an appalling record of misuse of aid and much evidence of aid-engendering attitudes and policies that have been harmful to the process of development." One of the worst aspects of foreign aid is that it has become a form of export promotion for Western countries, who have developed an international aid industry over the past two decades.

"Nearly two-thirds of capital and commodity aid, and even a higher proportion of technical assistance, is tied in the sense that the supply of the goods and services has to come from the donor countries." "The benefits of the aid programme are tied, to a significant degree, directly to domestic industries, consultants and bankers of the donor country," Mr Osborn says. He lists other shortcomings of foreign aid: "Too often aid has gone into projects that are inherently un-

economic prestige projects, usually to underpin the popularity of the ruling party." "The very availability of aid is itself corrupting in that it leads to the misallocation of resources and neglect of economic appraisal and standards." "Donor countries often limit their aid to capital projects without due regard to the capacity of the recipient country to maintain the projects." "Trade patterns become distorted as the freedom of choice of supply of the goods and services required for development is disrupted." "Turning to SA, Mr Osborn says it would indeed be foolish if SA were not to accept foreign aid, but "there should not be a loss of sovereignty in the area of economic policy."

He describes the Solarz plan as the pinnacle of arrogance in attaching conditions characterised by the commitments to economic liberalisation and growth of the private sector. Mr Osborn says there would also appear to be no need for project and commodity aid to SA entailing a tied supply of goods and services because SA should strive to maintain a sound balance of payments. Much more would be achieved in the creation of job opportunities and a reduction in poverty levels if aid were transformed into the opening up of trade opportunities. But this was likely to run foul of protectionist lobbies in the donor countries. "If aid flows must take place, then they should be channelled through SA institutions and structured into spheres of enduring value," Mr Osborn says.

# **Trade will cut debt**

CPN 25/8/91

REGIONAL co-operation in trade is the only way to reduce the high level of debt among Preferential Trade Area (PTA) member states.

An editorial in the latest PTA newsletter says the total debt of the 17 members, excluding Somalia, increased from \$36 416-billion in 1985 to \$54 437-billion in 1989.

An economist at the PTA secretariat in Lusaka said the figure stated in the newsletter was conservative and estimated this to have gone up to about \$64-billion.

Zambia's debts of over \$7,2-billion in 1989 were second only to Sudan, whose external debt was \$12,3-billion.

The lowest debt figure was for Djibouti with only \$191-million.

Inadequate production of quality export goods has contributed to trade imbalances, falling prices of primary commodities, high interest rates, depreciation of national currencies and dependence on single export products.

On a favourable note, the newsletter said inter-PTA trade increased by six percent during the same period, but it called for increased trade among member countries to realise the projected goals. — Sapa



Star 27/8/91 ①

## Madagascar premier names new Cabinet

ANTANANARIVO — Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy yesterday named a new Cabinet — and urged the opposition to accept it.

The 24-member Cabinet is made up mainly of civilians, and includes no members of the six-party opposition coal-

tion. But it does have three Ministers loyal to unpopular President Didier Ratsiraka.

Two military officers were named to head the armed forces and Interior Ministry.

Mr Razanamasy called on his "opposition brothers and sisters" not

to "hold on to rigid positions at the risk of sterilising the common cause".

The opposition's 10-week campaign of protest marches, rallies and strikes have demanded that Mr Ratsiraka end his 16 years of socialist rule. — Sapa-AP.

## Ghanaian gem mine 'not viable'

MATTHEW CURTIN

MARKET sources gave a lukewarm reception to news yesterday that a major Canadian nickel company and the largest US diamond cutter would develop a diamond mine in Ghana to compete with De Beers.

Reuter reported that Canadian company Inco would mine and process the diamonds, and Lazare Kaplan International would handle marketing and sales. *B (D-4) 28/8/91*

The mine had the potential to produce up to 1-million carats a year and had reserves of 11-million carats.

De Beers spokesman Andrew Lamont said yesterday the Ghanaian government had advertised for overseas companies to take over the mine in February last year.

De Beers assessed the project at the time and decided that it was not viable because of its low quality reserves. The mine's potential production meant it was a small-scale operation. Total southern African diamond production in 1990 was 26,2-million carats.



Dishing it out . . . a woman protests against the exclusion of opposition forces from government.

Picture: AP

## New Cabinet spurned in Madagascar

AP 28/8/91

ANTANANARIVO — The anti-government opposition staged a huge protest yesterday as hundreds of thousands of marchers showed their rejection of Prime Minister Guy Razamanany's newly appointed Cabinet.

Banks, businesses and the international airport were closed following the opposition's renewed call for a general strike to force President Didier Ratsiraka from power.

The march, one of the biggest demonstrations in 10 weeks of unrest, went off peacefully.

The 24-member Cabinet named Monday is composed primarily of civilians. But it includes no members of the six-party opposition coalition battling to end President Ratsiraka's 16-year rule.

Presenting the Cabinet on Monday to dignitaries and diplomats, Mr Razamanany glumly characterised his mission as "a suicide operation".

Mr Ratsiraka urged the opposition to be flexible and accept the line-up. — Sapa-AP.

# Algeria praises FW, calls for SA links

Star 29/8/91  
By James Tomlins  
Star Foreign Service

PARIS — Algeria yesterday called for normal relations with South Africa and praised President de Klerk's peacemaking abilities.

Ever since independence in the '60s, Algiers has been in the forefront of all anti-apartheid moves in Africa and in the United Nations.

But all this has changed, according to Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi in an interview appearing yesterday in the Paris daily Figaro.

Asked whether several Arab countries would be prepared to enter dialogue directly with Israel over the Palestinian question, Mr Brahimi replied: "Let me make a comparison with South Africa. Our only problem

with this country has been apartheid. There is absolutely no other reason for not being friends.

"I believe that there are many things that we can do together.

"Despite this, we have carried out a rigid boycott policy just because of apartheid.

"But as surely as the reform process continues in South Africa, we will undoubtedly start normal relations.

"We have a similar attitude to Israel. We would like to see a De Klerk in Tel Aviv."

Asked whether this day was approaching, Mr Brahimi said: "It would be a good thing if we were helped in finding a De Klerk in Israel. For the moment, I do not see anybody. But then, only a few years ago, South Africa also never saw De Klerk."

# Aid from the West linked to reform

ROWENA WHELAN of Reuter in Nairobi. Nov 29/91

**T**HE pro-democracy wave sweeping across Africa from Mali to Madagascar may at last trigger economic liberation in the world's poorest region, economists say.

They say decades of mismanagement by military dictators and one-party autocrats have stifled enterprise and investment in countries south of the Sahara.

"A much more free political system is essential if these economies are to move forward," said Gerrishon Ikiara, a Kenyan economics professor at the University of Nairobi.

"There has been a lack of accountability (in government), a lack of freedom on investment decisions and excessive bureaucracy," he said in an interview.

Foreign pressure is reinforcing internal opposition to inept or corrupt governments as Western creditors seek better value for their development dollars.

French President Francois Mitterrand led the way last year, linking aid to democratic reforms. Since then, US, British and Canadian officials — among others — have echoed his theme.

International Monetary Fund chief Michel Camdessus, who toured east African one-party states this month, said: "Pluralism, participatory regimes are good friends of development."

Some Western economic experts blame corruption — nurtured by oversized and interfering state bureaucracies — for blocking the benefits of IMF and World Bank-funded market reforms.

Compared with the dazzling pace of political liberalisation in the former East bloc, firm steps toward more democratic systems of government south of the Sahara have been limited.

Three presidents toppled in the region this year, in Somalia, Ethiopia and Mali, were ousted at gunpoint with hundreds killed on the streets of their capitals.

Scores more protesters died as state forces resisted opposition movements in Madagascar, Togo and Cameroon.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, who has been in power since independence in

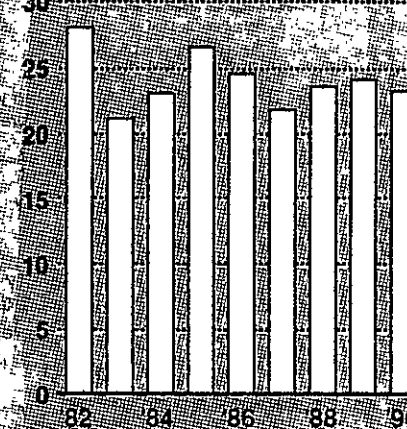
1964, faces a tough ride at the first multiparty polls in two decades, due by October.

Ibrahim Babangida, military ruler of regional giant Nigeria, has promised to hand over power to a civilian government by the end of 1992. Contested state elections are due soon.

## Africa's Growing Economic Crisis

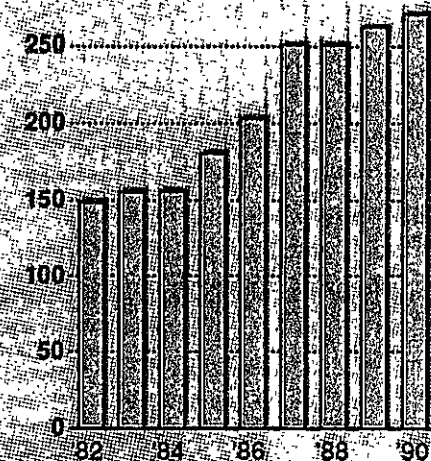
### Falling Revenue

Net revenue going to Africa  
Adjusted to 1986 prices and exchange rates, in billions



### Rising Debt

External debt  
in billions



### Slow Growth

Annual average percent change in gross domestic product 1986-90

0% or less

0.1% - 2.9%

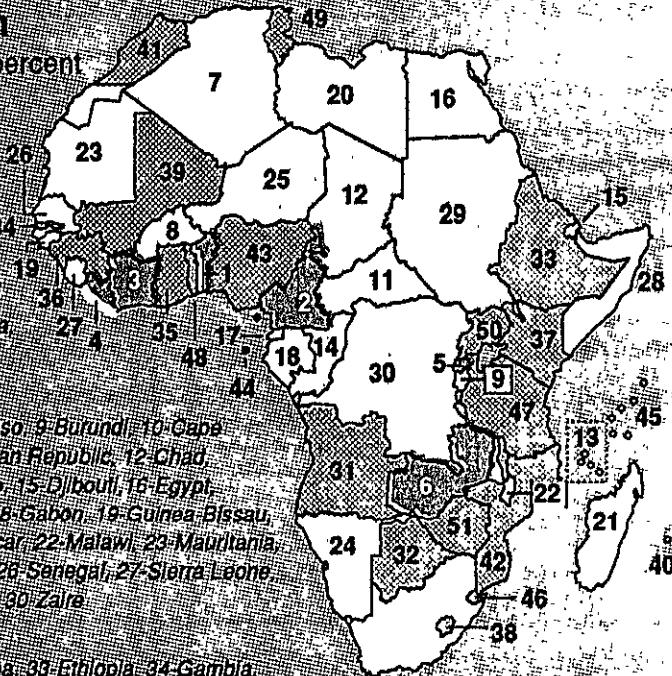
3% or over

1-Benin, 2-Cameroon, 3-Ivory Coast, 4-Libania, 5-Burkina Faso, 6-Zambia

7-Algeria, 8-Burkina Faso, 9-Burundi, 10-Cape Verde, 11-Central African Republic, 12-Chad, 13-Gambia, 14-Congo, 15-Djibouti, 16-Egypt, 17-Equatorial Guinea, 18-Gabon, 19-Guinea-Bissau, 20-Libya, 21-Madagascar, 22-Malawi, 23-Mauritania, 24-Namibia, 25-Niger, 26-Senegal, 27-Sierra Leone, 28-Somalia, 29-Sudan, 30-Zaire

31-Angola, 32-Botswana, 33-Ethiopia, 34-Gambia, 35-Ghana, 36-Guinea, 37-Kenya, 38-Lesotho, 39-Mali, 40-Mauritius, 41-Morocco, 42-Mozambique, 43-Nigeria, 44-Sao Tome and Principe, 45-Seychelles, 46-Swaziland, 47-Tanzania, 48-Togo, 49-Tunisia, 50-Uganda, 51-Zimbabwe

Note: some countries not included



Source: United Nations

AP/Alan Baseden

EVENTS  
 the  
 November  
 of Reuter at the United Nations

# Debt crisis for

① AAG 29/8/91

# Africa

**T**HE UN secretary-general has proposed that wealthy nations cancel their official debt to African countries before the continent faces a crisis of "tragic proportions."

Five years after UN members promised to revive Africa's devastated economies, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in effect called the programme a failure.

He concluded, in a major report on the plan, that Africa could never develop under a debt burden of 270 billion dollars and proposed that rich countries cancel bilateral government debts, such as was done for Egypt and Poland, and increase their aid.

"By the end of 1990, it had become evident that the African economic crisis had indeed deepened," he said.

"The average African continued to get poorer and to suffer a persistent fall in an already meagre standard of living."

On June 1, 1986, the UN General Assembly adopted a five-year programme which was seen as a watershed in committing wealthy nations to supply resources for development. In turn, African nations promised to restructure their economies, reduce waste and reallocate government funds.

But according to the report resources fell far short of what was needed and many restructuring programmes were half-hearted and shortsighted.

The document was prepared for a review of the programme in General Assembly sessions from September 3 to 13.

Specifically, Dr Perez de Cuellar proposed that the assembly now set concrete targets rather than general goals. These include:

- Doubling per capita income by the year 2015, entailing a six percent annual economic growth rate. Even then annual income would still be only about 700 dollars in most nations.

- Increasing aid to 30 bil-

lion dollars — have significantly reduced this dependence since 1986, the report said.

Reviewing the past five years, Dr Perez de Cuellar said the increased resources wealthy nations agreed to supply in 1986 did not materialise and real net flows of funds actually fell from 24.6 billion dollars in 1986 to 23.3 billion in 1990.

Despite numerous initiatives and important moves towards democratisation, he said, restructuring by African governments often suffered from political instability, military conflicts and ineffective policies to mobilise domestic resources.

In addition, many African nations, spurred on by rich countries, focused on short-term measures such as foreign exchange earnings rather than health, education and employment so that "human conditions worsened considerably."

As a result, many who could leave did so. The report cited an alarming brain drain of 50 000 to 60 000 highly qualified Africans who left the continent since 1986. 21 billion dollars by 1992 from 21 billion in 1989 and continuing to raise it by four per cent annually until the year 2000.

- Taking "bold" measures to reduce Africa's debt, which in 1990 cost at least 23 billion dollars to service. This includes cancelling official government debt and semi-official export credits and reducing debt owed to multilateral institutions. Private commercial debt should also be written down and reduced.

- Setting up an African Diversification Fund for technical assistance to ease a chronic dependence on primary commodities.

Nine out of 10 African countries depend on commodities for 70 percent or more of their exports, compared with seven out of 10 in Latin America and five out of 10 in Asia.

Only six African countries — Gabon, Ghana, Mauritius, Morocco, Sierre Leone and

ECONOMIES

# Debt crisis for Africa

0 1164 29/8/91

EVELYN LEOPOLD of Reader at the United Nations

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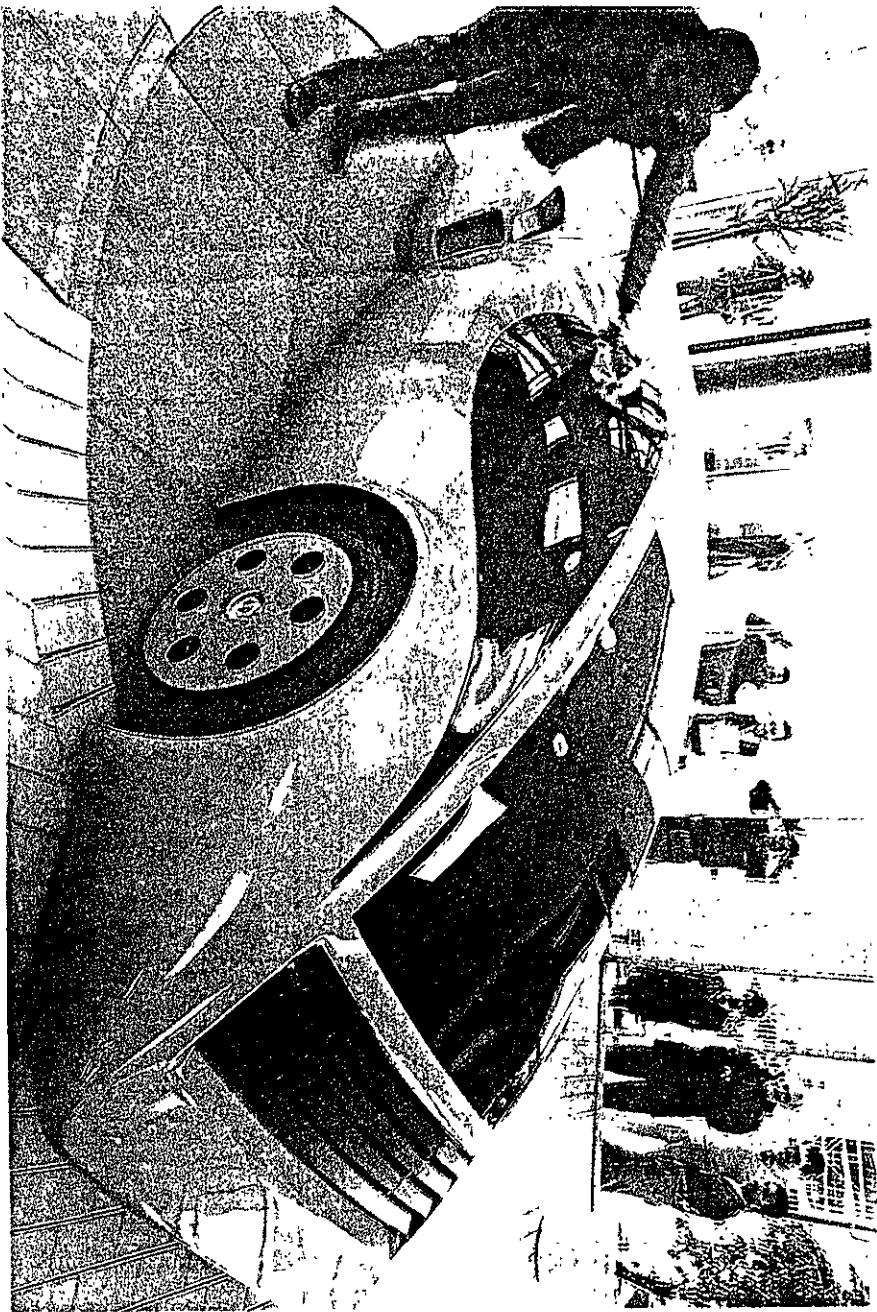
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## 'Supercar' for the 21st century



People passing a Strand Street motor business showroom would be forgiven for wondering if they had unexpectedly been dumped into the 21st century. This futuristic car certainly looks as if it can do anything short of flying. But, it is only a dummy with no name and can barely move. It was made of fibreglass by a company in Paarden Island and used for a TV commercial. It now draws people like flypaper. Mercedes fanatic Mr Joel Mgetyelwa adds a touch of glass to the 'supercar'.

Picture: HANNES THART, The Argus.

SUNLIGHT

investment  
**interest grows**

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Foreign interest in investing in the Cape is picking up, with 70 known job-creating investments having been made in the last two years, says Western Cape Growth Organisation (Wesgro) executive director David Bridgman.

Over 550 jobs were created indirectly.

Bridgman says in the past year 367 businessmen from 31 countries — many of which did not have contact with SA for over a decade — have contacted Wesgro. *B1 Day 30/8/91*

However, there is still concern over links with SA.

"While a number of well publicised officially sanctioned business delegations have visited SA, many countries still do not wish to acknowledge business contacts with us and this is a situation we must recognise," he says.

# DBSA 'could be financial powerhouse of Africa'

*B1 Day 30/8/91*  
THE Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) could become the World Bank of Africa, distributing and allocating international development resources in sub-Saharan countries, Sacob director-general Raymond Parsons said yesterday.

Addressing the Scandinavian-South African Business Association in Oslo, Norway, Parsons said the bank's expertise in channelling limited funds to many competing projects could be put to good use in Southern Africa now that political obstacles were falling away.

"The DBSA was originated with this aim of a broader Southern African perspective in mind," he said.

Currently, the bulk of DBSA funds flow into South African projects. Activities outside SA are limited mainly to Lesotho, Mozambique and Namibia.

Referring to current debate on the possibility of SA joining the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Committee (SADCC), Parsons said it could happen soon if SA "played its cards skilfully".

It would have to be sensitive to fear in the region about its economic domination. "Southern Africa does not wish to be re-colonised by the new South Africa," he said.

LESLEY LAMBERT

But the SADCC could not afford to ignore the value of SA's role in the region. With only 40% of Southern Africa's population, SA was responsible for more than 80% of its GNP. It harvested more than 50% of the region's maize, about 90% of its wheat and supplied 70% of its meat. Hundreds of thousands of southern African workers were employed in SA, Parsons said.

In recent years, the value of the SADCC's trade with SA was about four times intra-SADCC trade, while about 70% of the region's trade volume passed through SA.

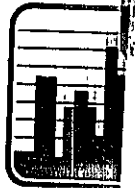
SA's total trade with southern Africa amounted to R6bn in 1987. Its non-bank investments in Africa were R3,4bn in 1988. The value of SA's exports to the rest of Africa rose by 40% in 1989 and by an estimated 22% in 1990.

Looking further north, he said economic co-operation between Africa's four economic powers — Nigeria, Egypt, Kenya and SA — could treble SA's economic growth rate with significant benefits for its southern African neighbours.

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# Rich nations urged to cancel Africa's debts

*How 30/8/91* *(1)*

UNITED NATIONS — Africa faces a crisis of "tragic proportions" and rich nations should cancel the continent's rising debts and increase their aid, says UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Five years after UN members promised to revive Africa's devastated economies, he says the continent can never develop under a debt burden of \$270 billion in face of a shortage of international aid and the fall in commodities prices.

In a major report on the UN Africa recovery programme, he proposes that rich countries cancel official debt, as was done for Egypt and Poland, and boost their assistance.

He says: "By the end of 1990, it had become evident that the African economic crisis had indeed deepened.

"The average African continued to get poorer and to suffer a persistent fall in an already meagre standard of living."

On June 1 1986, the UN General Assembly adopted a five-year programme which was seen as a watershed in committing wealthy countries to supply resources for development. In turn, African countries promised to restructure

their economies, reduce waste and reallocate government funds.

The report says resources fell far short of what was needed and many restructuring programmes were half-hearted and short-sighted. The programme is to be reviewed in General Assembly sessions from September 3 to 13.

Mr Perez de Cuellar proposes that the assembly now set concrete targets rather than general goals. These include:

- Doubling per capita income by the year 2015, entailing a six percent annual economic growth rate. Even then annual income would still be only about \$700 in most nations.

- Increasing aid to \$30 billion by 1992 from \$21 billion in 1989 and continuing to raise it by four percent annually until the year 2000.

- Taking "bold" measures to reduce Africa's debt, which in 1990 cost at least \$23 billion to service.

- Setting up an African Diversification Fund for technical assistance to ease a chronic dependence on primary commodities.

Nine out of 10 African countries depend on commodities for 70 percent or more of their exports, compared with seven out of 10 in Latin America and five out of 10 in Asia. — Sapa- AP.

DUBBY 1

# All-Africa conference in October

By ALI MPHAKI

①

THE world's first All-Africa business conference, SIDCO '91, is to be held in Yaounde, the capital of Cameroun from October 28 to 31. *Sowetan 30/5/91*

The conference, which aims at exploring opportunities in Africa, will be hosted by the President of Cameroun, His Excellency Mr Paul Biya. It is being arranged by the Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation (MDC) - an international foundation for Africa, which is based in Paris.

Speaking at a Press conference held in Sandton this week, Mr Desire Atangana, president of the MDC, said that business leaders from Cape to Cairo would meet to address matters of common interest.

The theme is "Exploring Opportunities in a Changing Africa". Key-note addresses will be delivered during plenary sessions and workshops will focus on finance, aid and investment, trade and regional co-operation, energy, transport and tourism.

# Africa's debt crisis deepens

clp 1/11/91



**A**FRICA faces a crisis of "tragic proportions" and wealthy nations should cancel the continent's rising debts and increase their aid, UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said this week.

Five years after UN members promised to revive Africa's devastated economies, he said the continent could never develop under a debt burden of R810-billion and a shortage of international aid and a fall in commodity prices.

In a major report on the UN Africa recovery programme, he proposed that rich nations cancel official debt, as was done for Egypt and Poland, and boost their levels of assistance.

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- Doubling per capita income by the year 2015, entailing a six percent annual economic growth rate. Even then annual income would still be only about R2 100 in most nations.

- Increasing aid to R90-billion by 1992 from R63-billion in 1989 and continuing to raise it by four percent annually until the year 2 000.

- Taking "bold" measures to reduce Africa's debt, which in 1990 cost at least R69-billion to service. This includes cancelling official government debt and semi-official export credits and reducing debt owed to multilateral institutions. Private commercial debt should also be written down and reduced.

- Setting up an African Diversification Fund for technical assistance to ease a chronic dependence on primary commodities.

Nine out of 10 African countries depend on commodities for 70 percent or more of their ex-

ports, compared with seven out of 10 in Latin America and five out of 10 in Asia.

Only six African countries — Gabon, Ghana, Mauritius, Morocco, Sierra Leone and Tunisia — have significantly reduced this dependence since 1986, the report said.

Reviewing the past five years, Perez de Cuellar said the increased resources that wealthy nations agreed to supply in 1986 did not materialise and real net flows of funds actually fell from R73.8-billion in 1986 to R69.9-billion in 1990.

Despite numerous initiatives and important moves towards democratisation, he said, restructuring by African governments often led to political instability, military conflicts and ineffective policies to mobilise domestic resources.

In addition, many African nations, spurred on by rich countries, focused on short-term measures such as foreign exchange earnings and diversification — rather than health, education and employment so that "human conditions worsened considerably", the report said.

As a result, many who could leave did so. The report cited an alarming brain drain of 50 000 to 60 000 highly-qualified Africans who have left the continent since 1986. — Sapa-AP



**TRAGIC SCENARIO ... UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar says the average African continues to get poorer and to suffer a persistent fall in an already meagre standard of living.**

# Give us back our ancestral land

By KURT SWART

A BELEAGUERED rural community facing eviction from a farm — their second forced removal in three decades — have been granted two months' grace.

## Coloured community face second forced removal in 30 years

ST Times 19/91 (3) Gen

The community have dug in their heels and are refusing to leave the pitifully-eroded farm Allendale in the Cape where they have lived as rent-paying tenants for the past 30 years. They say they

will only leave if they are resettled on nearby Allendale owner Danie Elsaskloof, the ancestral community to vacate his land which they claim was given to them by Queen Victoria.

Victoria. Allendale owner Danie Elsaskloof, the ancestral community to vacate his land which they claim was given to them by Queen Victoria.

### Campaign

It backed its claim by quoting from a document dated 1898 in which land was ceded by Queen Victoria to the "Home Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church".

But lawyers for the community said the condition that the land be used for missionary purposes was removed from the title deeds by an executive council minute signed by then-Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd and Minister CR Swart in 1950.

Yesterday — the original deadline for eviction — the community said they had been told by a member of the church delegation that they had been granted an extra two months to leave the farm.

### Chased

NG Kerk spokesman Reverend Ernst Lombard said: "We negotiated with the farmer and asked for a year's extension for the eviction. This would give us more time to help the community." Mr. Du Plessis has refused to comment. The leader of the com-

munity, Mr. John Januarie, 73, who was born on Allendale in 1918, said the community had been told by their grandparents that the land had been granted for missionary purposes for the coloured community by Queen Victoria.

"But the NG Kerk sold the land to a Mr. Smik, who chased us off with the help of the police in 1961."

The NG Kerk has denied that the land was granted to the community with the intention that they would eventually obtain ownership rights.



Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

**DIGGING IN...** John Januarie and Martinus Fransman, who say they want their land back

They marched on the NG Kerk offices in Cape Town last year and several weeks ago they marched to the Citrusdal police station. Addressing a meeting of the community and concerned organisations last week, Dr. Allan Rossouw said Allendale was "the story of South Africa" where black people were displaced to make way for white farmers.

"It is a story of pain, theft and the destruction of communities throughout the land," he said. Mr. Januarie said that after the forced eviction 30 years ago the original Allendale community was scattered to Worcester, Atlantis and as far as Knysna. There were 800 of us, and only about 30 families stayed on the farm Allendale. But the community wants to stay together. If we return to our land all those who left will return."

Mrs. Molly Smik, the owner of Allendale, was adamant that the matter was closed. "It was finalised years ago. We do not have any business with these people any longer." "They pollute the area, they refuse to pay rent and their pets kill our farm animals," she said.

# Where <sup>1</sup> should ~~2~~

## aid go?

*Star 3/9/91*

**WHICH** should be helped more,  
Africa or eastern Europe  
and the Soviet Union?

There can be no doubt that the immediate political, economic and strategic interests of the West demand that high priority be given to eastern Europe, Russia and its breakaway republics. If democracy and market economics can be induced to take firm root in those areas, the danger of another war in Europe will be greatly reduced, the prosperity of Europe will be enhanced and the influence of democracy extended.

Africa, in contrast, impinges very little on Western interests. It is unlikely to pose a military threat in the foreseeable future. Its internal wars can be safely ignored. It is a small market and of only limited importance as a supplier of raw materials. It has consumed enormous quantities of aid without visible benefit to itself or the donors. In hard-headed terms, it is an investment that could be written off.

Yet societies that profess liberal values cannot simply turn their backs on starving millions. Priorities are not a simple matter. Even within the former Soviet bloc there will be hard choices to make this winter between competing areas and between the need to relieve suffering in remoter parts as against the political value of placing funds where they are most likely to assist democratic politicians.

The lesson learnt by donors over many years is that aid is effective only in conjunction with sound government and the application of appropriate skills. If this principle is universally applied, it will go a little way towards resolving conflicts among priorities. But there is still an underlying choice of emphasis to be made between attempting to relieve the miserable plight of Africa and investing in the future of Europe. —  
The Independent News Service. □

# African bid to reclaim stolen coffers abroad

Sowetan 3/9/91

**IF Africa's new-bred politicians are to be believed, the hunt is on for billions of embezzled dollars salted away in foreign bank accounts.**

In August alone, four governments announced legal moves to recover assets they say were stolen under previous one-party regimes whose forte was certainly not book-keeping.

Mali, Congo, Liberia and Sao Tome have started a trend which, diplomats predict, will catch on as more veteran presidents are forced from office.

"There could be an avalanche effect as former opponents take power and see the state of public finances they have inherited," commented a European diplomat who follows events in several West African countries.

Ironically it was Switzerland, whose banks are reputed to be the safest haven for presidential nest-eggs, that set the cat among the pigeons.

On August 21, while the world's attention was focused on the failed coup in the Soviet Union, a statement by the Swiss foreign ministry may have been overlooked among the headlines.

The ministry said it had accepted a request by Mali to hire lawyers to establish whether deposed President Moussa Traore and his entourage had illegally transferred one billion dollars abroad during the 23 years they ruled in Bamako.

Mali, as one of the poorest countries on the planet, has been a high priority for Swiss development aid.

The upshot of the decision is that part of the Swiss aid budget will pay for Swiss lawyers to investigate whether Swiss aid money has been wrongfully deposited in Swiss bank accounts.

The idea led to some quick thinking by the new generation of middle-class and civilian leaders who have come to power this year and last, thanks to popular pro-democracy movements.

A morning-after feeling has already set in as governments, confronted by empty coffers and mountainous debts, try to improve living standards for their people. The recovery of ill-gotten assets abroad would relieve the strain.

In Togo, delegates at the national conference which has taken effective power from President Gnassingbe Eyadema asked to be given the same help as Mali.

"We appeal to countries that cherish peace, justice and liberty to help Togo to lawfully recover funds which were misappropriated to

the prejudice of the Togolese people," declared a resolution adopted by the conference.

Liberia's interim government followed suit, creating an "assets recovery team" working with New York attorneys and Justice Minister Philip Z. Banks said their task was to trace funds allegedly embezzled by high-ups in the 10-year regime of President Samuel Doe, who was killed by rebels in 1990.

"The entire... effort is aimed at doing justice, returning to the Liberian people the wealth that is rightfully theirs," Banks said, referring specifically to six million dollars in a London bank account and numerous properties in the United States.

The national conferences unfolding in French-speaking Africa have heard startling allegations of corruption and embezzlement running into billions of dollars and involving presidents, their families and their cronies.

Congo's marathon conference this year, ending two decades of authoritarian rule by pro-Marxist soldiers, built a huge radio audience throughout central Africa as the seamy side of power was laid bare.

Two former dignitaries, including a brother of figurehead president Denis Sassou Nguesso, are in custody over corruption allegations. Justice minister Martin Bemba went

to France in August "to start the process of repatriating assets abroad", a spokesman said.

But as old-style African presidents have often replied when challenged about the alleged venality of their regimes: "It takes two to tango."

"The presidents have to be incriminated, of course. But the western companies who pay out bribes are just as guilty," said an economist with the African Development Bank.

He feared that even if new African leaders want to unearth the truth they will face resistance from all sides. Foreign governments who looked the other way while their companies paid bribes to obtain huge contracts are unlikely to lead the clean-up, he said.

Nor are aid agencies whose managers failed to stop leakage of funds meant for development projects.

"The debate is intensifying in Europe because public opinion wants aid to Africa to be properly spent," a Dutch diplomat commented.

"But it will be difficult for a country to admit that for years its officials and businessmen have helped the illegal transfer of funds to an African president's bank account." -Sapa-Rewriter



## Sudan bans relief flights

NAIROBI - Sudan's government has grounded relief flights into the nation's rebel-held and drought-stricken south, cutting off food supplies to more than 100 000 people, a UN official said yesterday.

The order was made on Saturday and particularly jeopardises relief operations into Nasir, where the UN has been supplying refugees with food and supplies through air drops, said an official with Unicef.

Hundreds of thousands of Sudanese fled to Nasir from refugee camps in Ethiopia when fighting that toppled Ethiopia's government spread to the camps near its border with Sudan.

Most of the Sudanese sought refuge in the camps in 1988 to escape war and the severe drought that killed more than 250 000 southern Sudanese.

Southern Sudan is controlled primarily by predominantly Christian and animist rebels who have been fighting the country's Muslim-dominated government in the north since 1983.

The ban came one day after a British Broadcasting Corporation reporter interviewed southern Sudanese People's Liberation Army rebels who claimed to have overthrown their commander, John Garang.

Sapa-AP

## 'SA bidding for Sudan projects'

KIN BENTLEY ①

LONDON — SA is reported to be making a bid to get involved in oil and mineral exploration and rail transport in Sudan.

The latest Africa Confidential says Pretoria's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, met Lt-Gen Omer el Beshir during his August visit to London.

31 Dec 1991  
It says the quid pro quo would be permission for SAA to overfly Sudan.

Genmin, Engen and Transnet representatives are expected in Khartoum soon, it says.



# Mazrui's love, faith in Africa

Sowetan  
3/19/91



IT is difficult, at first, to ascertain exactly what it is that makes Ali Mazrui such a compelling person.

His eyes are gentle, and his smile is real. He walks almost like a priest, slowly and complacent...

The observer is almost at once overwhelmed by his presence.

It is when he speaks of Africa that you recognise the humanity and that conviction in him.

Mazrui speaks out of a love for the continent that runs deeper than Africa's own history.

He speaks of Africa's problems as if they were injuries to himself.

As a Kenyan national who has lived through the Mau Mau period - and a second "home" in Uganda - Mazrui is cautious about Africa's future.

The continent has been the ideological battleground for the superpowers - the Soviet Union on one hand and the United States of America on the other.

## Conflict

South Africa did not escape this conflict altogether.

"Some of your most difficult times are still ahead," Mazrui says.

A political settlement is a long way off, and there are no guarantees it will amount to equal power-sharing.

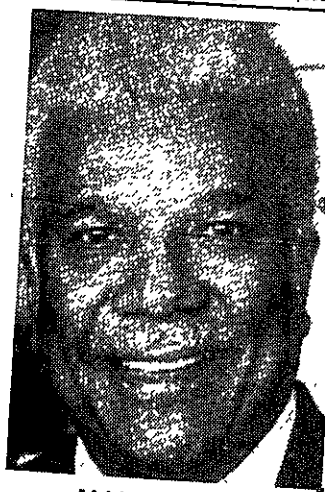
The two most important levers, the armed struggle and economic sanctions, have been taken away from the liberation movements, Mazrui explains.

The arrival of President Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika is largely to blame for current situation in South Africa.

The ANC and the PAC waged

## FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN  
Political Correspondent



ALI MAZRUI

a multilateral struggle against Pretoria with considerable aid from the Soviet Union and countries in the former East Bloc, where Moscow played a decisive role.

And, because of the emerging world order, where American foreign policy now dictated the decisions taken by most developing countries when it came to aid and economic leverage, the South African liberation movements found themselves floundering like beached whales.

This reality made the option of armed struggle and sanctions much more difficult.

"Everywhere else in Africa where there has been a large white minority in power... there hasn't been a readiness to give up that power without, not

just a brief but a sustained, armed encounter," he says.

Mazrui was a young man during Kenya's Mau Mau period, and later the Algerian liberation war.

Both the Kenyans and Algerians were politically triumphant - though they lost the military struggle - without aid from socialist countries, he says.

The armed struggle of the ANC and the PAC (with the help of socialist countries) could have eventually broken Pretoria (politically) if the socialist countries had sustained their military aid.

## Superpower

Nevertheless, the Third World as a whole has been affected by the decline of the Soviet Union, he says.

America has emerged as the only superpower and, therefore, no longer is there a world order with checks and balances - a concept which was born in the US.

"It was possible for the Third World to play one superpower off against the other to secure a veto in the (United Nations) Security Council."

## Predicament

But where does Africa fit into all of this? What is Africa's predicament in the present world order?

Economically, Africa is going nowhere. Politically there are many achievements.

"It is likely to be a pretty difficult decade, economically, for much of Africa.

"We haven't solved our problems of production effectively.

"We may become more dependent, especially on international financial institutions like

the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

"Perhaps more than ever, especially if the West diverts money to the Soviet Union..

"The relative good news is political... which is part of the Gorbachev legacy.

"One is that many of our civil wars are coming to an end more rapidly as they used to before Gorbachev.

"They (America and the Soviet Union) used to provide Africans with more and more weapons to kill each other with... the war in Eritrea lasted 30 years, Angola more than 15 years.

"Now that superpower rivalry has ended, there are prospects of very rapid pacification by Africans themselves in Africa," Mazrui says.

There is also a groundswell in pro-democracy movements.

## Dictatorships

"Many African populations have become sick and tired of dictatorships and insensitive governments.

"They are no longer just taking it lying down. They are on the streets demanding change...

There is widespread change in Africa, much less than in American and Soviet policy on the horizon for Africa.

Both are concerned with their traditional ideological bents and who the victors are.

Africa is alone and Africans must take Africa back into the world order - as an economic and political asset not as a liability or a side-show.

●Mazrui is the guest speaker at the *Weekly Mail* Book Week's discussion Race and Culture Identity at the Wits Theatre on Friday September 6.

Political freedom will trigger growth in Africa, writes Rowena Whelan

# Reform pays economic dividends

Spur 4/9/91

**T**HE pro-democracy wave sweeping across Africa from Mali to Madagascar may at last trigger economic liberation in the world's poorest region, economists say.

They say decades of mismanagement by military dictators and one-party autocrats have stifled enterprise and investment in countries south of the Sahara.

"A much more free political system is essential if these economies are to move forward," said Gerritson Ikiara, a Kenyan economics professor at the University of Nairobi.

Foreign pressure is reinforcing internal opposition to inept or corrupt governments as Western creditors seek better value for their development dollars.

French President Francois Mitterrand led the way last year, linking

aid to democratic reforms. Since then, US, British and Canadian officials — among others — have echoed his theme.

Political analysts say change seems to be accelerating as part of a worldwide shift toward plural politics and market economics.

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, who has been in power since independence in 1964, faces a tough ride at the first multiparty polls in two decades, due by October.

Ibrahim Babangida, military ruler of regional giant Nigeria, has promised to hand over power to a civilian government by the end of 1992. Contested state elections are due soon.

Ethiopian guerrillas who overthrew dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam pledged multiparty elections by 1993 and market incentives.

Angola and Mozambique, impoverished by years of civil war, plan to follow the pluralistic examples of neighbours Botswana and recently independent Namibia.

A vogue for pro-democracy conferences which began in the small west African state of Benin last year, and led to the fall of military ruler Mathieu Kerekou, is also spreading.

National conventions have been, or are being, held in Congo, Niger, Togo, Zaire and Mali.

A 13-week crisis on the Indian Ocean republic of Madagascar began with street protests to demand a convention on electoral and constitutional reform. It escalated into violence and intense pressure on President Didier Ratsiraka to quit after 16 years.

Political and economic experts say Africa's spiral of economic de-

cline is a basic cause of popular discontent.

"We're fighting for economic survival," said Jonathan Frimpong-Ansah, a former governor of Ghana's central bank who now heads a UN-backed foundation to train business leaders.

"We need the political leaders who can recharge the African spirit as someone who can produce for himself," he said from the African Capacity Building Foundation's headquarters in Harare.

But experts warn it could take years, if not decades, to revive regional economies, even under the most democratic system.

With aid and investment flows declining, debts of \$160 billion, agriculture stagnating and Aids an impending disaster, economists say the task ahead is becoming ever more daunting. — Sapa-Reuter. □

AFRICA

# African hunt is on to find billions of 'stolen' dollars

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**ABIDJAN** — If Africa's new-breed politicians are to be believed, the hunt is on for billions of embezzled dollars salted away in foreign bank accounts.

In August alone, four governments announced legal moves to recover assets they said were stolen under previous one-party regimes whose forte was certainly not book-keeping.

Mali, Congo, Liberia and Sao Tome have started a trend which diplomats predict will catch on as more veteran presidents are forced from office.

Ironically, it was Switzerland, whose banks are reputed to be the safest haven for presidential nest-eggs, that set the cat among the pigeons.

On August 21, while the world's attention was focused on the failed coup in the Soviet Union, a statement by the Swiss foreign ministry may have been overlooked among the headlines.

The ministry said it had accepted a request by Mali to hire lawyers to establish whether deposed President Moussa Traore and his entourage had illegally transferred \$1bn abroad during the 23 years they ruled.

Mali, as one of the world's poorest countries, has been a high priority for

Swiss development aid.

The upshot of the decision is that part of the Swiss aid budget will pay for Swiss lawyers to investigate whether Swiss aid money has been wrongfully deposited in Swiss bank accounts.

In a number of countries a morning-after feeling has already set in as new governments, confronted by empty coffers and mountainous debts, try to recover ill-gotten assets abroad.

In Togo, delegates at the national conference, which has taken effective power from President Gnassingbe Eyadema, asked to be given the same help as Mali.

Liberia's interim government followed suit, creating an "assets recovery team" working with New York attorneys. Justice Minister Philip Banks said their task was to trace funds allegedly embezzled by high-ups in the 10-year regime of President Samuel Doe.

The national conferences unfolding in French-speaking Africa have heard startling allegations of corruption and embezzlement running into billions of dollars and involving presidents, their families and their cronies.

Congo's marathon conference this

year, ending two decades of authoritarian rule by pro-Marxist soldiers, built a huge radio audience throughout central Africa as the seamy side of power was laid bare.

Two former dignitaries, including a brother of figure-head president Denis Sassou-Nguesso, are in custody over corruption allegations. Justice Minister Martin Bemba went to France in August "to start the process of repatriating assets abroad", a spokesman said.

But as old-style African presidents have often replied when challenged about the alleged venality of their regimes: "It takes two to tango."

An economist with the African Development Bank said: "The presidents have to be incriminated, of course. But the Western companies who pay out bribes are just as guilty."

He feared that even if new African leaders wanted to unearth the truth, they would face resistance from all sides. Foreign governments which looked the other way while their companies paid bribes to obtain huge contracts were unlikely to lead the clean-up, he said. Nor are aid agencies whose managers failed to stop leakage of funds meant for development projects. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Businessmen look at Sudan

LONDON - South Africa is making a bid to get involved in oil and mineral exploitation and rail transport in Sudan, according to the British-based political newsletter, *Africa Confidential*.

It reports recent talks in London between Mr Rusty Evans, Pretoria's Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and Sudan's Lieutenant-General Omer el-Besher to discuss South African technical co-operation.

The *quid pro quo*, says the report, would be permission for SAA to overfly Sudan. *Sudan*

## ~~2/15~~ Secret meetings 4/9/91

According to *Africa Confidential*, Mr Evans declined to comment on reports of earlier, secret meetings in Khartoum 18 months ago, but said: "There is hardly a country on the African continent with which we're not in contact at this time."

He said the contacts concerned economic development rather than politics and were largely through the private sector with the Government acting only as "facilitators."

Representatives of Genmin and Engen companies and the railway parastatal, Traqnsnet are expected to go to Khartoum soon for further talks, *Africa Confidential* adds.

# Acid test for beleaguered Ratsiraka

SP419191

Smart money says that President Ratsiraka is about to win the next round in Madagascar politics. KEN VERNON reports.

**ANTANANARIVO** — The civil unrest aimed at forcing Madagascar President Didier Ratsiraka from office may reach a climax today when more than 100 000 public servants decide whether or not to obey a government ultimatum to end a 10-week strike or face dismissal.

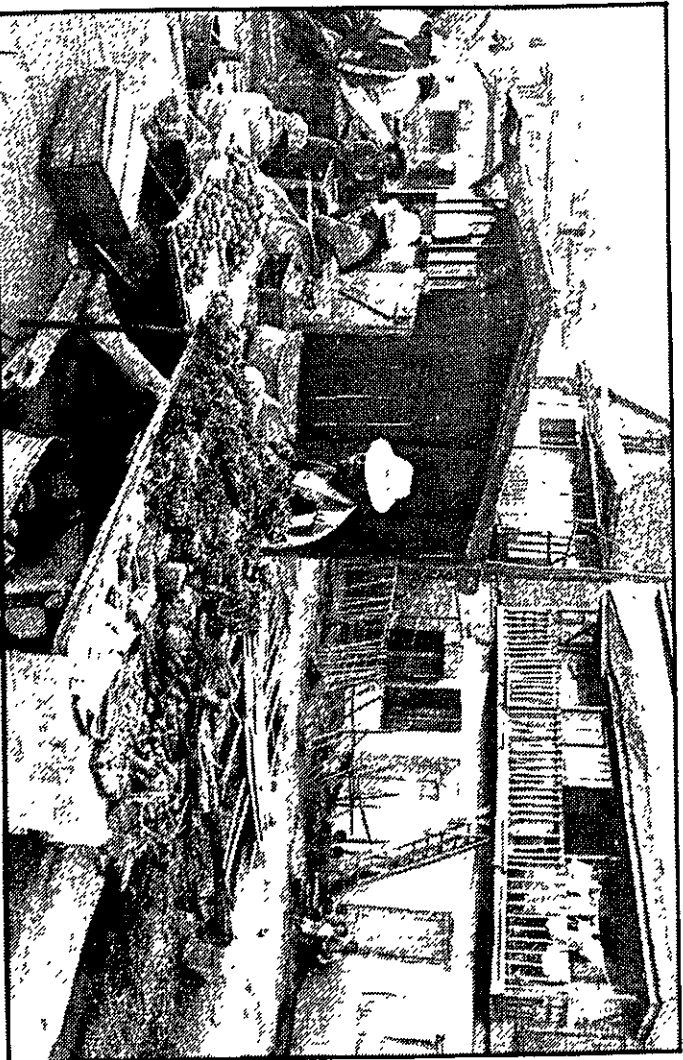
If the strikers remain united and reject the ultimatum, the week-old government of Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy may have no alternative but to resign — and, in turn, place almost intolerable pressure on President Ratsiraka to do the same.

However, if enough government employees return to work, it would suggest that the initiative has finally been wrested from the "Forces Vives" opposition coalition.

A third possibility being discussed in informed circles is that the striking workers may return to work, taking with them opposition-nominated "Shadow Ministers", and then refuse to obey orders from government Ministers.

This would leave the government unable to re-entrance the workers, unable to allow the shadow Ministers into the government offices, and unable — ultimately — to govern effectively.

In the Byzantine world of Madagascan politics, nothing



Awaiting the final outcome . . . a pavement vendor in Antananarivo.

is simple, but this week the smart money seems to be on the Ratsiraka government to win.

Some analysts say the "revolution" died outside the president's palace on August 10 when more than 100 demonstrators were shot dead, and that the gentle Malagasy people no longer have the stomach for the fight.

Opposition politician the Rev Richard Andriamanjato counters that August 10 was the final nail in President Ratsiraka's coffin.

For more than three months the government has appeared powerless in the face of a series of strikes and demonstrations that have virtually paralysed the republic, forcing banks, businesses and shops to

close.

But this week an air of normality appeared to have returned to Antananarivo. Striking public servants queued outside reopened banks to receive salary cheques, most shops reopened, and the narrow cobble-stoned streets were clogged with traffic.

"The people are tired of the situation of constant strikes and shortages caused by the opposition," says new Minister of Mines and Industry Jean Jacques Rakotoniana, who until a few weeks ago was an opposition shadow Minister.

His quick sidestep has earned him the nickname of "chameleon" on the streets of the capital.

"If the government were to resign now, the opposition

have no policy. There would be a vacuum and chaos," he says.

Mr Andriamanjato, leader of one of the main factions in the Forces Vives coalition, believes the people are still solidly behind the opposition, but agrees that the confrontation may have gone on too long.

"There will have to be a final outcome very shortly," he says the opposition has alternative economic and social policies.

"We are willing to co-operate with anyone in helping to run the country, possibly in a coalition, until elections next year, and to participate in a national convention to determine a new constitution."

In the middle, and trying

desperately to save what remains of the economy of what was once a jewel in their colonial crown, are the French.

Mr Andriamanjato says the French suggest some form of coalition government, something he will consider only if President Ratsiraka is removed.

The present situation in Madagascar has its roots firmly in the past.

When President Ratsiraka seized power 15 years ago he was being swept along on the nationalistic tidal wave engulfing the Third World.

Idealistic students at the forefront of his Marxist revolution in 1975 are now businessmen trying desperately to stay afloat amid the debts of 15 disastrous years of xenophobic Marxist economics.

Most analysts say the president's effective political organisation will win any election because the opposition lacks money and organisation.

The wild card in the pack is the armed forces, which have so far remained aloof from the political struggle.

If today's showdown results in bloodshed and paralysis, there is speculation that the army may step in.

The street talk is that Mr Ratsiraka has emasculated the army by stocking most of its munitions in his palace, a massive North Korean-built edifice 10 km from the capital. It reportedly rivals President Saddam Hussein's Baghdad fortress, complete with SAM missiles and years of supplies for his 1 000-strong, hand-picked guard. □

# Striking Madagascan civil servants reject ultimatum

Star 5/9/91  
By Ken Vernon  
Star Africa Service

ANTANANARIVO — Tens of thousands of striking Madagascan civil servants demonstrated through the streets of the capital Antananarivo yesterday in an emphatic rejection of a government ultimatum to return to work or be fired.

The show of solidarity by the country's civil servants has put the political ball firmly back in the government's court.

There is widespread speculation that the week-old government of Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy will now stand down. This move would put further pressure on the embattled President Didier Ratsiraka to do the same.

The civil servants, along with most other workers in Antananarivo, have now been on strike for almost three months as part of a widespread campaign to force President Ratsiraka to resign from office.

Although all the government offices were open and guarded by police and soldiers armed with riot batons yesterday, one government official confided that fewer than 5 percent of the

① civil service had reported for work.

The Star was told by an official at the Ministry of Agriculture that fewer than 50 of the 2 000 workers who normally turned up for work in the government building had obeyed the government's ultimatum.

As the strikers marched past their offices in the centre of Antananarivo they carried banners proclaiming their various ministries and chanted "No, no, no" in reply to the government's demand.

Shops and offices throughout the capital were partially shuttered, the owners fearing that violence could break out between the strikers and security forces.

However, a holiday atmosphere prevailed among the marchers, many of whom carried bunches of flowers to proclaim their peaceful intentions.

As has happened almost daily for the past three months, the strikers gathered at the vast Independence Avenue square to be addressed by opposition politicians.

There has been no communication for some time from Mr Ratsiraka, who remains in seclusion in his heavily guarded palace outside the capital.

# SA in bid for new African markets

By Garner Thomson and Phil Molefe

Star 5/9/91

South Africa is trying to get involved in oil and mineral exploitation and rail transport in Sudan, according to the British-based political newsletter Africa Confidential.

It reports on recent talks in London between Rusly Evans, Pretoria's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs, and Sudan's Lieutenant-General Omer el Beshier to discuss South African technical co-operation. The quid pro quo, says the report, would be permission for South African Airways to overfly Sudan.

According to Africa Confidential, Mr Evans refused to comment on reports of earlier secret meetings in Khartoum 18 months ago.

But he said: "There is hardly a country on the African continent with which we are not in contact at this time." Mr Evans added that the con-

facts concerned economic development, rather than politics, and were largely through the private sector, with the two governments acting only as "facilitators".

Representatives of Gemmin and Engen companies, and the railway parastatal Transnet, are expected to go to Khartoum soon for further talks, Africa Confidential adds.

## Investigate

Contacted for comment by The Star, Mr Evans said South Africa was conducting dialogue with many prominent persons and governments in Africa.

He was, however, not prepared to confirm that he had held a meeting with General el Beshier.

In the case of Sudan, the situation was exactly the same as with many other African countries.

"Just as we have sent technical delegations to countries such as Gabon, Cameroon, Congo, Zaïre — among others — so we have indicated to the Su-

danese government that we would be happy to investigate areas of possible co-operation," Mr Evans said.

"There is no firm agreement for a visit by a delegation to Sudan at this time.

"But nothing stands in the way of the private sector in exploring areas of interest in that country, such as transportation, mineral and petroleum exploration, and the agricultural sector," Mr Evans added.

An Engen spokesman said the company was considering various opportunities on an ongoing basis and would be sending senior personnel to Sudan in the near future to discuss possible business opportunities.

A Gemmin spokesman said the company was not considering any project in Sudan at present.

Transnet referred media inquiries to Economic Co-ordination and Public Enterprise Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

But his office said Transnet was run on normal business principles and did not fall under the Minister's portfolio.



A Sudanese environmental and conservation scientist looks for damage caused by oil spill to the coral growth off the Saudi coast. Picture: Af

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# Sacob backs call to scrap Africa's debts

By Michael Chester

Proposals that international banks should cancel the multibillion-rand mountain of foreign debts that burden black Africa have been backed by the South African Chamber of Business.

The proposals that black Africa should be released from official debt obligations — as Poland and Egypt have been — were first put forward by United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Support for the proposals was urged in Maputo yesterday by Sacob deputy director-general Ron Haywood when he addressed a conference

discussing closer co-operation among the nations of southern Africa in a post-apartheid era.

Mr Haywood said it was costing black Africa \$23 billion (R66 billion) a year just to pay service charges on loans.

Both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were now enforcing greater financial discipline.

Release from debt burdens would have an immediate positive impact on economic development, he said.

There was enormous potential to increase Africa's total exports — which at the moment accounted for only 4 per cent of world trade.

But it was critical to reach closer co-opera-

tion in the financial sphere, and raise investor confidence with evidence of civil order, overall stability and trustworthy laws.

Mr Haywood welcomed suggestions that some form of corporation be created to channel funds into cross-border co-ordination of joint ventures.

An important lead had already been taken by the Development Bank of Southern Africa, which had so far committed about R5,8 billion to 760 projects — with another 540 projects under consideration.

It was crucial that southern Africa laid the foundations to inspire banks and businessmen with maximum confidence, he said.

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# No alternative to true democracy

**The suspension** this week of World Bank assistance to Zambia because it failed, in the face of its first multi-party election, to implement economic reforms should be a lesson to those in this country who want to tamper with the market mechanism, however innocent their motives.

Both foreign investors and aid donors are going to look twice at a country where those in influential positions recommend that a tax be placed on electricity to fund a State television service; or that pension funds be precluded from investing in tobacco companies or in those perceived to be trade union unfriendly. Both these views are reported elsewhere in this edition.

And both would be such a flagrant abrogation of free enterprise principles and lead to such a substantial misallocation of scarce resources that investors and donors will most certainly shy away.

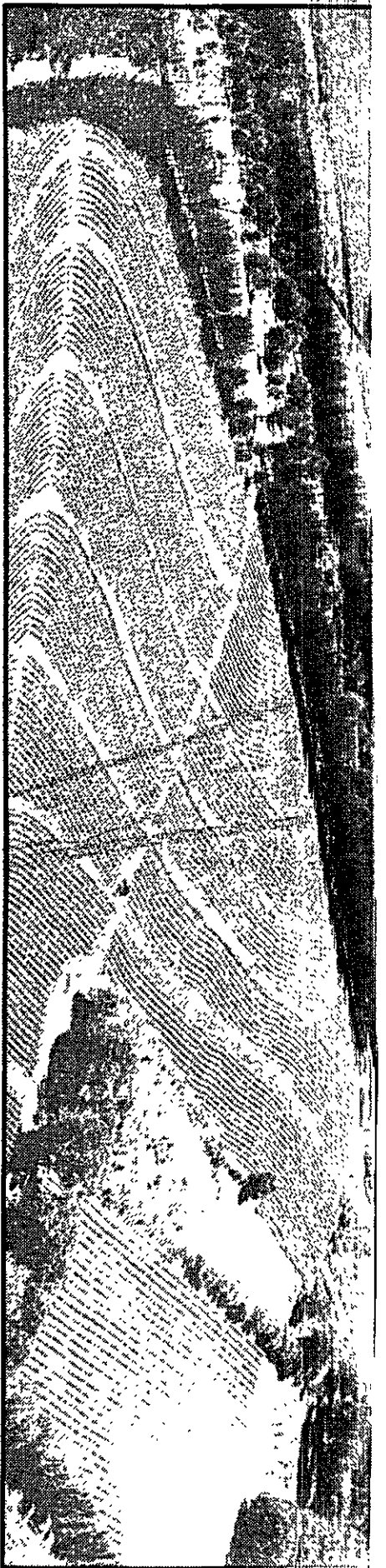
The Third World in general, and Africa in particular, has so mismanaged its affairs that conditionality, hated though it may be by the inefficient and corrupt, has become an essential part of all aid flows.

Moreover, economic conditionality is not going to be enough. It was made very clear at the annual meeting of the World Bank in Washington last September that a rising standard of human rights was also required.

And as most African countries south of the Sahara seem to have taken the view that the only thing worse than a World Bank loan is no World Bank loan, they are going to have to toe the line and democratise. Political inconvenience is no longer the defence — if it ever was — which used to be put up in the Seventies and Eighties.

In SA, those who advocate affirmative action and the misallocation of resources for dubious social reasons may have difficulty securing justification for their views in a world where human rights and free enterprise have found new impetus and where the consequences of past mistakes of this kind are all too obvious.

If interventionists like those in the ANC and Viljoen's broadcasting Task Group don't reconsider their policies very carefully, they could become to prosperity what some believe Peter Stuyvesant is to national health. ■



# African success stories highlight SA incompetence

8 Feb 7/9/91

The UK-based economic journal New African, in reporting the conference, said it revealed that Africa north of the Limpopo was not the cripple it was made out to be. "The famines are real enough but they are serious only in parts of six countries out of the continent's 52 nations."

The conference found that although, generally, Africa's food production was not keeping pace with population growth, the hunger countries were improving. Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Zambia to a remarkable degree.

Sudan, thanks to the Global 2000 campaign headed by Jimmy Carter, keynote speaker at Arusha, has quadrupled wheat production to 600 000 tons in three years — enough for two-thirds of

its needs.

Nobel laureate Dr Norman Borlaug agreed. He told delegates that the improvements being made in Africa were coming not so much from the big commercial farmers but from

## See Editorial — Page 10.

the peasants. Dr Borlaug created the Green Revolution of the 1960s with short-stalked high-yield wheat and rice strains.

At the Arusha conference President Mwirnyi of Tanzania described a project at Kilimo which began with only 67 training plots, each managed by a

smallholder.

"Most of the farmers have achieved yield levels beyond their wildest dreams. They have managed to triple and even quadruple their yields of maize and sorghum within three years. As a result, the number of management plots has increased from 67 to over 10 000."

Apart from what was said at Arusha, many recent reports have lauded Zimbabwe's efforts to redistribute land.

Whereas South Africa expropriated black land and sold it cheaply to white farmers as part of its apartheid policy, the former Rhodesian government created tribal trust lands for blacks. These soon became exhausted from injudicious plough-

ing and overgrazing and, in any event, had mostly poor soils.

In resettling black families on former white-owned farms, the Zimbabwean government, according to the New African Yearbook, moved slowly in order to avoid frightening off white farmers and disrupting food production. It was able to achieve this goal, said the report, because 40 percent of Zimbabwe's potential agricultural land was underused.

The yearbook says the government redistributed only 3 million ha of white-owned commercial farm land in the 10 years after independence (1980) and bought only "from willing white farmers". It said black farmers who moved on to commercial

farms did very well. Where white farmers, for instance, had been producing 5 t/ha of maize, black farmers produced 4 t/ha — still double South Africa's average yield.

It said Zimbabwe in 1984 — a low rainfall year — was ready to import 260 000 tons of maize but because of unexpectedly high yields from peasant farmers (380 000 tons that year) it actually exported maize. In the 1986/7 season, Zimbabwe exported maize to SA, the report said.

This part of the yearbook's report is contradicted by an Economist survey which says in 1984 Zimbabwe imported 200 000 tons. The Economist says that in 1987 "although output met less than half (Zimbabwe's) needs, stored

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# Strong case for interim government

Star 7/9/91



IN SO

tions of the regime tended to generate greater coverage and there was nothing deliberate in the imbalance.

MMD meetings tend to suffer from minor problems such as power cuts and stolen equipment, and some major ones such as kidnapped speakers. The only things free and fair about the Zambian elections seem to be Unip's free ride and the fact that the MMD is fair game.

In Tanzania the incumbent regime has added new dimensions to the art of electioneering. Facing the same demands for multiparty democracy, it appointed a presidential commission to collect views on whether Tanzania should keep its one-party system or opt for a multiparty one. The commission was representative of the government — and that was the beginning of the problems.

The regime always knew where the commission would be going next, so districts were visited by party officials extolling the virtues of a one-party state just before the commission arrived to canvass opinions. The tactic tended to stifle the debate somewhat.

Then, of course, there is that African country closest to our hearts, where the Government has been caught using State funds to undermine its main opposition. That same regime has full control of the most powerful communications networks in Africa and gives its opponents just enough time to make themselves look silly.

When its security forces are accused of attacking the opposition, it swiftly undertakes an investigation, finds itself blameless, and then, without consultation, spends a billion rands in a transparent attempt to buy political support.

Finally it comes up with a constitutional plan which interprets democracy as five votes for me and one vote for you.

Such behaviour threatens to nip African democracy in the bud. No incumbent regime will play fair when its future is at stake. Interim government, therefore, is a necessary condition for a successful transition to democracy in Africa — the southern tip included.

SHIP

The dispute between the ANC and Pretoria over an interim government is not new in Africa, reports GARY VAN STADEN, senior researcher at the SA Institute of International Affairs. Because incumbent regimes always tend to undermine movements striving for greater democracy, interim governments are imperative, he argues.

AS THE people of South Africa make new demands for their freedom, an identical process has been taking place elsewhere in Africa.

And as minority rule opponents campaign against tyranny and dictatorship, they are all being frustrated by very similar phenomena: incumbent regimes using their power to undermine progress towards democracy.

These events provide a watertight case for interim governments — or transitional authorities.

Take Ghana for example. The besieged military government of Jerry Rawlings, facing growing demands for a multiparty democracy, recently passed a law establishing a National Consultative Assembly to draw up a new constitution, another to establish a committee of constitutional experts and yet another granting temporary amnesty to political exiles. Good news for the democrats? Hardly.

First, the Rawlings government gets to send 22 nominated representatives to the 260-strong NCA. Then the navy, police, air force and army get to send another 10.

The Cocoa and Coffee Farmers Association (government supporters) will be allowed to send another four, while commerce and industry get one each.

Between them the current regime and vested-interest groups have reserved for themselves 143 of the 260 NCA seats. The people get 117, but must select their delegates from existing district assemblies.

To make it harder, the Rawlings government has decreed that any "inappropriate" verbal attacks on the head of state or any of his Ministers during the NCA deliberations will be a crime.

Opposition groups, such as the Movement for Freedom and Justice, are beginning to smell a rat.

They thought democracy would allow for a greater degree of free choice, and feel some type of interim authority would help make the playing field more level.

In Zambia, the opposition to incumbent Presi-



STIFLED DEBATE: Tanzania's Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

dent Kenneth Kaunda, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), is facing similar problems.

The first is that the regime will not disclose the election date.

Secondly, a draft constitution drawn up by the ruling United National Independence Party (Unip) gives more power to the president and very little to an elected parliament.

The draft constitution was approved by the current regime against the recommendations of a parliamentary select committee and without consulting opposition parties.

Unip makes use of State resources to assist their election campaign, they control the media, and use it to boost their campaign and run down the opposition.

When some editors and journalists began to think democracy meant free speech, they quickly discovered otherwise as they helped swell the ranks of the unemployed.

When the State-controlled radio and TV was accused of biased coverage in favour of Unip, the answer was that the higher profile and func-



MORE POWER: Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.



BESIEGED: Ghana's Jerry Rawlings.

# WRITING THE WRONGS

AT LEAST 60 leading writers from around the world – including 30 well-known Africans – are expected to arrive in South Africa in December for an international literary conference.

The conference will be held at Wits University for a week from December 1 and will concentrate on a post-apartheid perspective.

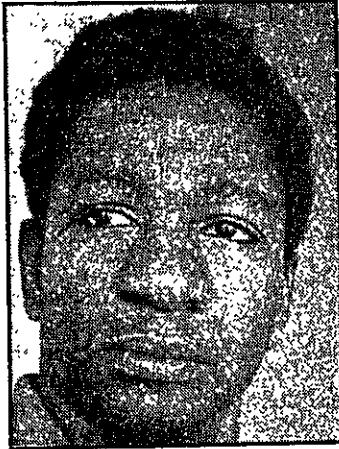
The writers will then travel around the country for a week, giving workshops and delivering papers.

Nigerian writers Wole Soyinka, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1990, and Chinua Achebe, the first African to publish a novel in English, are on the list of those invited to take part in the historic gathering.

So, too, are Ngugi Wa Thiongo, who recently visited the country at the invitation of the Congress of South African Writers, Ayi kwei Armah, Buchi Emecheta, Jack Mapanje, Sembene Ousmane, Micere Mugo and Charles Mungoshi.

Many acclaimed African writers invited to the conference have expressed eagerness to attend.

The conference entitled "Making Literature – Reconstruction in South Africa" is aimed at marking a turning



**INVITED ... Nigerian Nobel Prize winner Wole Soyinka.**

point in relations between local writers and their counterparts in other parts of Africa and the rest of the world.

It is also hoped the conference will forge closer links between different writers' organisations in the country, which are divided along racial and ideological lines.

A move in this direction has been made by drawing on the expertise of high-profile writers professors Es'kia Mphahlele and Njabulo Ndebele, writer Nadine Gordimer and poet Siphiso Sepamla to serve on the planning committee.

So far, 12 writers from North and South America, seven from

Europe and one each from India, the West Indies and Japan, are also expected to be among the superstar lineup.

These include Americans Alice Walker and Noam Chomsky, Brazilian Augusto Boal, Canadians Michael Ondaatje and Margaret Atwood, Colombian Gabriel Marquez, Ariel Dorfman from Chile, Mario Varga Llosa from Peru and Claribel Alegria from El Salvador.

From the United Kingdom will be Benjamin Zephaniah, Hanif Dureshi, Linton Kwesi Johnson and Caryl Phillips; German Gunter Grass and Per Wastberg from Sweden.

Kenziburo Oe from Japan, George Lamming from the West Indies and RK Narayan from India have also been invited.

It is hoped the conference will help to integrate South Africa with the rest of the world and afford guests and participants the opportunity to make a practical contribution to the development of a new literary culture in the country.

The conference will also restore cultural links between South Africa and the rest of the world, which were severed by the cultural boycott.

A steering committee mem-

ber, Gordimer said she was excited about the conference.

"The time is just right for such a conference and I believe we cannot wait for apartheid to be totally defeated and for change to be completed before we do anything. (1) 24/5

"The importance of the conference is that we are opening up the world for both our writers and readers to be exposed to ideas from other parts of the world." (CPNen 8/9/91)

"Our cultural connections were running towards Europe and we had very little to do with our own continent long before apartheid came into being.

"One important thing about the conference is to change the perception that English is the only language of literature," said Gordimer.

Ndebele said the conference would have a positive impact on local writing, especially as it came soon after Ngugi Wa Thiongo's visit.

Working committee member Andries Oliphant said the conference was of historic significance.

"Never before has such a concerted attempt been made to make the ideas, views and literature of the world available to as many people as possible in our country." 1-11 70



## SHOCK DECLINE IN WOMEN'S RIGHTS

THE social and economic status of women in Africa has suffered a sharp deterioration during the 80s, reports a major new United Nations study of the continent.

Maternal mortality rates rose in Africa during the period and now stand at 600 per 100 000 live births compared with 75 per 100 000 in developed regions.

Nearly two-thirds of women on the continent are anaemic and five African countries have reported a decline in female life expectancy. Africa, together with Asia, still has the widest gap in literacy between males and females — in rural areas 94 percent of women cannot write.

The gap between hours worked per week by men and women is also the largest in the world — 12 to 13 hours.



# AFRICA: THE

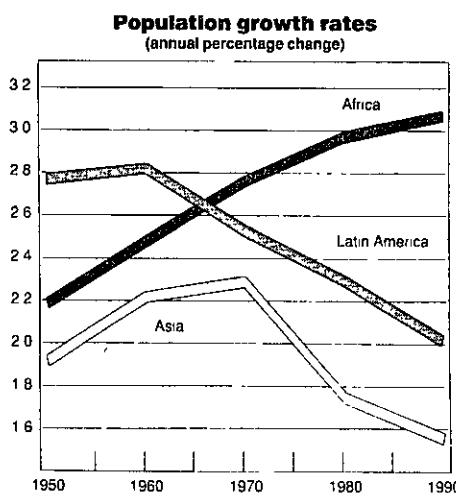
S/Times 8/19/91

## AIDS IS MAJOR KILLER

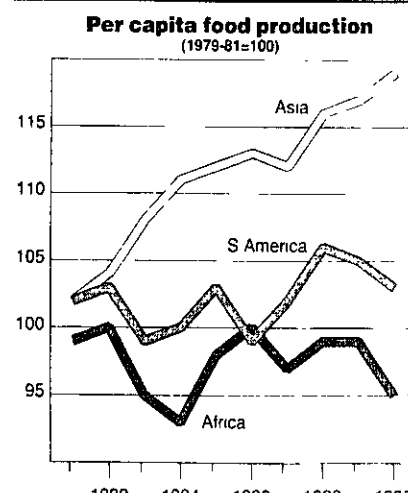
AIDS orphans are becoming a major problem in Africa.

A UN report on African economic recovery released this week estimates that six million people on the continent are now HIV-positive — half of them women. One-million adults are expected to have full-blown AIDS by next year.

Nearly 900 000 children have been born in the last five years with HIV infection and millions more are expected this decade.



The report noted that AIDS was attacking the economically active age group, mainly in the cities and towns, but also in rural



areas. AIDS is now the leading cause of death for women between 20-40 in some major cities of sub-Saharan Africa and the in-

cidence of AIDS orphans, without parents or welfare institutions to help them, is a growing problem on the continent.

# SICK CONTINENT

By BRIAN POTTINGER

AFRICA is in a worse state now than it was five years ago — despite a \$128-billion (R364,8-billion) recovery programme supported by international agencies.

Per capita incomes and savings went down. Levels of illiteracy, mortality, malnutrition and debt went up, says a major new United Nations report on the continent.

The final appraisal of the United Nations Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development was released this week and is now being debated by an ad-hoc committee of the UN General Assembly.

### Food

Although the report observes that many African countries made serious attempts at economic and political reform in the five-year period to 1990, often at high costs to themselves, the results were "poor and unsteady".

Food aid requirements by the 45 countries in the programme increased by 45 percent during the five-year period while real gross domestic product grew by an unsatisfactory 2,3 percent.

Per capita GDP fell an average of 0,7 percent during the same period, gross

## MILLIONS JOBLESS

UNEMPLOYMENT on the African continent has leapt dramatically. A UN report on Africa finds that there were 30 million more under-employed people last year than five years ago. Unemployment increased by an average 10 percent in the last five years.

By 1990, unemployment affected more than 30-million Africans while severe under-employment another 90 million.

Real wages suffered a drastic decline — in some countries it was as steep as 75-80 percent.

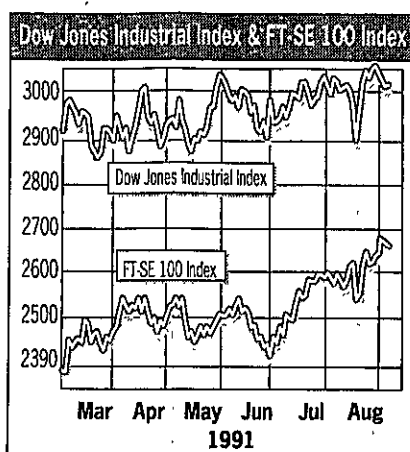
domestic savings grew at a slower rate during the five-year period of the programme compared to the previous five years while the annual rate of inflation was 18 percent compared to 16 percent in the previous period.

Total government spending on education dropped from six percent in 1985 to five percent in 1990 and on health spending from 15 percent to 11 percent in the same period.

Enrolment in primary schools fell from 77 percent of eligible children in 1980 to 70 percent in 1990. Survival rates in the schools also plummeted.

Illiteracy rates were brought down from 59,1 percent in 1985 to 52,7 percent in 1990 but, observed the report, the absolute number of illiterate people increased from 133,6-million people to 138,8-million in the same period.

Hunger was widespread.



Graphic: LEE EMERTON Source: IINET

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FRIDAY'S  
FT-SE 100  
CLOSE  
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FRIDAY'S  
NEW YORK  
GOLD CLOSE  
\$349,55

YESTERDAY'S  
HONG KONG  
GOLD CLOSE  
\$349,05

By 1989 there were 150-million severely under-nourished people in Africa — 70-million more than in the mid-1970s.

The report says: "In 1990, an estimated 26,6 percent of Africa's children were underweight, 53,3 percent were stunted and 10,2 percent were wasting."

The infant mortality rate, despite major efforts by the UN agencies, remained constant during the five-year period at 182 per 1 000 — the highest in the world. The incidence of AIDS soared and unemployment increased at a rate of 10 percent a year.

Desperately needed skills also fled the continent — between 50 000 and 60 000 professionals left for overseas.

The recovery programme was started in 1986 to put the continent on the road to sustainable economic growth. Full implementation of the programme, estimated the African participants, would take \$128-billion of which \$46-billion (R131,1-billion) would come from external sources.

Africa, however, had not been able to keep up its pledge — largely because the continent lost nearly \$50-billion (R142,5-billion) in export earnings because of the plunging value of international commodity prices during the five years

of the programme. Foreign aid also fell far short of the target.

"Consequently, there was scarcely any change for the better in the structures of the African economies during the period of the programme," says the report.

"The recurrence of drought in many parts of Africa, political instability, civil strife, military conflicts, weak institutions and often less-than-effective policies to mobilise and utilise domestic resources continued to be both cause and consequence of the poor economic performance of most countries.

### Urgent

"The situation of Africa is as precarious today as it was prior to the programme.

"There remains an urgent need for a major drive by African countries to reverse the socio-economic deterioration and put the continent on the path to sustained growth and development."

For Africa to survive, said the report, it will need \$30-billion (R85,5-billion) a year in aid — current levels are half that.

The report also urges substantial debt write-offs or donor sponsorships to reduce the continent's \$270-billion (R769,5-billion) debt burden.

# Third World wants to be in Security Council



ACCRA - The Non-Aligned Movement called for expansion of the United Nations' elite Security Council to put more power in Third World hands.

*Southern 7/9/91*

A declaration after a four-day NAM foreign ministers' conference in

the Ghanaian capital Accra over the weekend also endorsed political pluralism, giving official weight to the multiparty issue for the first time since the movement was founded three decades ago.

"The present membership of the Security Council

①

should be reviewed with a view to reflecting the increased membership of the United Nations, and promoting more equitable and balanced representation of the members of the United Nations," the declaration said.

The Security Council, which gives permanent

status to the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France, holds a veto on decisions made by the world body's General Assembly.

The call reflected a shift in focus from east-west tensions to the gulf between the rich north and poor south. - *Sapa-Reuter*

# Madagascar searches for a leader

By Ken Vernon  
Star Africa Service

## ANTANANARIVO —

While most Madagascans seem to be asking the question: "When will President Ratsiraka go?", a few have already one on to the next question: "Who is going to replace him?"

The only thing most observers agree on is that it will not be the man in the opposition "Forces Vives" coalition, General Desire Rakotonirson.

According to one opposition politician, the general was chosen by the loose coalition in the first instance because he had the unique qualities of having no political power, no political ambition, no political past and no political future.

One of the complicating factors in the present Madagascar political situation is that there are no clear-cut alternatives to President Ratsiraka. For almost four months, the opposition organised rallies

and protest marches designed to lever President Didier Ratsiraka from power. Partly as a result it is perceived to have just one policy — getting rid of the president.

Beyond that single unifying aim, the Forces Vives disintegrates into a collection of disparate politicians, each usually at the head of his own party and each with his own presidential ambitions.

At present the foremost of these is Professor Albert Zafy, named as "shadow" Prime Minister by the Forces Vives.

Professor Zafy's main asset is that he is probably the only Madagascar politician who has never co-operated with the Ratsiraka regime — as virtually every other opposition politician has during the 17 years Mr Ratsiraka has been at the helm of state.

But businessmen and diplomats usually give that typically Francophone shrug of the shoulders when asked about the professor's capability — not exactly an inspiring testimonial, but not outright

criticism either.

Another minus is that he has no political party base of his own.

The name most associated with the Forces Vives is that of its spokesman, the Rev Richard Andriamanjato. He recently left the AKFM party he helped found to form his own "AKFM Renewal".

During the review of the mass protest marches that punctuate Antananarivo regularly, the churchman sits on the right of Mr Ratsiraka with Professor Zafy on the left.

However, the churchman suffers from previous association with the Ratsiraka regime. For 12 years he was a member of the inner Cabinet, the Supreme Council of the Revolution that defined the Marxist policies now credited with ruining the country.

Another major contender is Manadaty Rakotonirina, leader of the MFM party and regarded as the founder of the present opposition campaign. It is an indication of the fractious nature of Madagascar

per 10/19/91

can politics that he has now broken from the Forces Vives he helped create.

Moderate by nature, he says the coalition is being manipulated by the president through unnamed "infiltrators".

The leader of the most extreme faction of the Forces Vives is Daniel Ramaromisa, leader of the VVSV party.

He adopts an uncompromising attitude toward Mr Ratsiraka, saying if his people had the weapons they would attack the palace and "shoot him on the spot".

Another partyless candidate could be Antananarivo lawyer Francisque Ravony, a well respected "middleman".

Despite still being a legal advisor to Mr Ratsiraka, Mr Ravony is widely regarded as a man of high ability. Being partyless, he would be a good compromise candidate.

Whoever eventually rules Madagascar will have to perform one of the functions that Mr Ratsiraka has always said he is best for — maintaining a link between the lowland Co-

tiers' and the Merina of the high plateau — the two main political/social/racial groups in the country.

Since independence in 1972, all of Madagascar's presidents have come from the Cotier section, which forms an easy majority of the population.

The only major candidates to fill this condition are Professor Zafy and Mr Ravony, both from the south.

The man who gets the voters' nod will have to move quickly to restore some semblance of propriety and rationality to the political and social fabric of the country.

Madagascans have a common refrain these days, that they are poor and do not deserve to be.

The man they blame is Mr Ratsiraka.

It has taken them 17 years to realise who was to blame and take steps to remedy the situation, but in the new democratic age, no one expects the next incumbent of the presidency to have that amount of leeway.



# Business considerations setting pace of change

Star 10/9/91



WINDHOEK — Economic rather than political considerations could force the rate of change in South Africa, former Nigerian head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said in Windhoek on Sunday.

He was speaking at the opening of an Africa Leadership Forum (ALF) conference on the Challenges of Post-Apartheid South Africa.

"The pace of business links with South Africa has quickened in the last few months and is well ahead of formal links," General Obasanjo said.

"In the end the business community could be calling the tune, leaving politicians no option but to provide the right climate, in which positive trade considerations will fuel the economic integration of South Africa with her immediate neighbours and the rest of Africa."

He warned that whoever took over power in the "New South Africa" would inherit an economy in distress and gravely out of balance.

"If the South African situation can be ameliorated and rectified it may well serve as a lesson for and have impact on other countries which struggle with racial tension throughout the

world," he said.

"South Africa is recognised as a great African country," General Obasanjo said, adding that the dilemma had been how to destroy apartheid without damaging its economy.

"A peaceful end to apartheid, as it now seems, would remove this dilemma, as it will leave the economy intact for South Africa to legitimately play an important role within the sub-region and the continent as a whole.

## Acceptance

"At the formal levels, the admission of South Africa into the Organisation of African Unity will symbolise Africa's acceptance and ratification of the end of apartheid.

If South Africa was to become "the entrepreneur" of Africa, it had to shed apartheid mentality and culture and demonstrate it belonged to the continent.

"The aim must be integration and co-operation rather than domination."

The Preferential Trade Area, Southern African Customs Union and Southern African Development Coordination Conference were bodies whose structures served as models for sub-regional cooperation.

The United Nations had estimated destabilisation due to apartheid had cost almost R18 billion.

A reduction in security spending should lead to expanded production capacity and greater economic efficiency.

There ought to be immediate gains from the "New South Africa" being a partner in the success of a "re-oriented" SADCC.

"We should add that the envisaged high performing regional organisations are an ideal plank and building block for the African Economic Community," he said.

A number of academics and politicians from Africa and abroad are attending the three-day conference in Windhoek, which was officially opened by Namibia's President, Mr Sam Nujoma.

South Africa is being represented by Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

While the focus of the conference would mainly be on economic issues, political and strategic matters were also to be discussed, ALF director Mr Felix Mosha of Tanzania said. — Sapa.



## Africa to have 'frightening' population <sup>①</sup>

JAMES TOMLINS  
Foreign Staff

APR 10/9/91

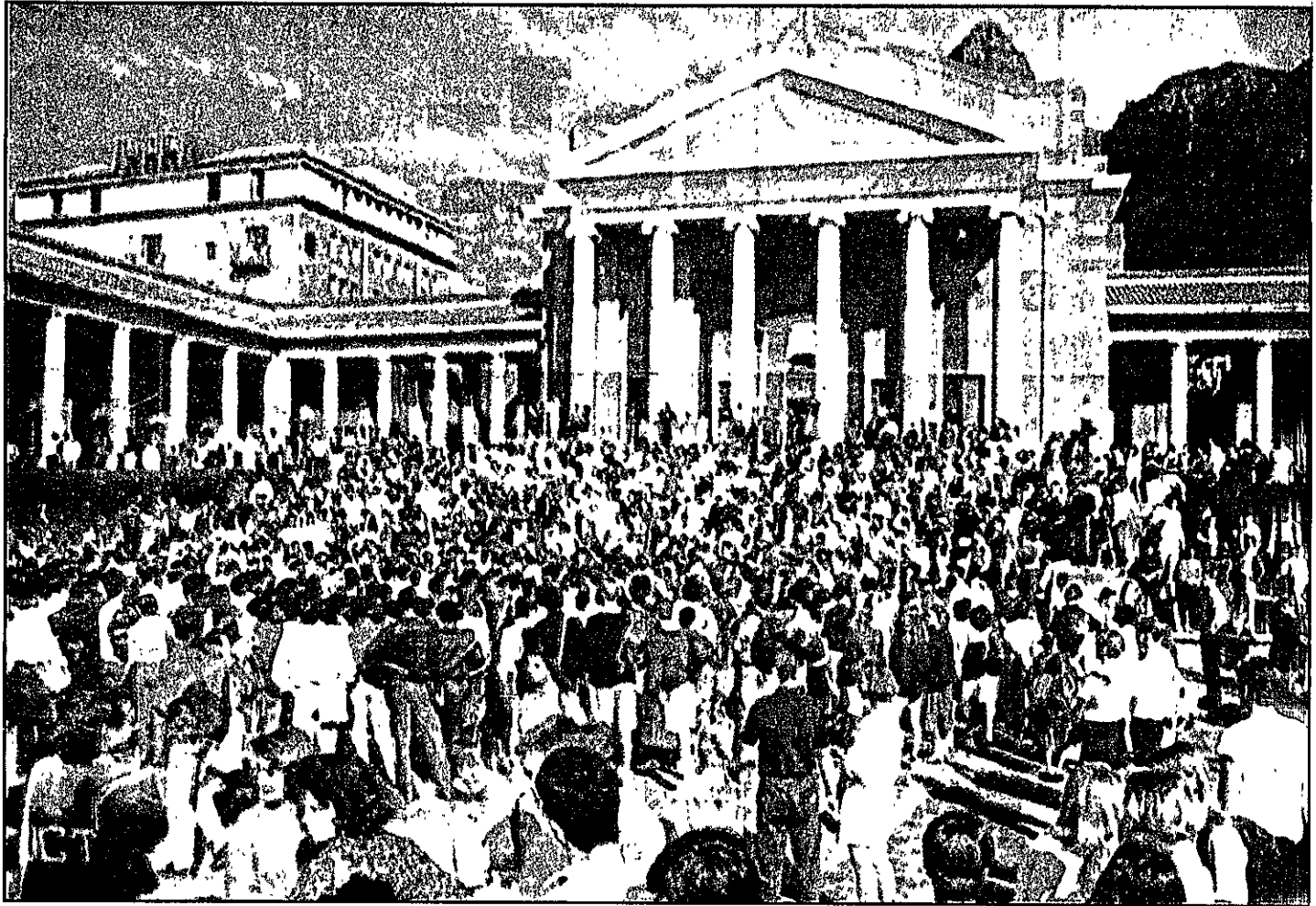
PARIS. — A French survey of population growth in the world warned that African cities faced "frightening" overcrowding in the near future.

It named Lagos, Nigeria, with a population of 7.5 million and Abidjan, Ivory Coast, which has increased its population by 35 times to 10 million in 40 years, as particularly vulnerable. Lagos' population increased by 25 times in that period.

The survey noted that 100 major cities accounted for 560 million, or 11 percent of the world total.

The survey was published in the magazine *Economie et Statistique*.

The most populated city is Tokyo (24 million), followed by New York (23.9 million) and Seoul (15.3 millions). Cairo (11.3 million) is the only African city in the Top 20 chart.



No class today . . . University of Cape Town students mill around on the Jameson Hall steps after being told the university had closed for the day.

## Strikers barricade roads, force UCT campus to close

CAPE TOWN — The strike-bound University of Cape Town (UCT) was closed yesterday after roads to the campus were blocked for a second day — sparking angry scenes between students wanting to attend lectures and supporters of striking workers.

An estimated 14 000 students

vey said the TGWU had been given a mandate to propose a resumption of talks.

Up to 500 UCT workers — including kitchen staff, cleaners, gardeners, messengers and printers — struck on Tuesday to demand a R300-a-month across-the-board increase. It followed 2½ months of pay talks which

als, Mr Harvey said only 17 chers out of the 867 workers affected by the pay talks would be given the maximum 19 percent increase

He said 850 workers would receive 13,5 percent, "which is below inflation and well below the food inflation rate. Neither does it take VAT into account".

not interrupt the academic programme.

Yesterday morning barricades were again built on access roads to the upper campus, said Mr Amooore

Marchers also broke down the front doors of the university administration block on Tuesday.

firmed reports of vehicles being stoned from a bridge across Woolsack Drive yesterday

Asked about the union's attitude towards the disruption and damage, Mr Harvey said any strike was disruptive, adding "We will never distance ourselves from the actions of workers if decisions are taken demo-

Star  
26/9/91  
(152) (54) (355)

injury in the incident.

## One ministry of agriculture?

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The creation of one Agriculture Department to replace the 10 in SA and the homelands had become a possibility, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Kraai van Niekerk, yesterday told a conference of homeland agricultural ministers.

Agricultural services were top heavy, creating problems in the administration and handling of agricultural issues, he said.

But informed sources said there was strong opposition to the proposal from homeland ministers who were reluctant to surrender control in their own territories.

## AFRICA

# Hundreds die in Somalia as battle for control rages

8/Dec 10/9/91. (1)

**Own Correspondent**

NAIROBI — Up to 2 000 people, many of them women and children, have been killed or wounded in Mogadishu since Friday by rival factions fighting for control of the Somali capital, the aid agency Medecins Sans Frontieres said on Sunday.

The French charity has a small medical team working in the city's three main hospitals, which are reported to be overflowing with casualties after 72 hours of shelling and mortar fire.

Sources in Mogadishu contacted by satellite phone said sporadic fighting continued in the city centre on Sunday after a ceasefire on Saturday night.

The conflict is the worst since January when President Siad Barre fell from power in the war-torn country, and food aid for the city's 1-million inhabitants has virtually stopped.

Forces led by Gen Farah Aidid were reported to be gaining the upper hand against the new president, Ali Mahdi, who was installed by United Somali Congress rebels.

Relations between President Mahdi and Aidid have been tense since January when Mahdi's United Somali Congress rebels became the first to occupy Mogadishu.

The two men come from the same clan, the Hawiye of Central Somalia, but loyalty within the clan has split along sub-clan lines. The main factor contributing to the instability is that the guns are in the hands of young, illiterate men, nomads and the city's poor.

The flare-up erupted after Aidid's followers objected to Mahdi's allocation of money to southern clans as compensation for war damages.

Save the Children Fund has had to suspend a feeding programme for 5 000 malnourished children in Mogadishu. The majority of the city's population depends on food aid which is being looted and sold on the black market for high prices.

Apart from residual authority in the Mogadishu Police Force, law and order has completely broken down, and Somalia has virtually disintegrated as a modern state.

The relatively peaceful north broke away last May to form a separate nation — Somaliland. The rest of the country is devoid of control.

Hundreds of thousands of Somalia's wealthy elite now live in Kenya, Sudan and Europe.

Senior members of Mahdi's administration have been selling off the country's assets, factories and stocks of electrical equipment to buyers in the Gulf states. — Daily Telegraph.

# Population Shock

PARIS - A French survey of population growth in the world warns that African cities face "frightening" overcrowding in the near future.

It names Lagos, Nigeria, with a population of 7.5 million and Abidjan, Ivory Coast, which has increased its population by 35 times to 10 million in 40 years, as particularly vulnerable. Lagos' population increased by 25 times in that period. (The survey notes that 100 major cities account for a total population of 560 million, or 11 percent of the world total.)

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Sowetan Correspondent

The survey was made by Geopolis and published in the magazine *Economie et Statistique*.

"The most populated city is Tokyo (24 million), followed by New York area (23.9 million) and Seoul (15.3 million). Cairo (11.3 million) is the only African city in the top 20 chart of most populated cities in the world.

Paris (9.3) and Moscow (11.9) are the only cities in Europe. London is not in the chart.

## Democracy on the table at aid talks

*B/DCW 10/9/91*  
PARIS — African ministers met international aid donors for talks yesterday with democratic rights high on the agenda.

The two-day event in Paris is the first meeting of the advisory committee of the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA), set up last year to co-ordinate African development policy.

In his opening address, Botswana's President Quett Masire said democratic change was sweeping Africa.

"We Africans are not uncomfortable with the subject. Africa is not by nature or by culture undemocratic," Masire said.

UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar urged big cuts in debts owed by Africa to commercial banks, cancellation of African inter-governmental debt and an increase in aid.

Among the delegates were ministers from a dozen sub-Saharan African states and senior officials from aid organisations and multilateral institutions.

— Sapa-Reuter.

PRIES  
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# Ease isolation of SA — Obasanjo

By Dale Lautenbach  
Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — General Olusegun Obasanjo, the former Nigerian head of state who arrived in South Africa last night, has called for "informal people-to-people and business contacts" with South Africans to remove the isolation created by apartheid.

Concluding a two-day Africa Leadership Forum conference in Windhoek, General Obasanjo said only the people of South Africa themselves should determine the moment when the death of apartheid might be proclaimed.

"But the local and international environment must encourage progression, rather than retrogression, of the process."

"Government-to-government and formal, official contacts may be slow in the early stages of the process. Informal people-to-people contact and business

contacts must be encouraged as (they) could hasten the removal of the walls of isolation built by apartheid, and promote formal, official contacts without slowing down the process."

The general was reflecting the deliberations of the conference in his concluding summary after more than 60 delegates from Nigeria, South Africa, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, as well as a number of international academics, had debated the topic of "Challenges of post-apartheid South Africa to southern Africa in particular, and Africa in general".

Once the people of South Africa had declared apartheid dead, it would be up to the rest of Africa and the international community to ratify and reinforce the proclamation, said General Obasanjo.

A number of speakers, among them Bob Tucker, chairman of the Old Mutual-Nedcor Scenario Team, had cautioned against high expectations of a post-apartheid South Africa.

"In social and economic terms, South Africa is weak and

unwell," said General Obasanjo. However, it was still the strongest economy in the region "and neighbouring countries look up to the new South Africa as a pre-eminent nation and economy within southern Africa.

"The perception and reality of an uncaring and dominating South Africa as an oasis in the midst of a desert of poverty and poor economies in the sub-region will be inimical to national security and stability and regional development and co-operation."

On the question of security in the region and whether a post-apartheid South Africa would signal an end to internal conflicts, cross-border raids, destabilisation and "dirty tricks", General Obasanjo called for southern Africa to "learn the lessons of the supremacy of economic power over military power".

In conclusion, he said the goal was not the end of apartheid, but rather the evolution of a nonracial, democratic society.

● The dream ... and the reality — Page 14

# The dream... and the reality

Star 11/9/91

HERE has long been a dream in Africa, and in some quarters of South Africa as well, about the role South Africa could play in the continent once apartheid was gone.

It has been likened sometimes to the role Japan has played in the Pacific Rim. South Africa, the regional superpower, would at last be able to integrate its economy with the continent from which it has so long been isolated, and like a powerful locomotive engine, pull it out of the mire.

The notion gained strength as Africa's deepening economic crisis coincided with the collapse of communism and fears that the end of Cold War rivalry would mean a loss of interest in the Third World and a massive diversion of development aid and investment to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Faced with the prospect of being abandoned, many African countries saw the changes taking place in South Africa as a fortuitously timed hope of salvation.

This week they were told they were grasping at a straw. At a conference in Windhoek organised by General Olusegun Obasanjo, the former Nigerian president and

co-chairman of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group that tried to get negotiations going in South Africa in 1986, economic analysts from various countries warned the African delegates that while their economies were in a mess, South Africa's was also.

It would be the lame leading the weak.

For two days the delegates listened to a catalogue of South Africa's ills; an economy that was "fundamentally misstructured" and grossly underperforming, with a heavy dependency on raw material exports and an underdeveloped manufacturing sector turning out export-led recovery made an export-led recovery highly improbable.

They heard about the way South Africa had spent the glory years of a high gold price building economic infrastructure and uneconomic import substitution industries (Sasol and Mosses) while neglecting its human resources, so that today its people were "frustrated, angry and underdeveloped", which meant low productivity and high unit costs, and now the whole fabric of society was falling apart, causing an upsurge in violence and discouraging in-



Allister Sparks

vestors.

They were told also about the problems that lay ahead: the 43 percent unemployment rate among the economically active population, rising at a rate of 1 million every three years, which could only be contained if the economy attained the improbable growth rate of 5.6 percent a year.

That plus the terrible housing backlog meant there could be no question of the new South Africa having an open-door labour policy towards its neighbours. Foreign migrants from all except perhaps Lesotho would have to be stopped. South Africa, like the rest of Africa, needed major structural adjustment. It would take years to fix. To which Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert added the further sobering thought that the longer it took for South Africa to get through its political transition the more pre-occupied it would become with its domestic problems and the less

inclined to play a role in the region.

It came as a shock to the African delegates to have their dream shattered like this.

"We have been brought up to believe there was tremendous economic progress in South Africa, especially in technological expertise," protested Phillip Asidob, former permanent secretary of Nigeria's Oil Ministry. "Won't someone please reassure me that our basic assumptions were not wrong."

"This is very sobering. We have been euphoric," added General Joseph Garba, another Nigerian who spent years chairing the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee.

While it was good that the inflated expectations of what a new South Africa could do for the continent should have been reduced to a more realistic level, I did feel the conference went too far. I don't think the picture is quiet as negative as that.

For a start consider the immediate gains that an ending of apartheid's wars will bring. The UN has estimated that South Africa's destabilisation operations during the "total onslaught" years cost the neighbouring states

R175 billion. The staunching of that haemorrhage alone will constitute a considerable peace dividend.

It should also enable the countries of the region to cut their defence spending and redirect those resources to development (I say should because, regrettably, armies are regarded as national status symbols and governments are reluctant to reduce them).

If Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa were to reduce the percentage of their gross domestic products allocated to defence down to the level of Canada or Japan, the collective saving would be in the region of R10 billion a year.

Professor Prakash Sethi, an Indian economist at the City University of New York, had some other positive suggestions.

There should be a common market, he said, with arrangements to ensure a stable fiscal and monetary system for the region.

Secondly, a series of autonomous regional authorities should be established to develop cross-national railway systems, highways and telecommunications networks. These should be modelled on the profit-making New

York-New Jersey Bridge and Tunnel Authority, or the Scandinavian Airlines system, run by jointly appointed boards of governors and with the participating governments "acting like large shareholders rather than managers".

Finally, Professor Sethi suggested that regional governments could negotiate agreements to encourage heavy industries to spread large investments around

several countries. Plants for the different parts of heavy industrial goods like machinery, buses and locomotives could be located in different southern African countries — engines in one, chassis in another — with the finished product selling in an enlarged market.

As Professor Sethi said, agreements like this would prevent each country forming its own status industries which would com-

pete with each other and become white elephants.

Realism is healthy, but so is positive thinking. Sick though our economy is, we are still the regional superpower in relative terms and with creative thinking like Professor Sethi's there is much that can be done to make at least part of the dream come true. □

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# Poverty rising in Africa

**LAGOS** - Evening in Lagos. Rush-hour. Scores of children dart amid the crawling traffic trying to sell a fistful of peanuts ora loaf of bread.

"I don't like it. I get tired and I'm scared of the cars," says Ajosa Obina, aged 10, getting ready for her evening foray into the snarling congestion of a north Lagos road junction.

She sells fresh peanuts to drivers and passengers at five cents a handful, but would rather be reading her schoolbooks.

"It's to let us eat," says Ajosa, one of thousands of youngsters scratching a few cents a day as petty traders on the streets of Lagos, black Africa's most populous city.

They risk accidents,

health problems, exhaustion and assault.

Ajeke Funke, also 10, sits gravely by the kerb amid choking exhaust fumes, a box of plastic-wrapped loaves by her side.

Her biggest fear, she says, is another swoop on unlicensed traders by city authorities.

*Gowetan*  
**Fine 11/9/91**

"If they catch you they make a R50 fine and take your bread."

All over Africa, growing armies of youngsters are working in the cities to supplement their parents' meagre income as government austerity measures drive more families below the poverty line.

"It all relates to poverty, the poor financial situation in the families, and it's on

the increase," said Arit Abasiokong, who works with street children for the United Nations Children's Fund.

"Unless you break the vicious circle of poverty you cannot solve the problem."

She said most children working in Lagos were sent out to trade by their parents and returned to slum homes to sleep.

Most go to school during the day and start work around 4 or 5 in the afternoon, often continuing until 9 or 10 at night.

"The government is just chasing them from pillar to post," said human rights campaigner Beke Ransome-Kuti.

"The ones the police catch, they take money from them." He said Nigeria's six-

**Unless you break the vicious circle of poverty, you can't solve the problem.**

selfes are on the streets, jobless," he said.

Abasiokong said the children had little time to rest or study, and ate snacks on the job rather than proper meals.

Injures in the aggressive traffic were common and the constant fumes were dangerous for health.

Munira Lawal (13) said older children helped protect the younger ones, sometimes 'lots of little more than five or six.

"We tell them not to run after the cars," he said.

## Survey

In a 1989 Unicef survey on child street traders in the Nigerian cities of Calabar and Kaduna, half the children said they had been assaulted and more than half sexually harassed.

"They are exposed not only to physical but moral danger," Ransome-Kuti said, citing the risk of delinquency and the lure of fast cash from prostitution.

Abasiokong said at least a third of Lagos street children had left home and were living on their wits under the city's concrete tangle of road flyovers.

"I used to look at South America with relief that it's not like that in Nigeria," Abasiokong said, referring to the children forced to live in crime and squalour on the hostile streets of cities like Rio de Janeiro.

"Now it's here. They get involved in crime, drugs, prostitution. They eat from dustbins. You see the police and older boys beating hell out of them."

In Kaduna and Calabar, Unicef has started a project

to train street children in money-making skills like carpentry or shoemaking, paying for their meals while they learn and providing the tools to help them earn a living.

## Trap

Mothers are also taught skills like grain-processing to help break the family poverty trap.

Abasiokong said she wanted to extend the project to Lagos but the huge scale of the problem in the city needed more study.

"It has to be tackled," she said. "These children have rights. They're supposed to be in school."

"They're supposed to have rest. When you put them on the street you deny them these things." - *Sepa-Rewriter*

## Nigerian's plea for SA

WINDHOEK. — Former Nigerian military ruler and chairman of the African Leadership Forum, General Olusegun Obasanjo, yesterday called on African countries to drop their hardline attitude towards South Africa.

He told the ALF conference here that countries neighbouring SA must plan for a post-apartheid SA in which the country could be politically integrated into Africa.

General Obasanjo said

Southern Africa should nurture a "peace culture" and SA must begin converting its military industries.

General Obasanjo also called on Africa to build regional structures for mediation, peace-keeping, peace-making and conflict prevention, advocating the introduction of peace corps activities as an alternative to military service.

"Africa and Southern Africa must learn the

To page 2

From page 1

## Africa call

lesson of supremacy of economic power over military power," he said.

"In economic and social terms SA is weak and unwell. The inclusion of SA in regional political and economic organisations must be the first outcome of a post-apartheid order," he said.

While a revitalised post-apartheid economy could significantly influence the economies of neighbouring countries and lead to a reversal of capital flow "unrealistic expectations" should be guarded against, General Obasanjo warned.

The conference was opened on Sunday by President Sam Nujoma, who called on Southern African countries, Africa and the world to look forward to a post-apartheid era of co-operation and development. — Sapa

2 11/9/91

# General keeps his genial eye on Africa

*B/Dary 12/9/91*  
 GENERAL Olusegun Obasanjo is best known in SA as the co-chairman of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group, which made one of the first concerted attempts to draw government and the ANC into exploratory talks in 1986.

At the time he was reported to have drawn the then Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan aside during discussions with members of the P W Botha government to tell him: "We generals understand each other."

In retrospect, given the fact that the group's mission came to naught, primarily because of military attacks authorised by Malan against neighbouring states, Obasanjo's comments erred generously on the side of diplomacy.

This seems entirely in character. He was also the first African military leader to voluntarily relinquish power to a civilian government, only to see the military take over again three years later.

The situation in SA has changed and the Eminent Persons' Group's aims almost have been realised. But Obasanjo continues in his genial — if slightly naive — way to mediate, assist and cajole Africans on to a path of co-operation and development.

And the size of his task has increased dramatically. No longer satisfied with being mediator in a number of African squabbles, he has embarked on a mission to "change the living conditions of the African people". The tool he has forged for this purpose is the African Leadership Forum.

The latest topic canvassed by the forum was Challenges of Post-Apartheid SA, which were discussed at last week's conference in Windhoek. Obasanjo told delegates: "The new SA may represent a turning point for Africa as it should mark the beginning of effective continental co-operation and integration."

One of the techniques Obasanjo has de-

vised to develop this process of integration is the Pretoria-Abuja-Cairo axis — an idea he shares with President F W de Klerk.

The idea is that these centres should harmonise their efforts and act as nodes for the development of a trading and investment axis.

But on the specifics of how such an axis would work in practice, Obasanjo is vague. It's just an idea, he says, which like the idea which formed the basis for the EC, will be tossed around until there is enough impetus for it to take a concrete form. However, the idea's real application will not begin until SA is back in the African fold. On when this will occur, Obasanjo believes it should take place, loosely speaking, when the ANC and other organisations say so.

In his speech at the Windhoek conference he said: "The oppressed non-white citizens of SA, who have been the victims of apartheid and who led the struggle to destroy the evil system, are best placed to make the final pronouncement on the victory which primarily belongs to them."

But he leaves open the possibility that this may happen when an "interim government of alliance" has been formed.

In the meantime, Obasanjo expects that trade between SA and other African countries will increase, speculating that the OAU's pro-sanctions stance is likely to be observed mainly in the breach.

"The OAU will continue to maintain a sanctions stance until apartheid is dead, if not buried. I am not saying that this stance will mean that sanctions will be maintained. But the stance will be maintained, effectively or non-effectively, as a policy."

He says this does make sense. His apparent belief that there is no necessary connection between concrete reality and political policy has served him well. It may also boost his chances of becoming the next UN secretary-general.

TIM COHEN



Gen Olusegun Obasanjo believes "the new SA may represent a turning point for Africa". Picture: ROBERT BOY

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# Somalia 'a nation in ruins'

South 12/9-15/9/91

By Simon Brown ①

FIGHTING in Mogadishu between rival forces within the ruling United Somali Congress (USC) appears to be continuing despite some reports of a respite.

On Monday the United Nations withdrew its officials from the Somali capital after three local staff members were killed in an upsurge in the faction-fighting which flared at the end of last week.

The new clashes have deepened the crisis facing this poverty-stricken nation on the Horn of Africa after a year of conflicts and drought.

Revealing that 20 million people in the region are now affected by drought, the UN this week described Somalia as "a nation in ruins".

## Clashes

Although reports continue to be patchy, the root cause of the latest clashes appears to be a dispute between the recently appointed interim president, Ali Mahdi Mohammed, and rival forces loyal to the military commander and leader of the USC, General Mohammed Farrah Aidid.

The two men are reported to have had a bitter row last Thursday over a proposal from the president to send food and money as a conciliatory gesture to a rival armed group, the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM).

The southern-based SPM, which was allied with the ruling party when the USC ousted former president Mohammed Said Barre and seized the capital in January, draws its support mainly from the Darod clan.

This group has been at loggerheads with the USC-dominated Hawiye clan in Mogadishu since Barre's overthrow.

General Aidid is reported to have

called for the resignation of the interim president, prompting the latter to order his supporters to attack the general's house.

The president on Monday claimed on Somali radio that the fighting had died down and that "self-styled leaders" had been arrested.

However, other reports suggested that General Aidid's forces had virtually succeeded in staging an internal coup.

Many people were reported killed and hundreds wounded in the fighting for control of Mogadishu, and there are fears that unless renewed attempts to secure a ceasefire are successful, the whole country could be plunged into chaos.

The ceasefire was called for by Colonel Umar Hashi Adan, regional commander of the Mogadishu area, who told local elders and community leaders to co-operate in restoring calm.

The prolonged and bitter fighting which preceded the overthrow of Barre, coupled with the effects of the drought, has produced problems of a daunting scale for the new and inexperienced government.

## Instability

Aid workers, many of whom have been forced to flee, estimate that some 400 000 Somalis have crossed into Ethiopia, which itself has huge problems feeding its population.

The instability and lack of development in this largely pastoral country can be traced back to misrule since independence in 1960, and the highly damaging war Somalia fought with Ethiopia in 1978.

Barre, who took power in a coup in 1969 and whose Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party was the only legal political force, ruled with an iron hand for nearly 20 years.

During this time the country sank further into the economic mire.

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A CHILD had just died in birth, the umbilical cord cruelly twisted around its neck. As women gave out the low, keening sound of grief, gravediggers arrived to carry the infant away to primitive burial.

Here at Jan Meda, a large, boggy field in the centre of Addis Ababa, thousands of displaced and destitute people huddle together in the damp and cold, fearing death.

Anne Cleary, an Irish nurse, one of the few health workers in the camp, is overwhelmed by the suffering. "This is just awful," she says. "People have nothing. They are so tired and hungry. There doesn't seem to be any solution."

At Jan Meda, which once served as the Emperor's polo field, 17 000 people are living in tents provided by relief agencies. Their food ration is two hard bread buns a day. And they represent only a fraction of the more than 1-million displaced at the end of Ethiopia's civil war.

It is the rainy season in Ethiopia, and this year in some parts of the country the rain has come in torrents, mocking predictions of drought that many feared would lead to a repeat of the great famine of 1984-85. But the torrential rains have brought their own problems, making roads impassable and preventing re-

# Bogged down in starvation

By Tony Walker  
13/9/91  
in Addis Ababa

lief supplies reaching the needy in the outlying areas of Tigray and Welo in the north, and on the fringes of the Ogaden Desert in the south.

Peggy Florida, representative in Addis Ababa of Canada's official aid agency, says the main problem now is what to do with these hundreds of thousands of displaced people, many of them soldiers from the defeated army of ousted dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Mengistu, who fled to Zimbabwe in May just days before his army collapsed, was spending 55%-70% of the national budget on the war against rebels in Eritrea in the far north, and in the provinces of Tigray and Welo. It was a long conflict that bankrupted the nation, ruined its infrastructure and prevented the movement of food from surplus to deficit areas.

Ethiopia's Soviet-supplied military numbered about \$30 000, the largest standing army in black Africa. Now, thousands of these soldiers, many wounded and diseased, have been placed in camps run by

the Red Cross, pending their return to their home areas where prospects of their finding jobs are slim.

Adding to the problems of the central government of President Meles Zenawi, leader of the rebel coalition that ousted Mengistu, are moves by Eritrea to separate itself from Ethiopia. Fearing possible reprisals and deprived of jobs, non-Eritreans previously resident in places like the Eritrean port of Assab are among those who have converged on Addis Ababa, swelling the city's population from 2-million to nearly 3-million.

The new government appears overwhelmed by its problems, although it gets marks for doing its best under near impossible circumstances. Walker Stocker of the Red Cross describes the task as "enormous" and says the repatriation of soldiers alone is "equivalent practically

to reintegrating the coalition forces in the Gulf into normal civilian life with limited resources".

And to describe Ethiopia's resources as limited is putting it mildly. Shattered by war and burdened by lingering tribal disputes, it is the poorest country in the world, with 50-million people, a land area the size of SA and per capita GDP variously estimated to range between \$90 and \$125. It is also one of the few countries in the world whose people have a life expectancy of less than 45.

Aid workers in Addis Ababa say they cannot be sure of ensuring adequate food supplies for poor peasant farmers in the north to keep their strength up for the harvest due in November/December.

Transport is a key problem. The appalling condition of roads in the Ethiopian highlands and lack of trucks slow food distribution. In Makalle, Chekol Kidane, an official of the Tigray relief society, said his organisation had been obliged to reduce the numbers of people receiving a 15kg a month grain and flour

ration by 40% because of supply problems. "People are suffering the consequences of last year's drought," he says. "There is not enough food to eat, and people are not strong enough to work in the fields. They are starving."

Perhaps the area in most critical need is in the south near the border of Somalia — which itself has been torn apart by a bloody civil war. Aid workers estimate that some 400 000 Somalis have crossed into Ethiopia, along with large numbers of returning Ethiopians who had earlier taken refuge in Somalia.

According to Elizabeth Stone of the Christian relief and development association, an Addis-based organisation that helps co-ordinate the work of non-government agencies in Ethiopia, the "nutritional situation is dropping and dropping" in the region round Dire Sawa near the northern Somali border and further south towards the Ogaden.

Recent rains have made roads almost impassable and food that is being airlifted from the Red Sea port of Djibouti is piling up at distribution centres. "The danger," she says, "is that you reach a point where you can't get people back on their feet." — Financial Times.

## LETTERS

# Now the Commonwealth is a club worth joining

*"Stronger than ties and treaties, less selfish than alliances, less restrictive than any other association, the Commonwealth seems to offer the best hope in the world today of lasting peace and friendship among the peoples of the world."*

13/9 - 19/9/91  
 Membership of a revitalised Commonwealth will be very useful for a future South African government.  
 BY MICHAEL MAKIN

THESE words, spoken by Julius Nyerere to the Tanganyikan National Assembly in 1961, have major significance for those parties which hope to participate in a future South African government.

When Commonwealth heads of government gather at their summit in Harare early next month they will consider programmes that could turn the organisation into a vibrant international forum expressing the interests of the world's non-aligned nations, which are bound to include South Africa in the near future.

Speaking at a time when the United States and Russia were competing for the allegiance of the newly independent African countries, Nyerere saw the value of an organisation which expected no ideological commitments

and which could play a moderating role in world affairs. The dramatic collapse of the Soviet Union has created a situation in which Nyerere's words may be more relevant than ever.

For many members of the Commonwealth, the United States' virtually unchallenged domination of the "New World Order" is a far from pleasant prospect.

Most Commonwealth governments have socially inclined internal policies and their foreign policies are more in tune with the Non-Aligned Movement.

This is where the relevance of the Commonwealth to the present world situation becomes apparent. The organisation may be better suited than any other (including the UNO) to play a mediating role vis a vis the United

States. The Commonwealth combines neutral countries like Kenya, Zimbabwe and India with Nato bloc countries like Britain and Canada in a functioning political, economic and technical relationship, and although there are often huge differences between them in foreign policy (for example, over South Africa) these differences have never proved to be unbridgeable thanks to a spirit of consensus and compromise which guides the deliberations of their leaders.

Furthermore, now that the Cold War has ended there is less justification than ever for the British to follow their pro-American line in foreign policy. Perhaps the time has come for them to reconsider their less than friendly attitude to the Commonwealth and to refashion a more independent foreign policy around the twin poles of the Commonwealth and Europe.

Most Commonwealth countries have firm political and economic links with Europe via the Lomé Convention and via their links with Britain. It would not therefore be impossible to imagine

a Europe/Commonwealth bloc emerging at the United Nations: a grouping of social-democratically oriented nations working together for world peace and acting as a check upon the more extravagant ambitions of the United States (the examples of Grenada and Panama spring to mind).

The relevance of all this for South Africa should also be apparent. In a few years time South Africa will have a democratic, majority-rule government. It is likely that this government will apply for membership of the Commonwealth Club. The prospect of joining a reinvigorated and influential Commonwealth, free from the taint of colonialism and actively opposed to American-style imperialism, would be very attractive to this new government.

Furthermore, South Africa would be gaining a much amplified voice in the world from the Commonwealth stage and would at the same time discover greatly expanded opportunities for trade and investment.

Michael Makin is a lecturer in history at Viter University in Soweto

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## Brazil drums up African trade

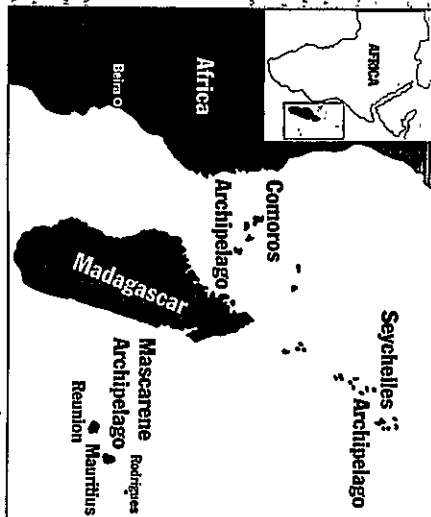
By ANDREW MELDRUM: Harare  
SUAVELY smiling and smoothly moving through southern Africa, Brazil's glamorous President Fernando Collor de Mello visited four nations to drum up sales of Brazilian products.

Facing many economic woes at home, Collor de Mello's government needs to boost export sales.

Brazil hopes to increase trade with its Portuguese-speaking cousin. Brazil would like to buy Angola's oil, report diplomats here, while winning a number of contracts in the reconstruction needed to get the Angolan economy back on its feet. Brazilian firms are carrying out the US\$500-million Caganda dam hydroelectric project. Angolan oil will pay for the contracts.

Brazil is courting Zimbabwe for sales of airplanes and a contract to build Harare's planned new airport.

Although Zimbabwe has no resources or products that Brazil wants, there is, perhaps, a diplomatic quid pro quo. Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe is understood to have encouraged Latin America to support the candidacy of Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero for the post of United Nations secretary-general.



# Indian Ocean islands have eye on tourists' wallets

**GET USED** to it: Ocean Indian Occidental. This is the French name now describing those 200 or so tropical islands sprinkled like jewels across the western Indian Ocean off the coasts of Africa.

Competition among the islands for tourists is becoming fierce.

In Kenya and South Africa, the tourist industries are worried about the increasing attraction the islands are having for travellers — especially from Europe. They are set to become a big rival tourist bloc.

The islands, rising from the same huge undersea plateau.

- The Mascarene archipelago

comprising Mauritius, Rodrigues and Reunion.

- Madagascar, an island half the size of South Africa.
- The Comoros — home of the coelacanth.
- The Seychelles archipelago, with its 114 islands — many uninhabited.

There can be little doubt that once Madagascar reopens to tourism it will become an enormous drawcard for "eco-tourists" — those growing numbers seeking new experiences in wild environments.

Dr Peter Olindo of the African Wildlife Foundation of Nairobi and Washington, who is in South Africa this week to open Bakubung Lodge in the Pi-

The jewel-like islands of the western Indian Ocean could cause big headaches for the tourist industries of mainland Africa. JAMES CLARKE reports.

See 13/9/91.

lansberg National Park, confirmed that in his view the islands were about to become a tough rival market for his country and South Africa.

But he agreed that it might be possible for mainland Africa and the islands to link up and offer tourists some sort of regional eco-tourist experience, so that the entire region benefited.

Of all the islands, Madagas-

car could prove the biggest draw because of what is left of its deep rain forests (90 percent destroyed), which are filled with endemic species.

Culturally, too, it is the most fascinating of the islands, and one can witness bizarre, ceremonies such as "digging up the dead" — when people annually dig up dead relatives to change their shrouds. It is a time for song and dance, feasting and melancholy.

Madagascar's hotel industry and rundown route facilities will probably take two years at least before they are ready to receive mainstream international tourism.

The Comoros are becoming more and more popular, but the tourist industry there is not yet highly competitive.

Mauritius, the size of Kruger Park, has exquisite beaches and blue seas as well as hotels that rate among the most glamorous in the world.

But the island has sacrificed a great deal of its natural beauty. Coral reefs have been greatly damaged by local fishermen,

and inland Mauritius is mainly cane fields, although it does have interesting mountain vegetation and a few rare birds.

It is faced with a problem: with so many tourist beds, it is running short of airline capacity to get the people there. It offers special rates for South Africans at good hotels.

Then there are the Seychelles. The islands are scattered over a piece of ocean the size of South Africa, but with a population of only 67 000.

The Seychelles came on to tourist routes only in 1974 when an airport on Mahe island was built. It has several four-star hotels. □



# Ghana to open new gold mine

17/9/91

By Hugh Robertson  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The International Finance Corporation has announced a \$75 million financial package to fund a new gold mine in Ghana.

This is its third financing of gold-mining ventures in Ghana since 1985, which has enabled the country to increase its gold output by 50 percent.

The new package for the development of a new mine at Iduapriem in Ghana's western region, will include loans of \$13 million to Ghanaian Australian Goldfields Limited, which will be the major shareholder in the venture.

According to an IFC statement, the new mine will produce 110,000 ounces of gold a year, boosting Ghana's existing gold output by 10 percent. The mine has enough gold reserves to last for 18 years based on prevailing gold prices.

The IFC is a branch of the World Bank that finances private sector projects in developing countries.

The new package includes a \$15 million credit facility with the Swiss Bank Corporation that will allow Ghanaian-Australian Goldfields to sell forward a significant part of the new mines production.

# Africa's other rare species

Star 17/9/91.

**T**HE king is dead, long live the king, they say when a king goes to the great palace in the sky. What it is supposed to mean is that kings come and kings go but their kingdoms last forever.

Actually, they don't, as we all know, not even in Africa, which used to have more kingdoms than the rest of the world put together.

Today the crowned heads of Africa can be counted on one hand without using the thumb. Hassan of Morocco, Mswati III of Swaziland, Letsie III of Lesotho and Zwelithini of the Zulus.

Unlike their counterparts in Europe, however, some of Africa's remaining kings have retained political power. Hassan's is somewhat circumscribed by the Moroccan parliament, but Mswati still rules as an absolute monarch.

Letsie and Zwelithini, on the other hand, have had to resign themselves to seeing power being wielded almost entirely by the politicians.

Letsie has shown no great hunger for power, however, unlike his father and predecessor, Moshoeshoe II, who was noted for it, or at least for his unwillingness to stay out of politics.

Being dethroned by Lesotho's military government has apparently not taken the edge off Moshoeshoe's political appetite. Recently he travelled from his exile in London to Swaziland to meet a delegation of Basotho who are seeking his restoration to the throne, obviously at the expense of King Letsie. (Rumour has it that Letsie in any case took the throne only to keep it warm for his father's return).

The visit, incidentally, caused some surprise among guests at Swaziland's poshest hotel when they heard patriotic Basotho songs being belted out in broad daylight in the hotel's nightclub, where the meeting was held.

Ostensibly, Moshoeshoe was in Swaziland to attend the annual reed dance ceremonies. Zwelithini was there too, making it a rare royal get-together.

While Mswati presided over the ceremonies, some of his subjects were awaiting trial on charges of engaging in political activity, which amounts to challenging the absolute royal rule that was imposed by his father, Sobhuza II.

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE



Ironically, if the charges are found true by the courts, it will in fact reflect and confirm the growing pressure on Mswati's power from populism.

Hassan, to a lesser extent, faces a similar problem.

One should not write off the kings just yet, though; reports come trickling in of an upwelling of royal sentiment in Africa.

It may be nothing more than nostalgia, freed for expression by the toppling of the dictators who seized power in much of Africa after the departure of the European colonialists.

Whatever it is, it almost certainly will not lead to the reoccupation of any of Africa's former thrones, for most of the old kingdoms were carved up or swallowed up by the colonialists. Come what may, the Organisation of African Unity is going to stick with its decision to respect the colonial boundaries. That is one can of worms that hardly anyone in Africa wants to open.

The support for the kings seems, however, to reflect growing dissatisfaction with the often artificial colonial divisions, or at least a growing willingness to articulate it. It is quite possible that it will be expressed as tribal assertiveness, which could cause problems for governments trying to install democratic systems in the place of the one-party dictatorships as they fall like ninepins across the continent.

In Zambia, for instance, the Barotse, who used to have a powerful monarchy, are talking of demanding the return of the well-filled tribal coffers that were ingested by Kenneth Kaunda's central government when Zambia was formed from Northern Rhodesia. And there are said to be demands for greater autonomy in Barotseland.

We will not soon see the end of the kings. Come to think of it, it would be rather nice if they could get together some time and sing "We four kings of Africa are". □

# Makeba in child project

*So weten 18/9/91*

MIRIAM Makeba joined Nigerian officials and businessmen on Monday to launch a project to help African children suffering from hunger and disease.

Businessman Onwuka Kalu, organiser of the "Children of Africa" project, said about one million of Africa's children died each year from preventable diseases.

Kalu said fund-raising concerts with singers such as Makeba, Fela Anikolapo-Kuti and Yvonne Chaka-Chaka, would be held in Lagos in November after a two-day seminar to discuss the problems of children. - Sapa-Reuter

## War-torn Rwanda's appeal

*Sowetan* 19/9/91  
KIGALI - Rwanda's President Juvenal Habyarimana has appealed for emergency aid for 100 000 people displaced in a year-long civil war.

After visiting war-torn regions of Byumba and Ruhengeri, Habyarimana on Tuesday announced the creation of a national fund for victims of the war.

Peace talks are currently taking place in the eastern Zaire town of Gbadolite between Rwanda's government and rebels who invaded from Uganda a year ago.

Each side accuses the other of constantly violating a ceasefire agreement in February. - *South African Press Association-Reuter.*

SA IN AFRICA FM 20/9/91

**The north calls**

Though trade barriers are falling between SA and Africa, the Organisation of African Unity will not formally drop sanctions against this country until "the people of SA" say apartheid has been removed.

This is the view of General Olusegun Obasanjo, former Nigerian head of state and a nominee for the post of UN secretary-general.

*continue* →

al, during a brief visit to SA last week. Obasanjo's views have in some ways been pivotal in SA's recent past and may prove so in the future.

A co-chairman of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, whose report in 1986 ensured sanctions were universally applied against SA, Obasanjo was instrumental last year in mootng an economic strategy that could see increased trade between SA and the continent and that could lead to an economic revival on the continent that he calls "the Third World's third world."

Since most apartheid laws had been removed was this not enough to end sanctions? Obasanjo, pressing for anti-racist legislation to buffer the repeal of apartheid laws, says Africa is eager to welcome its pariah southern neighbour back into the fold. However, apartheid must be perceived to have been removed by the majority in SA.

Agreeing that sanctions are being undermined, Obasanjo nonetheless believes that an anti-apartheid stance must be maintained to ensure the removal of all legislated racism in SA.

In July last year when Obasanjo met State President F W de Klerk, he suggested that Nigeria and SA could become the economic axis on which the continent revolves. De Klerk received the idea with enthusiasm, suggesting that Egypt and Kenya also become points on that axis.

It is a concept receiving a great deal of attention as Africa attempts to move toward an economic community by the turn of the century.

Obasanjo (who is also chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum), says the four targeted countries in his economic power points idea have the infrastructure on which development can be based. "We are not shutting people (the smaller economies) out, we are shutting them in. If we talk of regional co-operation then of necessity, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Namibia, Angola and Malawi will benefit from sustained growth in SA. One can say the same of Nigeria."

Obasanjo dismisses criticism of the concept: "Most ideas are born and not utilised for years. Let's use these ideas and better them. Do we have a choice when the world is closing into economic zones?"

"In North America, we have the USA coming together with Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean and Latin America. Europe will no doubt include the three new Baltic states and, by the year 2000, Europe will have considerably widened.

"If we want to progress quickly, we have to have centres. We have to make regions work more efficiently and move faster. The Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference can admit SA once apartheid is eliminated, or it can fuse with economic co-operation blocs that take care of eastern and central Africa too.

"We're talking of a model of economic co-operation which will lead to economic integration. There are 11 regional economic organisations in Africa. It is far too many; the

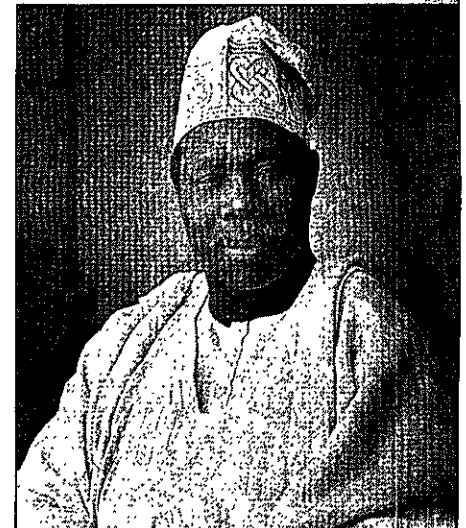
*continue* →

creation of four economic power points will increase efficiency and growth."

Chief Sonekan, chairman of the United African Corporation, who visited SA with Obasanjo, said that in terms of economic co-operation, "if anything is going to happen in the future, now is the time to lay the foundation. The industrial sector in SA is very solid and I think we can learn from that. The most important thing is to find out whether or not there can be acceptance on both sides."

He said that Nigeria was interested in SA's oil-from-coal technology. "We have a substantial amount of coal in Nigeria and that is perhaps an area we could work together on." FM 20/9/91.

Chief Obafemi Olopade, a director of the First Interstate Merchant Bank of Nigeria, who accompanied Obasanjo, said Nigeria and SA could begin building bridges now, by creating facilities for entrepreneurs and business executives in both nations to have a cross-pollination of ideas and experiences.



**Nigeria's Obasanjo ... promoting regional development**

have been itching to come here for some time to see what I can do at government level, behind the scenes, to begin building strong foundations for future economic co-operation."

Olopade said he had still encountered a lot of ignorance and fear in SA, but was convinced that with increased interaction between businessmen from the two countries, this would disappear.

Obasanjo and his group of top Nigerian businessmen and academics met top SA businessmen and senior government officials including State President F W de Klerk. He said the mistakes of Africa could be sourced to two primary causes: "Those of omission and those of commission. Those of commission were when Africans wanted to feather their own nests, or that of a section of the community. The mistakes of omission were often made because we lacked the knowledge or competence. If we gather up the leaders of Africa now in every field and begin working together, we can prevent the continent from becoming marginalised."

# No alternative to true democracy

**The suspension** this week of World Bank assistance to Zambia because it failed, in the face of its first multi-party election, to implement economic reforms should be a lesson to those in this country who want to tamper with the market mechanism, however innocent their motives.

Both foreign investors and aid donors are going to look twice at a country where those in influential positions recommend that a tax be placed on electricity to fund a State television service; or that pension funds be precluded from investing in tobacco companies or in those perceived to be trade union unfriendly. Both these views are reported elsewhere in this edition.

And both would be such a flagrant abrogation of free enterprise principles and lead to such a substantial misallocation of scarce resources that investors and donors will most certainly shy away.

The Third World in general, and Africa in particular, has so mismanaged its affairs that conditionality, hated though it may be by the inefficient and corrupt, has become an essential part of all aid flows.

Moreover, economic conditionality is not going to be enough. It was made very clear at the annual meeting of the World Bank in Washington last September that a rising standard of human rights was also required.

And as most African countries south of the Sahara seem to have taken the view that the only thing worse than a World Bank loan is no World Bank loan, they are going to have to toe the line and democratise. Political inconvenience is no longer the defence — if it ever was — which used to be put up in the Seventies and Eighties.

In SA, those who advocate affirmative action and the misallocation of resources for dubious social reasons may have difficulty securing justification for their views in a world where human rights and free enterprise have found new impetus and where the consequences of past mistakes of this kind are all too obvious.

If interventionists like those in the ANC and Viljoen's broadcasting Task Group don't reconsider their policies very carefully, they could become to prosperity what some believe Peter Stuyvesant is to national health. ■

# Finally, business for Africa

Business Staff



OCT 20 1991

MORE than 600 business leaders from the Cape to Cairo are expected to attend the world's first all Africa business conference, Sidco '91, to be held in Cameroon next month.

The three-day conference, aimed at exploring opportunities in a changing Africa, is being arranged by the Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation (MDC), an international foundation for Africa based in Paris.

Sidco '91 (Semaine Internationale

du Dialogue et de la Coopération) will take place in Yaounde, capital of Cameroon from October 29 — 31 and will be attended by business leaders from more than 30 African states, including South Africa, as well as North and South America, Europe and Asia.

MDC president Mr Desire Atangana will make a presentation to business leaders at the President Hotel in Cape Town on September 25 at 5.30pm.

For details contact Jacques Verster (011) 8862440.

# OUSTED ISLAND CHIEF'S PLEA <sup>①</sup> TO SA

By TERRY VAN DER WALT

THE deposed leader of the Seychelles, Sir James Mancham, flew into SA this week to convince Pretoria not to support the island's "dictator" leader Albert René. *SITimes*

On Friday the ousted leader met with Foreign Affairs officials in Pretoria as part of his global Crusade for Democracy in Seychelles. *22/9/91*

"Our message to South Africa is: 'Don't interfere or in any way sustain a government that has been internationally discredited'."

He also voiced concern about a visit to the islands by a "certain South African cabinet minister".

"We don't know if it was private or official, but our point is that as you do your own soul-searching to find problems in your country, you must not do anything that could interfere with the return of democracy to the islands," he said.

London-based Sir James was deposed in June 1977 in a coup by Mr René who outlawed all opposition and doubled his army strength with assistance from Tanzania, Cuba and North Korea.

"Mr René built up an army of five percent of the population — not to defend against outside aggression but to rule by fear," he said.



# 6-million infected by AIDS in Africa

*S-times*  
*22/9/91* By EVE VOSLOO (1) (2)

THE World Health Organisation estimates that about 10-million adults worldwide have been infected with the HIV virus, six million of whom are in sub-Saharan Africa.

Dr Helene Gayle, of the Centre for Disease Control in Atlanta, in the US, also told a Medical Research Council conference in Parow that about one million children were believed to be infected, most them in Africa.

"While early data highlighted the importance of the epidemic in central and eastern Africa, increasing evidence indicates the rapid rise of HIV prevalence in western and southern Africa as well," Dr Gayle said.

She said there was an urgent need for effective AIDS prevention programmes in SA.

She said the spread of AIDS started later in SA than in neighbouring countries and it would be a shame if the country was hit by a major epidemic "when things are looking so hopeful here at last".

# 'Democratising' Africa for R84-m

By Hugh Robertson  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States expects to spend about \$30 million (R84 million) over the next three years to help African countries build the infrastructure for multiparty democracy, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen has announced.

Speaking at a Voice of America symposium, he said assistance programmes would promote civic education, human rights monitoring, assistance with national conferences and constitution-making.

"The US will also help support non-governmental democratic institutions," he said. "The development of a 'civil society' is an essential ingredient."

"We intend to assist African countries to cultivate this 'civil society' with its multiple centres of power and influence.

"Democratic labour unions, literary and cultural groups, bar associations, women's associations and traditional

human rights watchdog groups all have a role to play in a civil society."

Mr Cohen said he wished to stress the need for a free press in Africa.

"In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the most concrete challenge to the old order took the form of a proliferation of newspapers and non-government media. Vigorous national debates were ignited.

"In many African countries a similar move has upended the state monopoly on information. The expanded political dialogue has not only undermined dictatorial rule, but insures that all have an outlet for their opinions."

Mr Cohen said democratisation and economic empowerment were two sides of the same coin.

"While fragile new democracies will have difficulties in the short term, the necessary readjustment can only be made in a democratic environment with the people's informed consent, and in an environment in which the private sector has maximum room to grow."

# Plea for African to head the UN

NEW YORK — Nigeria's UN ambassador has urged the election of an African as UN secretary-general for the first time. Elections are due in October.

Ibrahim Gambari said an African secretary-general could bring greater "sensitivity" to the most important job of the UN secretariat, resulting in a "more just world in which the interests of both the rich and the poor, the big and the small, will be protected."

"Africa is the only region which has not had the opportunity to provide a secretary-general ... We want the United Nations, the Security Council and the General Assembly to pick the best secretary-general who happens to be African, not an African secretary-general," Gambari told a news conference.

Last month African states at the UN issued a list of six African candidates endorsed by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in a letter to the Security Council president.

They are Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister Boutros Boutros Ghali, Zimbabwe's Finance Minister Bernard Chidzero, Kenneth Dadzie of Ghana, secretary-general of the UN Conference on Trade and Development James Jonah of Sierra Leone, UN under secretary-general for special political questions, former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, and former physics

professor and culture minister Nguema Francois Owono of Gabon.

Gambari said Africa was the only continent that submitted official candidates for the job, which becomes vacant on December 31 when Javier Perez de Cuellar completes his second five-year term.

But more than two dozen names have been mentioned in informal speculation about a successor, although no clear front-runner has emerged.

Gambari said the West was neglecting Africa as its attention turned to the fledgling democracies in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

## Backing

Meanwhile, Malawi has announced it will support Zimbabwe's Chidzero for the post.

John Tembo, treasurer-general of the Malawi Congress Party, was speaking to Ziana news agency in Harare after presenting a letter to Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe from Malawi's President Kamuzu Banda.

Tembo said the letter also referred to issues on bilateral relations between Zimbabwe and Malawi. Although the level of trade between the two countries was good, there was always room for improvement, particularly in the transport sector, he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

(31 Day) 23/9/91

# Gold Fields invests in Africa

8 (day) 24/9/91  
GOLD FIELDS of SA was set to invest in a Zairean gold mining company which had a major concession and a first option to mine the balance of Zaire's gold mining district, chairman Robin Plumbridge said yesterday.

In his annual chairman's review he said Gold Fields had embarked on a cautious expansion programme outside of SA in the last year, and, of the projects it was considering, the Zairean venture was at the most advanced stage pending the completion of financial arrangements.

Gold Fields would be in partnership with a Zairean state company, a group of Belgian-based entrepreneurs and international finance agencies. The mine would start as a small operation, but it had the potential to expand rapidly if a proposed exploration programme was successful.

Gold Fields's expansion into Africa follows Genmin's announcements of investigations into mining possibilities in Zambia and Engen's forays into oil exploration off the African coast.

MATTHEW GURTIN

Plumbridge said the economic future of SA and the rest of the continent were inextricably linked. "We must sink or swim together," he said.

Many developing countries were in the grips of a full-scale depression, the lack of international demand for their products accentuating the despair of peoples facing abject poverty. "Regrettably the developed nations are so concerned with their own economic conditions and those of the countries surrounding them ... that the less developed countries are being fed little more than a diet of rhetoric," Plumbridge said.

African countries faced a "well-nigh impossible situation". In a national and regional context, it was critical that the SA economy should recover rapidly from the recession.

The current economic policy mix with its heavy socio-political overlay needed urgent review, he said.

# Road to the world widens

Star 25/9/91

**T**HE BELIEF long held in Pretoria that South Africa's road back to international acceptance runs through Africa may be revised by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

It is certainly being reconsidered by Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

"I have personally come to question somewhat the position of the past whereby we said that our road to the rest of the world leads through Africa," he said in an interview in Pretoria.

"It is true that the outside world does look at Organisation of African Unity (OAU) positions and the positions of important individual African countries when they consider dealing with South Africa.

"But there is another dimension to South Africa's place in the world, and that does not necessarily go through the African capitals.

"The world has grown very

much smaller. South Africa has been an international player in trade and also politically.

"Whether through criticism or praise we have had a high profile internationally, and that has carried us into the living rooms of people across the world."

That road had not run through Africa — it had gone directly to the international community, with South Africa recognised as a part of that community, Mr Van Heerden said.

While South Africa was "pushing to normalise our situation with Africa, we are also pushing to normalise our situation globally — politically, economically, culturally and in sport."

"I tend to come to the conclusion that the notion that we are tied to this road through Africa has changed. If indeed it was ever an entirely valid statement.

"There is another dimension

**South Africa's avenues back to worldwide acceptance seem to be shifting all the time.**  
By GERALD L'ANGE of the Star Africa Service

to our position in the world than the African one.

"It also has to do a bit with the fact that Africa is under threat of being marginalised.

"And now that sanctions are going, people are going to look at South Africa as a market, as a tourist destination, as a trading partner" per se, and not this would fit into the overall African scene.

In fact, there are indications that many major international players have burnt their fingers elsewhere in Africa and are looking at South Africa as a platform and a safe haven from which they can have African operations."

At the same time, Mr Van

Heerden noted that recent developments had given greater substance to South Africa's claim to be an African country.

And Africa, itself, had changed radically over the past few years, with its peoples' demanding pluralistic democracy, and developing countries threatening to withhold aid if they did not get it.

While the traditional stand of the Organisation of African Unity had not changed, African countries were individually telling South Africa that the OAU rhetoric was no longer in keeping with the changed situation in the country and the continent in general.

Mr van Heerden said it would be interesting to see whether

President Babangida of Nigeria the new OAU chairman, would be the person to take the issue of South Africa across the threshold into a new era.

"I wouldn't be surprised if precisely such an intention is on the agenda."

In response, South Africa was continuing to put out signals that it had a right to be, and wanted to be, part of the continent.

Mr van Heerden noted, however, that South Africa could not begin to meet Africa's enormous needs for aid, especially as it own domestic backlog must take priority.

This would dictate that a strict system of priorities must operate, based on South Africa's own national interests.

Trade would be an important criterion for developing relations with African countries but so would the "political weight" of other countries.

As a country in transition — with "lots of unfinished dom-

estic business" — South Africa would want to avoid being caught up in friction and tensions elsewhere.

South Africa would not be a major donor of aid for a long time but would rather be a technical power.

As a regional force, South Africa must live in harmony with its neighbours.

What had been "a rather adversarial climate" in the region was changing, although "there still was an adversarial relationship with Zimbabwe.

He hoped, however, that this relationship would also benefit from the "general sense of reconciliation and the acceptance of the need to talk to each other, even if we differ."

Discussing the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADC), Mr Van Heerden said that it was increasingly being recognised that no regional association could succeed if it excluded South Africa. □



Neil van Heerden . . . South Africa cannot begin to meet Africa's enormous needs for aid.



# New charity aims to bring relief to Africa

By Stan Hlophe

Children of Africa (southern Africa) — a new charity to help Africans to help themselves and to create awareness of the plight of children worldwide — was officially launched in Johannesburg this week.

The target is to raise \$50 million (about R140 million) through a music concert on November 30 in Lagos, Nigeria, and film, TV and recording rights.

Founder and vice president Miriam Makeba said at the launch: "Our

Star 23/9/91  
aim is to show the world and ourselves what it means to be an African.

"During the recent and continuing tragedy of famine, other countries and organisations have given their support and aid to Africa. Now we ourselves, the Africans, must do something for Africa — in Africa."

ANC president Nelson Mandela, also on the board of trustees, said: "The children of Africa are the most valuable treasure. It is they who are destined to preserve the environment and keep it as a home for the people of Africa."

# Makeba starts charity

By VICTOR

METSOAMERE

SINGER Miriam Makeba and two top Nigerian personalities have established a charity drive aimed at solving the educational, health and social development problems affecting the African child.

The drive was unveiled at a Johannesburg hotel yesterday.

It was initiated by Makeba, Nigerian TV producer Faith Isiakpere and businessman Chief Onwaku Kalu.

The charity's biggest launch will be held in Nigeria in November.

It will be marked by a major music show in Lagos.

Some of the acts expected at the show are Mbongeni Ngema's Sarafina Choir, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Hugh Masekela and Yvonne Chaka Chaka.

# Swiss banks urged to disclose leaders' accounts

PARIS — Pressure is mounting on Switzerland to disclose information on huge sums deposited in its banks by corrupt African leaders and to help repatriate recovered funds.

Swiss officials have already agreed to co-operate with Mali's new government in the investigation of accounts allegedly held in Swiss banks by deposed dictator Moussa Traore.

It is alleged that he may have salted away \$1bn in Switzerland, with family members and cronies allegedly accounting for a similar sum. Mali is one of Africa's poorest countries, accord-

8/10 am 27/9/91  
Own Correspondent

ing to World Bank figures.

The deposed dictator is in prison and his family under house arrest, but his lawyer in Paris has denied allegations of corruption.

African economists have dubbed Swiss deposits Africa's second Aids epidemic, with Aids standing for "Acquired Investments Deposited in Switzerland". "Flight capital" has become one of Africa's main economic plagues.

A recent United Nations report estimated that "flight capital" out of

Africa between 1986 and 1990 was \$40bn.

Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko is by far Africa's richest leader. Western diplomats estimate his overseas assets at close to \$8bn, equal to the country's foreign debt.

Exporting capital is made easy in West Africa by the use of the French-backed CFA franc, a convertible currency.

Each year the Banque de France is forced to buy huge amounts of CFA banknotes in European financial centres. — Daily Telegraph.



# Economic community on cards for the New Africa

S.T. Iwe 29/9/91  
THE first all-Africa businessman's conference — including 150 South African businessmen — will be held in Cameroon at the end of October.

The conference — which has as its central theme "Exploring Opportunities in a Changing Africa" — hopes to foster regional and continental co-operation. In terms of the Lagos Plan of 1980, Africa is aiming for an African Economic Community by the turn of the century.

At present the continent has 11 regional economic blocs, as opposed to three for Europe and one in Asia.

Economists believe the continent has to streamline and improve regional and continental co-operation if it is not to be completely

By CHARLENE SMITH

marginalised and cut out of the major economic blocs developing in Europe, the Americas and the Pacific Rim countries.

The conference is organised by the Movement of Dialogue and Co-operation. Eight hundred delegates, of whom 600 will be businessmen, are expected to attend from every country in Africa.

There will also be delegates from major international non-governmental organisations and businessmen and government representatives from Europe, Asia, Latin America and the United States of America, according to local organiser, Mr Jacques Verster.

Donald McRae, chief executive of Eskom, will be one of the main speakers.

A number of SA companies are sponsoring black businessmen to ensure that any benefits are not restricted to the corporate sector — in fact, small business and the informal sector will be a key part of the talks.

Daily workshops will enable businessmen to debate a variety of topics, including agriculture and rural development, energy, mineral and hydro resources, computerisation and development; African markets and obstacles to ward economic expansion.

The conference will be opened by President Paul Biya of Cameroon.

## More women in parliament ①

GENEVA - African countries below the equator, with the exception of South Africa - individually have more women in their national parliaments than the world percentage average, an Inter-Parliamentary Union official in Geneva has found. *Sowetan 30/9/91*

IPU information officer Mr Michel Barton said that although Africa as a whole was below the world average of 11 percent, some countries below the equator had higher percentages, such as Rwanda (17,1 percent), Mozambique (15,7 percent), Angola (14,5 percent) and Zimbabwe (12 percent), which all scored better than northern Africa. *Sapa.*

## Peace bid in Sudan

<sup>Southern</sup>  
NICOSIA - Sudanese rebels said yesterday that secession by the non-Muslim southern area would end the country's tragic civil war. 2/10/91

The Sudan People's Liberation Army said: "This is the first time the issue of an independent southern state has been raised in public."

Rebels and the military government are due to meet in Nigeria next month.  
*Sapa-Reuter.*

# 'US aid is reward for democracy'

① AGG 3/10/91

## The Argus Correspondent

LONDON. — The Bush administration will announce soon a "cut-off" date after which aid to African and other countries will depend on whether they democratise their political and economic systems.

"The US feels that aid should be used as a reward for democracy," Mr Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, told a Wilton Park conference in West Sussex.

"We will announce the cut-off date in the near future. If we demand democracy, of course, we must also provide aid to achieve it — to help create acceptable systems, accountable governments, independent judiciaries, and so forth."

Similar warnings were given by Mr Simon Hemans, Assistant Under-Secretary for Africa at Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), and by Mr Yoshi Nogami, Deputy Director-General of the Middle-Eastern and African

Affairs Bureau of Japan's Foreign Ministry.

Conferences on world affairs are held regularly at Wilton Park. The conference was organised with the African-American institute of New York and is supported by the FCO.

It is on "Reconciliation and Reconstruction in South and Southern Africa."

The conference is attended by South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Renier Schoeman, Dr Jan Lombard (Professor of Economics at Pretoria University and adviser to the Development Bank), representatives of the ANC, PAC and Inkatha, and of the governments of Portugal, Sweden, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Senegal, Namibia, the EC and Germany.

Mr Cohen enunciated five principles for successful democratisation: recognition of ethnicity as a factor, growth-orientated policies and government disengagement from micro-economic management, a sense of winner-takes-all that makes others feel they

are being left out (although multiparty democracy is not necessarily the final answer), political democracy accompanied by good governance and financial accountability, and an independent judiciary and justiciable bill of rights.

Mr Hemans said aid would go to good governments. Good governance meant it was perceived as such by the people — it meant stability, prosperity, it cost as little as possible and it interfered as little as possible with people's lives.

It also meant honest and uncorrupt governments, which allowed defence of individual and group rights and free and fair elections.

Mr Hemans criticised the tendency towards centralised government and the "big man" leader in Africa.

The West's role, he said, was to work with the tide of popular expression in Africa. There had been far too much emphasis in the past on supporting governments when forces among the people were stirring against them.

# Bush to set aid deadline for Africa

Star 3/10/91

By Stanley Uys

LONDON — President George Bush's administration will announce soon a cut-off date, after which aid to African and other countries will depend on whether they democratise their political and economic systems.

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Herman Cohen . . . aid should be reward for democracy.

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The West's role, he said, was to work with the tide of popular expression in Africa. There had been far too much emphasis in the past on supporting governments when forces among the people were stirring against them.

Mr Nogami said that when Japan allocated its aid, it looked at the proportion of defence spending, and whether the country was moving to a good government and a market economy.

For governments to give aid they needed their taxpayers' consent, and taxpayers were "fed up" with undeserved aid.

Japan had a fairly extensive aid programme in east Africa, but its taxpayers were asking why failed socialist systems were being supported.

"We need some response from host countries to enable us to continue," Mr Nogami said.

# For Africa ... 'a year of encouragement'

LONDON. — The authoritative International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) says the past year has been encouraging for Africa.

"In South Africa the government has repealed all the laws which established and regulated the policy of apartheid, but violence in the townships is increasing, primarily between the ANC and the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party," the IISS says in its annual military balance report.

"A growing number of countries are lifting sanctions imposed on South Africa ..."

The report notes that on July 8 South Africa acceded to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as did Tanzania and Zambia.

"On the whole, it has been an encouraging year for the African continent, with major developments which may lead to the peaceful settlement of a number of its longest civil wars ..." the institute says.

On other southern African issues the IISS says:

● In Angola a settlement has finally been reached by the government and the Unita movement led by Jonas Savimbi. All Cuban forces have been withdrawn.

● In Mozambique a limited ceasefire was agreed to in December 1990 but no substantive progress towards a settlement has yet been made. — Sapa.

# Makeba *Sowetan* on mercy 4/10/91 mission

MBABANE - Miriam Makeba is in Swaziland to publicise a charity concert to raise money for African children which will be held in Lagos, Nigeria next month.

The South African-born singer will hold a reception for Swazi cabinet ministers this evening to ask for support for the concert, which will raise funds for her organisation "Children of Africa".

She told local reporters the aim of the organisation was to use the talents of African artists to raise funds for Africa's needy children.

The concert is scheduled for November 30. -  
*Sowetan Africa News Service.*

# Africa's new colonialists come from the Far East

Star 5/10/91

**A** PLANNING consultant friend who roams the world says Far Eastern firms are moving in to Africa, buying out mining properties.

The Far East needs minerals and sees Africa as its Big Chance.

What interested me was that he said the new colonialists lay down ground rules, sometimes using bribery to get them accepted.

They then erect First World hospitals, schools and houses, throw a fence up around them and declare them out of bounds to all but themselves.

They do all the mining themselves. No strikes, no days off to mark revolutionary events, no queues of Aids or TB sufferers or kids with runny tumms.

Just a monthly royalty. The influx of Japanese, Taiwanese and Koreans may be a future megatrend as Aids creates population vacuums.

Is Africa dying? I wonder. There are signs that the Aids event could be blunted by Aids education.

Uganda — the first African country to declare it had an Aids problem — is persuading its people to change their sexual habits. Like most of sub-Saharan Africa, Uganda stands to lose a large slice of its population because 11 percent already have the virus

According to The Economist, Uganda's population, which was to have been 37 million by 2015, will now be about 22 million.

That sounds a manageable num-

Greenpiece  
①  
JAMES CLARKE



ber for a country a quarter the size of ours — except that already Aids is breaking up villages and families, orphaning children and leaving only the aged to look after them.

## Alarming

I spoke to Rosetta Sutner, of Aloe Educational in Randburg, who spends most of her day talking to companies and workers about how to deal with Aids.

She has her own collection of alarming statistics: in KwaZulu, 11,2 percent of children aged between 15 and 17 are HIV positive.

Thus the mighty Zulu nation should begin its decline about now. What is all this going to do to development programmes?

Rosetta bumps into some intriguing problems in her work. A worker asked: "You say I must sleep only with my wife. I have five wives. Which one should I choose?"

She answered: "You must sleep with all of them. They are your wives." She says: "There is no need for any of us to change our cultural habits. We simply must understand that as long as we have 'outside' sex, there's a strong possibility we'll get Aids."

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laments: "Oh money,  
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As Arthur Cough succin-  
ly puts it: "How pleasant it is  
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# No respite ahead for Third World

LONDON — <sup>8 Day 7/10/91</sup> Developing countries have lost billions of dollars in export earnings as commodity markets have slumped in recent years and prospects remain dim for a price revival, commodity experts say.

Poor nations in Africa, Latin America and Asia have struggled to keep up payments on huge foreign debts against a backdrop of plunging prices for coffee, cocoa, cotton and tin.

"There is little scope for optimism," said Colin Greenhill, deputy director of commodities at the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

Many impoverished grain-importing nations have benefited from a plunge in wheat prices to near 20-year lows, but most of all they need a recovery in markets of their basic commodity exports to help them on their way.

Wealthy countries and developing states have turned to international pacts to stabilise commodity prices, but these have foundered as the agreements ran out of money to support raw materials in chronic oversupply.

Only the rubber accord has survived, but that is linked to the fact that it was able to sell off its huge stocks during a boom in rubber prices due to the AIDS epidemic.

Coffee and cocoa producers came to London last month to talk to rich nations about ways of stabilising prices but, despite pledges to talk again, the negotiations made little headway.

The international tin agreement collapsed in 1985 with hundreds of millions of dollars of debts and this has since made rich nations more sceptical of commodity pacts.

"Commodity agreements have to defend

a price which is justified by the market — if the price is too high, surpluses are generated and oversupply breaks the pact," one expert said.

Christopher Gilbert at London University says real non-oil commodity prices have slumped nearly 40% in the past 17 years, with the biggest declines in coffee, cocoa and tea — all grown in tropical African countries.

Coffee futures hit their lowest in nominal terms for 16 years earlier this week.

Coffee growing countries have lost over \$6bn in hard currency earnings since the collapse of export quotas under the international coffee agreement in 1989, a spokesman for the coffee pact said.

Rich nations depend on non-fuel commodity exports for only 15% of their earnings, but for Latin America they account for 42% of earnings and for Africa 45%, Gilbert said.

Greenhill does not see any chance of an improvement in the price of coffee or cocoa in the near future.

Cuba depends critically on sugar exports for foreign currency, but with prices around \$180 a ton, it is in dire straits.

Brazil, once highly dependent on commodity exports, has been at pains in recent years to diversify its exports. Malaysia has too, but it is still very sensitive to movements in tin, cocoa, palm oil and rubber prices.

Tin prices are just above 17-year lows, while cocoa is recovering from 15-year lows earlier this year.

However, Third World producers of copper and cobalt have recently enjoyed a respite as major producers Zaire and Zambia have been hit by civil unrest. — Reuter.

# Kaunda in attack on

## aid agencies

Star Africa Service

WINDHOEK — President Kaunda of Zambia has attacked multinational aid agencies for daring to prescribe to African countries how they should implement economic restructuring programmes.

He was in Namibia to open the country's national agricultural show on the weekend.

He attacked the concept held by aid and development agencies, such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, that poor economic performances in Africa — and especially Zambia — were the result of incompetent internal policies.

This completely ignored the severe international economic conditions in which African countries had to operate, he said, lashing out at "discriminatory trade practices".

"I am not saying that their structural adjustment programmes and measures do not work, but that countries themselves, without interference, should be in a position to determine the desired components, pace and direction of these programmes," Dr Kaunda said.

# Half the world's HIV cases in Africa, say experts

**M**ORE THAN HALF of the world's HIV cases are to be found in Africa. This was disclosed by a team of United States experts on world-wide Aids and HIV trends, who visited South Africa recently.

Six million people in sub-Saharan Africa, 8.7 percent of the region's population, are estimated to be infected with the virus, which means they are susceptible to contracting Aids and are capable of transmitting the virus.

Compared with Europe and North America, relatively few of Africa's HIV cases are presently suffering from Aids. Dr Helene Gayle of the Centre for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta, said that this reflected the different stages reached by the development of the epidemic in the two regions.

In Europe and North America HIV had been at epidemic level for a longer period of time, which meant that the HIV virus had had time to

develop into Aids in a greater number of cases. In Africa, conversely, the vast majority of HIV cases have yet to develop into Aids.

Heterosexual contact is by far the greatest cause of HIV transmission in Africa, with the result that HIV carriers on this continent are evenly split along gender lines.

A South African Aids expert has subsequently said that in South Africa, which previously followed a first-world model of Aids transmission, the more typically African pattern of transmission is now dominant. Dr Ruben Sher, head of the Aids Centre, said that while Aids in South Africa used to be spread primarily by male homosexual contact and by intravenous drug users, it is now spread chiefly through heterosexual contact.

The American delegation also indicated that the child mortality rate in Africa, which has shown a downward trend recently, is expected to rise again as a result of Aids being transmi-

South (South side) 9/10-16/10/91

ted from mother to child during pregnancy.

There is now increasing evidence of the prevalence of the virus in western and southern Africa, in contrast to earlier data which emphasised its presence in central and eastern Africa.

The spread of Aids is governed by social factors such as the frequency of sexual partner change, and political-economic factors such as the presence of war and the size of a country's health budget. Equally important are demographic variables such as the proportion of sexually active age groups, rapid urbanisation and the existence of major roads.

Dr Gayle said that South Africa's well-developed road system could hasten the spread of the virus from urban to rural areas. The movement of Aids into South Africa's rural areas would have far-reaching effects on population dynamics and the economy, Gayle said.

Dr Malinda Moore, also of the CDC, emphasised the importance of what she called the

programmatic context of disease prevention work. While individual research and intervention in the field of Aids prevention were of some value, what was crucial was to build an integrated strategy.

**D**eveloping a health programme required the three stages of policy development, programme planning and programme implementation, she said. Each stage necessitated research, training and evaluation.

Emphasising the value of a multi-disciplinary approach to Aids strategy she recalled an example from Zaire. Here church leaders altered their message in consultation with health planners: originally they would not take into account any kind of sexual activity outside of marriage, but changed their position to accommodate the reality of the situation, saying that if celibacy could not be sustained, then they advocated the use of condoms. □ JUSTIN PEARCE

THIS PAGE HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SUPPORT OF WARNER-LAMBERT

cosmopolitan human sent  
Government to international  
short story, Adams  
recounts the life of Maaband, a



# Profitably into Africa

**SHERWOOD EXPORT**, registered as a close corporation, is the country's largest general trader in Africa with an annual turnover that would embarrass most of the listed companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

It was founded 20 years ago by ex-Northern Rhodesian, John Hood, to develop trade with black Africa.

Few people rated his chances of success. The noose of sanctions had started to tighten and South African companies were treated with suspicion in many countries. **Stiwes (Buss) 13/10/91**

But mention this company's name in Malawi or Zambia and the response is likely to be one of warm familiarity. Yet few people in SA know of its existence.

Its sales have grown every year for the past 20. In 1989 it received the State President's Award for Export Achievement in the service sector and last year won a second one.

"We have always adopted a very low-key profile because of the nature of the business we are in," says Mr Hood.

Today the company comprises eight divisions, including an in-house freight forwarding arm, a shipping company, mining supplies, pharmaceuticals, educational materials and general trading.

It employs 60 staff and operates out of impressive offices in Parktown, bristling with memorabilia from hundreds of trips into the interior.

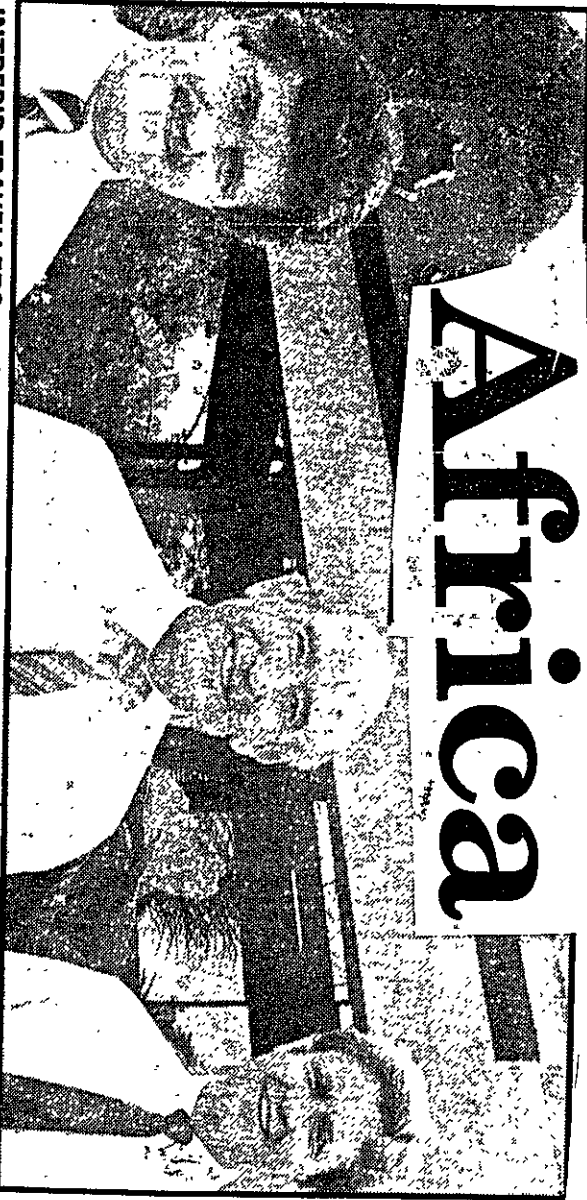
At a time when South African companies are beginning to venture into Africa, Sherwood has built up an extensive lead in this field, but lucrative market.

The company is run by Mr Hood and two chartered accountants turned traders — Robin Smith, the marketing director, and Dunbar Crewe-Brown, the executive director.

All are seasoned travellers in Africa, frequently visiting remote locations in search of business.

The key to Sherwood's success is building up contacts, says Mr Hood.

"You have to establish level contacts at ministerial level because so much of business in Africa comes from govern-



INTREPID TRAVELLERS... John Hood flanked by Dunbar Crewe-Brown (left) and Rob Smith

## By CIARAN RYAN

ment. But this is changing, as more parastatals are being privatised.

"Maintaining these contacts can be hard work. You have to travel a lot but, most importantly, you have to give good service. If you say you are going to deliver, you must deliver. At any one time we have eight or more staff scouting the continent for business."

Sherwood pioneered general trading in Africa at a time when conditions were least favourable. Commitments are still difficult in many parts of the continent, corruption is rampant and customs officials can delay shipment for days.

Drivers hauling Sherwood shipments have been shot at in the Tete province of north-

ern Mozambique and one truck was blown up.

There are frequent expectations of bribery (or "sharing," as it is more politely called in some countries). Mr Hood recalls telegrams arriving from Nigeria specifying the size of the "commission" demanded for awarding a contract.

"We suspect corruption when we lose tenders to suppliers that are considerably more expensive than we are. We have a case at the moment in Uganda, where a contract was awarded to a supplier who was 25% more expensive than ourselves and the other tenders.

"This involved World Bank money and we brought it to the attention of the bank, which stopped the contract. We generally bring this sort of thing to the attention of the

## Africa

list of items and, more recently, turkey projects — such as the supply, delivery and erection of several warehouses in rural Mozambique, where it was necessary to fly in a construction team.

It uses the new government export incentive scheme to compete on price, offering door-to-door delivery.

Sherwood's main markets are Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi and Botswana. Sudan has been a strong source of business in the past, and Mr Hood clocked up 16 visits to the country in two years at one point. East Africa is once again becoming an important source of business, he says.

"Being a South African company we had to structure

Political changes across the continent have had little effect on business, but as countries face increasing pressure to become "democratic" many companies are cultivating links across the political divide.

Mr Hood predicts "I expect a marked change in Zambia, and I don't think President Kaunda will win the election this month. If the opposition gets in, trade will become freer with SA.

"As far as Zimbabwe is concerned, there needs to be a profound change in the attitude of government towards the private sector and, fortunately, there are signs of this now happening."

Sherwood earned a measure of goodwill in both Malawi and Zambia by financing trade with importers in these countries at a time when other companies wouldn't touch them. When conditions improved, Sherwood found itself in the pound seats.

Last year it sold 500 vehicles to Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

"We could sell more vehicles, but I feel certain vehicle manufacturers are not passing on the benefits of the government export incentive scheme.

"They tend to pocket a large part of the incentives as extra profit. We often find it cheaper to bring vehicles in directly from Japan."

Kherwood's biggest competitors are manufacturing companies who previously supplied Sherwood but are now selling direct into Africa.

"With the new SA opening up, many manufacturers are travelling into our traditional markets. However, they become quickly disillusioned with the numerous problems inherent in exporting to Africa, and, consequently, they are happy to let us act as their agents."

Mr Hood says he is negotiating to buy a number of businesses in neighbouring countries.

## Incentive

The only people with hard currency were foreign aid organisations. Today, these aid organisations are Sherwood's major source of business.

In the old days aid was intended to promote business for the donor country's private sector, but as aid budgets were lightened the lowest tender generally won the contract.

Sherwood specialises in supplying an entire shopping

list of items and, more recently, turkey projects — such as the supply, delivery and erection of several warehouses in rural Mozambique, where it was necessary to fly in a construction team.

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# Soviet woes high on IMF agenda<sup>①</sup>

BIDAW 14/10/91

**BANGKOK** — Africa and the economic problems of African countries are unlikely to be high on the agenda of this year's annual meeting of the World Bank and IMF that opens officially today.

Centre stage will be occupied by relations with the Soviet Union, trying for IMF and World Bank membership in the hope of staving off economic collapse.

It is staggering under a foreign debt burden of \$60bn and at the weekend again officially admitted to having gold reserves of only 245 tons worth about \$3bn.

That compares with earlier Western estimates of 1 500 tons. The official figure, though questioned by Western countries, is helping to support gold prices.

As a sideshow there is the rift over a French-sponsored proposal that a \$120m international aid package be made available to Vietnam.

The aid would allow Vietnam to repay overdue IMF loans which, in turn, could open the door to World Bank advances to the impoverished communist country.

Vietnam would appear to be the only major public rift between the US, which enforces a strict trade and financial embargo against its former adversary, and the rest of the developed world.

Other Third World programmes have become of minor significance. The Third

JIM JONES

World situation is not helped by the growing irritation expressed by the developed countries' representatives with the reluctance of many developing nations to implement sound economic policies.

Zambia, which has abandoned IMF approved restructuring and economic programmes ahead of its October 31 election, is cited as an example of Third World irresponsibility.

In contrast, Mexico, which was threatening debt default a few years ago, is held up as the shining example of what correct economic policies can lead to.

The developed world's irritation is reciprocated by the developing countries.

Many of them pay scant regard to human rights and are resentful of attempts by the World Bank and IMF to tie assistance to political reform.

Repeated calls by IMF MD Michel Camdessus for cuts in developing countries' military spending were snubbed at the weekend by the Group of 24 (G-24) which fronts for the poorest nations of the developing world in their relations with the IMF and World Bank.

In a joint statement G-24 finance ministers bluntly told the IMF and World Bank not to become involved "in issues beyond their strict economic and financial mandate".

By ROBIN LODGE

**HARARE** — The heads of government of the Commonwealth's 50 countries, in Harare for this week's summit meeting, are uncomfortably aware of a looming presence casting an authoritarian shadow over the proceedings' main theme of "good governance".

Only a few yards from the conference centre stands a mighty concrete tower, the headquarters of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu-PF Party, epitomising the image of oppression, dictatorship and abuse of power that the developing world — Africa in particular — is trying so hard to shed.

At long last, Africa is beginning to grow up, to peer out of the fog of the phoney and complex-ridden post-colonial ideology it dreamed up for itself in the 1960s and applied with such vigour and thoroughness as to wreak economic havoc and inflame human conflict across the continent.

Now, 30 years on, the rejected notions of Western democracy are slowly being picked up again and a tide of pluralism is sweeping across Africa.

It is not a smooth process. In Zambia, it took food riots and an attempted coup to persuade Kenneth Kaunda, the grizzled dean of independent Africa, that the time had come to put aside his philosophy of "love and humanism" — which had given him absolute power for three decades — and allow free multi-party elections at the end of this month.

Tanzania has finally abandoned the socialist policy which its founder, Julius Nyerere, had fervently believed would lead to an end to exploitation and the creation of a workers' and peasants' paradise. Now he,

# Winds of change are blowing in renewal of democracy

Oct 15/10/91

too, favours building a new society based on Western-style multi-party democracy.

## Realism

There are still some stalwarts of the old era. President Mobutu of Zaire is still struggling to retain his ruthless grip over his benighted people; in Kenya, Daniel arap Moi seems as determined as ever to crush any opposition and lead his once prosperous country into social and economic bankruptcy.

With a foot in each camp stands His Excellency Comrade President Robert Mugabe, the former guerrilla leader who horrified the West with his talk of Marxism during the Rhodesian civil war and who continued to hold up the cause of socialism and one-party rule as prime minister and president. Now there are signs that this is changing.

Earlier this year, without fanfare or preamble, Zanu-PF announced that it had abandoned the ideologies of Marxism-

Leninism and scientific socialism. The move has so far had no impact on the way Zimbabwe is governed but is nonetheless a sure sign of a wind of change.

For all his anti-Western diatribes, posturing and ruthless pursuit of power, Mr Mugabe has retained a canny awareness of reality. Even at his most socialist he has been careful not to destroy the mainly white-owned private enterprise that forms the basis of the country's prosperity.

Since independence, he has repeatedly pledged to resettle hundreds of thousands of landless black people on what he refers to as "under-utilised" land, a thinly disguised euphemism for white-owned farms. So far, only 52 000 families have been relocated, as things stand at present seven million peasant farmers scratch a living out of 18.2 million hectares while some 4 400 white farmers occupy 15 million hectares to provide the mainstay



**DANIEL ARAP MOI:** Said to be leading country into bankruptcy.



**ROBERT MUGABE:** Held up cause of socialism and one-party rule.



**KENNETH KAUNDA:** Food riots forced multi-party elections.

of Zimbabwe's food production and tobacco exports.

It could all change but at present Mr Mugabe seems anxious to reassure the country's 100 000 remaining whites that they still have a future here. In April 1990, a month after Zanu-PF won 116 out of 119 seats in a general election, he appointed three whites to key Cabinet posts.

And, as if to show the world that democracy could remain alive and well under his vision of a one-party state, his old adversary and comrade in arms Joshua Nkomo, whose Zapu had earlier been swallowed up by Zanu-PF, was made one of two vice-presidents. Another former opponent was given the post of deputy Home Affairs minister.

Similarly, Mr Mugabe is eager to mend fences with Britain. The visit by the Queen turned into a celebration of British-Zimbabwean mutual praise and admiration. The government-controlled Herald newspaper carried an editorial that was so enthusiastic about the visit and the Queen's

role in the Commonwealth as to leave diplomats staggered.

Behind Mr Mugabe's warmth is his desire to use the summit to persuade the richer Commonwealth countries, such as Britain, Canada and Australia, to use their influence in other organisations such as the European Community and the G7 group of industrialised countries, to help relieve the burden of Third World debt and impoverishment.

## Unity

Last week he singled out for praise a move by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to cancel the debts of several developing countries. Mr Mugabe said: "This set the pace. This is the kind of example that the Commonwealth can give to the others." On the other hand, he rejected the notion that economic aid should be linked in any way with human rights. This, he said, was tantamount to blackmail.

He said he was happy that a democratic trend was catching on in Africa, where military regimes were "listening to their people and mov-

ing towards democracy" but that this could not be achieved through coercion.

As far as the summit is concerned, there will be no coercion or blackmail. There will be no qualification to join the motion on good governance. Not an eyebrow will be raised when Presidents Moi, Kaunda and Mugabe pen their signatures to the final declaration. Nor do they risk being embarrassed by direct criticism during the discussion. The emphasis is on unity and with the old stumbling block of South Africa now more or less out of the way, unity is likely to be achieved.

## Austerity

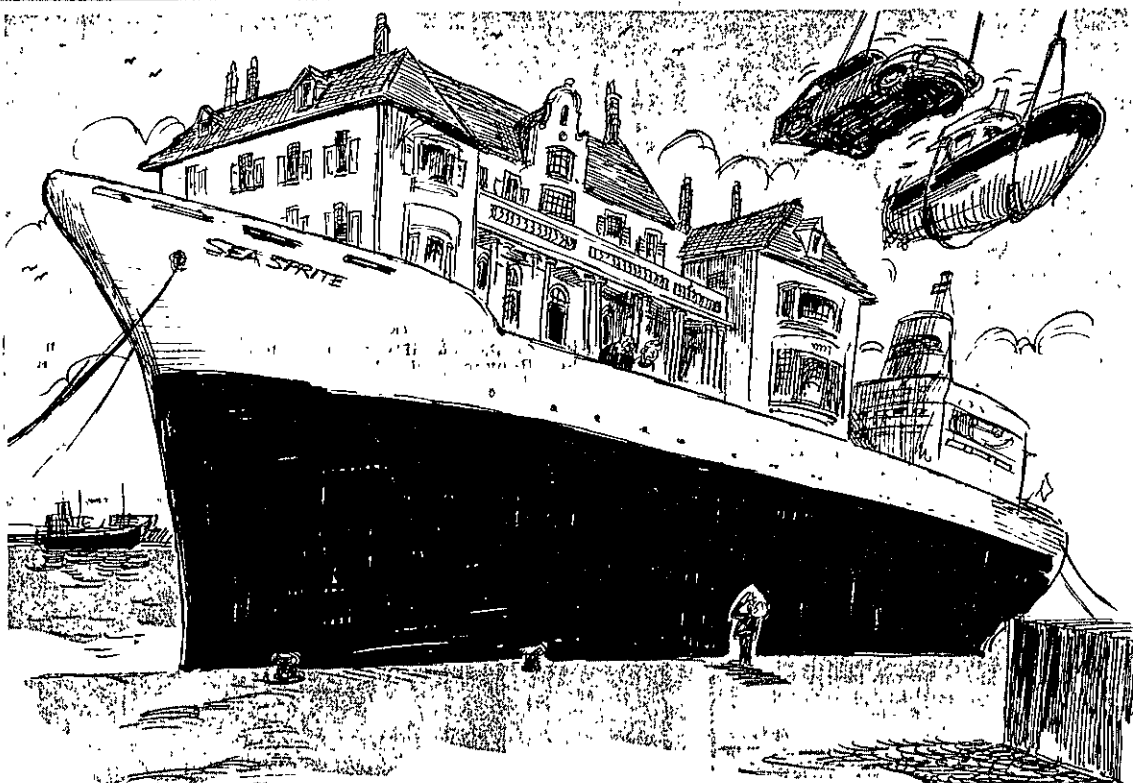
In the end it will be less a matter of conscience than of pocket. Mr Mugabe knows that however unacceptable he may find blackmail or coercion, the developing countries will eventually have no choice but to swallow their pride, knuckle down and fall into line. The long era of post-colonialist guilt is over — when the former imperial powers and their industrialised successors competed to throw money at tyrants such as Idi Amin and Emperor Bokassa, when world powers trembled at accusations of neo-colonialism and economic exploitation

It will take a long time to make up for the damage done by Amin and his ilk. The widespread policy of "nationalism without compensation" worked well as a rabble-rouser for the oppressed but its memory is still keeping investors away. New markets in Eastern Europe look safer and more lucrative from the economic point of view; the countries there are more attractive politically to a Western world worn down by decades of Third World whingeing.

From now on the main keys to Western aid, for Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Africa alike, will be economic austerity measures and political stability; and democratic government their passport to the civilised world.

In this age of harsh realities, it is best to be inside a club. And for many African and Asian countries, Commonwealth membership could prove to be a lifeline.

(Robin Lodge is Diplomatic Correspondent of the Sunday Telegraph)



"Relax! The wealth levy is an option not ANC policy."



G



World Bank president Lewis Preston presents his annual address yesterday at the World Bank and IMF conference at Bangkok's Queen Sirikit Convention Centre. Picture: AP

## Africa 'needs more aid to fight poverty'

BANGKOK — African nations yesterday painted a grim picture of growing poverty, meagre investments and environmental crisis while asking the international community for large aid input.

But Steven Kibona, who heads Tanzania's delegation to the World Bank's annual conference, stressed African states were implementing economic reforms despite "the difficulties and sacrifices encountered".

"It must be unmistakably clear that African governments are committed to doing what is necessary and feasible to rejuvenate their economies and set the stage for improved standards of living," he said. *B/day*

Kibona, who is Tanzania's finance minister, spoke on behalf of the African members of the World Bank and IMF. *16/10/91*

"The debt overhang is still an albatross around the neck of many African countries," Kibona said.

"There is now a heightened risk that Africa will be left on the periphery of the international economy."

He said it was critical that domestic and foreign investment be increased and that debt relief be offered by foreign monetary institutions.

He said that the ratio of investment to national income had fallen by some 25% since 1980. Warnings about a global capital shortage meant that African countries would have difficulty competing for capital.

"In sum, we are appealing to the donor community to increase its support of our growth-oriented adjustment efforts," he told the 155-member World Bank. — Sapa-AP.

## free trade zones

91. duce significant steps toward liberalisation, trade zones have become one of the best hopes for reducing impediments to trade.

Summers said the benefits of free trade zones, the spur of competition and the transfer of technology, would extend to all nations, even those not included in a bloc.

But to those that do not see themselves included in any trade group, the blocks

are a threat.

"Trade packs are groupings of nations that one way or another are likely to make preferential arrangements with each other," said Peter McCawley, deputy director general of the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau.

"They are interventionist, protectionist policies."

He and officials from other countries said blocs

present a two-fold problem: blocs could use the threat of lifting trade barriers to muscle advantageous trade agreements from isolated nations; bloc participants might win access to markets at the expense of those on the outside.

In addition to the EC's drive toward a common market in 1992, the US and Canada have already begun negotiating a free trade agreement with Mexico and an Asian trade group has been proposed by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahamad Mahathir. — Sapa-Reuters.

## Opportunity in aid bodies

8/10/87  
17/10/87  
MARCIA KLEIN

INTERNATIONAL non-governmental aid organisations are providing excellent export opportunities in Africa for SA companies.

Safto executive Paresh Pandya said yesterday that non-governmental organisations' (NGOs') spending aid to Africa was about \$500m a year, and SA companies were best placed to supply them with requirements such as food, pharmaceuticals, clothing, water purification chemicals, educational material and training programmes.

SA companies were best placed to develop these markets because of the low exchange value of the rand and geographic proximity.

Safto announced recently that SA companies could be eligible to take part in major EC-funded African development projects.

Safto has produced a guide to non-governmental organisations. It covers about 60 operating in Africa.



# CSIR takes aggressive steps deeper into Africa

B(Day) 17/10/91

SEAN VAN ZYL

GOVERNMENT's scientific and industrial technology organisation, the CSIR, has embarked on an aggressive African expansion programme now that political attitudes towards SA have started to thaw.

Although the CSIR has been indirectly involved in southern Africa over the past two years through exported technology, the organisation was now marketing its management and technical services directly as far north as the Ivory Coast, Africa business development manager Loic Desselas said in an interview this week.

Desselas said most of the infrastructural development projects which the CSIR had targeted were of more than R10m and normally involved international funding. He added the CSIR was involved with a road-upgrading project in Malawi, which had been financed by the World Bank.

Although competition for African development projects was fierce between US and European technology developers, Desselas said the CSIR was ideally placed "as the organisation has been involved with developing and adapting technology for Third World conditions for years".

The CSIR was formed specifically to develop technology to suite African conditions.

"The First World technology available from overseas developers often exceeds the needs and financial resources of developing African countries."

Citing a case in point, Desselas said the CSIR recently adapted a solar cell system which could be used for cheap irrigation, among other things.

He noted the CSIR's annual budget of R400m accounted for roughly 25% of Africa's total research expenditure a year. The CSIR had the largest permanent research centre on the continent.

Although the organisation's revenue generated from Africa was "very modest", Desselas noted the groundwork of establishing contact with African countries and financing institutions like the World Bank was now in place.

As a result, he expected demand for the CSIR's services to increase dramatically in coming years.

## Efforts

"The number of official African representatives who have approached the CSIR this year has more than quadrupled."

Desselas noted CSIR's marketing efforts were also opening up business opportunities in Africa for SA manufacturing companies. He added the CSIR only developed and marketed technology, and left the production to outside manufacturers.

"The CSIR is also looking to joint projects with local and outside private firms to manufacture developed equipment."

He added the Africa expansion programme was in line with a general reorganisation of the CSIR to that of a market-driven operation.

Once fully funded by government, roughly 55% of the CSIR's annual budget was now self-generated.

# Africa slated over Aids

*Jawelen*  
BANGKOK — African nations are failing to confront an Aids epidemic that threatens to devastate the region's economy along with the lives of its victims, a top World Bank official said.

"Countries are still in the denial stage," Mr Edward Jaycox, head of the bank's Africa division, said this week.

Aids has struck more people in Africa than anywhere else in the world, Jaycox said. He said more than six million people were believed infected by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus, precursor of Aids.

*17/10/91*  
"It's a major problem, not just a health problem. It has a tremendous development impact," Jaycox told reporters.

Jaycox said he was disturbed by the apparent failure of Africa's leaders to come to grips with the epidemic.

He criticised African finance ministers for failing to attend a lecture earlier in the week by a leading Aids expert.

"There was one African in the whole room," Jaycox said. This is tragic." - *Sapa-Reuter*.

# Algeria's polls set <sup>①</sup>

ALGIERS — Algeria's first multi-party legislative elections, called off this summer after deadly riots by Muslim fundamentalists, will be held December 26, its president has announced.

*Sowdan 17/10/91*  
President Chadli Bendjedid's televised statement Tuesday was his first national appearance since declaring a state of emergency June 5. - Sapa-AP.

Green Pages / A focus on the environment

# War: A competition for scarce resources

W. J. Wainwright 18/10 - 24/10/91

Is there a direct link between unwise development, environmental degradation and bloody conflict? Panos Institute's new book, *Greenwar: Environment and Conflict*, answers this question with a resounding yes in its study of the political instabilities of Africa's Sahel, the region that spans the continent east to west along the southern fringe of the Sahara desert — an area that has seen too many famines and too many wars.

As productive yet fragile land is severely stressed by factors such as drought, overpopulation, overgrazing, intensive development and agricultural projects dedicated to profit rather than sustainable yields, its productivity drops, giving rise to competition between people who depend on its resources for their survival. As environmental pressures increase, competition gives rise to conflict, which can be as desperate and violent as natural resources are scarce.

This book is not a collection of objective facts and stale academic analyses by outside experts. It is the collective work of 15 Sahelian journalists intimately aware of the problems. These writers create a complex tapestry of information, using as threads various case studies and interviews with peasants, farmers, pastoralists, refugees and bandits, interwoven with the proverbs, legends and wisdom of these people whose lives directly affect, and are affected by, the deteriorating situation in the Sahel.

The numerous fields of political conflict that span the Sahel have unique and complex histories, but they all share a single common denominator — increasing numbers of people competing for rapidly waning resources. Traditional nomadic cattleherders of Chad, Niger, Mali and Sudan find themselves trespassing as their seasonal grazing pastures are transformed into mechanised farms.

After years of catastrophic droughts, increasing numbers in Ethiopia, Sudan and Somalia are forced to concentrate their families and livestock around diminishing water sources. The people of Eritrea in northern Ethiopia — a once fertile and productive region — have seen their people and their land ravaged by a bloody civil war that has continued since 1961.

War is the final, and most devastating stage of the relationship between environment and conflict. For war is waged not only on a people, but on their land. As a region's ecology and resources are destroyed, the seeds are sown for further strife. Thus the greenwar factor becomes a vicious, self-perpetuating spiral of destruction.

The editors of this book urge us to realise that "... there is no single solution to the Sahel's slide into environmental bankruptcy and bloodshed, just as there is no single cause. But the first element of any solution must be an understanding of the greenwar phenomenon and the way that it links violence to the environment with violence to humankind."

Sustainable solutions to environmental degradation require co-operation between, and consideration of, all peoples and governments dependent on a region's productivity.

I like this book; it is concise, coherent, informative and interesting. It also carries a few photographs of such fine quality that they are done little justice by the small, simple format. And most important is its message: that to deny the people of any region just and democratic access to its natural resources is to tear apart the fabric of society itself.

**Blake Owens**  
**GREENWAR: Environment and conflict**  
*edited and published by Panos Institute*

# C'wealth: 'No role sans SA'

① ~~30/11~~ CT 9/10/91

CANBERRA. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday that the Commonwealth might have no role once the South African issue was settled.

Mr Botha, on a three-day visit to Australia, told reporters that while he thought the Commonwealth was important, the apartheid issue and South Africa had helped bind its members together.

"You only have to look at their agendas of the past 20 years and then find out yourself what a decisively important role the South African issue played," Mr Botha said.

The Commonwealth groups about 50 former British colonies which meet annually to discuss common problems. South Africa, which left the Commonwealth in 1961, will again be on the agenda

at the group's Heads of Government meeting in Zimbabwe starting on October 16.

The SA government obviously is aware of the weight that Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke can carry when he attends the meeting. Mr Hawke last month said he was postponing a planned trip to SA, citing dissatisfaction with the pace of reforms.

## Grilled

Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans said yesterday that trade representatives would visit SA soon.

During his visit Mr Botha was grilled by reporters on every possible controversy — from the Inkatha slush fund scandal to his comments two years ago criticising Australia's treatment of its aboriginals.

No matter how pointed the question, he smiled and either provided a detailed response or deflected the barb methodically in his slow, deep voice.

Mr Botha stressed the need for the resumption of foreign investment in South Africa.

"We can adopt the best constitution, but if we cannot grow at a real rate of 5%, it doesn't matter who's going to govern the country. Disaster will be facing us," he said.

Along with New Zealand, Australia will co-host next year's World Cup cricket tournament, in which South Africa hopes to compete.

Asked whether he thought the Springbok rugby team would have won this year's World Cup now under way in Britain and France, Mr Botha said "Easy." — Sapa-Reuter-AP

# Africa in danger of being forgotten

*Star 19/10/91*

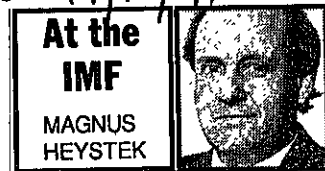
**BANGKOK** — Africa is running the danger of becoming the "forgotten continent" in the wake of the enormous sums of money needed to rebuild the economies of Eastern Europe.

Several speakers from African countries at this week's meeting of the World Bank/IMF have expressed fears that the Soviet problem in particular could cause the international financial community to ignore the world's poorest continent.

But Lewis Preston, president of the World Bank, played down these fears at a press conference, saying that the financial requirements needed by the collapsing Soviet economy would not impact on the World Bank's existing funding.

Despite the reassurances by Mr Preston and Michel Camdessus, the managing director of the IMF, African delegates have left this year's venue rather disconsolate and depressed.

Africa and its enormous problems were hardly ever men-



tioned by key delegates at the meeting.

"It's a familiar situation," said M Maneca, the Finance Minister of Cape Verde. "Africa is no longer a continent that really counts in the global economy," he said during his address.

This is despite the fact that the African continent is currently facing some of its most intense financial and political problems since the end of the colonial area.

The economic picture was summed up by Edward Jaycox, World Bank vice-president for Africa: "Most of the countries of sub-Saharan Africa have been in an economic free-fall over the last decade.

"No goods on the shelves, no spare parts, no chalk in the

*10* *10* *10*

class-rooms while foreign debt is piling up (currently at \$27 billion)."

The situation has not changed over the past five years. Africa remains a continent in crisis. What has changed, however, is that Africa is of little concern to the international community, which is turning its focus to the rapidly developing economies of Asia and the newly democratic East European countries.

"Nobody has an answer to the African crisis," Mr Jaycox said. "Africa has chosen consumption over production and has cut its ties with the world economy."

For South Africa the economic upliftment of the sub-Saharan region is of crucial importance. More than a quarter of South Africa's foreign trade today is with African countries and any increase in this trade is largely dependant on the availability of foreign trade credits.

While the South African delegation here has had "extensive meetings" with delegates of

neighbouring countries in Southern Africa, it is known that trade prospects are badly hampered by the lack of foreign exchange.

In comments to the SA press, Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, expressed some concern about the three major developing free trade areas, the European Community, North America and the newly announced Asean trade-bloc.

"This effectively leaves South Africa, and the rest of Africa out in the cold and will force African countries to take a hard look at establishing its own free-trade areas to compete on global markets.

"These developments could even hasten the plans to develop a Southern African constellation of states in the near future," he said.

● Magnus Heystek will resume his popular Money Matters column and answer Readers Queries on his return from the IMF meeting next week.

## Oil companies set sights on Africa

SOUTH Africa's oil industry, headquartered in Cape Town, is setting its sights on capturing refined oil markets in Africa and has embarked on massive capital expenditure programmes to increase its refining capacity. *B. Swan 21/10/91*

Strong demand from the east coast of Africa and the Indian Ocean islands is expected.

Shell and BP are spending R450m to expand capacity at the jointly owned Sapref refinery in Durban, the largest refinery on the continent.

Its present capacity of 200 000 barrels per day (bpd) is to be expanded by 30%.

The project will start this year and is due to be completed by end-1993.

Engen, which owns Mobil SA and Trek Petroleum, is planning a R2,2bn expansion to its Genref refinery in Durban, with the new capacity intended for the export market.

Caltex SA is spending R240m to double its daily production of 55 000 barrels.

If all three groups are looking to expand their horizons into Africa, they are also looking inwards to their social responsibility programmes.

Shell has donated R5,8m so far this year to educational institutions and is also involved in job creation, art and culture, environment and socio-political programmes.

Caltex has contributed R75m to the corporate social investment programme over the last 15 years since the introduction of the Sullivan Code, with R14m being contributed in the last year.

As far as Engen is concerned, the Energos Foundation (previously Mobil Foundation) is involved in about 150 projects involving funding of over R9m a year.

EVOLUTION TO

# Press freedom takes pummeling across Africa

**KENYAN LAW** journalist-

A whose passport has been withdrawn by the Kenyan government, has issued the speech he would have made during the Commonwealth conference had he been allowed to be there.

Gitobu Inmanyara, editor of the Nairobi Law Monthly, accused Commonwealth leaders of denying basic political freedoms and detaining their opponents. He said most Commonwealth African states negate guarantees of press freedom by the use of sedition laws.

"In Africa it is not surprising that journalists are regularly arrested, detained, interrogated and imprisoned for reporting the truth. Truth that does not tally with the official line of thinking is seen as sedition, sub-

version or treason," he said.

Mr Inmanyara had been invited to give the main speech at the launch of a book on the emerging free press in Africa, but was prevented from leaving Kenya by the withdrawal of his passport. "It is an appalling testimony to the fate of the African journalist that even free travel between one African country and another is not permitted," he said.

Mr Inmanyara (37) has been in the forefront of the battle for multiparty democracy in Kenya. His journal is filled with detailed legal and constitutional arguments about the one-party state. For this he has been detained on several occasions, and was jailed for three months earlier this year.

With few exceptions, the continent's journalists toe the "official line", reports RICHARD DOWDEN.

His experience has been repeated across Africa, according to Truth from Below, the launch of which he was to attend in Harare. In 1990, the book says, Article 19 recorded the killing of three journalists and the detention of 48 in sub-Saharan Africa, excluding South Africa.

Physical attacks, threats and detention have been the most blatant forms of suppression, but many African governments use a legal framework such as banning orders and the licensing of journalists to threaten an independent press. Elsewhere, governments harass printers

and advertisers associated with independent publications, or block the allocation of foreign exchange as a way of stopping their buying newspaper.

There is no clear pattern to the independent press in Africa. In Kenya, for example, the most slavishly pro-government paper, the Kenya Times, is owned jointly by the ruling party and Robert Maxwell.

In Angola the Journal d'Angola, the sole daily, run by the ruling party, is frequently critical of the government. Nigeria has some of the freest and liveliest media in the world,

but the editor of Newswatch magazine was murdered by a parcel bomb, almost certainly for political reasons.

Frances D'Souza, director of Article 19, says: "The freedom of the press is a precise indicator of the state of human-rights observance in a country. You can't have a free press and gross violations of human rights. Conversely, the reason the press is suppressed is to hide violation of human rights."

The book quotes Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first leader, writing on the capitalist press: "The journalist... is forced into arranging news and information to fit the outlook of his journal. He finds himself rejecting or distorting facts that do not coincide with the outlook

and interests of his employer."

Truth from Below concludes that "the journalist working for the officially controlled press in Africa has suffered the same ills which Nkrumah diagnosed."

But an independent press is emerging in Africa, mirroring the demand for greater democracy and freedom throughout the continent.

The book concludes: "The emergence of the independent press throughout Africa has been dramatic. In the past two years or so the official press, solemnly regurgitating the sayings of presidents... has been challenged by a variety of privately owned journals expressing a contrary viewpoint, or simply scepticism." — The Independent News Service. □



Richard Dowden tests the mood and climate for democracy in Africa

# Yearning for uncertain freedom

Star 21/10/91

**N**DEH Nnumazah hopes to be home in Cameroon in time for his 65th birthday next month.

He has not been there for 29 years. He has not seen his brother since 1956. He carries a British-issued travel permit which says: "Valid for all countries — except Cameroon", but he hopes to take advantage of the new political climate and return home.

Mr Nnumazah's life is an African allegory. Back in 1955 he argued that Cameroon should be independent, the British- and French-ruled parts should be united and the new country should have a United Nations-supervised election. The British put him in prison and his party was banned.

A few years later Cameroon became independent and the British and French halves were united, but he was excluded from the country. There was no election and, fearing the new government, he fled into exile.

While Mr Nnumazah lived in useless exile as a South London car park attendant, his father and sisters were jailed and his sons had to change their names to avoid persecution.

Now Cameroon is in turmoil. Under internal and external pressure, the government of President Paul Biya has been forced to concede elections and allow political activity. This new liberty may allow Mr Nnumazah to return home and rejoin the fight for democracy that he lost nearly 30 years ago.

"What is happening now just shows that what we wanted was freedom — nothing more," he said. "In those days anyone who was against colonialism in Africa was seen as a communist."

But, like many Africans, he admits that what happened after independence was far worse than anything that happened before. Now he says he is returning to a foreign country.

The idealism that heralded the independence movement 30 years ago is returning to Africa. Each of the 54 countries on the continent and its islands is changing rapidly. Multiparty democracy, or just democracy, is widely talked of.

In some countries — Algeria, Togo, Zambia, South Africa — it is happening, but it happens in each country in a different way and at

a different pace. In some countries smart young lawyers in suits conduct their campaign for democracy by fax and photocopy. In others men are attacking their neighbours with knives and spears in the name of self-determination.

Elsewhere soldiers riot and crowds march — often for food rather than freedom, but both bring political change. It is easier to generalise about what Africa is reacting against rather than say where it is going.

As in Eastern Europe, the breakdown of political structures has led to a resurgence of ethnic and regional allegiances. It is estimated that when European powers arbitrarily divided up Africa more than 100 years ago there were thousands of autonomous political units. These units, with allegiances to region, tribe or language group, are reasserting themselves with the danger that they will be stronger than the glue of nationalism.

Ethiopia is splitting up. Somalia has broken in two, regions of many other countries are but vaguely under the sovereignty of the capital.

Change has come from external and internal pressure. The ending of the Cold War has meant that African countries no longer have a choice of big brothers. It is the West or nothing, and the West has decided, with varying degrees of sincerity, to promote democracy in Africa.

Previously African governments could defend themselves by attacking Western countries' support for South Africa. But when Nelson Mandela was freed and began to speak in favour of multiparty democracy, many African tyrants were undermined.

Internal pressure has come from a new generation of Africans who never knew the anti-colonial struggle.

There is deep scepticism about ideology, one-party states or savours. The age of the "father of the nation" who led his country to independence and ruled it as a personal kingdom, is over. Those of the younger generation see their countries ruled by old men, often with little education, many of whom are corrupt and rule through their family or tribe. This generation is also poor and

disillusioned. Students from Lagos to Lumbumbashi to Addis Ababa have little hope of a secure salary and advancement. As students they are expected to provide for families who will not accept failure or poverty from educated sons. The price of food rises monthly, and cooking fuel is scarce and expensive.

This impoverishment of Africa, caused by collapsing commodity prices and the failure to maintain production, has been accompanied by pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to end the "sweetie jar" economy. Leaders can no longer support loyal urban followers by employing them in nationalised industries and huge bureaucracies.

In some countries, like Zaire, the leaders cannot even pay the army and keep it loyal. In the face of such pressure, African leaders have tried to adapt to the demands for democracy, or tried to manage a transition to democracy or stubbornly resist the demands and hang on.

Other countries, such as Liberia and Somalia, have exploded. Their

leaders hung on and the result was disaster. Their capitals lie wrecked, their countries divided.

Zaire is going the same way. Britain's two closest allies, Hastings Banda in Malawi and Daniel arap Moi in Kenya, warn of disintegration and disaster if they allow democracy, but their rule runs the risk of delaying the explosion and making it worse.

Mr Nnumazah simply wants to see a fair election or a national convention in Cameroon. Some countries, such as Benin and Togo, have gone this route. Togo has survived at least three coup attempts by copying the people of Moscow. Other countries, such as Zambia, might achieve the same result when elections take place.

Elsewhere, against a background of economic decline, rising birth rates and falling food production, the battle is developing. It is between those in power who cannot deliver a standard of living, and opposition movements who can end tyranny but can only offer a long hard slog of hunger and high prices. — The Independent News Service. □

*This is the first of three articles on political change in Africa.*

## Red Cross keeping 35 000 alive at camp

MEKELE (Ethiopia) —

At least 35 000 civilians expelled from Eritrea by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) are surviving in a camp here sustained only by emergency support from the Red Cross.

Many of those who arrived on foot have already died.

22/10/91  
star  
Most are families of former government soldiers and officials who were forced to leave immediately after the takeover of Eritrea by the EPLF in May, but new arrivals in Mekele include traders who say the front is now giving business and employment priority to Eri-

treans. ①

Conditions at the camp are reported to be "critical", but the new transitional government does not have the resources for a repatriation programme. The EPLF is running Eritrea as a de facto separate state but will not declare independence.

# Feasts for leaders and starvation for babies.

①  
Somalia  
23/10/91.

**MOGADISHU** - Somalia's new political elite is lunching in a Mogadishu hotel. A cabinet minister complains to his friend the police commissioner that the only item on the menu is lobster.

"I'm a nomad," he sniffs as his meal arrives. "I should be eating milk and meat."

At a hospital across town, Catholic Sister Maria Antonia holds up what has become a familiar sight in the last nine months - a baby dying of hunger.

These are the grotesque contrasts of Somalia, where savage clan warfare has raged since guerilla forces ended dictator Mohamed Siad Barre's 21-year rule in January.

Relief groups and diplomats say with growing anger that the country's new leaders either cannot or will not stop the fighting between the armed factions they control.

"They sit in rooms and talk as if in a dream, while in the streets outside people go without food, live in constant terror," said one frustrated Somali relief official.

Fighting has put 4,5 million people - or 60 percent of the population - at risk of starvation, a UN Food and Agriculture

"The situation is catastrophic. . . people have been dying for five months," an official from the International Committee of the Red Cross said.

## Guarantee

President Ali Mahdi Mohamed heads a government formed this month which promises to restore law and order, rebuild shattered state institutions and guarantee security for relief operations.

But his leadership is unrecognised in most parts of Somalia. In the north one clan has declared independence from the rest of the country. The south and centre have been carved into clan territories ruled over by gunmen.

Hundreds of people died last month in Mogadishu street battles between Ali Mahdi's faction and forces of his military chief of staff, Mohamed Farah Aideed. Aideed accuses the President of mismanagement and wants him to resign.

Forces loyal to Siad Barre, who has been holed up in the west of the country since he fled the capital, are advancing on the city once more, apparently seeking to regain power.

Somalia's disintegration was well-

advanced by the end of Barre's rule, widely seen as corrupt, nepotistic and brutal.

But now, the situation is worse than ever.

Those hospitals which are functioning overflow with gunshot and shrapnel victims. Schools have stopped functioning.

FAO estimates that food harvests up to June 1992 will reach 170 000 tons, only 25 percent of normal, because of disruption to farming by the war.

Most foreign relief agencies have found conditions too dangerous to work and only a handful remain.

"We are trying to stay, to work with the Somalis in this horrible time for them," says ICRC delegate for Somalia Mr Peter Stocker. He says armed bandits have robbed ICRC workers several times and looted 45 cars.

The United Nations has been criticised for not re-establishing a presence throughout the country since January. But it says the security situation is still too dangerous.

Only Italy, Sudan and Egypt have reopened embassies in Somalia. A major obstacle to the return of foreign organisations is that their offices and equipment were destroyed or looted in the fighting, diplomats and aid workers say.

The FAO report says Somalia needs about 565 000 tons of food aid over the next year, but if security is not improved it "cannot be distributed in time and widespread suffering and loss of life seem inevitable."

The ICRC currently distributes 2 000 tons of food a month in Mogadishu, the capital, about one-third the actual need.

Armed militia men provide protection, paid in food rather than wads of nearly worthless Somali currency.

They perch on lorries emerging from the ICRC compound, besieged daily by hungry crowds.

"Food is power, big money," said ICRC official Wim Van Boxelaere. "A truck of rice is worth R7 500, so of course it happens that they (bandits) try to rob them."

Pyramids of grapefruit, camel meat and bread loaves stand in the market places. But with the collapse of the money economy, most people have no cash to buy these goods.

"Luckily the extended family system is still intact, so people can rely on that," says Sister Maria Antonia. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

## Political in-fighting hampers progress

# Dreams of freedom shattered in Bissau

**BAFATA** - The little house where Mr Amilcar Cabral was born is boarded up and falling apart, just like Guinea-Bissau, the small West African state he led to independence.

The dilapidated building in this northern market town was to have become a museum to honour the revolutionary hero who inspired millions of Africans with his fight against Portuguese colonial rule in the 1960s and 1970s.

But his African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, which won independence in 1974, is too busy with renovations of a different sort to call in builders.

The fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the need for Western aid in one of the world's poorest countries is pushing the PAIGC to adopt the very multiparty democracy and capitalism that Cabral scorned.

"The path towards

democracy is irreversible," National Assembly spokesman Mr Helder Proenca said as debate opened on laws permitting freedom of the Press, unions and strikes.

Cabral was murdered in mysterious circumstances a year before the PAIGC took power in this coastal state of a million rice and groundnut farmers.

Today his dream of a union between Guinea-Bissau and the nearby Cape Verde islands, with the PAIGC leading both to socialism and prosperity, is in tatters and his party racked by in-fighting.

A coup by Guinea-Bissau's present leader, Mr Joao Bernardo Vieira, led to a rupture with Cape Verde in 1980 and the PAIGC's island wing lost power in free elections earlier this year.

In Guinea-Bissau, the PAIGC admits its socialist policies are not working. Five years ago it began opening up to private enterprise and in May passed a law allowing

other parties to exist.

The opening has encouraged dissidents long frightened of jail to openly criticise PAIGC leaders.

The target of their attacks is Vieira, popularly known as "Nino", who earned a tough image when he executed a band of officials accused of conspiracy in 1986.

Strong-arm techniques are still common according to five opposition groups - the Bafata Movement, Democratic Front, Social Democratic Front, Democratic Convergence Party and United Social Democrat Party.

They complain of police harassment and Kafkaesque bureaucracy blocking their legalisation.

"The government is scared of us," FD leader Mr Aristides Menezes told *Reuters* after several of his supporters were arrested for putting up posters in the capital Bissau.

### Reassurances

Frustration with the slow pace of change has also led to the rise within the PAIGC of the reformist "Group of 121" which wants reassurances there will be free elections soon.

The group claims 2 000 members including Finance Minister Manuel Dos Santos, one of the most powerful cabinet members who fought in the guerilla war.

The reformers note that Guinea-Bissau lags behind Portugal's other four former colonies - Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique, Cape Verde and Angola - in embracing political pluralism.

"There has to be change," said Secretary of State for Information Mr Agnelo Augusto Regalla, another

reformist.

Vieira argues that Guinea-Bissau must proceed gradually with change to avoid creating a political void and that the reformists should air their views within the party behind closed doors.

"The party leadership believes the democratisation process is not going slowly, if we take into account Guinea-Bissau's specifics and our unequivocal desire to promote a peaceful transition..." Vieira said.

"They feel they earned their revolutionary credentials and want to hold on to their big houses and cars," said one diplomat.

### Pigs

For many in the capital, life is a struggle to buy a R40 bag of rice and home is a hovel with no running water shared with pigs.

City dwellers bore the brunt of chronic food shortages in the early 1980s when mismanagement emptied the shelves of state stores and housewives had to search for hours for eggs.

Though the situation has improved the economy is in crisis.

The World Bank has frozen credits, demanding that Guinea-Bissau cut inflation and spending and effectively crack down on the parallel market - moves that will not be popular at the polls.

Vieira's strongest support is in the countryside, where nine-tenths of the population lives, diplomats say.

Personality counts more than ideology in a country where nine out of 10 people cannot read and many villagers are still loyal to the 35-year-old party which freed them from Portugal.

- Sapa-Reuter

LISBON — African nations committed to shedding Marxist economic policies confront a tangle of worthless currencies, outmoded production and mismanaged state enterprises.

But in Africa, the problems — which are also faced by the Soviet Union and eastern European nations — are compounded by years of civil war, a history of drought and famine.

Central bank governors of the five Portuguese-speaking African nations, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome e Principe, met this month in Lisbon to discuss their predicaments.

Angola and Mozambique, the biggest of the five nations, also have the biggest problems. Both countries have had potentially solid economies undermined by savage civil wars.

Among the structural problems facing Africa's command economies are:

- Official prices that ignore market realities and have spawned flourishing black markets;
- A lack of incentives to production, savings and private investment;

## Marx is going, but his legacy haunts African recovery

□ Excess liquidity caused by central banks printing money to finance state companies, resulting in falling currency values;

□ Exchange rates held down artificially. One dollar buys 66 Angolan kwanzas at official rates, 800 on the parallel market;

□ Lack of basic goods means external aid is used to buy essentials rather than for productive investment;

□ A shortage of trained managers with experience of free market conditions.

Finding the right solutions will not be easy.

Free market moves, which are likely to result in higher consumer prices, could increase hardship for populations already mired in poverty.

Credit can be reined in and interest rates in-

creased to encourage savings and reduce the amount of money in circulation. But governments may find that this brings on a new set of economic problems including a slowdown in economic growth.

Devaluation of national currencies eventually gives them more weight, but could also provoke a fall in confidence in banking systems and governments.

African governments have begun selling off state-owned companies in a bid to improve efficiency and boost state funds.

Mozambique has privatised 120 so far and the process is expected to accelerate in the next five years. But there is a cost too. The Angolan newspaper Jornal de Angola recently estimated that privatisation plans would slash 75 000 jobs. — Sapa-AP.

# Ambassador: form Star 24/10/91 co-operation network

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

US ambassador William Swing has proposed a network of human rights, security and economic co-operation agreements between southern African states which could serve as a model for the rest of the continent.

Addressing the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg last night, Mr Swing said regional co-operation had largely failed in Africa.

But it had a better chance of succeeding in the 10-state region south of Zaire and Tanzania because of significant moves towards peace and democracy in the region. And South Africa could play a leading role in this process.

"For decades, the battlefield in Pretoria's fight to uphold white minority rule knew no national boundaries. Thanks to courageous decisions by many



Time ripe . . . for peace, says ambassador William Swing.

South Africans, that long war is now over, with the struggle about to move to the negotiating table.

"Thus, for the first time in memory, peace throughout this entire region is within reach. In fact, the ingredients are present for a lasting peace."

He said the previous priority given to abolition of apartheid had made it impossible to shine the spotlight on human rights abuses elsewhere in Africa.

Now the time was ripe to establish a regional mechanism to monitor human rights violations which could prove to be a powerful moral force.

On security co-operation, he suggested the setting up of a regional mechanism to create regional dialogue with a view to reducing tensions, overcoming historical suspicions and animosities, promoting arms reduction and resolving disputes which might arise.

A body for economic co-operation could increase southern African economic interdependence, he suggested.

Mr Swing concluded: "In a world where Africa as a whole runs the increasing risk of marginalisation, the states of southern Africa have little option but to build together an integrated region or otherwise risk oblivion and irrelevance."

By JENNIFER PARMALLEE: Addis Ababa

MELES Zenawi, Ethiopia's new president, concedes he's still learning how to apply democratic give-and-take in his ethnically diverse country, but he is adamant democracy is not a passing "fad or fashion" in his transitional government.

"It is important that people be free to talk without looking over their shoulders," Meles said in an interview. "I think we have achieved that."

As proof of a new openness in Ethiopian society, Meles pointed to an explosion of public expression by people long cowed into silence and, as if on cue, a chanting crowd of about 100 Muslims demonstrators gathered outside the pres-

# Ethiopian democracy not a fad

ident's building to complain about continuing restrictions on travel to Mecca.

The Muslims were the latest of scores of groups which have taken to the streets of Addis Ababa and other towns — a phenomenon without precedent in a country stifled by the former dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam and an even longer line of autocratic rulers.

Some demonstrators plead political or ethnic causes; others voice grievances against the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the group Meles led to power in May after nearly 17 years of guerrilla warfare.

The Democratic Front now dominates the transitional government, which has vowed to organise the first free elections within two years.

Not all disaffection with the new order has been expressed peacefully. Ethnic and regional tensions have flared into skirmishes across this country of 50 million, leaving hundreds dead and wounded, particularly in the south and east.

Many observers feel regional differences have been intensified by a new national charter that formally encourages the country's multiple "nationalities" to express their political aspirations —

including local autonomy or secession.

The Red Sea province of Eritrea is already going its own way. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front set up a separate, provisional government in the province in May after a 30-year struggle with rulers in Addis Ababa, but deferred a formal independence declaration until a referendum is held.

Meles maintains that all previous attempts to force political unity on the peoples of Ethiopia have been proved "absolutely unacceptable" by three decades of devastating armed conflict.

Eritrean secession, which would leave Ethiopia truncated and landlocked, remains a sensitive issue here.

But Meles said his government is working closely with the Eritreans and that, ultimately, close economic ties will likely bring "some sort of political coalition".

His government has been criticised by domestic and foreign observers for detaining hundreds of senior members of the past regime without charge, albeit in reasonably comfortable conditions. Meles said courts like those created for the post-World War II Nuremberg trials will be set up, "because, like the Nazis, those people were part of a criminal establishment" — The Washington Post

# SA group at all-Africa business conference

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A delegation of about 110 businessmen, politicians and journalists leaves today for the first all-Africa business conference in Cameroon's capital, Yaounde.

The group included a wide range of businessmen from company directors to Soweto entrepreneurs, organiser and Bairds CM Jacques Verster said yesterday.

Both Eskom CE Ian McRae and Safair MD Braam Loots will be speaking at the conference, which has attracted up to 500 businessmen.

The conference is being organised by the Paris-based Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation.



# SA group *Star 28/10/91* abuzz over Africa talks

History will be made today when a delegation of 130 South African business people leave for Cameroon to attend the first all-African business conference.

The conference starts in Yaoundé, capital of Cameroon, and will be attended by business leaders from all over Africa, as well as a number of business and political observers from the US and Europe.

Known as Sidco '91, the conference has been organised jointly by two SA firms, Baird Communications and Network International, on behalf of the Paris-based Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation.

① *1992* *1980*  
Effective *(M)*

"With all the exciting news the past few days about new trade, sports and cultural links, Sidco could not have happened at a more appropriate time," Baird chairman Jacques Verster said yesterday.

Safair managing director Braam Loots, who will be in the South African delegation, said yesterday: "For South Africans trading in Africa, the conference provides a golden opportunity for bringing key customers and trading partners together in one place at one time.

"This is far more effective than travelling from country to country. I'm really looking forward to a few days of important discussions with business leaders who are gearing up for a new dispensation for this continent."  
Staff Reporter.

# Changing Africa the focus of talks

Sowetan 29/10/91

①  
②

**YAOUNDE - About 110 delegates, comprising business people and representatives of political organisations, yesterday arrived at Yaounde, Cameroon, to attend the three-day All-Africa Business Conference - Sidco '91.**

The conference, with a theme "Exploring oppor-

By **JOSHUA RABOROKO**

tunities in a changing Africa", is expected to provide the first forum of its kind for businessmen in Africa to discuss and explore opportunities in a fast-changing continent.

Business people from South Africa include Eskom's chief executive Mr Ian McGray, Mr Joas

Mogale of the Federation of African Business and Consumer Services while the Pan Africanist Congress is represented by Mr Mark Shinnars and Mr Mosebyane Malatjie.

The conference has been organised by South African consultancy firms, Bird Communications and Network International on behalf of the Paris-based Movement for

Dialogue and Co-operation.

A spokesman for the conference said it had come at a time when the dismantling of apartheid coincided with the process of economic recovery.

During the conference delegates will hear a panel of about 36 speakers, experts in their fields, from Africa and other parts of the world.

ever had any dealings with the Zimbabwe government," NAC financial director Brian Frankel said yesterday.

a Lauda Air Boeing 767 in Thailand this year after an engine thrust-reverser malfunctioned.

## UN focuses on African debt

NEW YORK — UN secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar said on Monday there was a widening gap between rhetoric and action on the part of creditor countries dealing with African debt.

He said that positive steps had been taken by some creditor nations but indebtedness of African countries still "hangs, like a dark cloud over the continent, obscuring prospects for the renewal of growth" *BID my 30/10/91*

Perez made his comments at an "African Day Devoted to Debt Relief" at the UN, initiated by the Rev Leon Sullivan, who originated the rules for ending apartheid among employees of US firms in SA.

In addition to Sullivan's appearance, the day was marked by speeches from a wide array of international and American political figures, including New York Mayor David Dinkins and General Motors chairman Robert Stempel.

Perez said it was "disheartening to see how, in spite of the widespread recognition of the gravity of the situation ... the gap between rhetoric and action remains largely unbridged". *(1) (2)*

He said there was no single, easy way out "but it is surely feasible to find a lasting solution".

Assistant director-general of the UN Children's Fund Richard Jolly said Africa for eight years had spent 4% to 5% of its resources merely to service debt, double the volume the US spent on the Marshall plan to rehabilitate Europe.

US ambassador Thomas Pickering added a note of regret that the US and the Soviet Union had in the past expended resources in Cold War competition, often in unproductive areas.

He also pointed out that a "few nations" in the developing world had military budgets two or three times their expenditures on education and health. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Africa can become an economic giant



*Sowetan* 30/10/91  
By JOSHUA RABOROKO,  
reporting from Cameroon

YAOUNDE - South Africa's State President, Mr FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela should play a role in the process of economic recovery and unification of the African continent in a post-apartheid era.

They should provide a forum for businessmen in Africa to discuss and explore opportunities in a changing continent, an All-Africa business conference was told here yesterday.

Opening the conference - dubbed Sidco '91 - Cameroon

Secretary of State for the Ministry of Industrial Development and Commerce Mr Louise Marie Abogo Nkono said Africa had great potential and resources to become an international economic giant.

He called on African leaders, including De Klerk and Mandela, to take the challenge in making that dream a reality by co-operating and establishing contacts with other African states.

The conference is intended to make leaders and decision-makers aware of opportunities in agriculture, food, energy, transport and tourism and the development of the informal and small business sectors in Africa.

Some 600 delegates from more than 30 countries in Africa are participating in the conference. The conference is also expected to make important decisions on the role of women.

The chairman of the Paris-based Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation, Mr Desire Atangane Onamembele, who is organising the conference, said Africans must wake up and develop their economy after many years of suffering as a result of struggles against "imperialistic rule and other conflicts."

He said businessmen and politicians must come together and build a strong economy.

# No buyers for African debt

ROBERT GENTLE

SA banks have turned down discreet offers to buy billions of dollars of debt owed to the Soviet Union by its former African allies.

According to a report in the London newsletter Africa Confidential, the \$10bn of debt, owed by countries like Benin, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Angola, is up for sale by the Soviets at bargain basement prices of around "five cents in the dollar".

African Confidential, quoting "financial sources in Johannesburg", said a group of SA banks had already bought much of the debt with a view to obtaining lucrative debt-equity swaps (exchanging the debt for an equity stake in a given company) in the countries concerned.

But enquiries at the major banks yesterday established that while informal approaches had been made,

not all banks were aware of them and, in any case, were not interested.

One banker said privately that African countries' credit ratings were so bad he would not touch their debt. Another likened it to playing Russian roulette.

Standard Bank MD Mike Vosloo said he would rather foster trade with corporate clients in Africa than enter speculative ventures.

Nedbank executive GM Derek Muller said while debt-equity swaps were a theoretical possibility, there was very little new direct investment taking place in Africa.

FNB group treasurer Ken Russell said he would be surprised if the Reserve Bank allowed such transactions while SA was a debtor nation.

5/10/79

# France backs democracy

PARIS - Within the pages of France's 1992 overseas aid budget lies confirmation of a policy shift on Africa towards support for democracy in its former colonies.

Co-operation ministry officials have said that 1992 spending would switch aid within the military category towards the training of police to ensure respect for law and order.

At the same time, a French desire to see Africans take more responsibility within their societies should translate into a reduced number of French nationals in African civil services.

The 1992 budget for overseas aid, which was to be debated in the National Assembly (lower house) yesterday, shows an increase of 3,6 percent from 1991 to R3,92 billion.

Within that total, the military aid budget, which covers military personnel working for African forces, training and materiel, falls by 1,3 percent to R440 million.

## Resources

Officials at the cooperation ministry, which oversees most of French aid to black Africa, said post-Cold War prospects for democratic change in Africa had prompted a shift of resources within the military category.

In most cases, priority will be given to the establishment of police forces modelled on the French gendarmerie rather than to strictly military assistance.

In a note on its budget, the Ministry said the shift reflected changed security needs as democratic institutions struggled to take root during social and economic upheaval.

"It seems fitting that the co-operation ministry lends its support to the policy of democratisation," one official

said, adding that the analysis in Paris matched the thinking of most African heads of state.

Officials denied that there was any "carrot-and-stick" approach, with development projects funded or halted depending on progress towards democracy.

"We're not working according to some yardstick which lends itself to blow-by-blow adjustments," he said.

## Political point

But, referring to current unrest in Zaire, he noted that decisions on aid to individual countries could be taken quickly, both for security reasons and to make a political point.

Civil unrest in Zaire and the rejection of democracy by President Mobutu Sese Seko led France to cut off aid to the country, a former Belgian colony, on Monday.

This year's budget has been drawn up during a period of slow economic growth and Ministry officials reckon that they have done well to get credits increased by 3,6 percent, more than the overall budget increase of 3,1 percent. - Sapa-Reuter.

## Forum to discuss SA's regional role on cards

6/00w  
2/11/91 TIM COHEN

YAOUNDE.— A regional conference to discuss SA's very sensitive role in the region is a "distinct possibility", says Foreign Affairs deputy director for Africa Derek Auret.

Auret, who was appointed to his post recently, said it was not clear when such a conference would take place.

But discussions on SA's role in the region were necessary to combat fears of SA domination and to gear SA's integration accordingly, he said in an interview.

Auret is on a trip to Ivory Coast and Senegal, principally to introduce himself, and he also visited Cameroon.

He was warmly welcomed to the Cameroon capital by a variety of ministers and during meetings was assured visas for South Africans would be issued speedily.

Auret emphasised that although SA was currently a "sexy topic" in Africa, his department would engage in its own version of US negotiator Chester Crocker's "quiet diplomacy".

But the barriers to SA were coming down "very, very fast" and expectations were high, he said.

"This is not surprising. What we are seeing is the coming to fruition of something that has been latent for some time."

Sapa reports that Organisation for European Co-operation and Development executive director Jean Bonvin said on Tuesday that Africa would have to attract foreign private investment and generate its own investment to survive.

Speaking at the All Africa Sidco 91 conference in Youande on Tuesday, Bonvin said the continent had seen private foreign investment halve in the last decade while it had doubled in Asian countries.

# Africa forges ties

1  
Sowetan  
1/11/91

From JOSHUA  
RABOROKO  
in Cameroon

YAOUNDE - Major African states yesterday resolved to co-operate in promoting trade links and economic growth on the continent.

As a matter of urgency, links will be improved in various sectors including finance, mining, agriculture, informal and formal business.

The resolutions were taken at the end of a three-day conference, which explored business opportunities in a changing Africa in Yaounde, Cameroon.

The conference aimed at encouraging a new dynamism in inter-African co-operation, from Cape to Cairo.

The conference also resolved to encourage the private sector to reverse the order that government played in business; allow the private sector to become generators of wealth; establish factories that must be so developed that they create economic growth; promote inter-state investment and create an African Economic Business Community like the EEC.

In putting these ideas, Mr Abdon Kane from Burkina Faso said a sub-committee has been appointed to study these and other problems and to prepare a paper for Sidco '92.



# 'Africa must not expect too much'

By Sven Lunsche  
Star Africa Service

YAOUNDE — South Africa will have to dampen the high expectations African countries have of the role it can play in lifting the continent's stagnating economies, says Derek Auret, a senior South African diplomat.

Noting that South Africa was already trading with nearly all African countries, Mr Auret, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs with responsibility for Africa, said talks with various African countries were largely focussed on economic interactions.

"The idea of a more formalised structure for inter-African trade is very much under discussion and there is a lot of talk that South Africa can be the driving force behind such a configuration," he said in an interview during the all-Africa trade conference here.

"Through the contacts we are having now we must stress the need for bilateral relations and that we have no desire to dominate the region economically."

Mr Auret, who was appointed to his present post a few months ago, is leading a delegation in a visit to four West African countries — Senegal, Ivory Coast, Cape Verde and Cameroon — in what he described as an introductory visit.

## Trade plan

In Cameroon he met the foreign minister as well as the ministers handling economic planning and energy affairs. "There is a general understanding that we need to interact economically to advance growth in both countries," he said.

He emphasised, however, that his task was to establish the framework in which private business could start trading without bureau

cratic interference.

"South Africa can provide Africa with skills and technology, but trade will eventually have to be a two-way development."

Asked whether South Africa's rapidly expanding contacts with African states was undermining the sanctions stance of the OAU, Mr Auret said that "African countries are realising where their economic interests are.

"It is not an erosion of OAU policy, but with Europe walking away from Africa, we have to turn to our direct neighbours for economic cooperation."

Mr Auret rejected the idea that South Africa should limit economic relations in Africa to states that practice good governance, operate free market economies and allow multi-party democracy — a condition being demanded by many Western aid donors.

**SOUKS, casbahs and markets are not the only places businessmen travelling in Africa will find themselves haggling over prices. Neither will they be driving their toughest bargains with fellow businessmen. That will come when they pay their hotel bill.**

As more and more South African businessmen seek trading opportunities in Africa it is as well to have an idea of the sort of perils — apart from a lack of trading codes — they may encounter.

There is far more to travel and business in Africa than yellow-fever and cholera injections and packing essentials like malaria pills, bottled water and Immodium tablets (for diarrhoea).

While nations like Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique, and Kenya have hotels where rates

can be relied upon, businessmen who travel to places off the tourist or convention track can find their greatest challenge confronts them on receiving their hotel bill.

A group of 120 South African businessmen attended a convention in Cameroon this past week. With the sort of movements businessmen wish share prices would make, hotel breakfasts cost R27 the first day and moved up twice in the second morning to settle at R40.

### Charge

Telephone bills varied from around R33 to R100 a minute, or part thereof, depending on how hard you bargained. I managed to get a R1 500 bill for an eight-minute phone call down to R290.

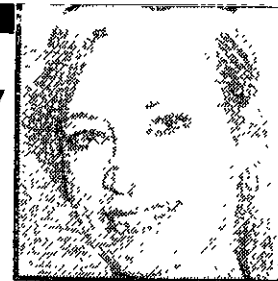
The chief executive of a large parastatal corporation was less fortunate. His telephone bill was so high, he could not afford to pay with his travellers cheques, and had to charge everything to his credit card.

An electronics engineer managed to negotiate his room bar bill down to a manageable R390 after an hour's hard bargaining.

Exhausted at the end of that he unquestioningly paid R200 for a one-and-a-half minute telephone call. What did he consume from his bar? Two packets of peanuts, two bottles of Cameroon mineral water (which sells in the stores for 70c a bottle) and two miniature bottles of whisky.

### Miserable

**CHARLENE SMITH in Yaounde, Cameroon, reports on the perils facing SA businessmen as they venture into Africa.**



- TWO PACKETS OF PEANUTS
- TWO BOTTLES OF WATER
- TWO WHISKY MINIATURES

# It's an African bargain at R390

S/ Times 3/11/91

①

**DESPITE** Africa's vast economic woes, sanctions pressure remains firm — as businessmen discovered in Cameroon this week when a billed All-Africa conference almost collapsed around their ears.

For some months South African businessmen have been active in promoting and co-hosting the Sidco conference, which was advertised as bringing together 600 business delegates for the first All-Africa conference on trade.

Speakers were to include Senegalese and Nigerian politicians, African regional trading bloc heads and numerous Cameroon parliamentarians, including President Paul Biya. None of the promises were kept, and although the organisers had a variety

**SANCTIONS  
SINK TRADE  
WITH SA**

of conflicting excuses it became clear that sanctions pressures had again won the day.

Most businessmen were from Cameroon — which has an incredibly depressed, small, over-priced economy — and South Africa. There were a few delegates, rarely more than one or two, from nations such as

Morocco, Togo, Central Africa and Ghana.

While many businessmen said they had made some useful contacts, few orders were placed. The most successful businessman may have been Lawrence Mavundla, African hawk-er millionaire, who sold 110 copies of his book which advises politicians to relax economic curbs to promote free enterprise.

"It was an experience we could learn from, and therefore perhaps not entirely a waste of time," one businessman said. "But it is clear that, until sanctions go, Africans won't participate in conferences partly organised by South Africans and that, overtly or covertly, bust sanctions."

passports of all 120 businessmen and returned them later in the day — except for three passports which were never found.

Zaire, which is unlikely to be a popular business destination for some time, used to keep passports at the airport and issue slips of paper in their place.

This meant businessmen could not cash travellers cheques or foreign exchange at banks but had to rely on hotel forex counters, which as a rule in Africa, give a rate almost half that of banks.

Businessmen are advised to have someone meet them at the airport to

smooth protocol. Organisations like the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) have contacts in most countries who ease the way through passport control and customs, arrange transport, fix appointments, provide translations and book hotels.

Transport is often a problem. Mr Andrew Maggs of Safto, which has taken more than 200 businessmen into Africa on trade missions this year, says Kenya has a brand new set of London cabs and is fine. First and second-class rail travel between Nairobi and Mombasa is also superb.

"But in places like

Luanda a lot of streets aren't signposted, neither are company names always displayed on buildings," he said.

Taxis without meters are the rule. In Cameroon fares vary from R10 to R100 for 3km. In Zambia taxi drivers always travel with an assistant, who often helps push start the vehicle or who pushes it when it breaks down — a not infrequent experience.

Countries with trade routes having the best access include Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Kenya, while the central African countries tend to be more difficult, although SA

businessmen are presently assisting Burundi — the little Hong Kong of Africa — to improve its access routes.

Mr Maggs says accommodation in hotels with the sort of facilities businessmen require is "horrendously expensive".

In Angola, hotel rooms cost around R375 a night, in Zaire R550 and in Cameroon around R625 a night. In Angola a beer and a club sandwich will set you back R45, he said.

In Kinshasa, one diplomat reports, the desk clerk at the hotel he was checking into refused to give him his keys until he had crossed the clerk's palm

with sufficient local currency.

Language can be a barrier. It is advisable to have some knowledge of Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, or French in nations such as Gabon, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Senegal. Translators will cost R250 to R500 a day.

SA businessmen often present glossy, densely written, English-only brochures to potential African business partners. Safto advises a simpler product.

Mr Maggs says that in a non-English speaking country, businessmen should have a letter in a second language (Portuguese, Swahili or French for example) accompanying the brochure, that briefly details the company, its products and activities and information on how to contact it.

The US dollar is accepted across the continent while French francs are acceptable in Francophone nations.

Communications are erratic. Telexes work in nearly all countries, while faxes, in countries that have them, and telephone calls can take hours may never materialise.

### Jail

Corruption is a feature of trade in Africa, and is found to a greater or lesser extent in most countries. Businessmen may find themselves being asked to pay "introduction fees" or "commissions" — in other words bribes.

The joke about African time takes on enhanced meaning, conferences can begin hours late, half the promised speakers may not take part, appointments can happen days after their scheduled time.

Be wary of happy snapshots. Photographs of government buildings, government officials and statues can often land you in jail, or with a broken camera at least.

Despite the potential pitfalls business contact with Africa has increased dramatically in the last 18 months. South Africans are working on railway projects in Sudan, mines in Central Africa and in Nigeria.

# Diamonds are a dictator's best friend

AFRICAN heads of state are being advised of the advantages of forgoing Swiss bank accounts and investing their assets in diamonds, which "concentrate maximum value in the smallest possible space".

The advice comes from a German company, Prisma Edelstein GMBH, in letters sent to the heads of state.

The revelations come at a time when former Philippines first lady Imelda Marcos is fighting to free her assets from Swiss bank accounts, frozen after the Philippines demanded the return of the looted millions.

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire is also said to have more than \$9-billion, or the equivalent of his country's foreign debt, in numbered Swiss bank accounts.

According to Swiss bank officials, the president of Mali — the poorest nation in Africa — has more than \$1-billion in numbered bank accounts, an amount equal to his nation's foreign debt.

Mr Jean Bonvin, director of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development, a major European donor and research organisation, last week called for more open debate and discussion about money looted

ed from nations' vaults and invested in northern countries.

Speaking at the Sidco All Africa conference in Yaounde, Cameroon, Mr Bonvin said laws concerning bank secrecy urgently needed to be re-evaluated.

"We should be able to confiscate these funds. Today there are exceptions to the secrecy rule for drug money; why not do the same for embezzled public funds? This money could help regenerate private-sector growth in Africa," he said.

The Cameroon Post last week published a confidential letter addressed to unpopular Cameroon President Paul Biya from the

Düsseldorf-based company.

The letter, dated February 27 of this year, which the newspaper says "strayed into their hands", quotes the "good example of Saddam Hussein of Iraq".

Quoting the January issue of Stern magazine, the company noted that with the outbreak of the Gulf war all Iraqi accounts in Swiss banks were frozen.

Nevertheless, it says, Saddam Hussein had foreseen such problems, and shortly before the outbreak of the war invested US\$325-million in diamonds, precious stones and jewellery.

Prisma says high-

quality precious stones are portable, anonymous and easily converted back into cash assets.

The company advises President Biya to make contact with it, "preferably from a country other than Cameroon".

"On the basis of our long experience," the letter says, "we also make various recommendations and suggestions to your trustee as to how and where this 'crisis fund' can be deposited or lodged with discretion and safety — safety above all — from seizure."

Cameroon officials said that President Biya was now in Germany.



The continent's acceptance of the new South Africa is growing almost by the week. GERALD L'ANGE of the Argus Africa News Service reports.

THE South African flag could be flying again in Luanda by Christmas.

The first diplomat to return could be in the Angolan capital within the next few days to begin restoring the links broken 16 years ago when civil war erupted in the wake of the Portuguese withdrawal, and South African troops invaded Angola to try to block a communist seizure of power.

Initially the representation will not be at full ambassadorial or even consular level but through an interests office, the lowest level of diplomatic presence. This is the same level at which South Africa and the Soviet Union have resumed diplomatic links.

But it will be one of the most important offices yet opened in Africa by the Department of Foreign Affairs. Africa and will demonstrate the eagerness among African countries to begin open dealings with South Africa, even before apartheid has been replaced by an internationally acceptable dispensation, and even before the apartheid government has begun seriously negotiating that dispensation with the ANC and other movements.

Other African countries once bitterly opposed to Pretoria are likely to be encouraged to follow Luanda's example, reasoning that if the MPLA government can open relations with the government it was fighting on the battlefield only a few years ago, they can do it, too.

Angola's decision to forge formal relations with Pretoria is given special significance because of its membership of the Frontline States grouping, which was formed to oppose

apartheid and to counter South African influence and destabilisation in the region.

With Angola joining Frontline states Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana in having formal relations with South Africa, the influence of the Frontline grouping declines and with it the pariah status of South Africa.

The Republic stands to make economic as well as political gains from a closer relationship with Angola, which is potentially one of the richest countries in Africa.

The first South African diplomat will establish himself in Luanda three years after the last South African troops withdrew from Angola, where they had been fighting alongside the Unita rebels on and off since 1975.

He will probably be the same diplomat who has been based for some time in the Unita capital of Jamba in southern eastern Angola to maintain contact between the rebel movement and Pretoria. His move to Luanda has been made possible by Unita's move from Jamba to Luanda in terms of the ceasefire that ended the civil war and in preparation for the election next year.

His new task, however, will not be to liaise only with Unita but to begin looking for premises for the interests office that will be set up under an agreement finalised in talks last week in Luanda between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and South Africa's Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden.

He will be joined later by a technical team that will help in the search for suitable premises in the run-down Angolan capital, where not even basic services such as water and electricity can be taken for granted.

No date has been announced for the formal opening of the reciprocal interests offices but both sides are likely to want to move as fast as possible.

Both have been willing for some time to exchange interests offices but Pretoria was reluctant to open one in Luanda

while Unita were still based in Jamba.

The MPLA government would in any case not have allowed the South Africans to establish themselves in Luanda while they still had a presence in Jamba. Much as they wanted to establish relations with the MPLA government, the South Africans were reluctant to abandon their old ally, Unita.

Unita president Jonas Savimbi's return to Luanda three weeks ago resolved this dilemma and opened the way for South Africa's return to Luanda — and for the beginning of what could be exciting and lucrative exchanges between the two countries.

If the rival Angolan groups can maintain their agreement to resolve their differences politically, conduct a fair election and accept its outcome, the country will be able to start repairing the devastation of the civil war and the MPLA's former Marxist policies. And for the first time since the Portuguese left it will be able to start exploiting its huge agricultural and mineral resources.

South Africa is well placed to help in both processes through the provision of capital, expertise and manufactured products. In exchange it will get, among other things, oil at prices likely to be cheaper than Persian Gulf levels. The election that will make it possible for South Africa's representation in Angola to be expanded to full ambassadorial level is not due to take place for another year.

But the mere fact of a formal South African presence in Luanda will almost certainly encourage other African countries to follow suit, adding to a list that now includes Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Mauritius, Madagascar, Comoros, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia, Ivory Coast, Zaire, Burundi and Morocco.

Before another year is out that list could include Nigeria, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Kenya, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

# Beating swords into diplomacy

AGS 4/1/91

**HEADLINE** in a Cameroon news paper last week paradoxically exclaimed that "History repeats itself — but not always." Conventional wisdom holds that Africa's economic woes may not repeat themselves in two of three regions. In the north and in the south there is reason for hope, but the central region is in danger of disintegration.

Jan Smuts airport officials asked a delegate on his way to the "Seminaire international du Dialogue et de la Cooperation" (Sidco) conference in Yaounde whether Cameroon was a country and, if so, whether it was near Botswana. Prior to the conference, SA was equally unknown in Cameroon. But this may change rapidly following the conference, which was supposed to draw delegates from all over the continent, but which was in fact overwhelmingly dominated by South African and Cameroon businessmen.

Two days before the conference a telephone link with SA was estab-

# Contacts, not contracts, in Cameroon

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TIM COHEN

lished. SA aircraft were allowed to land and visas will be available soon. Direct flights will be permissible, at least in theory, by March next year.

But whether South Africans will utilise these new-found freedoms remains to be seen. SA delegates went to the conference for contacts, not contracts. They came away with pockets full of business cards, but about as many doubts.

Cameroon is going through political turmoil — a feature of the "re-birth" of many African countries. By bizarre coincidence, Cameroon's break with the past occurred with a dramatic speech in February 1990. And the Cameroon all-party conference began last week at the same venue as the Sidco conference.

The opposition, piqued by government's refusal to hold a national con-

ference to amend the constitution, launched what it called a "ghost town" strategy, which involves consumer and electricity boycotts and a refusal to pay taxes.

The country is staggeringly poor. The suburbs of Yaounde, hacked out of the bush, make the average Soweto house look luxurious. Houses — even those in the city centre — have mud walls with slanting corrugated iron roofs. Empty and derelict half-completed buildings are scattered about.

The value of the Cameroon franc is held at a rate far above its worth, making goods absurdly expensive — the equivalent of R100 for an ordi-

nary T-shirt.

The country's infrastructure is abysmal. Apart from the road from Yaounde to the port Douala, the tar ends abruptly outside towns.

But despite these drawbacks, the country has mineral and energy resources to spare, and there is enormous potential for development.

There were almost desperate calls at the conference for co-operation in promoting development. "Come on Africa, let us do it together," said Eskom CE Ian McRae, sounding more like a soccer coach than the head of a large public utility.

If the conference was anything to go by, the omens are not good. Businessmen "from Cape to Cairo" were due to attend. But fewer than half of the expected 600 delegates turned up. Four of the six speakers on the

scheduled programme, including the UN and OAU delegates, did not appear and there were no credible explanations from the organisers. Preferential Trade Area and Southern African Co-ordination Conference delegates also failed to turn up. At best, this indicates an appalling lack of organisation. At worst, delegates were misled.

In the end Desiré Onambele, president of the Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation which hosted the conference, claimed victory for the fact that the conference happened at all, and maintained his assertion that the conference would become an annual event.

Nevertheless, the welcome the South Africans received was astounding, and as an exercise in bilateral relations the conference was useful for the SA delegation. One can only hope for their sake there is something in the Cameroon newspaper's prediction that "history repeats itself but not always".

Changes are taking root throughout the continent, says **The Independent**

# The road to democracy in Africa

①

THE view that multiparty democracy could not work in Africa was propagated for many years by African regimes and their sympathisers.

Africans think in terms of tribe and family, not issues and interest groups, it was said, so democracy would mean institutionalised tribalism, not checks and balances.

There were elements of truth and half-truth in these arguments, but they were used to construct self-destructive systems for the new African states that emerged from colonialism. In the divided world of the Cold War, some opted for left-wing authoritarianism under the aegis of the Soviet Union, others invoked the Communist threat to win Western aid for right-wing tyranny. Both types crushed the rights of their peoples and squandered the resources they had inherited.

For a few years now, however,

changes have been creeping across the continent, and Kenneth Kaunda's defeat in Zambia's election last week was the most dramatic symptom so far that they are taking root.

Although he richly deserved his fall, having brought his country to economic ruin and become increasingly isolated from his people, he has set an example by the dignified, constitutional manner of his going.

His response was unique, but the pressures that brought him down can be found in many other African states. Broadly, there have been three at work.

First, a new generation of Africans is emerging which is better educated than its predecessors, better informed about the outside world, more urbanised and much less impressed by the mythology of liberation from colonialism. It has been demonstrating its restlessness, disillusion and impatience with corruption.

Second, the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe has not only largely ended aid from that direction, but also discredited the model on which many African states were constructed. At the same time it has encouraged students and middle-class professionals to seek change by direct action.

Third, the trend towards private enterprise, market economics and democracy has been further encouraged by Western lenders and multilateral institutions. Fed up with seeing their money wasted, and now freed from the often wrongly perceived need to prop up anti-Communist regimes, no matter how corrupt, they have been demanding structural change and better government, including more respect for human rights.

While all this is encouraging, optimism must be qualified. As in Eastern Europe, and as the hope-

ful new government of Zambia will shortly discover, it is difficult to introduce democracy in shrinking economies still burdened by huge structural distortions, bloated bureaucracies, endemic corruption and neglected agriculture. Not all change will bring democracy. But at least African leaders are starting to get the message that they cannot expect Western help unless they mend their ways.

Unfortunately, some, such as Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, are being encouraged by Western hesitation to disbelieve the message. He should learn from Eastern Europe that leaders who fail to read the signals in time fall harder than those who try to adapt. At Harare, John Major promised that Britain would lighten the debt burden of deserving African governments. That message now needs reinforcement and backing. — The Independent News Service. □

## Cameroon parties break off talks ①

YAOUNDE — Cameroon's opposition parties have broken off talks with Prime Minister Sadou Hayatou on electoral procedure, dashing hopes of a swift end to months of political deadlock.

Opposition sources said the parties decided late on Monday not to continue the meeting after Hayatou refused to broaden it into a national

conference on democratic reform. Alliance chairman Samuel Eboua said the main obstacle was Hayatou's refusal to discuss constitutional issues. He also denounced the government for deciding unilaterally whom to invite.

The talks, which began last week, brought together 200 representatives from 48 parties. — Sapa-Reuter.

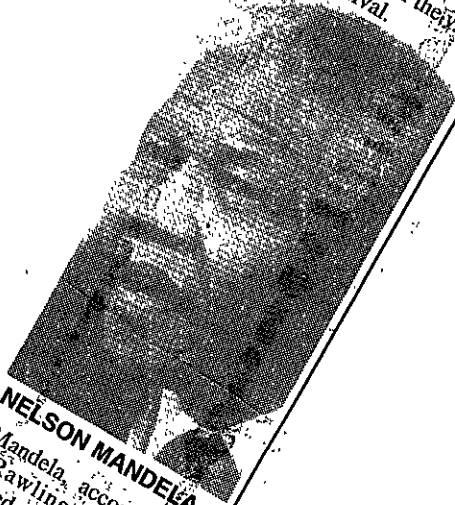
# Frenzy greets ANC boss in Ghana

ACCRA - ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Ghana on Monday night to begin a three-day official visit.

Mandela, leading an 11-member delegation, was met at the airport by the Ghanaian leader, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings. By 7.45pm, a large crowd of people from all walks of life had gathered at the airport to await their arrival.

## Frenzy

The crowd went into a frenzy at 9pm when the aircraft touched the tarmac. When the ANC leader stepped out of the plane, he drew wild cheers. Immediately after he set foot on the tarmac, Rawlings and Mandela fell into a warm embrace. An eight-year-old girl presented Mandela with a bouquet after which a state linguist poured libation to thank the gods for their visitors' safe arrival.



**NELSON MANDELA**

Mandela, accompanied by Rawlings, then exchanged greetings with officials who had assembled to welcome him. As they proceeded to the VIP lounge there were loud cheers from the crowd which had converged at the top of the balcony of the airport. Drumming and dancing continued until he left the airport at 9.30pm.

Sowetan Africa News Service



# SOWETAN BUSINESS

## African states urged to establish trade links

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

AFRICAN states, including South Africa, have realised the potential of establishing massive inter-African trade links through the formation of an African Economic/Business Community.

These links could lift the continent from an economic dependency syndrome which has persisted over the years. This realisation was voiced at a conference in Cameroon where 11 east-

ern, western, northern and southern African states converged for four days to discuss and explore business opportunities in a fast-changing continent. The conference - Sidco '91 - provided the first forum of its kind to businessmen and women in Africa to discuss opportunities at a time when attention was diverted from the economic problems in Africa to the opportunities in Eastern Bloc countries.

Participants at the conference agreed to form joint inter-African partners and ventures in the fields of agriculture, energy, transport and tourism and the development of the small business and informal sectors in Africa. The problems facing Africa were highlighted by the executive director,

Development Centre, Organisation for European Co-operation and Development, Mr Jean Bolvin, when he said most African states were in serious financial debt as a result of interest on loans. Added to these problems, he said, was the fact that many African countries mismanaged their finances, lacked education and training.

What was worse, he said, was that corruption was rife in most of the African countries. "Africa has great resources and potential which can be used in the economic advancement of the continent. We need to explore these opportunities," he said. "We depend too much on the international communities."

The meeting agreed that Africa should reverse the trend where governments do more business than the private sector; more resources should be pumped into the private sector to allow it to become a generator of wealth; that Africa needed an economic strategy that would lead to the building of many factories; finance be obtained and education and training be emphasised.

Eskom's chief executive, Mr Ian McRae, said it was the corporation's aim to switch on the lights of all Africa. That could be achieved if "we all use our resources." A delegate from West Africa, Mr Abdou Kane, said Africa should realise the need to form an African Business/Economic Community similar to the EEC.

Africa's pro-democracy movement has new impetus, reports Garner Thomson

# Wind of change gathers force ①

THE defeat of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia's elections last week, as much as South Africa's National Peace Accord and the formation of the Patriotic Front, indicate that the wind of change is, at last, starting to blow throughout the African continent.

Stephen Riley, senior lecturer in Politics at Staffordshire Polytechnic and author of *The Democratic Transition in Africa* (for the Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism), regards economic decline and the failure of many governments to meet popular expectations as leading many within African societies to gain the courage to criticise their leaders and argue for a more democratic policy.

The growing external debts and economic difficulties of many African states, their status in some cases as clients of the major powers, and the economics and geo-politics of global power have, he believes, increasingly undermined the national sovereignty of many African states. "At the same time, external pressure from Western governments, international institutions like the World

Bank, and non-governmental organisations for pro-democratic change, which was once covert, has become much more insistent."

These changes coincided over the past decade with the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the rise of the new leadership in the Soviet Union, ending abruptly the freedom of some African states to play on the competing superpower alliances for support.

"The retreat of the Soviet Union has meant that Western states, and the international organisations they influence, have gained considerably greater leverage over Africa's governments — even more than the usual client-dependent relationships that characterised the 1970s and 1980s."

Early in 1990 was the point at which Western governments changed their public stance, and Riley explains: "The change was principally in response to events in Eastern Europe, but it also reflected a Western weariness with Africa's political leaders and a growing reluctance to fund and support corrupt, undemocratic regimes in Africa."

In some countries, movement has been swift and remarkable.

However, there are still many pitfalls and dangers ahead. As Riley points out, an educated population with both political knowledge and the will to act, coupled with a modern industrial economy and a democratic set of political values, are all important conditions that enable democratic institutions to emerge.

Other important factors include the honesty and public service ethos of politicians and public servants, the longevity, construction and flexibility of the democratic or democratising political institutions, and the strengths of attachment to these institutions both by the mass public and elite groups, such as the politicians themselves and the military hierarchy.

While warning that many black African countries have few of the above qualifications, Riley is cautiously optimistic about the future. "The most serious threats to the African democracies will come from the military and from ethnic conflict and secessionism. It is also possible that these new

systems could drift back into venality and authoritarian politics. It depends on the public purpose shown by the new leaderships."

Also, with the demands, complexity and diversity of the conditions of government for the new African democracies, it is axiomatic that democracy itself may be an imperfect form of government. "But," says Riley, "it is better than the alternatives."

He points to the rise of the continent's democracy movements over the past decade or so, the toppling of a succession of authoritarian regimes, and the collapse of a number of single-party programmes as signs that the movement is gaining a new impetus.

"The new democratic ideal and liberalising regimes face formidable problems, including economic stagnation, civil conflicts and diverse political pressures," he says.

"But the democratic ideal is taking hold across Africa, as in Eastern Europe. Popular resistance is bubbling up across the continent. Ordinary citizens — like those in Romania — are demonstrating that the 'wind of change' has arrived." — Star Bureau, London. □

# Similarities in SA and Cameroon

**A**S SOUTH Africa prepares for its all-party conference, possibly later this month, a similar and seemingly unrelated political process is evolving in Cameroon.

But it seemed more than coincidence that a South African business delegation to Cameroon last week witnessed first-hand the unfolding of this process in the West African state.

While the 130 SA delegates were attending a business conference at the Chinese built conference centre in the capital, Yaounde, 47 political parties met at the same venue to discuss Cameroon's first multiparty elections, scheduled for February next year.

Cameroon ventured on its path to multiparty democracy in December last year when President Paul Biya, in a desperate bid to get his country out of its economic doldrums and under pressure from international financial powers, allowed political activity after nine years of one-party rule.

However, as in South Africa, the breakdown of old structures has led to an upsurge in ethnically and politically motivated violence, exacerbated by severe economic depression.

Most observers blame President Biya's insistence on controlling the transition period. He refused a general amnesty for political prisoners and has held out on opposition demands for an independent national conference to discuss the electoral code.

Power is largely vested in his CPDM party, which is representative of tribes from the French speaking part of the country. Cameroon achieved independence when the British

**South Africa's first ever business delegation to Cameroon discovered that the country faces remarkably similar political and economic problems on its path to a multiparty democracy. SVEN LÜNSCHE reports.**

and French-ruled parts were united in the 1960s.

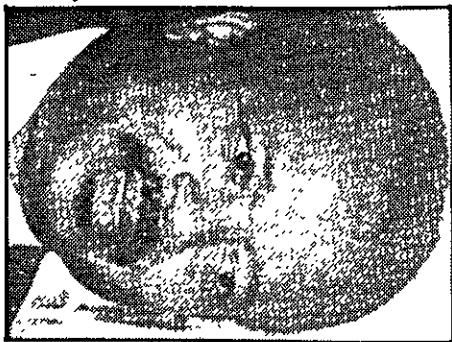
The 20-party opposition grouping in the Co-ordination Committee of the Opposition, with its stronghold in the economically more powerful north-west and western provinces, not surprisingly has stirred up Anglophone nostalgia and called for a more federal system of government.

Earlier this year, the opposition parties rejected what they saw as half-measures by the CPDM and launched a campaign of civil disobedience, including a nationwide strike and a call to stop all tax payments.

With the political dominoes falling about him and threat of greater disturbances looming, President Biya fell back on the security establishment.

Demonstrations in Yaounde and the port city of Douala were brutally repressed, opposition leaders arrested and the aggressive privately-owned press partially censored.

In a bid to placate pressure from international financial donors and amid the crippling



President Paul Biya... led Cameroon on the path to multiparty democracy in December last year.

① Step 8/11/91

effect of the tax boycotts the CPDM convened the all-party conference last week to discuss a draft electoral code and wider access to State run TV and radio.

However, the main opposition parties refused to take up their seats, and while the government insists that the elections will go ahead as planned, many observers fear that unless the elections are delayed, more violence will follow.

"President Biya should delay the elections or at least appoint a neutral committee to supervise the run-up to the elections," says Gregoire Owana, an outspoken Member of Parliament for the CPDM.

Underlying the government's desperate bid to find a political solution is an economy on the verge of collapse.

A drive through Yaounde, which with 800 000 people is bursting at its seams, reveals a picture of dismal poverty, so typical of many African cities.

The currency, Cameroon francs, which is interchang-

able among most Francophone west and central African countries, is stable but of little use to the man on the street in the face of soaring price increases.

Official statistics are hopelessly out-of-date, but in the admittedly over-inflated environment of the five-star hotels, a beer costs the equivalent of R7,50, international phone calls are between R30 and R60 a minute and a T-shirt can cost up to R100.

To exacerbate the situation export earnings of key commodities — oil, gas, cocoa and coffee — have slumped in the wake of a decline in international prices.

In response to the economic collapse Cameroon had to swallow the bitter medicine of IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes, which link the inflow of foreign aid to a free-market orientation of the economy.

As a result the government has sold off numerous State enterprises, created a number of industrial free trade zones and established a foreign in-

vestment code, which ranks among the most liberal in Africa, according to Rene Owona, Industrial and Commercial Development Minister.

It is also looking to reduce its dependence on France in terms of international trade and investment and many Cameroon businessmen are pinning their hopes in this respect on South Africa.

Relations between the two countries have only just been established on an informal basis, but the haste with which official restrictions were lifted to allow the SA businessmen to attend the conference in Yaounde reflects Cameroon's willingness to strengthen ties.

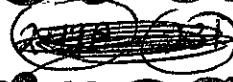
The conference failed in its attempts to facilitate discussions on inter-African economic and financial issues between businessmen, who were expected to arrive from "Cape to Cairo". Five key speakers did not appear and over half of the expected 600 delegates never arrived.

However, the SA delegation was given a rousing welcome by both government officials and local businessmen, who expressed more than a passing interest in developing closer financial links.

Derek Auret, who heads the Foreign Affairs Department's Africa section, said officials were particularly interested in jointly developing Cameroon's vast mineral and energy resources as well as co-operation in such sectors as agriculture and informal business.

Many SA businessmen thought, with the Zairian experience still fresh in their minds, will undoubtedly await a more stable government to develop these links. □

# SA is the pivot of African progress

S/Times (Buss) 10/11/91 (1) 

**AFRICAN countries must strengthen relations with South Africa.**

This country will become Africa's centre of development, says Jean Bonvin, director of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

He paints a gloomy — but not hopeless — picture of Africa as an economic disaster area.

Mr Bonvin warns African countries with their "inefficient public sectors, overprotected and unstable economies" that they have to "reform to allow freer business activity".

The OECD, a powerful aid agency, represents 24 donor nations.

Mr Bonvin spoke at a Cameroon-SA business conference in Yaounde last week.

## Running

He says African nations should "re-structure, liberalise and privatise".

Private money in Africa and Latin America accounts for 60% of investment in those countries with debt.

"In the past five years direct private investment in Africa has stagnated. Capital is running away from Africa."

Mr Bonvin says political instability and disastrous economic policies resulted in a \$40-billion capital outflow from Africa in 1987 — half of the continent's foreign debt. Latin America, on the other hand, has received a huge inflow of capital since it began liberalising its economies.

"The development of the private sector is a priority."

It is a mistake for Africa to rely on outside investors to rescue it.

"Foreign investment can bear fruit in three years in Europe, but in Africa it takes far longer."

Nonetheless, Mr Bonvin believes Africa is in a better position to attract foreign investors than Eastern Europe.

By CHARLENE SMITH

"Eastern Europe has to start from scratch. Their factories are good for the scrapheap, their managers have to learn how to operate in a market economy."

"In many ways some African countries would be more attractive if they liberalised their economies and had proper market policies."

It is important for African countries to study the impact of the informal sector on their economies — 30% of economic activity in most developing countries is from the informal sector.

It is also vital to engender trust in banks and to get rural people in particular to take their money from under mattresses and place it in banks.

His view is backed by Tetteh Kofi, a Ghanaian professor of economics at the University of San Francisco.

Professor Kofi says development takes place when a nation saves and invests at least 15% of its income annually.

Savings in Southern Africa are only about 11% compared to 24% in developed countries.

"Africa has a savings gap that can be filled by direct foreign investment. But that investment is not only inadequate, it is unevenly distributed. The five African countries that account for 90% of direct foreign investment in Africa are all oil producers."

Professor Kofi says: "Africa will have to come up with its own initiatives. Foreign investment is too erratic."

Mr Bonvin warns that aid is a fickle friend. Public development aid amounted to \$15-billion in sub-Saharan Africa in 1989, a minimal rise over the \$11-billion the region received nine years before.

"Africa receives 30% of the world's development aid, even though it has only 11% of the population of developing countries."

Some poor nations like Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau depend on aid for more than 70% of their income.

"If aid was reduced, consumption and development in those countries would crumble. This gives power to the donors which can amount to interference."

Mr Bonvin says Africa has the world's highest failure rate for development programmes.

"The World Bank has a 70% success rate for Africa compared to 98% for Asia and 81% for Latin America."

"If we want to make aid effective, we should stop putting it in government parastatals which have a high failure rate."

"Africa must seek other solutions. It will increasingly find difficulty in obtaining external financing. It has to rely on its own development and its private sector. This has to include streamlining the public sector and reducing external indebtedness."

## Reform

External debt is crushing African economies. In 1981, Mr Bonvin says, the long-term debt of Africa amounted to 98% of continental gross domestic product.

"The ratio between debt service and exports is 26%. Sixty percent of interest due is not paid. A state which cannot honour its debts does not inspire confidence and will not obtain direct investment."

"It also discourages internal investment and prevents economic reform."

Africa's GDP increased by 4.2% between 1965 and 1980, but in the past decade the rate dropped to 2.1% while population soared.

"A Swiss Nobel Prize-winning economist said South-East Asian states had no hope of developing rapidly on Western models. Fewer than 10 years later South-East Asia has proved him wrong."

"Africa has to look within itself for the resources of its development."

# South Africa needed for reconstruction

Sowetan 11/11/91

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**AFRICA expects South Africa to power development on the continent, economists at a conference in Yaounde, Cameroon, have said.**

The dismantling of apartheid and the creation of an equitable order in South Africa are facilitating the country's formal involvement in African economic development.

A liberated South Africa would be a member of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which is already investigating the possibility of orchestrating resources to enable the whole region to benefit from those pooled resources.

A free South Africa joining the SADCC will develop immeasurable potential and even stimulate economic development in the south-west African Preferential Trade Area and possibly in Africa.

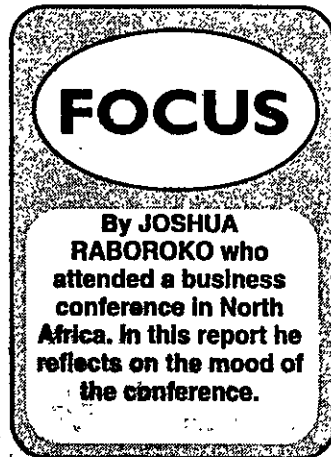
The future of trade relations with the rest of Africa is positive due to the economic principle of supply and demand, African economists observed at the All-Africa Conference last week.

Participants contended that, because of its knowledge of local conditions and established industrial infrastructure, South African business is able to offer competitive services.

This also applies to South African merchandise, whose competitive prices, comparatively short delivery times and compatibility with African conditions stimulate demand.

There are few African countries which do not have trade agreements with South Africa.

The efficiency and credibility of South Africa's transport system, its technical and research services in agriculture, nature conservation, engineering, construction, transport, telecommunication, water



and energy supplies, health, education and training, focus on the specific problems which plague Africa.

As aptly put by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha: "South Africa is part of Africa and must survive or die in Africa. It has a calling to assist in the development of Africa."

"What is needed now is a concerted effort to initiate, co-ordinate and execute an African development programme."

This historic conference was attended by 11 African states including Cameroon, Nigeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Morocco, Guinea and Togo.

The president of the Paris-based Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation, Mr Desire Atangana Onambe, said with the end of the century near, the collapse of communism and thawing of the cold war, Africa was still characterised by a lack of strategy.

"Now is the time to take up the challenge for economic growth. In this regard, the huge disengagement of the Soviets and lack of political interest by the United States now frees Africa from numerous constraints.

"We at the MDC have invested a huge effort in our determination to bring Africans a truly great event and we are very fortunate to have the backing of several distinguished guests, including South Africa," he said.

Speaking on "Finance, Aid and Development in Africa", Mr Jean Bonvin stressed that most African states were in debt as a result of mismanagement of funds, corruption and lack of education and training.

Consequently many African states were in a state of poverty and poor economic conditions seemed to have dealt a heavy blow on any development with unemployment growing at an alarming rate.

One delegate said: "I know of a country in Africa where the state actually borrowed money from the monarchy - a clear indication of the extent of corruption.

"This monarch had obtained money from the international community but it was used for his own needs. He built his own economic empire. This is the reason why there are many coups d'etat in Africa. Let us stop this," the delegate pleaded.

"Africa must learn that political power must be accompanied by economic power," another delegate said, adding, "Most African leaders are interested in empowering themselves and forget the interests of the people who elected them."

Different solutions were proposed and Mr Joas Mogale, general secretary of the Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services, said: "Southern Africa in particular has the potential to become a prosperous region.

"What is needed is for the nations of Africa to join hands and

work together. It is time to put behind all the differences that have separated us in the past.

"There is a changing mood in Africa and also a growing realisation that true independence and a national identity can only be accomplished once economic stability has been achieved," he said.

Seven workshops during the conference came up with possible solutions that could be undertaken to make the African continent economically viable with less dependence on countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community.

One of the salient points was reached with the appointment of a committee to look at stimulating inter-African developments.

Some of the solutions included:

The creation of an African Economic/Business Community like the EEC - a means through which finance could be channelled in Africa through the use of a unitary currency;

Investments must be directed towards utilising local potential and should include manufacturing, industry, agriculture, food production and rural development;

With the help of South Africans, transport and tourism should be encouraged in Africa and communications improved;

African markets and obstacles towards economic expansion must be looked into as a matter of urgency; and

The development of the informal and small business sectors must be encouraged and joint ventures and matchmaking, finance, aid and development among the African states must be encouraged.

This was backed by the Cameroon Minister of Social and Feminine Affairs, Mrs Yao Aissatou, who encouraged women to improve their agricultural skills.

# Africa's troublesome inheritance

① Somalia  
12/11/91

NAIROBI - Africans shedding the dictators and corrupt one-party systems of its "lost decades" but can democracy really save the world's poorest continent from chaos and collapse in the 1990s?

"Africa hasn't that many chances left," said one Nairobi-based diplomat.

The plight of Africa's 650 million people is undiminished by the stark fact that they are poorer today than they were 30 years ago.

In a desperate attempt to find a system of politics that will stave off disintegration, most of sub-Saharan Africa's 47 states are moving towards pluralism or multiparty democracy.

Some, ravaged by war and ethnic rivalries, may not make it.

"Africa may polarise into two groups: those that can establish better economic management with stable multiparty democracies or benign despots and those that fall apart," said Mr Michael Hodd, an economist at London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

He said some countries could follow the path of Mauritius and Botswana, both multiparty states, which were among the fastest growing economies in the world during the 1980s.

But many economists fear it is too late to save a number of countries damaged by elderly rulers who stayed too long.

"When the tyrant goes, the repairing period is extremely long," said Hodd, citing Uganda which has struggled to recover since Idi Amin was overthrown in 1979.

Dictatorship and war have ruined Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Somalia, Sudan and Zaïre.

"Liberia and Somalia have effectively ceased to exist as modern nation-states," said Professor IM Odupe Teribe, planning

Lewis, a Somalia expert at Britain's London School of Economics. "Others may go the same way."

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was defeated in multiparty elections last month. His legacy: a virtually bankrupt economy.

Kenya's President Daniel arap Moi is hanging on, promising to mince his opponents "like rats".

In response, donors have cut aid which peaked at \$970 million in 1989, dropped to \$700 million last year and threatens to decline even further.

Some 30 African countries have embarked on foreign aid-backed economic reforms since the 1980s.

Started by one-party governments to remedy decades of misrule, the austerity measures will prove a troublesome inheritance for the new democracies, economists say.

"Expectations are high after things have gone so bad, and this good government may not be able to deliver overnight," said Mr Odupe Teribe, planning

director of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Pluralism will not be enough to revive economies if foreign donors that jostled to give aid during the Cold War lose interest after pressuring governments to democratise, he said.



Uganda is still trying to recover after Idi Amin.

"Even when they (African countries) have good governance, aid may still be taken," he added.

The World Bank 1991 annual report lists Africa's woes: \$160 billion of debt, 30 million people facing starvation this year due to drought and war, declining GDP growth in 1990 and a slump in prices for key commodities such as coffee, tea and cocoa.

UN Secretary-General Dr Perez de Cuellar recently warned of a crisis of "tragic proportions" if foreign aid of up to \$30 billion a year was not obtained for all of Africa to double individual income to \$700 by 2015.

Africa's population is expected to climb three percent a year to 900 million by the year 2000 at present rates, swallowing any economic gains and raising the pressures of urbanisation and unemployment.

The killer disease Aids will cause African life expectancy to decline by the year 2000. The HIV virus already affects six million Africans out of a World Health Organisation estimated total of 9.11 million.

Many look to a future multiracial South Africa as an engine of growth for the region, but political unrest may mean it cannot deliver.

Despite the gloom, international economists note the emergence of a new realism among African planners that should lead to accountability and more of a self-help attitude.

"It's not lack of money that's the problem. Management is really the key," said Mr Jonathan Frimpong-Ansah, director of the UN-backed African Capacity Initiative in Harare.

"Until Africa begins to emphasise that and gets away from complaining about the world economy we will get nowhere."

Without promising any quick fixes, democratic governments are more likely to improve the climate for private investment after the corruption and instability of their forebears.

"We have embarked on highly unproductive projects and military budgets far beyond our resources... the net effect is our current debt problem," said George Mbowe, director-general of the Kampala-based East African Development Bank.

"Africa should learn to spend within its means and in that way we should be able to release a lot of funds for investment." - Sapa-Reuter



Kenya's arap Moi: "Mince enemies like rats".

FM 15/11/91

of tourism and economic affairs recently invited him to pick two hotels to manage.

"It could not have been better timed," he says. "South Africans will soon be able to go anywhere they want in Africa. There's a potential flood of them waiting for the doors to the rest of Africa to be finally opened."

The group manages 65 hotels in SA, making Protea the country's largest hotel group, and recently moved into Mauritius and Mozambique. It is negotiating to take over the management of hotels in Namibia and Botswana. Protea is also eyeing Zimbabwe and Angola and has been retained by the Malawi government to help develop a major resort on the banks of Lake Malawi.

The most recently announced addition to its portfolio is the 250-room Rovuma Hotel, in Maputo, which the group took over in June of last year at the invitation of the hotel's owners, the ruling political party, Frelimo. The Rovuma, which was the Portuguese Naval Officers' Club before independence, was losing R2m a year when Protea took over. It is now running at 70% occupancy and showing a R1m annual profit.

cont ->

PROTEA HOTELS  
FM 15/11/91  
**Moving into Africa**

**Local businesses** are steadily pushing into the rest of Africa as SA's relationship with the continent thaws. When they get as far as Egypt, Protea Hotels may already be there.

Protea executive chairman Otto Stehlik was to fly to Egypt this week to view 12 government-owned hotels: Egypt's Ministers

FM 15/11/91

"We weren't prepared to mention a word about our involvement until we had it operating our way and wouldn't be ashamed to call it a Protea Hotel," Stehlik says. "There was no management nor any systems or controls when we took over. There were 500 people on the payroll but not all of them pitched up for work."

He says the hotel's customer base has changed to mainly west European, South African, Zimbabwean and Malawian businessmen. It is no longer a happy hunting ground for east European "advisers."

He believes that the hotel has the potential to become the equivalent of an SA four-star hotel but the owners will have to invest more money on upgrading the structure. Stehlik is having talks with the IDC about funds for refurbishing its interior.

Protea Hotels took over the management of another Mozambican hotel last month — the 40-room Inhaca Island hotel, owned by Banco Mozambique. Stehlik, who sees the hotel becoming "a better two-star hotel" and is aiming it at SA anglers and conservationists, has tied up with Gone Fishing, an SA company.

In Mauritius, Protea is putting the finishing touches to the Moonlight Bay Hotel, at Grand Riviera Sud-Est, where Stehlik says the open-for-business shingle will be up by Christmas.



# Sahara's sands of time are running out

By KIM MURPHY

HERE is little to cover in this land of windswept dunes and rocky flats. The Sahara rises up on ochre bluffs from a barren coastline and stretches, vacant and silent, over thousands of kilometres. One of the Arab world's longest-running wars has been waged over this barren landscape, a conflict that for 16 years has pitted a band of guerrilla nomads against the wealthy regime of Morocco's King Hassan II — a conflict that at first glance appears to be about the Western Sahara's rich phosphate deposits but in fact is about who will dominate North Africa.

A United Nations peacekeeping force has arrived to take up positions in the disputed desert territory and begin directing a referendum early next year aimed at determining who is the master of the Western Sahara: Morocco, which claims the region as part of a historical domain that pre-

dates the Spanish colonisation of north-west Africa, or the Saharawis who have fought under the banner of the Algerian-backed Polisario Front for an independent republic in the Sahara.

At stake, say European leaders, is the final decolonisation of Africa — as well as the fate of one of America's strongest allies in the region. Hassan has staked much of his own legitimacy on holding the Sahara, into which he sent 350,000 Moroccan civilians marching on foot 16 years ago to

claim the territory and into which he has since poured more than \$1-billion out of Morocco's troubled economy in an effort to win the hearts of the Saharawis and lure wandering Sahrawi refugees home.

"The throne is at stake, there is no doubt about it," said one Western

diplomat in Rabat. "Nobody has wanted to forecast what would happen to the king if the referendum went against him. He has staked so much on the recovery of the Sahara."

The roots of the conflict go back to the mid-1970s, when Spain, under international pressure and the onslaught of Morocco's marching crusaders, pulled out of the old Spanish Sahara, abandoning initial plans for a referendum over self-determination and leaving Morocco and Mauritania to split the territory.

Mauritania forfeited its interest a few years later, leaving Moroccan troops in control of most of the territory — countered by the small but well-equipped Polisario Front army, declared an independent Saharan republic and launched the first of many years of violent hit-and-run raids on Moroccan military positions in the desert.

It is Layoun, in Moroccan-held territory, that is the heart of the Western Sahara and the place where the referendum, tentatively set for January, is likely to be decided. It is a typical Saharan town of squat houses and dusty marketplaces, but it is also the place where the desert culture of the Saharawis and that of the cosmopolitan Moroccans are curiously intertwined. Western diplomats estimate that at least half of Layoun's 100,000 residents are Moroccans who settled there after the Spanish left in 1975.

## EC ferry creates ceasefire

### ceasefire

THE Yugoslav army stopped shelling Dubrovnik just before noon on Wednesday under a ceasefire agreed with Croatian authorities in the Adriatic city, Croatian radio said. The ceasefire was apparently aimed at allowing a ferry into the port city to take out six European Community monitors, foreign nationals and other evacuees. But there was confusion about whether the ferry had arrived or was on its way.

Tanjung news agency said the Slavija ferry had entered Dubrovnik, which came under artillery fire on Wednesday morning, but EC officials said the boat had not left the port of Zelenika 35km away.

"The ship is still in Zelenika and awaiting permission to proceed," EC spokesman Renilde Steeghs said in the Croatian capital Zagreb. "We had agreed a ceasefire ... with the army but it will be of no use if the ship is not allowed to proceed as it will



SIGN OF THE TIMES ... Serbian volunteers flash the three-fingers opposition sign from the cellar of a destroyed house in Vukovar.

not get there on time," she said. "We are trying to get a ceasefire for later in the day. We also have to agree a ceasefire with the Croat side."

Earlier on Wednesday, the local federal naval command confirmed a statement by Dubrovnik mayor Pero Poljanac that there would be a truce. Poljanac told British television he could not be sure that the ceasefire would take hold because repeated attempts to halt the fighting have failed since Serb-led federal forces besieged Dubrovnik on October 1.

Following a Serbian appeal at the weekend for United Nations peacekeeping forces to end the fighting, the federal army had intensified its assaults on Dubrovnik and another key Croatian city, Vukovar, on Tuesday in an apparent effort to conquer them before foreign forces intervene, reports *The Los Angeles Times*.

The army's barrage of mortar and artillery fire on Dubrovnik and the devastated city of Vukovar in eastern Croatia has ratcheted the Yugoslav civil war up to its deadliest level since

fighting broke out in late June. Tanjung reported that 140 Croatian national guardsmen were killed in three days.

About 50,000 people have refused to leave their homes in besieged Dubrovnik, Croatia's most popular resort. More than 12,000 people remain holed up in basements and shelters in Vukovar, which has undergone 11 weeks of bombardment by federal troops fighting to secure an expanded Serbia. — Sapa-Reuter

Photo: AP

## Timor demonstrators shot

The majority of Moroccans are so genuinely committed to keeping the Sahara that it is the one issue that has solidified Hassan's hold on the country in the face of potentially divisive economic and political troubles that plunged some areas of the country into riots last year.

The opposition parties have demanded an end to the monarchy's monopoly on political power, but on the issue of the Western Sahara they are even more emphatic than the king. "Personally, I must say that it is an eventuality which cannot happen," Ali Yata, secretary general of the Progressive Socialist Party, said of the possibility of losing the referendum. "Economically, politically, socially, the Western Sahara is part of the historical dynasty of Morocco, and no one has ever contested its Moroccanness. We are in the Sahara, and we will stay in the Sahara." — LA Times



# SA buying up debts?

'Lucrative' default deal  
at 'five cents a dollar'

NEIL BEHRMANN

Weekend Argus Correspondent

LONDON. — International bankers are intrigued by rumours surrounding purchases by South African commercial banks of debt owed by Mozambique and Angola.

The total debt, estimated by Africa Confidential to be worth more than \$10 billion (R28 bn), was originally owed to the Soviet Union. This money which is owed by Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Benin is now worth only \$500 million (R1.4 bn) because these nations have defaulted on their debts.

According to Africa Confidential much of the debt was sold to a group of leading South African commercial banks for five cents in the dollar.

Africa Confidential reports that "a senior World Bank source says he knew about the deal and had encouraged it as a substantial means of debt reduction".

Several London-based Southern African debt traders and banks involved in trade and project finance in the region could not confirm the deal. Moscow Narodny which active-

ly trades debt, particularly East European, also could not confirm the story. The bank was not prepared to comment on rumours that it has bought Nigerian debt, currently trading at 40 cents in the dollar.

Ludgate Advisory Services, which has been active in Mozambique, said the story was interesting and possible but could not confirm whether it was true.

Other bankers said the deal with South African commercial banks could have been a bilateral transaction between the central banks of Mozambique and Angola and the South African commercial banks. The Reserve Bank of South Africa would be aware of the transactions.

If true, the deal would work as follows: The South African banks purchase a portion of the debt in dollars and place it with clients. That money is then exchanged for Mozambique and Angolan currencies. The funds in local currencies are then used for either loan or equity finance in projects based in Angola or Mozambique. At five cents in the dollar, the deals could be lucrative for banks and their clients.



□ GAME FOR GOLF:

Lip 1

# 3 held in Ghana over Chiavelli loan claims

Star 19/11/91. (1)

Star Africa Service

ACCRA — Two politicians and a newspaper editor have been arrested in Ghana in connection with allegations about a loan to a political party by South African-based, Italian multimillionaire Marino Chiavelli.

George Naykene, editor of the Christian Chronicle; Kwesi Armah, Ghana's former high commissioner in London, and Nana Okutwer Bekoe were detained by the military government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings last week.

The detention of Mr Armah and Mr Okutwer Bekoe is in connection with a loan raised by leading members of the People's National Party (PNP) from Mr Chiavelli in 1979 to fight the general elections which the PNP won, replacing the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC).

The PNP government was overthrown by Lieutenant Rawlings in 1981.

It is an offence in Ghana to accept funding from foreign sources for political purposes.

Mr Naykene is accused of having claimed in his publication that members of the AFRC government — some of whom are serving in the Rawlings



Marino Chiavelli . . . lent millions to political party.

government — also benefited from the loan received from Mr Chiavelli.

A spokesman at Mr Chiavelli's residence, Summer Place, in Hyde Park, Sandton, refused to comment.

Mr Chiavelli lived in Ghana in the early '50s and '60s and was reported in the Ghanaian press to have claimed that he made his first millions by exporting timber from Ghana to Europe and America.

His emigration to South Africa in 1980 was said to have left "a bitter taste" in official circles as he had apparently inti-

ated he was going to invest some of his money in Ghana. At one stage Mr Chiavelli is said to have offered the then president of Ghana, Hilla Limann, a R500 million loan.

Mr Chiavelli wound up his business in Ghana in 1966 after the overthrow of Dr Kwame Nkrumah by the military. Mr Chiavelli, however, returned briefly to Ghana when Dr Nkrumah's government re-emerged under the banner of the PNP after the 1979 elections.

Mr Chiavelli brought an action against senior PNP members in the High Court in London in 1981, claiming he had never been repaid his R800 000 loan as promised.

A PNP official, Krobo Edusei, admitted to receiving the loan through the London branch of the Arab Bank Limited.

It seems the government of Lieutenant Rawlings has been annoyed by the publication of the story in the Chronicle recently and suspects that Mr Armah and Mr Okutwer Bekoe supplied the information to the newspaper.

Mr Okutwer Bekoe, who is a former PNP chairman, and Krobo Edusei were each jailed for 11 years by a military tribunal in 1982 for "demanding and accepting a loan" from Mr Chiavelli, an alien.

# Curfew lifted in Ethiopia after clashes

*Sowetan 19/11/91* ①  
**ADDIS ABABA - The Ethiopian government has lifted a curfew in Dire Dawa, the country's second-largest city, after order was restored following violence between tribal groups.**

An official statement on Sunday put the final death toll from last week's fighting at 25. It said 164 people were injured, and described as exaggerated unofficial reports of 61 deaths and 300 injured.

Residents of Dire Dawa, in eastern Ethiopia, said the violence began on Wednesday when members of the Oromo tribe, who dominate the area, tried to disrupt a meeting of Amhara people.

The statement accused political groups in the area of deliberately provoking their opponents. It said 60 ringleaders had been arrested and 400 guns, 29 handgrenades and 8 000 rounds of ammunition seized.

Political organisations in the area have been forbid-

den to carry arms at meetings.

Tribal clashes have erupted in different areas since Marxist dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam fled when troops of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front captured the capital in May.

The Oromo is the largest of the country's many tribal groups, outnumbering the Tigrayan people who dominate the EPRDF. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

## WORLD

# Somali<sup>①</sup> president booted out

Sowefen  
20/11/91

**NAIROBI** - Pockets of fighting continued in Somalia's capital yesterday one day after President Ali Mahdi Mohamed was reportedly overthrown by his chief rival, General Mohamed Farrah Aidid, aid sources said.

The fighting appeared contained in Mogadishu's north-western corner, where Ali Mahdi has a home and which traditionally is a stronghold of his Abagal clan.

Ali Mahdi's whereabouts remained unknown, although sources said there were unconfirmed reports he had fled to a town north of the city controlled by his subclan.

After two days of fighting between the factions, Aidid (about 60) claimed in a radio broadcast on Monday to have overthrown Ali Mahdi (52) and seized control of the capital.

Aidid and Ali Mahdi have never had an easy relationship. Aidid refused to recognise Ali Mahdi as the nation's president, while Ali Mahdi has sought to have Aidid removed as United Somali Congress chairman.

Southern Somali remains riven by feuding among clans which have carved the region into separate fiefdoms. Northern Somalia seceded as the Somaliland Republic in May and has established peace.

Italy evacuated its diplomatic staff yesterday after its embassy was destroyed in the two days of fighting, sources said.

Aidid accused the Italians of having a too-close relationship with Ali Mahdi and warned the Italians to stay out of Somali affairs. - *Sapa-AP*

# Hoping against hope

Sowetan 2/11/91

AFRICAN countries are so hopeful the new South Africa will help them that any explanation that this country will be busy with its own problems is met with disbelief.

So says Erich Leistner, director of the African Institute.

Writing in the latest issue of the institute's publication, *Africa Insight*, Leistner says African countries, starved of Western aid, are nursing frantic hopes that South Africa with its supposedly unbounded wealth will step into the breach to help them.

He says South African businessmen, diplomats and scholars visiting African countries regularly have to contend with these expectations.

"Their attempts to explain South Africa's actual position are often met with polite disbelief," he says.

"The visual impact of South Africa's bustling metropolises with their fleets of late-model cars, their gleaming high-rise buildings, functioning telephones, and luxurious suburban villas is greater than mere statistics on unemployment, housing, education and the like."

Leistner says even "sobering words" from people like the ANC's Thabo Mbeki - who has argued that a future South African government may in fact pursue policies harmful to its neighbours by reducing the number of foreign workers in order to ease unemployment in South Africa - have made no impression.

"If South Africa's rapidly normalising relationship with the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is not to get off on a wrong foot, it is imperative that its partners be familiarised with the country's structural social and economic realities," Leistner says. - *Sowetan Africa News Service*.

# Strong ties with Africa urged

Sowetan 21/11/91

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

IT is of the utmost importance that South Africa strengthens its ties with the market research industry in Africa as soon as possible after sanctions have been lifted.

Local contact with this market has been limited because of political isolation, said Mr Deon Herbst, chairman of the Marketing Research Standard Authority.

Herbst, who was recently appointed as the new chairman of MRSA, is also the director of Markdata, a division of the Human Sciences Research

Council.

He said: "The opening up of international ties after a period of political isolation gives MRSA the opportunity to strengthen relations with similar associations in other countries.

"Over the years MRSA members had close liaison with sister organisations abroad on individual and company levels. As a result of this, the general standard of research in South Africa is on a par

with the standards accepted internationally.

"Contact with the market research industry in Africa has been limited and permanent relations will have to be established next year."

## Bond

Herbst said MRSA's other main objective for next year was to improve the image of the industry with users in market research and the general public.

"South Africa is undergoing a definite period of change. Market research and surveys will become prominent and relevant either for business, government, communities and decision

makers in general.

"MRSA will have to play an important role to promote the significance of quality information for effective decision making.

"The generation of information in the market research industry is largely dependent on the goodwill of the general public. MRSA will address the issue of professional standards during this interviewing process."

He said MRSA would also address black advancement within the industry.

"During last year MRSA voiced its concern about the shortage of qualified and experienced black people within the marketing industry.

It identified the vital importance of adequate resources of trained black market researchers for the future. A project has been started to identify ways and means of bringing and attracting more people to this industry by providing suitable employment opportunities and setting up appropriate training for such people. Marketing of the industry at training institutions will have to receive the necessary attention.

"The industry can only position itself in the future with the basic statistics at hand. Managers within the market research industry should have statistics at hand about the environment in which to operate.

"Statistics and information, for example, on total turnover of the industry, number of operating companies, salaries of researcher/interviewers, usage of different data collection methods, and the conditions of employment of permanent/contract personnel is of the utmost importance," he said.

# Lack of telephones a hang up in Africa

6 (Day 21/11/91)  
A RECENT World Bank report showed that most developing nations' telecommunications authorities have failed to provide even the most elementary phone services and were, in the main, bungling bureaucracies.

At the Aitec South Southern Africa Computer Expo in Harare last week, Computer Society of SA's Peter Davies said the report cited waiting times of 10, 20 and even 30 years for basic phones, and indicated figures of 67 employees in the authority for every 1 000 phones installed.

In developed nations, figures of about two employees for every 1 000 phones were cited.

"Of 150 000 villages in Africa, some 120 000 have no phones; Africa has 12% of the world's population yet only 1,4% of its phones. SA has 5% of Africa's population, but 40% of the continent's phones.

"In Zimbabwe, there are three phones for every 100 people — and this is 50 times more than there are in Mozambique."

He stressed the importance of telecommunications for socio-political development.

The question is whether to deregulate telecommunications, because countries often use telecommunication earnings to fund other developments instead of ploughing funds back into enhancing their services.

Prof Robert Horwitz of the University of California's department of communication said that in Third World countries with histories of corrupt state bureaucracies, privatisation may be a good idea, but it depended how this was carried out. "Perhaps joint ventures are viable, but only if the subsequent company has both autonomy from political interference and clear-cut guidelines regarding its basic objectives.

"Under privatisation, there are often no means to expand services to rural areas, but new technologies such as cellular radio and party lines for these areas are becoming more viable."

It was probably not viable to have competitors in the telecommunications industry if a basic infrastructure did not exist.

"The telecommunications authority can't generally afford to both install the basic network and still compete

## Africa told aid follows reform

PARIS — President Francois Mitterrand, opening a summit of French-speaking countries including heads of authoritarian African regimes, said democracy was needed to bring about economic progress in the Third World.

"By clarifying the way the state is run, democracy will make it easier to launch economic and financial reforms which will promote growth and mobilise the international community (to give aid)," Mitterrand said.

"France backs this evolution because it believes in the universal values of democracy," Mitterrand told delegates.

The three-day summit, the fourth since France inaugurated such gatherings in 1986, was attended by a majority of former French sub-Saharan colonies, including some of the world's poorest countries.

Many leaders are worried about a possible drop in aid because of competition from countries such as Romania, Bulgaria and Laos. — Reuter.



The region is warned to lower its expectations, writes Barney Mthombhozi

# Africa needs a lesson in reality

Star 22/11/91



AFRICAN countries are so hopeful the new South Africa will come to their rescue that they treat with disbelief and incomprehension any explanation that this country will be too pre-occupied with its own social and economic problems to throw them a lifeline.

So says Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute, in the institute's publication Africa Insight.

Dr Leistner says African countries, starved of Western aid, are nursing frantic hopes that South Africa, with its supposedly unbounded wealth will step into the breach to help them.

He says visitors to African countries regularly have to contend with these expectations. "Their attempts to explain South Africa's actual position are often

met with polite disbelief. The visual impact of South Africa's bustling metropolises with their fleets of late-model cars, their gleaming high-rise buildings, functioning telephones, and luxurious suburban villas is greater than mere statistics on unemployment, housing, education and the like."

Dr Leistner says even "sobering words" from people like the ANC's Thabo Mbeki — who has argued that a future government may pursue policies harmful to its neighbours by reducing foreign workers to ease unemployment — have made no impression.

"If South Africa's rapidly normalising relationship with the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is not to get off on the wrong foot, it is imperative that its partners be familiar-

ised with the country's structural social and economic realities," Dr Leistner says.

A conference in Windhoek in September, he says, appears to have begun the "re-education" of Africa on South African realities.

Such interaction between South Africans and opinion formers in neighbouring states will have to take place regularly, and all the participants will inevitably have a great deal to learn.

"South Africans will, for instance, have to appreciate that pursuit of their own national interests demands that they carefully take into consideration the needs of their neighbours too.

"The other countries in turn will have to realise that even under the best conceivable cir-

cumstances, the 'new' South Africa will not be able to dispense appreciable financial aid, and that for all practical purposes it will play its role as the region's engine of growth' only by way of commercial exchanges in respect of goods, power, water, transport, tourism and research."

Dr Leistner says if South Africa succeeds in revitalising its economy and attracting investment, it will be capable of generating the growth impulses the other economies of Southern Africa need.

Since economic interaction with the region will initially probably be based on bilateral agreements, the negotiation process is bound to give the other countries a deeper understanding of South Africa. — Star Africa Service. □

NICOSIA - Third World nations are calling for "new era of partnership" with industrialised nations, the government-run Islamic Republic News Agency said yesterday.

The call by the "Group Of 77" - a loose conglomeration of developing countries - was in sharp contrast with the group's statements in past years, which sometimes blamed the problems of poorer nations on richer countries.

"The Tehran declaration said dialogue towards a new partnership for development must be pragmatic and

# Third World appeal to rich nations

realistic, non-confrontational and based on a mutuality of interests," *Irna* reported.

The declaration, issued late on Saturday, called for this "new era of partnership" with developed nations to be built around "comprehensive dialogue on all issues af-

fecting trade and development ... in balanced discussions based on the imperatives of genuine interdependence", the agency reported.

But, echoing past policy, the Group Of 77 also urged the industrialised world to provide "special and differential treatment for developing countries," - a reference

to development aid, forgiveness of a portion of the Third World's huge debt burden and other preferential treatment.

The group also said it would seek agreement on "halting and rolling back all forms of protectionism by developed countries".

The undeveloped nations, many of which rely heavily on exports of one or few primary goods, have been hit heavily over the past two decades by reductions in the prices of raw materials and increased moves to restrict imports to industrialised nations. - *Sapa-AP*.

Sovetan 25/11/91



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# African disbelief over problems facing 'new' SA

Argus Africa News Service

① ARC 25/11/21

JOHANNESBURG. — African countries are so hopeful the "new" South Africa will come to their rescue that any explanation that this country will be too pre-occupied with its own problems to throw them a lifeline is met with disbelief.

So says Erich Leistner, director of the African Institute. Writing in the latest issue of the institute's publication, *Africa Insight*, Dr Leistner says African countries, starved of Western aid, are nursing frantic hopes that South Africa with its supposedly unbounded wealth will step into the breach to help them.

He says South African businessmen,

diplomats and scholars visiting African countries regularly have to contend with these expectations.

Dr Leistner says even "sobering words" from people like the ANC's Thabo Mbeki — who has argued that a future SA government may in fact pursue policies harmful to its neighbours by reducing the number of foreign workers in order to ease unemployment in SA — have made no impression.

"If South Africa's rapidly normalising relationship with the rest of sub-Saharan Africa is not to get off on wrong foot, it is imperative that its partners be familiarised with the country's structural social and economic realities," Dr Leistner says.

said. 26/11/91  
A task force would study anti-trust legislation in developed and developing countries before Zimbabwe took action.

Known as the "water beetle", the water collector Clyens and Berlin have built consists of a cylinder on top of three hollow legs, with a brush hanging from the cylinder and a wax ball below the brush.

The project consists of blocks of chosen desert and Reuter.

## Forgive Africa's debt Nujoma

WINDHOEK — Namibian president Sam Nujoma has appealed to the international community for R83bn annually to assist African development and for "massive debt forgiveness".

He was speaking at the opening of the joint meeting of African planning ministers, UN development programme representatives and regional agency representatives in Windhoek yesterday.

Nujoma said each African country's specific objectives in investment, human resources development, protection of land and maritime resources, arresting flight capital and repatriation of capital should definitely be encouraged.

"At the same time, international action in areas of economic aid, including a massive R83bn annual inflow, massive debt forgiveness, and serious attention to commodity prices, will be an indispensable complement to our own efforts in Africa,"

Nujoma said.

He was addressing about 300 delegates from 45 African countries to discuss the next five-year programme on development aid to Africa.

The meeting is being sponsored by the UNDP and the Economic Commission for Africa.

The UNDP has pledged to spend about R4bn during this period.

Namibia had been accorded the maritime fisheries sector by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, and Nujoma said the effective surveillance of this resource should not only deserve the attention of UN institutions and other agencies.

"In this regard, the European Community's common fisheries policy should surely be matched by a common fisheries strategy for the African economic community," Nujoma added. — Sapa.

# HIV-infected pregnant women 'should be able to have abortion'

STAR 27/11/91

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

Statistics indicate that there will be about 10 million Aids orphans in the world by the year 2000 as a result of their parent or parents dying from the killer disease.

Consulting obstetrician and gynaecologist at Baragwanath Hospital Dr James McIntyre yesterday argued at a legal and ethical workshop on Aids in Pretoria, that, in the light of the statistical projection, HIV-infected women should have a choice of abortion.

In Africa, the ratio of women to men infected with the Aids virus was 14 to one, and if they gave birth, their babies had an up to 60 percent of inheriting the virus.

These women should have the option of terminating their pregnancies, Dr McIntyre said.

He was staunchly opposed by Dr Claude Newbury, president of Pro Life, who vehemently insisted that unborn foetuses be accorded "the most fundamental human right — the right to life".

Confidentiality in the testing of suspected HIV-positive patients also inspired lively debate.

Warrick Allan, co-ordinator of Act Up Aids Coalition to Unleashed Power, said the social stigmas attached to Aids were not the same as in the case of other diseases, and that there should never be breach of confidentiality.

"I have never come across a case (during counselling) where breach of confidentiality is acceptable," he said.

However, Dr Manda Holmshaw, head of the Aids unit at the Department of National Health, said confidentiality about Aids was a way of saying it should be hidden, adding that a Western approach to Aids counselling and treatment was not necessarily fitting in Africa.

"In Africa, individualism is not the highest value. Patients are more interested in having a community representative, a way of getting Aids education to the community.

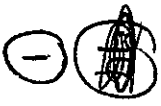
"We need an African response to Aids, not one that is imposed from the Western world," she said.

Debating the role of legislation on Aids, Dr Edwin Cameron of the Centre for Applied Studies at Wits University, said the time had come for a charter of rights for HIV sufferers to be adopted in legislation.

# Sowetan Business

# Red light for trade

# Links with Africa



By JOSHUA RABOROKO

*Savefer 28/11/91*

SOUTH Africans have given unanimous support to future initiatives to establish inter-African trade links following the recent Sidco '91 all-Africa "business to business" conference in Yaounde, capital of Cameroon.

They also support an annual event to bring businessmen and women together from the Cape to Cairo, amid dissatisfaction from the Pan Africanist

Congress, which attended the conference.

Addressing the Press in Johannesburg, Mr Johan du Plessis, chairman of Pro-Africa which co-ordinated conference sponsorships from Southern Africa, said a major breakthrough had been achieved.

More than 100 South Africans attended the conference, where delegates from 21 eastern, western,

northern and southern African states met for three days to explore the opportunities in a fast-changing Africa.

Du Plessis said African leaders should now pull together in a concerted effort to build a continent which could become a world economic giant.

He said many South Africans were disappointed by the number of businessmen and women who attended the conference from countries other than South Africa and Cameroon.

"This, however, does not detract from the success of the conference and achievements, many of which are already evident and which have paved the way for strong and lasting trade relationships," he said.

He added: "In our discussions a number of positive and constructive recommendations were made and included requests for shorter plenary sessions, longer workshops, exhibition opportunities and distinct business-to-business

focus."

However, PAC executive Mr Mark Shimmers said they found the proceedings totally unacceptable.

He said the PAC had understood that the conference was to be based on inter-African interaction in the economic area.

After the conference they had found out that Sidco '91 was a trade fair as well.

Abuja declaration which fosters economic links with the settler minority regime, while political power remains untransferred," he said.

"We may have no option but to review our position with regard to Sidco 1992 and the Movement for Dialogue and Co-operation which was co-sponsor of the conference."

Seemingly the PAC raised this issue in the light of the ongoing support for economic sanctions against South Africa.

# 'Western aid drying up'

By Helen Grange  
Pretoria Bureau

28/11/91

The bad fact is that Africa can expect more moral support than funds from the West over the next decade — as more assistance will be ploughed into the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, a Nato representative said in Pretoria yesterday.

Colonel Rolf Hallerbach, Nato representative for the magazine European Security, speaking at a conference on southern African security relations towards the year 2000, said that in Europe and America "nobody feels in the mood to spend a single penny for more socialist-type experiments".

"Those who can't stop dream-

ing should consider the fact".

If countries in southern Africa could establish a self-contained regional trading block, inter-regional trading would be enhanced and a climate created for foreign investment, acting deputy director general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Dereck Auret, said.

South Africa's trade with the region could also be greatly improved if the buying power of its neighbours could be enhanced through development.

South Africa, he said, currently exported between 25 and 33 percent of its manufactured goods to Africa.

Speaking on methods of integrating the military into a new South Africa, the director of the Institute for Defence Politics, Dr Jakkie Cilliers, proposed that the defence budget be dis-

cussed in public and approved by Parliament — thereby determining the manpower, structures and objectives of the forces.

There should also be no restriction on members of the armed forces or police force joining any legal political party. Although the armed forces and police were accountable to the constitution, they should not simply serve the government of the day.

He warned that with the dramatic cut in the defence budget, the SADF could easily end up as a low technology counter-insurgency force, suitable for little else but border control and support to the police.

"This would, in my opinion, not only be a tragic development for our country's stability."

# Links hamper peace news

NAIROBI (Kenya) - Sudanese rebels said poor communications barred them from confirming whether a ceasefire among their warring factions had taken hold yesterday.

But aside from getting word of the truce to their combatants in Sudan's vast southern region, neither side expected any problems in halting the fighting which erupted in September.

## Hostilities

"We don't expect any hostilities," said Mr Elijah Malok, of the Sudan People's Liberation Army. "But in a place like Sudan, it will take some time to get word to all the combatants."

The two rebel groups, known as the Torit and Nasir factions, said they agreed to the ceasefire to "deny the enemy the benefit from our internal feud".

The enemy is the government in Khartoum and the rebel factions made it clear their eight-year-old war against the central authority would continue.

Sapa-AP



### Togo troops grab broadcast centre

LOME.—Soldiers in the West African state of Togo seized the radio and television centre yesterday and broadcast demands that a civilian government be dissolved.

Diplomats in radio contact with Lome said at least eight people were killed in two days of clashes in the Togolese capital. **8/Nov 29/11/91**

Other fatalities were reported near Togo's borders with Ghana, they said. Interim prime minister Joseph Kotonou Koffigoh said the move by the army amounted to a coup d'etat, and called for support from the country's democratic forces.

Troops loyal to military president Gnassingbe Eyadema, who was stripped of most powers by a national conference in August, seized the broadcasting centres at dawn and held them through midday, broadcasting a series of communiqués.

One monitored by the BBC said that the armed forces were demanding the dissolution of the transitional legislature, the High Council of the Republic, and of all political parties.

Sources in Paris said Koffigoh, a human rights lawyer, was with France's ambassador, Bruno Delaye, in a Lome building surrounded by rebellious soldiers. — Sapa-Reuter.

# World pressure on Mugabe

**MICHAEL HARTNACK**

HARARE — The final draft of President Robert Mugabe's contentious land nationalisation law is almost complete — but may be held back because of its disastrous implications for Zimbabwe's international standing, say sources in Harare.

Last year Mugabe rushed through parliament a constitutional amendment denying (mainly white) commercial farmers any right of appeal to the courts against an announced 6-million ha takeover plan.

The Land Acquisition Bill, to establish the mechanics for this, is understood to have gone into at least five departmental drafts, while internal economic distress has brought Mugabe's government into increasing unpopularity.

Parliamentary sources reported this week that the Bill was unlikely to be put before Zimbabwe's 150-seat House of Assembly at the current series of sittings, but the Financial Gazette quoted an unnamed senior official, who said the cabinet committee on legislation last week completed final amendments. Mugabe's Zanu (PF) controls 147 of the seats. Meanwhile, an IMF team, which

has just visited Zimbabwe, has voiced dissatisfaction with President Mugabe's implementation of a five-year economic liberalisation programme, previously agreed with the World Bank, and wants tougher controls on Zimbabwean government policy. The World Bank has backed its sister organisation, the IMF, and is making a US\$125m "seed finance" payment conditional on IMF approval of future Zimbabwean economic policy.

Zimbabwe's dramatic 47% devaluation of its currency, and the failure of the government to implement any real reforms in the highly politicised top-heavy bureaucracy, have been the most criticised aspects of the "structural adjustment" plan unveiled nearly two years ago.

Little has been done to reduce a civil service which grew from 40 000 to nearly 190 000 in the first 11 years of independence, and Mugabe continues to delay pruning his 57 member government, all of whom receive a complex system of tax-free allowances and perks.

Donors at a Paris conference earlier this year pledged \$700m to launch

the economic structural adjustment programme, although voicing private misgivings about Mugabe's continued talk of Marxist-Leninist goals and nationalisation of the 45 000 commercial farms which produce Zimbabwe's major export, tobacco, and most of its food.

The Financial Gazette says a government "land valuation committee" has been set up to agree a schedule of set prices for commercial land in various categories.

"The bone of contention at the cabinet committee meeting on legislation last Thursday was whether the formula for determining the prices of land is going to become part of the Land Acquisition Act," an official told the Financial Gazette.

"However, it was finally resolved that the land valuation committee had recommended that it would not be in the interest of the nation to publish the prices to be paid to farmers for their land because this would destabilise the industry," said the official.

Zimbabwe's major foreign exchange earner, tobacco, would suffer a crippling blow from expropriation of the 6-million hectares.

# Leak not from us - Ghana

THE Ghanaian government last night denied that its military ruler Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings had leaked minutes of a meeting addressed by the African National Congress foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki at the United Nations on November 20. The Pan Africanist Congress this week alleged that Mbeki had told African ambassadors to the UN that the ANC and the South African Government had entered into a "secret pact" on various issues including an interim government. The Ghanaian Foreign Ministry, however, rejected the claims about Rawlings. It said to attribute the source of the leak to Rawlings was "inaccurate". - Sapa-Reuters.

50/1/91  
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# SA 'springboard for mining'

MATTHEW CURTIN

THE international mining industry will have to look to the Third World for new mining ventures, and SA will provide the springboard for tapping the underexploited mineral reserves of this continent, says former Anglo American and De Beers chairman Harry Oppenheimer.

Addressing a recent mining seminar in London — which coincided with his 83rd birthday and which was organised by merchant bank S G Warburg — Oppenheimer said: "The best, the safest, perhaps the only way to approach the mining development of all southern Africa is through SA, which alone has the experience of local conditions, the technical skills, and the financial resources, know-how and connections which are required."

Oppenheimer recalled that Anglo had thought of SA "as a springboard for the development of the sub-continent to the North" in its early days, which took its political form in the development of the British Empire in Africa.

He said the geography of mining, which would be transformed by the changes in

Eastern Europe and Africa, was determined as much by the location of mineral deposits and the state of technology as politics and historical accident.

He said apartheid had, in a combination of ways, destroyed the whole sub-continent's economy.

Little exploration or investment had been undertaken in the region since the early '70s, which meant the potential for finding new deposits was probably good. Countries such as Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zaire, Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania had missed out on the gold boom of the '80s for political reasons although their prospects were now promising.

However, mining in Africa might be subject to exceptional political risks.

Developing countries were inclined to equate mining with exploitation in its worst sense, he said.

These countries tended to react to world recession by increasing instead of cutting basic mineral output.

SIP 29/11/91

## Stuffed Bushman sparks Games row

 ED OWEN 

MADRID — Several African countries have threatened to boycott the Olympic Games in Barcelona if a nearby museum continues to exhibit a stuffed and mounted Bushman.

The Nigerian Embassy in Madrid is the latest to complain about the grisly exhibit in a museum in Banyoles, which lies north of Barcelona. STAR 20/1/91

The body stands with a spear in his hand and has a metal collar around his neck, which hides the fact that the man was decapitated.

# Togo calls for aid to block coup

SPW 2/12/91

LOME — Togo's fledgling civilian government appealed yesterday for international aid to block former military dictator General Gnassingbe Eyadema from retaking power.

A spokesman for Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh said the soldiers had not kept their promise to retreat to their barracks and were trying to terrorise the government into accepting their demands.

"Eyadema wants to retake power. If he succeeds it will set a precedent and everywhere in Africa these military dictators will try to make a comeback," said Horatio Freitas, Minister of Youth, Sports and Works.

"We are in trouble, our young democracy movement all over Africa is on trial here. We are appealing for help from the world to protect democracy."

Troops, who had surrounded Mr Koffigoh's palace with tanks on Thursday, withdrew on Saturday when France threatened a military intervention.

Lome was calm yesterday.

Mr Freitas said the soldiers had returned to their camp outside the capital at dawn. Those at the radio station continued to broadcast demands that Mr Koffigoh surrender and allow General Eyadema to form a new government. — Sapa-AP.

old daughter,  
gone massive  
er experts say  
women in the  
Picture: AP.

# Govt should resign over violence

THE South African Government should resign if it was unable to contain violence sweeping the country, renowned Nigerian political economist Professor Claude Ake said yesterday.

Speaking at an Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa forum in Durban, Ake said the basic responsibility of any state was to maintain peace and law and order.

"If you can't do this, you cease to be a state. If the Government can't do so, it should abdicate."

He added, "The South African Government has the resources to maintain security".

Ake said he did not accept any explanation of "black on black" violence other than that it was the Government's responsibility to ensure it did not happen.

Addressing South Africa's transition, Ake said the country could expect a foreign aid package of about R100 billion for this period. *Southern*

## Aid injection

3/12/91

He said he had recently heard from informed sources in the United States that that government was considering an aid injection of about R60 billion, while the European Community could provide between R20 billion to R40 billion.

Ake said the process of democratisation taking place in South Africa was also taking place in the rest of Africa.

"Democracy in Africa is a new reality and it is an irreversible trend."

He said the lack of democracy in Africa was the major reason for underdevelopment, economic stagnation and political instability.

Most African nationalist democratic movements had in the past been hijacked by elites who had not pursued their supporters' aspirations. This had led to a gap between leaders and supporters which inevitably resulted in violence.

Many South African businesses were marketing deracialisation when they should be promoting democratisation and the upliftment of the poor, who had been prevented from participating properly in society.

Ake said the vast majority of South Africans were not incorporated into society. Instead, there was a situation where people lived in large labour reserves "waiting to be used. In the meantime they don't contribute to society, they're just there." *Saga*

## Troops take Togo's premier hostage

LOMÉ — Troops in tanks blasted into the oceanside palace of Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh and took the human rights lawyer hostage yesterday in their bid to restore Togo's military ruler of 24 years to power.

There were unconfirmed reports of deaths in the assault on the palace, the seat of Togo's fledgling democracy where Koffigoh was protected by only 60 French-trained presidential guards.

The attackers, apparently loyal to strongarm President Gnassingbe Eyadema, used tanks, machineguns and small arms in their 15-minute attack.

Togo national radio, controlled by the military, said the troops had "decided to seize Joseph Kokou Koffigoh. Sentimentalism has lasted too long. At this very moment, he is safe in the hands of the Togolese Armed Forces."

Later, the radio broadcast a list of interim government officials it demanded surrender themselves at army headquarters, including Monsignor Philippe Kpodzro, the Roman Catholic archbishop who heads the government's legislative high council.

Eyadema condemned the violence and, in a statement, ordered "the belligerents to lay down their arms". The general did not order the release of Koffigoh.

In Paris, officials from the ministries of foreign affairs, defence and co-operation held an emergency meeting about the trouble in the former French colony.

Spokesman Maurice Gourdault-Montagne said afterward France "does not believe it is too late to renew dialogue". — Sapa-AP.

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**Togo leader  
wants time**

5/12/91  
LOME — Soldiers began withdrawing from strategic points yesterday, a day after their bloody assault on the Togo prime minister's office forced him to agree to name a new government. (i)

At least 17 people, including President Gnassingbe Eyadema's half brother, died in the battle.

The soldiers want Eyadema's presidential powers restored by the civilian government that stripped him of everything but his ceremonial duties in August.

Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh, released late on Tuesday after being put on television to announce his surrender, said he needed time to put together a government the soldiers would accept.

Koffigoh refused to describe the 90-minute attack but said he had sent staff to investigate the damage.

This was the fourth attempt by the military to overthrow the fledgling civilian government. — Sapa-AP.



Multiparty tide sweeps through the continent as

# Democracy in Africa gains



DANIEL arap MOI

The process to make Africa democratic looks unstoppable and the decision by President Daniel arap Moi to allow multiparty politics in Kenya has at last seen the conversion of one of its most prominent opponents, reports *Sowetan* Correspondent Barney Mithombothi.

*Sowetan* 6/12/91

At a boisterous after-poll celebration in Zambia last month, a demonstrator was seen brandishing a placard with a message whose prediction was to prove spot-on within a matter of weeks. "Next stop Nairobi" it said.

This week President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, under heavy domestic and international pressure, finally agreed to follow Zambia and take the route to multiparty democracy.

Nobody had stood as stoutly and protested as loudly against democracy in Africa as Moi. His utterances about the vices of multiparty politics - which ex-President Kenneth Kaunda had tried to mimic without much success - were well known in Zambia and his sympathy with the Zambian leader's predicament much resented.

Moi had hoped his Zambian counterpart would hold the line against the tide of multiparty politics and therefore divert attention from Kenya. That failed.

Now a combination of internal and external factors have conspired to force Moi to embrace what he had insisted all along was the greatest evil after Satan.

Kenya's decision is likely to have ramifications on the continent, especially in East and Southern Africa. Kenya has the most powerful economy in East Africa. Also a U-turn by Moi the champion of the one-party state, is bound to influence the behaviour of those who held similar views.

There is already evidence that the authorities in Malawi are for the first time thinking about about democracy. President Kamuzu Banda this week told his parliament to make a final decision on one-party rule.

The opposition in Malawi is banned, the media is government-controlled and the president's foes are in exile in Zambia. Last month Banda was the first head of state to congratulate President Chituba on his defeat of Kaunda.

Should western countries apply the sort of pres-

sure that was brought to bear on Kenya, Malawi will be in no position to resist.

There are stirrings also in Tanzania, still the one-party state that former president and the guru of African socialism Julius Nyerere created. The ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi of President Ali Mwinyi still remains the sole and only organised political force in the country.

But a National Committee for Constitutional Reform has been formed by Mr Abdullah Said Fundikira, at one time Nyerere's minister of legal affairs, to campaign for political reform.

In nearby Uganda, political parties have been banned since President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army shot its way into power in January 1986, with a promise to hold elections within four years. The promise was not kept but instead the

government two years ago held elections to what it calls local resistance councils.

Ugandans are still grateful to Museveni's NRA for rescuing them from Milton Obote's murderous armies. But support for Museveni could erode if he fails to crush rebel activity in the north by the Uganda People's Democratic Army and Alice Lakwena's Holy Spirit Movement.

The removal or attempts to remove despots in many countries has simply plunged those countries into anarchy as it happened in Somalia, Zaire and Togo, where many people were killed this week as mutinous soldiers try to forcibly expel an interim government.

For years rebels in Somalia fought to dislodge President Siad Barre from power, a feat they finally achieved in January this year. But almost a year

later, thousands have been killed in renewed intestine fighting and there is no prospect of either peace or democracy.

Some Somalis have even sought refuge in South Africa. Zaire is walking the same path, with the wholesale looting by government soldiers recently and President Mobutu Sese Seko's inability to agree terms with the opposition plunging the country into chaos, which could even lead to civil war.

Last week Mobutu appointed his third prime minister in two months. A national conference to draw up a new dispensation has been suspended indefinitely and is unlikely to be reconvened unless stability is re-established. Mobutu's term has expired but he is staying on.

Angola so far offers a ray of hope. The peace accord signed by the MPLA and UNITA in Lisbon in May this

year has ended 16 years of one of the bloodiest civil wars on the continent. All the parties are committed to multiparty elections in late 1992. There have been some hiccups but so far nobody has pulled out.

Analysis says this time the accord will work because both the Americans and the Soviets are committed to it. Mozambique is also slowly edging towards multiparty politics. The country has a new constitution and the Frelimo government is showing some eagerness to relax restrictions on the media and political activities. Some political parties have already been formed.

President Joachim Chissano says he is ready to sign a ceasefire anytime. But Renamo wants to the Frelimo down to specifics before it agrees to a ceasefire.

Swaziland, which banned political parties in 1973, has also been experimenting some restlessness among its subjects. An underground movement, Pudemmo, has been active in the past 18 months distributing pamphlets, demanding a democratic government with a constitutional monarchy.

Things are, however, looking up for Lesotho, the other kingdom in the region. The military government of Elias Ramama which took over by force in April this year seems determined to fulfil its promise to turn the country over to democratic rule by the middle of next year.

The authorities say the drawing up of a new constitution is nearing completion. Voters are being registered and the delimitation of constituencies is going according to plan.

No country on the continent has been left unaffected by the multiparty tide, be it under civilian or military dictatorship.

But the biggest test for democracy in Africa is yet to come. The military government in Nigeria, the continent's most populous nation and potentially the most powerful, is committed to handing over the reins of power to a civilian government next year.

A successful transition in Nigeria will provide the biggest fillip yet for democracy to take root in Africa

# Multiparty tide sweeping in

STAR 9/12/91 (1)

**D**URING an after-poll celebration in Zambia last month, a demonstrator brandished a placard with a message whose prediction was to prove spot-on within a matter of weeks. "Next stop Nairobi," it said.

Last week President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, under heavy domestic and international pressure, finally agreed to follow Zambia and take the route to multiparty democracy.

Nobody has protested as loudly against democracy in Africa as President Moi. His utterances about the vices of multiparty politics — which Kenneth Kaunda had tried to mimic — were well known in Zambia and his sympathy with the Zambian leader's predicament much resented.

President Moi had hoped his Zambian counterpart would hold the line against the tide of multiparty politics and therefore divert attention from Kenya. That failed. Now a combination of internal and external factors has conspired to force Mr Moi to embrace what he had insisted all along was the greatest evil after Satan.

Kenya's decision is likely to have ramifications on the conti-

nent, especially in east and southern Africa. Kenya is the most powerful economy in east Africa. Also, a U-turn by President Moi, the champion of the one-party state, is bound to influence those with similar views.

There is already evidence that the authorities in Malawi are for the first time thinking aloud about democracy. President Kamuzu Banda last week told his parliament to make a final decision on one-party rule. It is, however, not clear whether the ageing president is himself in favour of a new political dispensation.

The opposition in Malawi is banned, the media is government-controlled and the president's foes are in exile in Zambia. Last month President Banda was the first head of state to congratulate President Chiluba on his defeat of Dr Kaunda. It did not seem to occur to him that such a poll would be impossible in his country under present circumstances.

If Western countries apply the sort of pressure that was brought to bear on Kenya, Malawi will be in no position to resist.

There are stirrings in Tanzania, still the one-party state that for-

mer president and guru of African socialism Julius Nyerere created. The ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi of President Ali Mwinyi still remains the sole organised political force in the country.

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Ugandans are still grateful to Mr Museveni's NRA for rescuing them from Milton Obote's murderous armies. But support for Mr Museveni could erode if he fails to crush rebel activity in the north by the Uganda People's Democratic Army and Alice Lakwena's Holy Spirit Movement.

The removal or attempts to remove despots in many countries has simply plunged those coun-

tries into anarchy, as is happening in Somalia, Zaire as well as Togo, where many were killed last week as mutinous soldiers tried to expel an interim government.

For years, rebels in Somalia fought to dislodge Siad Barre from power, a feat they finally achieved in January. But now, at most a year later, thousands have been killed in renewed internecine fighting and there is no prospect of either peace or democracy. One rebel group, the Somali National Movement, has declared northern Somalia an independent country, and warring factions of the United Somali Congress are involved in a fight for supremacy in the south. Some Somalis have sought refuge in South Africa.

Zaire is walking the same path, with the wholesale looting by government soldiers and President Mobutu Sese Seko's inability to agree to terms with the opposition plunging the country into chaos, which could lead to civil war.

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President Chissano says he is ready to sign a ceasefire. But Renamo, currently engaged in talks with the government, wants to the Frelimo down to specifics before it agrees to a ceasefire.

The opposition has failed to dislodge President Didier Ratsiraka from power in Madagascar. Now an agreement has been reached that allows President Ratsiraka to remain a symbolic head of state while Force Vives, a collection of opposition parties, wield real power through what is known as "a high State authority".

In Seychelles, President Albert Rene has announced that his government will allow the participation of other political parties and has called on exiles to return. Swaziland, which banned political parties in 1973, has also been experiencing some restlessness among its subjects. An under-

ground movement, Pudemro, has been active in the past 18 months distributing pamphlets, demanding a democratic government with a constitutional monarchy.

Things are, however, looking up for Lesotho, the other kingdom in the region. The military government of Elias Ramaema which took over by force in April seems determined to fulfil its promise to turn the country over to democratic rule by mid-1992.

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A successful transition in Nigeria would provide the biggest fillip yet for democracy to take root in Africa. □

# Mastery Insign into the continent from Pakenham

**BOOK OF THE WEEK**  
The Scramble for Africa by Thomas Pakenham  
(Jonathan Ball R115)  
Reviewed by JAMES MITCHELL

STAR  
9/12/91

①

the Herero Rebellion. But far more respectable and eminent colonisers, such as Frederick Lugard — famed for his theories of "indirect rule" — could descend into savagery.

There was the ghastly Battle of Mengo, when Lugard used Muslim Sudanese troops to do the work of the basically Protestant Imperial British East Africa Company. This involved conquering the Catholic kingdom of Myranga: official French government reports said later that one cathedral, 60 chapels and 12 schools had been destroyed, while 50 000 Ugandan Catholics had been sold into slavery as a result of Lugard's actions.

Nevertheless, Pakenham makes it clear that as well as the theme of conquest, there also operated the "three Cs" of the great missionary-exploiter. Livingstone, "Commerce, Christianity and Civilization, a triple alliance of Mammon, God and social progress. Trade, not the gun, would liberate Africa." And it was a genuine lib-

eration. It was these "three Cs" that contributed to advancement in white-ruled Africa, not vague theories of benevolence or non-intervention.

This is the first book since 1893 that takes an overall look at the phenomenon of the "scramble" and it succeeds magnificently. Individual actions — noble or ignominious — are highlighted amid the broad sweep of the narrative. Pakenham offers no over-arching academic theory with which to replace Hobson's or Lenin's belief that surplus European capital was the driving force, or that there was a purely African explanation. He leaves the reader to make up his mind, but first gives him a feast of action and, above all, a very human view of the times.

This is one of the most illuminating and exciting books to have been written on the forces and events that have shaped our continent. **● "The Scramble for Africa" is a Publisher's Choice for Christmas.**

King Leopold sanctoriously set up something totally different from the usual colonial model: it was in effect a purely business venture. The Congo Free State had no connection with Belgium. There were no Belgian colonial officials to exercise at least some protection over their subjects. While Leopold protested that his new kind of state was the purest form of liberal venture, it was nothing more than the business of looting a whole country.

Huge tracts were leased to companies to do with what they wished: without any form of control, they used the most savage of methods to grab what they could. So it was that people were forced

IT REALLY was a scramble. Africa was always there, and Europe was aware of it, rather as piranhas might be aware of — yet uninterested in — a fat cow standing in the river.

Then something started the feeding frenzy. Like the flock of blood in the water that is supposedly sufficient to attract the killer fish, some sense of urgency drove the European powers to carve out their own chunks of the "dark continent".

They saw it as *res nullius*, a sort of legal emptiness that let the firstcomer take what he could. Never mind the inhabitants. Europe had already nibbled at the carcass long before the great scramble. On the northern, Mediterranean shore, there were outposts of Portuguese and Spanish sea power. And at the southern tip there was the Cape, a European toehold almost from the beginning of the great voyages of exploration.

yet dramatically written "The Boer War" is under few illusions about European motives for interest in African acreage. Yet he remains alive to the romance of exploration and conquest, so that a Livingstone or a Marchand can stand out as the distinctive — if sometimes misguided — men they were.

Without labouring the point, he brings out the paradox that outright colonisation did more to benefit the willing or unwilling inhabitants than any amount of high-falutin' benevolence. Thus the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia successfully fought off Italian attempts to conquer it, totally and ignominiously defeating the attempted invasion. And yet ... Ethiopia remained a devastated, backward country, which was to achieve the beginnings of a modern infrastructure only after the second but short-lived Italian attempt at colonisation under Mussolini.

Far worse was the case of the Congo Free State. Here, Belgium's

# Clan strife rages on

①  
Sowetan  
9/12/91

**NAIROBI - Fighting escalated in Somalia's devastated capital, where three weeks of clan battles have left more than 3 000 people dead, sources said yesterday.**

As many as 7 000 people have been wounded in the clan-based conflict which pits President Ali Mahdi Mohamed against General Mohamed Aidid Farrah, chairman of the ruling United Somali Congress.

Battles intensified between their forces on Saturday, with heavy fighting reported in several parts of the city, said aid workers in contact with their staff in Mogadishu by satellite telephone. The sources, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said they did not know if the fighting remained intense yesterday.

## Killed in conflict

Heavily armed bands of looters have added to Mogadishu's murderous melange, and aid workers say more than 3 000 people have been killed in the conflict.

The city's four hospitals have been overwhelmed by casualties, mostly civilians and predominantly children.

A number of international aid agencies are working with Somali doctors to treat the wounded, but food and medical supplies are in desperately short supply.

The International Committee of the Red Cross said it finally had won guarantees of safety from Mogadishu's combatants, enabling it to try yesterday to dock a relief ship carrying 800 tons of food and fuel.

The vessel has been unable to dock for more than two

weeks because of heavy shelling of the port, which is under Aidid's control.

Mr Greg Tavernier, of the ICRC office in Nairobi, said the Red Cross today would send another boat carrying about 800 tons of food, fuel and medical supplies to Mogadishu's north, which is Ali Mahdi's stronghold.

The ICRC, Doctors Without Borders, Save the Children, and the International Medical Corps, throughout the conflict have been helping doctors working in Mogadishu's hospitals, which are all in areas under Aidid's control.

## Makeshift clinics

Last week, the ICRC also sent a medical team to the city's north to aid the thousands of wounded there who either have sought treatment at makeshift clinics established in homes or not at all.

Tavernier said that with the supplies they aim to bring in by boat, the ICRC would try to establish a hospital in a jail that was built by former president Mohamed Siad Barre before he was ousted in January.

The United Somali Congress drove Siad Barre from power after a month of heavy fighting in Mogadishu.

Ali Mahdi was named president soon after Mr Siad Barre's fall while Aidid in June won the United Somali Congress chairmanship, a post he had long sought.

Although both men belong to the same party, they are from different subgroups of the large, central Hawiye clan from which the United Somali Congress draws its strength, and seek to oust each other from power.

- Sapa-AP.

\* See picture page 12.

# Lesson in African hand

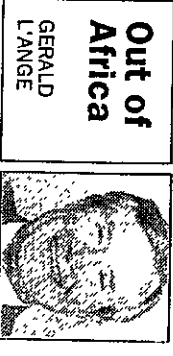
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10/12/91  
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**T**HANK goodness magazines have grown tired of publishing cartoons about black cannibals in Africa, with bones through their noses, stewing white missionaries in big pots.

Even though nobody took them very seriously, these cartoons tended to contribute to the false stereotypes about Africa that abounded for many years in the Western world, of which white South Africa was a part until very recently.

The fact that there was no evidence of cannibalism having been practised in Africa made no difference. You don't spoil a good cartoon over a minor detail like that.

But while the false stereotypes are vanishing, not much real knowledge is replacing them. Few South Africans, for instance, know much about customs, traditions and practices elsewhere in Africa. Now that Africa is being re-



**Out of Africa**  
GERALD LANGE

opened to them with the demise of apartheid, South African businessmen and tourists may begin travelling widely in it. And they could do worse than to bone up on local customs before they set out.

(They might even find similarities with customs of black South Africans — assuming that they had any knowledge of those, which is rather unlikely.)

For the businessman, this kind of knowledge could make the difference between concluding a deal and going home empty-handed, according to what I am told by that veteran traveller in Africa, Al J Venter.

Shaking hands is a very important part of social contact in West

Africa, as in much of the rest of the continent, he found. Some Africans shake hands with each other several times a day if they happen to meet several times that day.

Yet many West Africans, while they are quite ready to shake hands with a white person, seem reluctant to initiate the handshake, says Al. He sees this as a lingering vestige of the old colonial relationship under which white people did not physically touch black people.

There is another side to it, he was told (emphasising that he did not learn it through personal experience), and this is that Nigerian prostitutes are reluctant to kiss white men because they think their white skins denote illness. Other physical contact is acceptable — they could hardly do business without it, could they? — but mouth-to-mouth stuff is out.

Al says he found that "once I had initiated a hand-shaking rela-

tionship with someone — and theonus to do so was on me, most times — the ice would be broken to the extent that the person felt free to offer his or her opinions or suggestions. In other words, many West Africans would often not address me personally or confidently until they were actually shaking my hand."

In West Africa, Al encountered much of the mutual hand-slapping gesture that black Americans use to show appreciation of a joke (so that's where it comes from).

"A grasping of hands or a repeated slapping is a sign of a very good joke. Enjoy the occasion; it's meant to be savoured," he says.

"I think that this physical communication is one of many customs that we in Africa often fail to set proper store by, and we should if we are to make any kind of advance in black societies to the north."

Al recalls several times seeing

a West African man shaking hands with a white man. The West African man was shaking the white man's hand very firmly. The white man was shaking the West African man's hand very lightly. The white man was shaking the West African man's hand very firmly. The white man was shaking the West African man's hand very lightly.



Once a sailor . . . always displays his war medals at ship, the ill-fated battle cr

## Disaste the crui

# Counting the cost in blood

**Africa must decide on its push to freedom**

ABIDJAN - The coming year looks like decision time in Africa - a time when impoverished peoples will decide whether their push towards democracy has been worth the high cost in blood and tears.

The reform movement sweeping the continent is being urged on from a safe distance by rich countries seen by many in Africa as freer with moralising advice than with help in cash or kind.

The process has churned up the political landscape from Mauritania to Mozambique and no clear picture of the future has yet emerged.

Never has Africa been more blighted by civil wars, insurrections and inter-ethnic hostility than since the wind of democratic change started blowing hard in 1990.

The end of fossilised and autocratic regimes - seven presidents fell from power this year, four through the ballot box and three at gunpoint - has left a vacuum which inexperienced opposition parties are struggling to fill.

Like the Soviet republics voting for independence, a growing number of Africans corralled in the same nation by colonial rulers are concluding that dictatorship was the only glue that held them together.

Somalia split into two countries after President Mohamed Siad Barre's downfall. Eritrea has only just stopped short of declaring independence from an Ethiopia rid of Marxist military ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam.

From one end of Africa to the other, tribes spanning colonial frontiers are taking up arms to try to forge new states.

The Afaris are doing it in the East, dyeing bits of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia. The Tuareg nomads are waging a war across Mali and Niger inspired by the dream of an Azawad homeland carved out of the Sahara desert. Liberia and Sudan are effectively partitioned, more or less on ethnic lines.

African intellectuals who dislike the term tribalism often remark that Yugoslavia is undergoing an identical trauma even if Europeans prefer the term "nationalism".

The slow redrawing of the map of Africa is a blow to the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) who voted to keep colonial borders for better or worse.

But the OAU is in no shape to arrest the process. Crippled by lack of funds and the wars raging between

*Southern*

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member states, the pan-African body played no meaningful mediator's role in any of the political or military crises of 1991.

The once-great powers who provided the money and arms to maintain strong or dictatorial regimes in place are turning their gaze from Africa to Europe and the Pacific.

The former Soviet Union no longer has clients on the continent, virtually ending the United States' strategic interests.

The end of superpower rivalry helped bring Angola's civil war to a close and pave the way for elections in 1992.

But Somalia's example showed that the departure of Cold War gladiators is no guarantee of peace.

Clan fighting in Mogadishu had claimed at least 1 000 lives by early December.

### Authoritarian

Britain closed at least three embassies in Africa in 1991. France, after pushing its former colonies to democratisation, balked at the cost of shoring up elected governments who found the coffers were empty.

After three decades of rushing troops to prop up its authoritarian African allies, France refused to intervene militarily in December to defend Togo's fledgling democracy.

Benin's president Nicephore Soglo was one of several African leaders who complained about being left in the lurch by Paris during this year's summit of French-speaking nations.

Soglo and Zambia's new president Frederick Chiluba were the heroes of 1991, ousting long-serving incumbents in the first of a series of free multi-party elections which will become a torrent in 1992.

Chiluba summed up the problems facing the new democrats in Africa.

"We are in a very grave situation... I must inform you that the cupboard is bare. Even the crumbs are few," he said in his first speech as president to the Zambian parliament.

With sub-Saharan Africa's debt at R700 billion economists say more money is still flowing out of the continent than into it.

Nigeria's R83 billion foreign debt is the biggest threat to its hopes of restoring civilian rule at the end of 1992, according to presidential aspirant Mr Olu Falae. - *Sapa-Reuters*

# AIDS:

## Africa's real enemy

AFRICA's biggest catastrophe in the 1990s – worse than war, famine or economic chaos – is likely to be the spread of Aids.

Despite widespread attention to Aids in the United States and Europe, health experts and scientists around the world agree that sub-Saharan Africa's problem is of far greater magnitude.

Some warn that it could change the very fabric of African society, negating efforts at economic development.

The World Health Organisation estimates that some six million adults in Africa are infected with the HIV virus, out of 10 million worldwide.

In some African countries, one in 10 adults is infected, and so many people have died from Aids that it has wiped out recent progress in reducing mortality rates from other diseases.

It looks set to reverse population trends – something that war, famine and pestilence have not done.

These disastrous facts and figures lend special urgency to the Sixth International Conference on Aids in Africa, to be held in Dakar, Senegal, next week. About 1 500 delegates will grapple with the question of

■ More of a threat than war or famine

■ Forgotten people in the chase for a cure

how to stop a disease that has no cure.

World Bank economist Jill Armstrong echoed the concerns of many development groups in a recent report on finance and development in Africa.

She said the Aids epidemic "threatens to alter dramatically the economic and social fabric of many societies, raising serious questions about the development process itself".

No part of a country's economy was safe from Aids, she said. In agriculture, for example, productivity would drop along with shortages of healthy adults able to work on the land.

Another recent study of the impact of Aids on Africa, published by a team of British researchers, predicted that in a

few decades some areas of Africa will for the first time show a net population loss rather than a gain. The report estimated that the number of Africans infected will double in three to five years.

The African Aids conference is unlikely to attract the same international press attention as the annual International Aids Conference, of which there have been seven so far.

African health officials and researchers frequently complain that the Third World is virtually ignored at the "main event" meetings, where Western scientists eagerly report on treatments under development that might work, at a cost of up to R255 000 a patient.

Such solutions are wildly unrealistic for Africa, where some

countries have a total health budget of just R10,50 a person.

The pattern of Aids in Africa differs from the developed countries in two key respects. The disease is contracted primarily by heterosexual sex rather than through homosexual sex or drug use, and the prevalent HIV virus has a different structure from strains found in the West.

Africa is afflicted not only by the HIV-1 virus but also by another strain, harder to diagnose, called HIV-2.

The HIV-2 strain is now beginning to show up in industrialised Western countries, where no Aids blood tests in regular use screen for it.

Scientists at the African conference will also highlight research into vaccines under development that are specifically targeted for the Third World, an area virtually ignored at the International Aids Conference in Florence last July.

African officials are concerned that drug companies are ignoring research into medications that could work in Africa because governments there have no money to pay for them, no refrigeration in many areas to store them and even a shortage of needles to administer them. Sapa-Reuter

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CIP/MS  
15/12/91



# Quicker relief urged for Third-World debt

STAR 11/12/91

WASHINGTON — The World Bank has warned that the \$1.3 trillion Third World debt problem is far from over and urges rich nations to move quickly to forgive more developing-country debt.

"The debt burdens of a large number of the poorer countries remain unsustainably high," the Bank says in its annual review of developing-nation debt.

While the level of Third World debt has held roughly unchanged over the last year, that figure masks a steep rise in the obligations of the world's poorest countries, it says.

Some middle-income debtor nations, particularly those in Latin America, have been able to take advantage of the so-called Brady initiative to reduce their foreign debt.

"Those that have come to the party have had a very good time," World Bank chief economist Lawrence Summers told a news conference on Sunday.

"The problem is that so far it hasn't been a

very large party."

The initiative, unveiled some three years ago by US Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, only applies to debt owed to international creditor banks, not to rich nation governments.

Poorer countries, particularly those in Africa, owe most of their money to governments, not to banks.

Britain is pushing ahead with a plan — the Trinidad terms — that would effectively allow poor nations to reduce their official debt to foreign governments by about two-thirds.

The World Bank says that plan will offer many poorer countries a realistic chance of being able to service their remaining debts and enjoy better economic times.

But a few nations, including Mozambique, Somalia and Sudan, require even more relief, it says.

Although the US backs the plan in principle, it has been hamstrung from joining in by legislative guidelines set down to contain its burgeoning budget deficit.

Washington, though,

was able to lead the drive this year to halve the official debt of two lower middle-income countries, Egypt and Poland, rewarding one for its co-operation in the Gulf War and the other for its embrace of democracy.

The World Bank urges that other such countries with big official debts, including Morocco, Nicaragua and the Philippines, be given a chance to obtain comparable relief.

It says that the near-term outlook for developing countries hinges largely on the economic performance of the industrial world next year.

"The consensus view is that major economies will show a weak recovery in output in 1992," the Bank says.

"But the preponderance of the risk now appears to be on the downside."

It says that all indebted developing countries will probably have to live with high real interest rates in the coming decade because of competing demands for funds from the Gulf, the Soviet

Union and Eastern Europe, including the former East Germany.

It estimates that the extra demand from those areas will amount to about \$100 billion per year.

All other things being equal, that means real international interest rates, after taking account of inflation, will need to be about one percentage point higher than otherwise.

But the World Bank does not expect those extra demands to crowd out developing countries and prevent them from raising funds, unless they are barely creditworthy.

Mr Summers said the problem was not so much the overall quantity of money available for investment in the 1990s, but its allocation.

Too much money during the 1980s was used to build office buildings in the world's richest nations, and not enough went to the construction of factories in developing countries where the population was growing the fastest, he said.— Sapa-Reuter.



## Six million African adults infected

# Aids catastrophe

**LONDON - Africa's biggest catastrophe in the 1990s - worse than war, famine or economic chaos - is likely to be the spread of Aids.**

Despite massive attention to Aids in the United States and Europe, health experts and scientists around the world agree that sub-Saharan Africa's problem is of far greater magnitude.

Some warn that it could change the very fabric of African society, negating efforts at economic development.

The World Health Organisation estimates that some six million adults in Africa are infected with the Aids-causing HIV virus, out of eight to 10 million worldwide.

In some African countries, one in 10 adults are infected, and so many people have died from Aids (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome)

that it has wiped out recent progress in reducing mortality rates from other diseases.

It looks set to reverse population trends - something that war, famine and pestilence have not done.

These disastrous facts and figures lend special urgency to the Sixth International Conference on Aids in Africa, to be held in Dakar, Senegal, next week. Some 1 500 delegates will grapple with how to stop a disease that has no cure, no vaccine.

World Bank economist Ms Jill Armstrong echoed the concerns of many development groups in a recent report on finance and development in Africa.

She said the Aids epidemic "threatens to alter dramatically the economic and social fabric of many societies, raising serious questions about the development process itself."

No part of a country's economy was safe from Aids, she said.

In agriculture, for example, productivity would drop off along with shortages of healthy adults able to work the land.

Another recent study of the impact of Aids on Africa, published by a team of British researchers, predicted that in a few decades some areas of Africa will for the first time show a net population loss rather than a gain. The report estimated that the number of Africans infected will double in three to five years.

### Attention

The African Aids conference is unlikely to attract the same international Press attention as the annual International Aids Conference, of which there have been seven so far.

African health officials and researchers frequently

complain that the Third World is virtually ignored at the "main event" meetings, where Western scientists eagerly report on treatments under development that might work, at a cost of up to R210 000 dollars a patient.

Such solutions are wildly unrealistic for Africa, where some countries have a total health budget for all diseases of just R10 a person.

The pattern of Aids in Africa differs from the developed countries in two key respects. The disease is contracted primarily by heterosexual sex rather than through homosexual sex or drug use, and the prevalent HIV virus has a different structure from strains found in the West.

Africa is afflicted not only by the HIV-1 virus but also by another strain, harder to diagnose, called HIV-2.

The HIV-2 strain is now beginning to show up

in industrialised Western countries, where no Aids blood tests in regular use screen for it.

Scientists at the African conference will also highlight research into vaccines under development that are specifically targeted for the Third World, an area virtually ignored at the International Aids Conference in Florence last July.

There, American researchers said that all strains of the virus under study for potential vaccines were from the West, so that any drug developed to stop them would not work in Africa.

African officials are concerned that drug companies are ignoring research into medications that could work in Africa because governments there have no money to pay for them, no refrigeration in many areas to store them and even a shortage of needles to administer them. - Sapa-Reuter.

Sowetan 17/12/91



A new mood of optimism is sweeping Addis Ababa

# Peace dawns on broken Ethiopia

STAR 17/12/71

**F**OR the first time in a long while Ethiopians are able to talk without looking over their shoulders, groups meet publicly without harassment and political parties are being formed.

In a report on the changes in the country since the flight of strongman Mengistu Haile Mariam to Zimbabwe in May this year, expert and writer on the country Paul Henze says Ethiopians are rejoicing in peace, a new feeling of freedom and anticipation of real democracy.

"Change in mood from sullen depression to optimism about the future is everywhere apparent," Mr Henze says.

"Political exiles, who until a few weeks ago would have been jailed on arrival in the country, meet in full freedom and host cocktails at major hotels. Ethiopians can now get passports on demand without having to pay bribes."

Mr Mengistu fled Ethiopia in May this year as EPRDF guerrillas closed in on the capital, Addis

Ababa. The guerilla leader Meles Zenawi is now Ethiopia's interim president. Mr Mengistu is living on a ranch outside Harare in Zimbabwe.

In his report for the Anglo-Ethiopian Society, which he compiled after a five-week tour of the country, Mr Henze says Mr Mengistu's fall has also liberated the media.

"Writers are planning new newspapers and magazines. President Meles has held long discussion sessions with critical intellectuals on prime-time evening TV."

Leaders of the EPRDF have committed themselves to establishing a multiparty democracy within two years, to an open society with a free press, to a free market economy, to respect for human rights, and the rule of law with equal status for all peoples of the country.

This is an about-face by a guerilla movement, which when it was fighting in the bush, called Mikhail Gorbachev a dangerous revisionist and expressed its ad-

miration for the Stalinists then ruling Albania.

Mr Henze, who was first secretary at the US embassy in Addis Ababa in the early '70s, says there is a palpable sense of relief throughout the country at the changes that have taken place since Mr Mengistu's flight.

People, he says, were pleasantly surprised at the considerate behaviour of the young guerrillas who have been maintaining security in the cities.

"Everyone talks of the enormous sense of relief at being in peace and being able to plan for the future. Young men no longer fear the draft.

"Rains have been abundant so far this season. Farmers are ploughing and planting with confidence, traders are expanding their activities, and prospects for a good harvest seem excellent.

"International relief operations have greatly eased the threat of famine in food-deficiency areas. Churches are full, as are

mosques."

Mr Henze says political and security conditions in some border regions remain unsettled, but the trend everywhere is towards consolidation of peace, opening of roads, resumption of domestic telephone, postal and air services, and the re-establishment of secure conditions of life and trade.

But Ethiopia still faces serious problems. Unemployment is very high and is expected to rise even higher as overstuffed nationalised industries are either closed down or privatised.

The new government faces formidable problems in restoring elementary medical supplies and other essential services. More than 70 percent of the national budget has gone into military operations and as a result the country is now broke.

When the new leaders took over the government in June, they found a mere \$3.6 million — an average of 15c per person — in the state coffers. — Star Africa Service. □

# Trials, tribulations of restless continent

STAR 17/12/91

①

**F**AR REMOVED from the gaze of an indifferent world, Africa is still a continent of struggle.

The number of people killed in Mogadishu, the capital of what was once Somalia, is reported to have climbed to 2 000 in an inter-clan war which has raged between subgroups of the Hawiye clan for three weeks — the third bout of fighting since President Siad Barre was overthrown in January.

Red Cross workers say most casualties are civilians, caught in crossfire or attacked by bandits.

The Red Cross says food is running out but the hundreds of thousands of people who have fled the shattered city face more banditry, hunger and thirst in waterless scrubland around the capital.

In northern Somalia, however, renamed Somaliland when it declared independence in May, there is relative peace and optimism but, without international recognition, the new state will not obtain sufficient aid to rebuild its ruined infrastructure.

In west Africa, Liberia still hangs in the balance. It imploded in killing and looting last year but order has returned to the capital, Monrovia, which is now under the control of the west Afri-

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**The troubled nation states of Africa are undergoing momentous change, writes RICHARD DOWDEN.**

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can peacekeeping force, Ecomog.

Following a peace agreement signed on October 30, its troops are now deploying throughout the rest of the country to disarm fighters from Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia.

Elections are supposed to be held within six months, but most observers estimate the timetable is unrealistically short. Meanwhile, the war has spilt over into neighbouring Sierra Leone, forcing hundreds of civilians to flee.

Togo, one of the first countries to introduce democracy through a national convention, is still not free from the threat of military rule.

The prime minister appointed by the convention, Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, was recently seized by soldiers and forced to agree to a new government including members of the corrupt old regime of President Gnassingbe Eyad Ema.

However, at the weekend the people of the capital, Lome, who have

driven the military back to their barracks twice this year, demonstrated against the deal forced on Mr Koffigoh and called for a general strike.

To emphasise there is no inevitability in African politics, Kenya has been pulled back from the brink since President Daniel arap Moi ended one-party rule.

The opening up of politics in Kenya has split the opposition movement, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, which fought under the multiparty democracy banner.

The May peace agreement which brought nearly 25 years of war in Angola to an end appears to be holding, and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi has accepted the government's date of September 25 1992 for elections.

As if to contradict the popular belief that democracy is new to Africa, Botswana recently celebrated 25 years of independence and multiparty democracy. And in the Gambia, another country which has an open political system and elections, Sir Dawda Jawara, who has led the country since independence, has announced he will not be seeking re-election when his term of office runs out in April. — The Independent News Service. □

# SA links with Africa 'regular'

PRETORIA — Open and regular contact between SA and other African states was increasingly taking place, said newly appointed Deputy Foreign Minister Renier Schoeman.

In the first 11 months of the year 70 official delegations from African states other than the SADCC countries visited SA, he said.

Schoeman said this process would be continued and intensified next year.

Government was eager to meet all other govern-

**GERALD REILLY**

ments in the region in a co-operation and development forum aimed at drawing up a comprehensive and structurally sound masterplan.

Schoeman said SA should place special emphasis on developing interdependence with other countries in the region rather than a one-sided dependence.

SA's credibility on the continent had risen to an unprecedented level.

In the past two or three

years trade growth with the rest of the continent had increased by between 20% and 25%.

"Against this background there is no doubt the scene is set for our trade to expand even further, both in volume and in the variety of destinations" he said.

The future lay firmly in consolidating regional economic interests and the World Bank had pointed out that a stable SA would be a great regional asset.

Schoeman said there was growing realisation in Africa that a vital element was missing in certain regional structures.

He referred to comments by Tanzanian Prime Minister John Malecela, who said the SADCC had failed in its original purpose in that it had neither reduced economic dependence on SA, nor created regional economic integration.

STAG 18/2/91

## Ghana 'silencing critics' ①

LONDON — Ghana's government has been using imprisonment to silence its critics and political opponents since it took power 10 years ago, Amnesty International says. The human rights group says in a report: "The threat of the death penalty and arbitrary detention are violations of human rights and should be ended."

## Aids strain that does not show up in tests

STAR 19/12/91

**A**N INTERNATIONAL conference on Aids in Africa starting in Dakar on Monday will focus on HIV-2, a strain of the virus sweeping the Third World that resists drugs and does not show up on screening tests.

In Europe and North America, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome is almost exclusively caused by the HIV-1 virus, passed through the bloodstream either by sexual contact, blood transfusions or infected needles.

But in parts of Africa, HIV-2 is just as widespread. The virus is transmitted in the same way as HIV-1, but has not yet shown up in the West, for reasons that are not yet clear.

However, health officials in the US are beginning to warn that the new strain may emerge as a Western problem as cases of Aids victims infected by it are beginning to be reported.

Because Aids is primarily a heterosexual disease in Africa, rather than homosexual as in the West, scientists wonder if the structure of the second virus allows it to be passed on more easily through heterosexual contact.

### Ineffective

Although HIV-2 destroys the body's immune system in the same way as HIV-1, it has a very different structure, and consequently most of the drugs and vaccines under development are ineffective against it, scientists said.

Routine Aids tests used to screen blood supplies in the West are only designed to pick up the presence of HIV-1, so if HIV-2 does spread there could be untold numbers of victims before it could be detected, scientists say.

For Africa, the lack of research into HIV-2 could spell disaster, since no effective vaccine is being developed.

Sub-Saharan Africa has been harder hit by Aids than any other region in the world, and predictions are mounting that the disease could reverse population trends and wipe out hard-won economic progress.

The World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates that 6 million adults in Africa are infected with either HIV-1 or 2 out of a total of 8 million to 10 million victims worldwide.

By 1995, WHO predicts that 10 million will be infected in Africa alone.

The Sixth International Conference on Aids in Africa will be chaired by Professor Souleymane Mboup of Senegal, credited with discovering HIV-2.

### Deadly

The four-day meeting, attended by 1500 delegates, will also focus on the deadly combination, endemic to Africa, of Aids and other sexually transmitted diseases.

The vast majority of African Aids victims also suffer from such venereal diseases as syphilis and gonorrhoea, and researchers are trying to understand the role each plays in the spread of the other.

The Africa Aids meeting will also address the difficult problem of designing preventive programmes in countries where up to 80 percent of the population is illiterate and religious taboos often prohibit open discussions of sexual behaviour.

A recent editorial in Nairobi's Sunday Times summed up common attitudes in Africa.

"Unfortunately, some people are still taking it as some kind of sick joke, a hoax being played on them by the gods, and have been going on blithely ignoring all warnings about casual and irresponsible sex."

SAPA-REUTER

# BUSINESS

## Pretoria details African trade



THE Government has released details of its trade relations with the rest of Africa disclosing business links with nearly every country despite the sanctions campaign.

The figures are the first released since 1985 when publication of trade figures with individual countries was stopped because of the sanctions campaign.

Zimbabwe is by far the largest trading partner, accounting for 31 percent of the trade in the continent.

After Zimbabwe, Zambia is South Africa's largest trading partner on the continent, followed by Mozambique, Zaire and Malawi, all SADCC countries.

The five biggest exporters to South Africa were Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ivory Coast, Mozambique and Zaire.

The five biggest importers were Zimbabwe, Zambia, Zaire, Mozambique and Malawi.

Exports to Africa grew by 40 percent in 1989 and by 22 percent last year. - *Financial Times*

Connie Nkosi notched up another first when she joined the all-male management team of the South African Rail Commuter Corporation. Appointed as corporate communications manager, she took up her post on December 2. Connie was the first black woman to receive her MBA from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1982. During her five years as manager of SA Perm in Soweto from 1985 to 1990, she became the first recipient of the Kellogg's Black management Forum's Excellence in Achievement Award during 1987. In 1988 she took a management course at the Wharton School of Business in Philadelphia in the US.

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## African states snap up SA maize

PRETORIA — The demand for SA maize from other African countries had been overwhelming this year mainly because of drought, failed crops and the needs of exploding populations, Maize Board GM Henrie Davel said yesterday.

Total forex earnings from the latest season's 1,1-million-ton surplus from buyers in African countries as well as overseas are estimated at between R430m and R450m.

Of the 1,1-million tons, 384 000 tons were exported to African countries and 512 000 tons were shipped abroad — 89% to Japanese buyers. *511 Dec 1991*

In Africa consignments have been railed or will be railed to Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola.

The board also supplies maize to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland and TBVC states but they are regarded as part of the domestic marketing programme.

Davel said it was clear SA was becoming

GERALD REILLY

the bread basket of the southern half of the continent.

On the controversial Zimbabwe export deal Davel said the board would start railing 100 000 tons as soon as the money — R45m — was in the bank.

Earlier this week it was reported from Harare that the deal was threatened by Zimbabwe's forex shortage. However, Davel said he had been assured by the Zimbabwean Grain Marketing Board yesterday that payment would be made today.

He said some African countries had asked for options to buy bigger volumes — 200 000 tons are still available — but whether these could be granted would depend on the success of the 1991/1992 crop.

Davel said of the overseas buyers Japan's purchases were by far the largest.



# AIDS impact worst on developing countries

8/Day 20/12/91  
NINA SHAND

THE high incidence of AIDS and HIV infection could have dire economic consequences for developing countries — including many in Africa, says World Bank economist Jill Armstrong.

In a report compiled for the World Bank and the IMF, Armstrong says about 90% of the 30-million people who will have contracted the HIV virus by the year 2000 will be living in the developing world.

Presently there are an estimated 10-million people infected with the virus, 80% living in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

"The epidemic threatens to dramatically alter the economic and social fabric of many societies, raising questions about the development process itself," she says.

No sector of a country's economy is safe from AIDS.

Productivity in the agricultural sector may drop off in rural areas as the incidence of AIDS increases. Shortages of manpower may lower overall agricultural output in countries where production is labour-intensive.

On smallholder plots farm production may also fall as funds are diverted away from key farm inputs to medical expenses.

Armstrong says AIDS-related deaths are wiping out recent progress in reducing mortality rates. The health sector, while

struggling to improve general health conditions, is now also having to cope with a growing demand for hospitalisation, health personnel and drugs for AIDS patients.

School enrolment is likely to drop with many breadwinners falling ill and no longer being able to send children to school or needing them to do tasks that used to be done by parents. Up to 10-million children will have been orphaned by 2000 because of AIDS, says Armstrong.

"The extended families in parts of Africa are already beginning to feel the strain. Often the responsibility to feed, clothe, shelter and educate the children falls on elderly grandparents, with little means of financial or physical support."

In the event of the death of a male head of household, insurmountable problems may result due to local customs often prohibiting the transfer of land titles to anyone but a man.

"Without access to means of production, widows and children may be forced into petty theft or prostitution to support themselves," says Armstrong.

To lessen the economic impact of the epidemic, development strategies will need to take into account the effects of AIDS on people and the economy.

## 'Justice on wheels' on the expansion trail

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Another 24 mobile courts will be established throughout the country in the next four months

This was announced by Justice Deputy Minister Danie Schutte in Port Shepstone yesterday when he opened one of three mobile courts established recently to deal with unrest, traffic and other cases.

The other were at Tho-

koza and Vosloorus on the East Rand.

Schutte said he believed the mobile court or "justice on wheels" concept was the first in the world.

Apart from the setting up of the mobile courts, 80 other courts next to major routes had been placed on 24-hour standby to deal

with cases arising during the holiday season.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's Press secretary Werner Krull said there would be no short cuts in the mobile courts and accused people would not lose their right to a fair trial.

More than R1m had been spent on the initial three courts, he said.

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# New strain of Aids is found in Africa ①

DAKAR — A less virulent strain of Aids virus discovered in Africa appears to spread and kill victims more slowly, promising important clues in the search for a vaccination against the deadly disease, scientists say. ②

African researchers at the Sixth International Conference on Aids in Africa have complained the HIV-2 virus has been largely ignored by their Western counterparts because victims were Africans.

"The world has become too small for this. The same effort must be made for the treatment and vaccination of these two viruses," said Professor Souleymane Mboup, the Senegalese conference chairman who was on the team that discovered the African strain. 20/12/91

Americans and Africans working on the project said it could answer questions about the HIV-1 virus plaguing the West. Souleymane 20/12/91

"Because the HIV-2 virus has distinctive immunobiologic properties, vaccine development with this virus will also yield important information to help the development of an effective HIV-1 vaccine," Max Essex, chairman of the Harvard Aids Institute in Boston, told the conference that ended yesterday. - Sapa-AP.

# Aids will 'wipe out Africa's small elite'

Sowden 20/12/91

THE Aids epidemic sweeping Africa is thinning the already sparse ranks of the continent's elite - the skilled, educated people who keep countries running.

Scientists say the deadly disease could kill 20 percent of Africa's work force in the next five years and that a disproportionate number will be from the small pool of managers, civil servants, teachers and other skilled people.

Many African nations already are desperately short of skilled workers to keep their economies and vital services running.

The plague of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome could set those

countries back decades, scientists say.

"We need to know what the loss in nurses and doctors is going to mean in your countries, as well as educators and other professionals," Dr Michael Merson told a conference in Namibia.

## Behaviour

"We're talking about the loss of elites in the urban work force," said Merson, an official of the World Health Organisation's Aids programme.

Health workers say members of the urban elite are disproportionately affected by Aids for many reasons, including greater wealth, numerous sexual contacts and reluctance to change their behaviour.

It is common for African men with important positions or good jobs to have many sexual relationships as a demonstration of their wealth and standing, health workers say. Such men often have more than one wife, plus mistresses and frequent casual sex.

The elite, with their greater wealth, also hire prostitutes more often. Prostitutes are a common part of African life and health workers say they are major carriers of Aids.

Poor men are less likely to have numerous sexual relations and consequently less likely to contract and spread the Aids virus, the health officials said.

Elite Africans "are being hard hit by Aids because of their affluence," said Samuel Lewis of Kenya's Aids Control Programme.

## Succumbing

"They occupy the top positions and tend to use their seniority to coerce women, going from one to another."

Many people who should be leading the fight against Aids ignore it and are succumbing at a quicker rate than other groups, scientists say. No figures are available on how many skilled Africans have Aids.

Specialists in the disease say even some health workers in travelling Aids education programmes spread the virus because they refuse to use condoms and have many sexual contacts as they tour villages.

Many among the elite do not want to limit sexual contacts or acknowledge the danger of Aids, they say.

A study by the South African Institute of Race Relations said polls indicated many Africans regard Aids as a "white man's disease" and refuse to believe it threatens

them.

Many students, the next generation of skilled workers, see Aids as a white plot to reduce growth in the black population by promoting condoms, the study reported.

"The indirect costs of the epidemic - the loss of many valuable years of often highly trained labour - clearly depend in some measure on how the educated elites behave," said RW Johnson, a South African writer on Aids. Even to those who understand the threat, Aids does not seem so great a danger in a continent wracked by war, political chaos and famine, the specialists say.

## Persuade

"Given political unrest and poor socio-economic conditions, it is difficult to persuade people to alter their sexual behaviour - to prevent them acquiring a disease which initially has no symptoms, and from which they may not die for over a decade," said Robin Hamilton of the Institute of Race Relations.

Aids could claim 20 million lives in Africa by the year 2000 and account for 60 percent of the world's cases, the World Health Organisation projects. Doctors cite various reasons for the Aids plague, ranging from promiscuity to poor medical services.

In Africa Aids is primarily transmitted heterosexually and as many women are infected as men.

Pearl Nwashili, an Aids worker in Nigeria, said the disease could destroy the progress African nations have made in recent decades.

"All the development activities we have achieved so far will be wiped off with the loss of the bulk of the sexually active work force," she said. "How do we replace them?" - *Sapa-AP.*

## UN plan to cut Africa's debt

NEW YORK — The UN General Assembly on Wednesday approved a new 10-year programme to reduce Africa's staggering \$270bn foreign debt after the failure of its previous five-year plan to raise living standards on the continent. *B10 am 20/12/91* (2) (1)

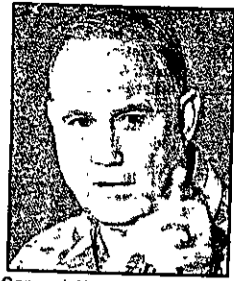
The new programme, approved unanimously, lists a series of political commitments between donor nations and developing countries and recommends an average growth of 6% a year for African economies.

The document commits wealthy nations to "bold and innovative" measures to increase aid and reduce debt as a commitment to a substantial reduction or removal of tariff and other barriers affecting African exports.

In return, developing countries commit themselves to promoting investments by the private sector, more democracy, a respect for human rights, and the development of farming, small trade, crafts and enterprise. — Sapa-Reuter. *B10 am 20/12/91*

## Aids will halt growth <sup>(1) Star</sup> <sub>2/11/2/91</sub>

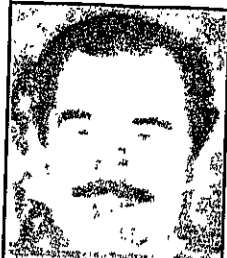
ABIDJAN — The Aids epidemic in Africa is threatening to reverse the continent's population growth, devastating economic development. Latest estimates suggest that adult infection rates will double to 14 million in the next five years. Already, 6 million people out of the 10 million infected worldwide are Africans. Nearly one million African children now carry the HIV virus received from their mothers. — Foreign News Service.



General Norman Schwarzkopf... victor in desert.



Flight-Lieutenant John Peters... shot down and beaten up in Iraq.



Saddam Hussein... defied world, still rules Iraq.



George Bush... successful abroad, but has lost popularity at home.



John Major... triumphed at Maastricht.



Mikhail Gorbachev... ousted, reinstated and now jobless.



Boris Yeltsin... now master of Russia.

# Year the rules changed

Dramatic changes to the world's political, economic and physical landscape in 1991 provide a sobering look at what could be in store.

FOR A world still euphoric at the end of the Cold War, 1991 provided a rude awakening and a frightening glimpse of what the future could hold: shifting borders, ethnic wars and a growing list of bankrupt new nations.

The Soviet Union collapsed, and with it the old certainties that had given a semblance of stability to world events for 45 years. No one was sure of the rules of the game in the "new world order" proclaimed by US President George Bush.

In the biggest war of a turbulent year, a US-led coalition drove Iraqi invasion forces out of Kuwait but left Iraq in turmoil.

Europe's worst conflict since World War 2 erupted in Yugoslavia, and chaos and anarchy spread in Africa.

It was not all gloom. Middle East peace talks finally spluttered into life, South Africa lurched uncertainly towards a black-white political settlement and the European Community took a major new stride towards economic and political union.

And, while the Western world ploughed through the trough of a recession, many Asian economies saw vigorous growth and Latin America showed signs of recovery after a "lost decade" of debt and hyper-inflation.

The year was dominated by the dramatic events unfolding in the Soviet Union. Its economy drifted out of control as power shifted from the centre to the 15 constituent republics, almost all of which declared themselves independent.

Matters came to a head on August 19, when eight communist conservatives, including the defence and interior ministers and KGB security police chief, deposed President Mikhail Gorbachev and announced they were taking over to stop the rot.

But the long-feared coup proved a damp squib. Disobeyed

by the army rank-and-file and denounced by Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, the plotters surrendered after three days.

Mr Gorbachev was reinstated, but the failed coup doomed his political career along with the Soviet Union itself. On December 8, Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia set up a new commonwealth of independent states and invited other Soviet republics to join.

Agreement was reached to transfer power at the end of the year from the old union to the commonwealth, but Mr Gorbachev, a man who arguably changed the course of 20th century history with his perestroika reforms, seemed to have no future role.

Questions looming over the former Soviet Union included: how the new countries would live together - Armenia and Azerbaijan were already virtually at war; who would pay the \$70 billion (R196 billion) Soviet foreign debt; and what would happen to the 30,000 Soviet nuclear weapons, spread across four republics?

This last question overshadowed the international arms control agenda, which had appeared to make a big advance with the signing of a US-Soviet strategic arms reduction treaty in July and further nuclear cuts promised by Washington and Moscow.

Only one thing appeared certain: all the ex-Soviet nations would be economic basket-cases, lining up with long-standing debtors from Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe for a share of the world's shrinking economic cake.

The decline and fall of the Soviet Union left the US as the world's sole undisputed superpower.

Washington flexed its military might by leading a 30-nation Western and Arab coalition into battle against Iraq.

Armed with a majority in the United Nations Security Council, Mr Bush declared that Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait and the threat it posed to the West's Gulf oil supply would not be tolerated.

The US deadline for Iraq to get out of Kuwait expired on January 15. Allied forces massed in Saudi Arabia then launched Operation Desert Storm, a devastating high-tech bombing campaign leading at the end of February to a short, sharp land offensive.

The Iraqis were bundled out of Kuwait, suffering tens of thousands of casualties and losing about half their army's weaponry. Allied losses totalled a few score of men.

But, sensitive to Arab feelings, Mr Bush stopped the war just inside Iraq. Overriding advice from some aides, he decided not to press on to Baghdad or seek to topple Iraqi President Saddam Hussein by force, preferring to rely on UN economic sanctions.

When Kurdish and Shiite Muslim rebels launched uprisings in northern and southern Iraq respectively, Saddam was free to use the remnants of his army to crush them.

Watched by Western TV cameras, some two million Kurdish refugees trailed into Turkey and Iran before Western governments intervened to protect them with "safe havens" in northern Iraq.

The messy situation in Iraq gave Washington a valuable lesson in the complexities of the post-Cold War world. "We're now past the euphoric stage of 'Isn't it great, our ideology prevailed'," one US official said.

Another warning signal came from Yugoslavia, where the federal structure left behind when communist President Tito died in 1980 had reached the point of disintegration a decade later.

On June 25, the republics of Croatia and Slovenia declared independence, sparking a civil war with the federal army and Serbian irregulars in which thousands have already died.

With no prospect of Soviet intervention, Washington saw little reason to get involved, leaving mediation efforts to the European Community and United Nations. Those efforts have so far led nowhere, and under German pressure the EC is now preparing to recognise Croatia and Slovenia by January 15.

The ferocity with which Serbs and Croats battled each other, driven on by memories of massacres decades ago, sent a chill message to other East European countries which had also seen a surge of ethnic passions after years of communist suppression.

Czechoslovakia is already threatened with breakup and ethnic troubles lurk in Romania and Bulgaria too.

The termination of the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact alliance at the end of June left the East Europeans without a security umbrella. The West's Nato, itself struggling to find a role in the new era, declined to admit them as members.

In all the East European states, the joy of overthrowing pro-Moscow communist rule in 1989 gave way to profound economic gloom as the switch from central planning to a free market system proved harder than even pessimists forecast. The region's economic output has slumped 17 percent in the past two years.

There were many parallels in Africa, where a wind of democratic change brought civil wars, insurrections and inter-ethnic hostility along with an end to fossilised and autocratic regimes.

Seven African presidents fell from power in 1991, four through the ballot box and three at gunpoint, and inexperienced opposition parties struggled to fill the gap.

Somalia split into two countries after President Mohamed Siad Barre was ousted in January, and Eritrea has only just stopped short of declaring independence from Ethiopia since Marxist military ruler Mengistu Haile Mariam fled in May.

South Africa moved towards the end of white minority rule, abolishing key pillars of apartheid and arranging talks on the transition to a non-racial society. It was rewarded by readmittance to world sport after decades of exclusion.

But hundreds of blacks died in political clashes during the year and fears grew of a violent backlash by diehard whites faced with the loss of their privileged position.

There was movement too on the Middle East dispute thanks to a vigorous diplomatic push by the United States in the aftermath of its Gulf War victory. Israel and its Arab neigh-

bours, including the Palestinians, gathered together for the first time in Madrid at the end of October for a ceremonial start to peace talks. But follow-up talks in Washington quickly bogged down in procedural wrangles.

Another long Middle Eastern saga, the ordeal of Western hostages in Lebanon, came close to an end in 1991. Nine of them were released by their Iranian kidnappers between August and December, leaving just two Germans in captivity.

Two long-standing Asian conflicts - in Cambodia and Afghanistan - saw breakthroughs during the year.

The Phnom Penh government signed an agreement with three guerrilla groups on October 23 to end 13 years of civil war, but doubts lingered over whether the dreaded Khmer Rouge function would respect a UN-monitored ceasefire and free elections.

The Soviet Union and the US agreed in September to end arms supplies to the Afghan government and rebels respectively from the end of the year.

Elsewhere in Asia, the ageing Chinese leadership, one of the world's last bastions of communism, saw out another year and partly recovered from the diplomatic isolation it suffered after bloody crushing pro-democracy demonstrators in 1989.

The world was shocked by the assassination of former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi by a suicide bomber in May. The act broke the Gandhi family's long stranglehold on power.

The global trend to disintegration and national separatism was bucked in Western Europe, where the 12 EC states agreed at a summit this month in the Dutch town of Maastricht to merge in time their currencies, their foreign policy and their labour laws.

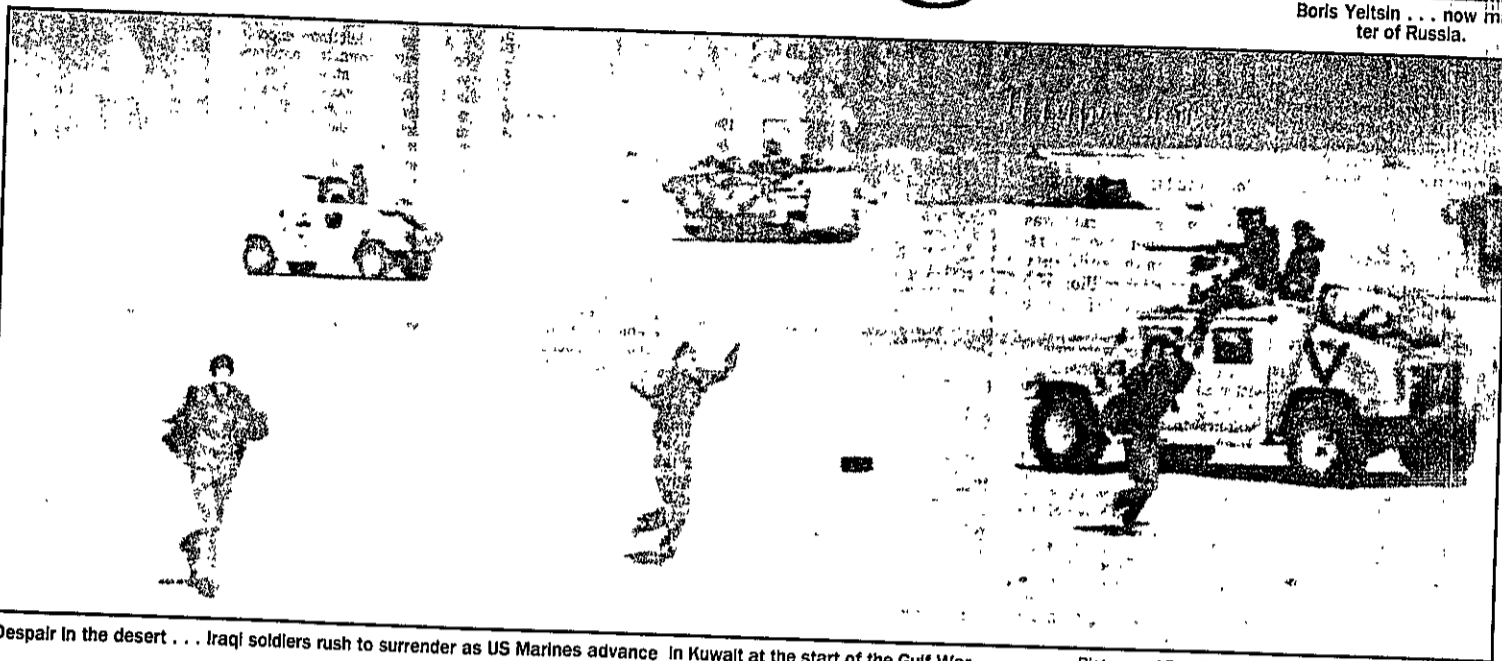
Britain, kicking and struggling against being dragged into a federal Europe, through Prime Minister John Major, reserved the right to "opt out" of the single currency and the social policy.

The crash of Briton Robert Maxwell's multi-billion rand media empire after the tycoon died at sea off the Canary Islands on November 5 seemed to symbolise the end of the getting 1980s.

Things were no better in the US, where the worst economic performance of any administration since the Great Depression of the 1930s - more than 900,000 jobs were lost during the year - threatened Mr Bush's re-election prospects in 1992.

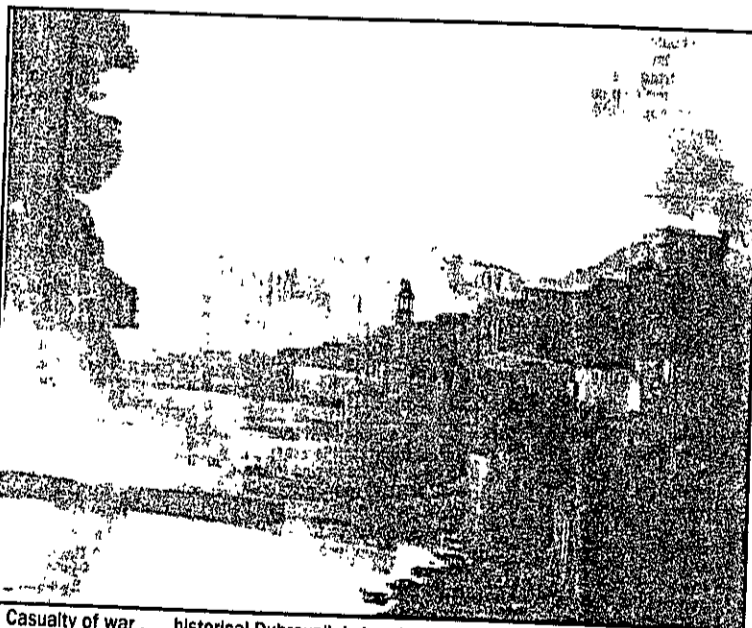
But economic chaos threatens in Africa where one adult in 40 has the HIV virus that causes Aids. The disease is forecast to kill 5 million or more adults in the next eight years and wipe out at least 25 percent of the continent's workforce by the year 2010.

As the environment increasingly forced its way onto the politicians' agenda, the United Nations scheduled a massive "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro next June, the goal of which will be nothing less than a treaty to save the world. - Sapa-Reuter. □



Despair in the desert... Iraqi soldiers rush to surrender as US Marines advance in Kuwait at the start of the Gulf War.

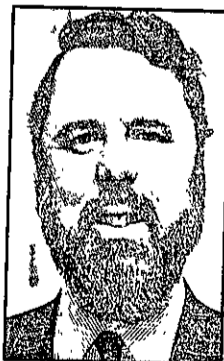
Pictures: AP, AFP, Reuter, Universal Pictorial Press



Casualty of war... historical Dubrovnik is bombarded by the Yugoslav federal army.



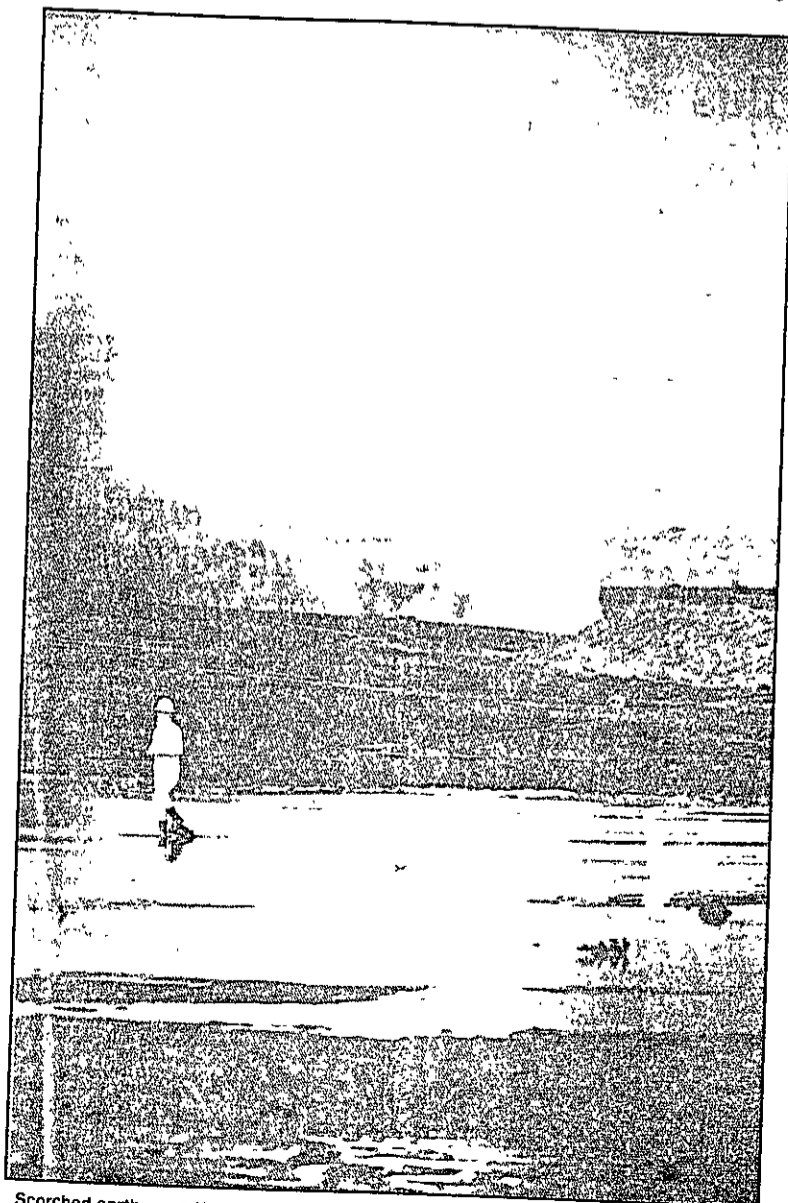
Rajiv Gandhi... assassinated, like his mother.



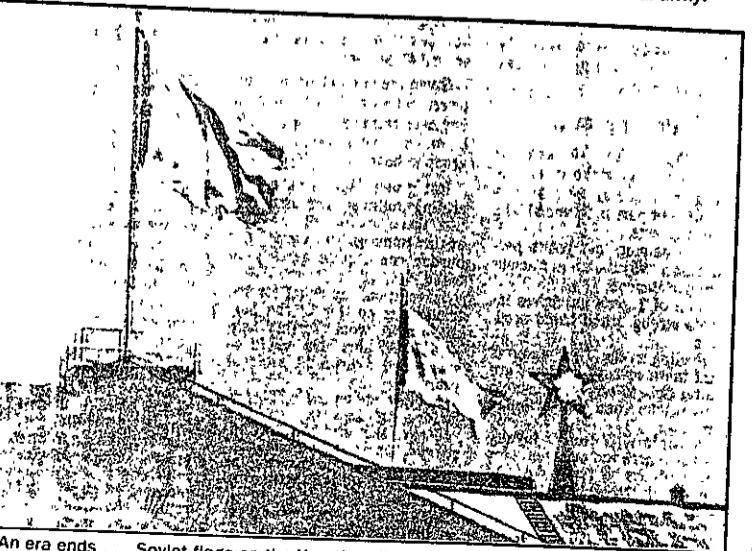
Terry Waite... British hostage released in Lebanon.



Robert Maxwell... tycoon who died mysteriously.



Scorched earth... a Kuwaiti oil well blazes, one of hundreds ignited by retreating Iraqis.



An era ends... Soviet flags on the Kremlin will soon be replaced by Russian flags.

**African Aids ignored**

Aids in Africa — which is the largest epidemic in the world — is being virtually ignored by international researchers, a new study at London's Royal Free Hospital claims.

STAR  
244/12/91



Dictators have fallen, but this is not a brave new world, writes

# New light on 'African

STAR 24/12/91

Richard Dowden  
**dawn**  
12/91

**I**N THE past 14 months 10 African countries have changed their leaders. Only two were overthrown by the traditional method of changing governments in Africa: the coup. Four have been voted out in multiparty elections — a breakthrough in African constitutional history. Three others succumbed to rebel movements after years of civil war. And in one case — Mali — the army took power in order to hand it to a constitutional assembly.

It has been seen as the "second liberation", freeing Africa from corrupt megalomaniacs, a second dawn bringing democracy and freedom; as in Eastern Europe, the tyrants will be replaced by parliamentary democracies presiding over freedom and prosperity. This is a deep misconception.

In Africa, there is no common pattern of political opposition or understanding about the sort of government the continent needs. The common factors are well known: the Soviet Union's withdrawal from Africa pulled the rug from under its allies and removed an alternative political model. The West no longer had to prop up tyrants just because they were anti-communist. Through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the West pushed for privatisation, free markets, floating currencies and other economic reforms. Realising these could not come about without political reform, Western donors began to write "good governance" on to the agenda.

The immediate effect of the structural-adjustment programmes was a sharp drop in living standards for urban Africans and a steep rise in the price of food, education and health care. The corruption and remoteness of the old leaders were the emetic in an already unpalatable dish of high prices, shortages and unemployment that the people had been forced to swallow. Perhaps the multiparty democracy movement in Africa is no more than an uprising against impoverishment.

If so, then the new leaders will

be no more successful than the old in dealing with it. The crunch will come for Frederick Chiluba, the new Zambian president, when he has to reward the electorate for putting him into power by raising the price of food, fuel and every other essential. The result could be rapid disillusionment — including for the financial institutions which may find that, after all, dictatorships can impose tough economic reforms more easily than democracies.

But even if its causes are primarily economic, the multiparty democracy bandwagon is, in the short term, as unstoppable as the independence movement of 30 years ago. In France's former colonies, governments were forced to legalise opposition parties and hold sovereign national conferences made up of politicians, lawyers, teachers and others. In Togo and Niger, conferences have rewritten the constitution and appointed new governments.

The former British colonies have been more pragmatic. Ghana and Nigeria have military governments that are pledged to bring back civilian government. President Museveni in Uganda retains a broad-based government but shows no sign of enduring an electoral test. Only Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia took the plunge and held an election. He announced he would accept its outcome and his victorious opponent has encouraged him to stay on as leader of the opposition — an important precedent for the continent.

But what happens next? Africa contains such a vast diversity of ethnic groups, social structures, languages and beliefs that it is impossible to generalise about a traditional African political or social system. Its ancient societies were squeezed artificially into nation states only 30 years ago.

The family, village, tribe and language groups are still vital components of African politics. The pre-colonial political systems — kingdoms in Uganda, Zambia and South Africa, nomadic clans in Somalia and Mali, tribal chief-

tainships in Ghana and Tanzania — were broken long ago, however. They are inappropriate for the modern world and no one looks to them as models for Africa's political development.

Where can Africa turn in the search for a new political order? Less than five years ago advocates of multiparty democracy were regarded as cranks or subversives. Africa's way was the one-party state. Such opposites as President Nyerere of Tanzania and the British high commissioner in Kenya could agree on that — national unity was best preserved by single-party government. Yet, in theory, democracy should be well suited to Africa. Most African societies are very open: talking, arguing, negotiating are all African talents. There has always been a contradiction between the God-like status the continent's leaders have assumed and the easy openness of its societies.

The first obstacle to building democracy, however, is that African countries are poor and likely to get poorer. The second is that the newly elected leaders are essentially technocrats, not decision-makers. Economic policy is no longer made by them. The World Bank and the IMF establish economic criteria, backed by Western and Japanese aid donors.

But even when African governments do sign up to these terms, they are still far from salvation. Despite statements by donors that they will reward free-market policies, aid flows to Africa have fallen in the past five years. And the promise of private investment as a natural product of economic reform is not being remotely fulfilled. Ghana, which implemented both World Bank and IMF policies with the masochistic fervour of a reformed sinner, has seen no flood of investment.

Aid is of secondary importance to trade, but should the new leaders look to their own resources, they would find that the prices paid for most of their commodities continues to fall. An assessment by the Overseas Develop-

ment Institute predicts that Africa will benefit least from the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gat), far behind Asia and Latin America.

Even without the economic problems, there is still a question mark over the appropriateness of multiparty democracy to Africa. Advocates of the one-party state used to point out that religious, linguistic, ethnic, regional and tribal differences in African states were so great that parties would split down these lines and break up the new states. Nothing has changed to alter this argument.

Stephen Riley, author of "The Democratic Transition in Africa", says: "The most serious political threats to the new African democracies will come from the military, and from ethnic conflict and sectarianism... in the '60s, the African solution for ethnic conflict was the supposedly unifying effects of single-party regimes. Freer, pluralistic politics will mean that ethnic divisions come to the fore with potentially divisive and destructive effects."

An even gloomier view — in the "short" term — was taken by African intellectuals at a seminar in Kenya earlier this year. Asked to write a history of Africa from the perspective of 2057, they prophesied "a bitter and continuing history of failure to institutionalise the democratic process while overbureaucratising government". They also predicted "delinkage from the rest of the world "by default", through the failure of Africa to pay its debts, an absence of new investment and the lack of a market for Africa's traditional goods.

There are many grounds for pessimism. Liberia and Somalia have already hit the buffers. Zaire seems to be going the same way. But there are also models of hope: in Zambia, and Benin, dictators have given way to democracy and conceded defeat in elections. Kenya seems to be moving down the same route. Which way will the rest of Africa go? — The Independent News Service. □



Aid guru says development funds should play a subsidiary role, reports Michael Chester

# Crucial tips from Africa's ruins

STAR 24/12/91



**A**S THE seasoned director of the Africa Institute, Dr Erich Leistner has watched a new dawn break over dozens of countries on the continent as old political regimes have crumbled in recent years. And he has heard all the promises that were pledged about a brave new economic era.

In turn, with growing dismay, he has also watched as many of the dreams have faded into disillusion — with billions of rands in development funds wasted or squandered.

Now that South Africa stands on the brink of its own new dawn, Dr Leistner hopes its political and economic architects will heed the lessons that have had to be learnt the hard way elsewhere on the continent before they set the seal on development priorities.

He spells out the advice on caution in a special article in the current edition of "Developer", a publication of the Kwazulu Finance and Investment Corporation, which examines the entire role of foreign funds in economic development.

South Africa, he believes, should draw its fundamental lessons

from experience across its borders in sub-Saharan Africa. He delivers the sharp reminder that the whole region, despite a multi-billion-rand cascade of funds from overseas, is now littered with what he calls "development ruins".

All in all, no less than \$100 billion (about R275,000 million) in international aid was ploughed into the region during the 1980s.

Yet, when no fewer than 1 000 World Bank aid schemes came under review, it was revealed that 51 percent of all agricultural projects launched in East Africa had ended in failure. In West Africa, the failure rate was little better at almost one third.

The scarcity of success reports makes the Africa Institute suspect the casualty list may be even longer.

"The blatant failure of countless projects has dampened the almost universal optimism that characterised aid-giving in the 50s and 60s," writes Dr Leistner. "But even though many serious and well-qualified analysts have long been deeply sceptical of aid, or even condemned it outright,

powerful influences have ensured an ongoing flow of funds and experts into the less developed countries."

Often, the motives were not hard to find.

As long as the superpowers rati-fied their sabres in the Cold War, for instance, Africa was deemed to hold a strategic significance — and Western aid found it convenient to ignore tyrannical regimes, disdain of human rights and ruinous economic policies.

However, with the Cold War over and countries of the fractured Soviet Bloc now crying out for funds, Dr Leistner finds donor nations and agencies have become far more critical of Africa's performance. Western aid, he notes, is now increasingly subject to strict conditions that demand evidence of democratic political systems, observance of human rights — and market-oriented economic policies.

It still leaves Dr Leistner often wondering about the basic motives behind a lot of aid programmes. Does the donor country think first about its own national interest and ask whether aid will

promote its exports? Will it enhance the donor's international influence somehow? Will it sustain a particular politician or political party in power?

He believes such displays of self-interest by donors run the risk of back-firing and weakening rather than strengthening the receiving country's development potential. It may easily turn investment and spending in the wrong direction — for instance, tying aid to capital equipment or services the donor is anxious to export, even though such imports may be totally unsuited to local circumstances.

In another example, aid in the form of food shipments may reduce the donor country's surpluses — but accustom whole populations to exotic foodstuffs and in the end undermine the local food producers by turning traditional staple diets upside down.

A sure way to guarantee the failure of a sophisticated industrial project may be to insist on technical and administrative standards that prove beyond the ability of local manpower to handle. Also, many donors, as well as

recipients, tend to prefer glamorous capital projects that can be opened with lots of fanfare and publicity.

In turn, many of the schemes may fail because no provision has been made for high running costs and maintenance.

All in all, the Africa Institute has found the primary and most intractable reason for poorly-designed aid programmes has been ignorance and misjudgment about social, political and other basic conditions in recipient countries.

"The conclusion is inescapable," writes Dr Leistner, "that people's attitudes and skills are vastly more important in bringing about economic development than are natural and financial resources — though an inflow of resources from outside can facilitate and speed up a development process once it is in train."

He lists three specific lessons that have been learned:

- Throwing money at underdeveloped problems merely causes social disruption — unless recipients are able and willing to use the cash constructively.
- The impact of aid on develop-

ment is by no means proportional to the amount of cash flowing in.

● Foreign aid is not a pre-condition for economic progress or the elimination of poverty.

"Experience in Africa," he adds, "has shown that foreign aid is apt to promote incompetent and corrupt government and social disruption rather than economic development."

"Outsiders genuinely seeking to improve the living conditions of less-privileged people must go about this with empathy and modesty. Financial aid should play only a subsidiary role.

"Since South Africa's policy for the development of its less-privileged population groups and regions has until recently been determined almost exclusively by political and ideological considerations, the country has failed to learn important lessons that overseas donors have in the meantime absorbed in Africa.

"It is to be hoped that our country's development and aid policies will henceforth be guided by the lessons that others have learned at heavy cost to the people of Africa." □

# Ghana's Rawlings gets a head start

ABIDJAN - Ghana's military leader Jerry Rawlings seems to be honing his image to fight free elections after ruling for a decade with revolutionary rhetoric and hard-nosed economics.

The 44-year-old flight lieutenant, who seized power in a coup on December 31 1981, has not yet said if he will stand in presidential polls next year, but most people think he will.

He has been travelling widely in the West African country - opposition activists accuse him of sneaking a head start before parties are legalised - and has taken increasingly to civilian dress instead of his once hall-mark military fatigues.

Many Ghanaians say they have had enough after 10 years of Rawlings' leftist fervour, his tight rein on dissent and his slowness to accept the multi-party tide sweeping Africa.

"Rawlings has done his bit for 10 years but people are just fed up with him," said Accra accountant Mr Egya Samson.

Others say his undoubted charisma, reputation for honesty and progress in rural development could carry him through.

"He could win - what works in his favour is the thrust his government has given to roads, pipe-borne water, electricity," said one Ghanaian diplomat.

Victory would be a big achievement. Long-serving African presidents have found it very hard to keep power when their mandate is put to its first real democratic test. Several, including Zambia's Mr Kenneth

Sowetan 20/12/91

**FOCUS**

SAPA-REUTER

Kaunda, have been swept from office.

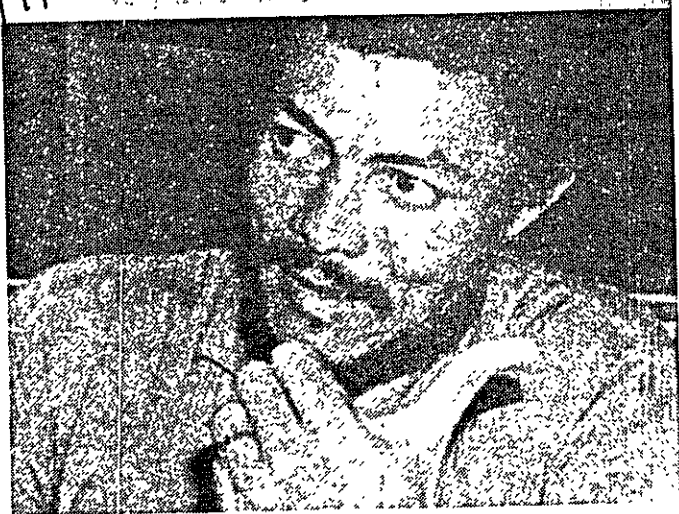
Despite radical speeches putting Ghana on the left of the world stage alongside Dr Fidel Castro's Cuba, Rawlings has a shining image in world financial circles after eight years of textbook structural adjustment.

Inheriting an economy sick from years of mismanagement and corruption, Rawlings swallowed tough medicine from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund which dragged Ghana back to relative health but left a bitter taste for many Ghanaians.

The country has clocked up one of Africa's highest annual growth rates at around five per cent and the government recently said it had paid off all its external debt arrears.

But Ghana's 15 million population has felt the pinch of austerity moves and economists say life is likely to stay hard for ordinary people for several more years.

Rawlings' leadership style, described by some critics as messianic, brooks little dissent. Diplomats say his human rights record is not the worst in the region but he has not been slow to crack down on opponents, sometimes violently.



**JERRY RAWLINGS . . . ruler for a decade.**

Sweeping punishments including execution were imposed early in his rule on people accused of corruption or trafficking.

In 1982 soldiers were implicated in the kidnap and murder of three high court judges, a move which terrorised Ghana's liberal bourgeoisie. Rawlings' close ally, Captain Kojo Tsikata, was briefly implicated in the killings but not prosecuted.

A blistering Amnesty International report this month accused the ruling Provisional National Defence Council of jailing hundreds of opponents since 1981. The government reacted sharply, calling Amnesty a tool for dissidents wanting to slander the country.

Ghana was one of the slowest countries in the region to start multiparty reforms, despite pressure at home and abroad.

Ghanaians will vote on a new pluralist constitution early next

year and elections are due later in 1992.

Many critics accuse Rawlings of naive idealism and say Tsikata, a Sandhurst-trained Marxist who fought for the Soviet-backed MPLA government in Angola's civil war, is the real power behind the throne.

Rawlings has shown the popular touch, often chatting informally at official functions and departing from prepared speeches into emotional asides.

He has scrupulously guarded his name for honesty in the dirty world of politics, handing power back to civilians after an earlier 1979 coup and then taking over again in 1981 saying the country was drowning in corruption.

In 1987, his nephew Hansford Addy was acquitted of murder charges. Fearing accusations of favouritism, Rawlings ordered a re-trial. Addy was found guilty and executed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynri. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.  
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aying down the law . . . FIS leader Abdelkader Hamani. Picture: AP

# Algerian women fear return to Dark Ages

STAR 31/12/91

ALGIERS — Women's rights activists yesterday charged Muslim fundamentalists who won Algeria's first free parliamentary elections with planning to return the country to the Dark Ages.

The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) hopes to impose a State guided by Koranic law. Many women fear they will be forced wear veils and be denied jobs and educa-

tion.

Women's Rights, the country's largest such organization with 400 members, in a communique urged Algerians to block the FIS from taking power.

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

The fundamentalist party won 188 seats outright in Thursday's election for the

430-seat National People's Assembly, 28 short of a majority, according to final results released yesterday by the Constitutional Council.

The National Liberation Front, which ruled Algeria as a one-party Marxist state for 29 years, took just 15 seats. The liberal Front for Socialist Forces finished second with 25. Three were won by independents.

A run-off election will be held on January 16 for the 199 remaining seats, where

there was no outright majority. Most contests will pit the Muslims against the National Liberation Front.

Only 58 percent of Algeria's 13.3 million registered voters cast ballots in the first round. Many who abstained are believed to have been women, who are often controlled by their male relatives.

Algeria's Sunni Muslims are more moderate than the Shiites running Iran. Acting FIS leader Abdelkader Ha-

chani, considered a moderate, has said that Iranian-style people's courts would not be imposed and that women would not be confined to their homes.

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

● Islamic tide sweeps along voters — Page 9



Laying down the law . . . FIS leader Abdelkader Hachani. Picture: AP

# Algerian women fear return to Dark Ages

SNNK 3/11/79

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The fundamentalist party won 188 seats outright in Thursday's election for the

430-seat National People's Assembly, 28 short of a majority, according to final results released yesterday by the Constitutional Council.

The National Liberation Front, which ruled Algeria as a one-party Marxist state for 29 years, took just 15 seats. The liberal Front for Socialist Forces finished second with 25. Three were won by independents.

A run-off election will be held on January 16 for the 199 remaining seats, where

there was no outright majority. Most contests will pit the Muslims against the National Liberation Front.

Only 58 percent of Algeria's 13.3 million registered voters cast ballots in the first round. Many who abstained are believed to have been women, who are often controlled by their male relatives.

Algeria's Sunni Muslims are more moderate than the Shi'ites running Iran. Acting FIS leader Abdelkader Ha-

chani, considered a moderate, has said that Iranian-style people's courts would not be imposed and that women would not be confined to their homes.

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

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Essential hard base

# Islamic tide sweeps along Algerian voters

STAR

IT WILL be a sad irony if the voters of Algeria use their new democratic powers to reject democracy.

In parliamentary elections last week most of the 58 percent of people who went to the polls gave their support to the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS).

That party therefore has a good chance of emerging with an absolute majority after the run-off on January 16. Even if it falls short, it will have established itself as the principal opposition party.

Either way it will now take an important place on the political map of north Africa, arousing hopes among Islamic parties but fear in governments, some of which may become less keen on democracy.

Tunisia, where the Islamic movement is illegal, is the most sensitive, but Morocco will also be watching closely.

Three hurdles still stand between the FIS and the creation of an Islamic state. First, in the run-off it may face an alliance between the ruling National Liberation Front (FLN) and the Socialist Forces Front, which in the first round fought each other.

If it prevails, however, that it will need to win the presidency. The president commands the armed forces and has sole power to im-

pose changes in the 1989 constitution. Under Algeria's French-type system, a presidential election is not due until 1993.

Third, attempts to change the constitution could provoke resistance, particularly among urban elites.

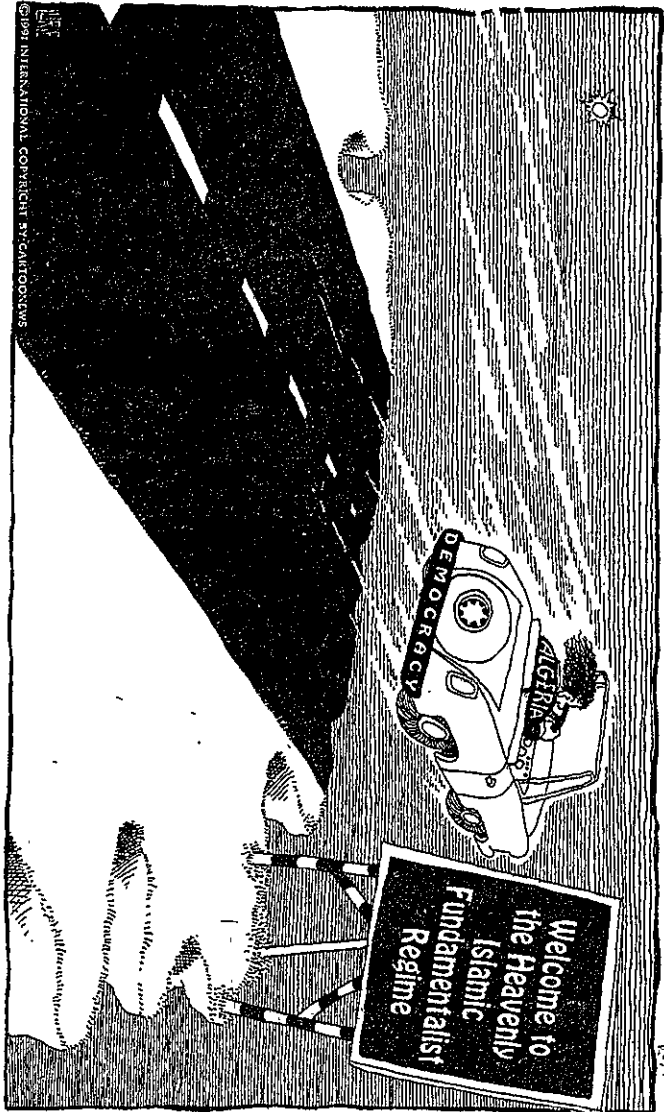
This, therefore, is not an Islamic revolution. It is a near-victory by an Islamic party in a system with a new and fragile democratic constitution. A triumph for fanaticism is still quite far away.

The main driving force behind the party was not religious zeal but poverty and disillusionment with the one-party rule of the FLN, which frittered away its support after winning independence from France in 1962.

Oil and gas revenues have been wasted, the economy mismanaged and corruption allowed to spread. Popular resentment showed itself strongly in local elections in June 1990. The party deserved to lose.

The alternative offered by the FIS is still unclear, because its signals have been mixed. Election slogans asserted that "the only rule is the Koran and

LURIE'S WORLD



the law of God".

A newly elected MP has said that Algerians must prepare themselves to change their eating, drinking and clothing habits. Yet the party's acting leader, Abdelkader Hachani, has promised to "preserve all liberties". He is also anxious to avoid in-

ternational isolation, particularly as Algeria desperately needs credits to rescue its ailing economy.

The underlying message of the election results remains valid, however. Among the multitude of parties, those that stood for Western-style democracy came nowhere. Only Islam

and socialism attracted significant support.

That should convey a salutary warning to comfortable Westerners who have purloined from fallen Marxists the doctrine of historical inevitability and attached it to multiparty democracy. — The Independent, London □

# Africa on collision course with Aids

Southern 31/12/91

**FOCUS**

SAPA-REUTER

**DAKAR - Even the most conservative official estimates of the Aids infection rate expect the disease to wipe out at least 25 per cent of Africa's workforce by the year 2010.**

Economists warn that the Aids pandemic threatens Africa with economic chaos beyond anything it has yet endured as it kills five million or more adults in the next eight years.

African officials say the entire world has a stake in helping their countries stem a disease that is already laying to waste some economic sectors of the continent.

"Africa must not be abandoned," said Dr Kekoura Kourouma, head of Guinea's national Aids programme. "Remember, a sick population will not be able to work, will not be able to pay its debts."

One in every 40 adults in Africa is already infected with the HIV virus that causes Aids. These victims are part of Africa's economic engine - 15 to 49-year-old farmers, mine workers, even the educated elite.

Research presented at an International Conference on Aids in Africa held here this month found that the labour-intensive agricultural and mining industries, the two most important economic sectors of sub-Saharan Africa, are already suffering the impacts of Aids.

Satellite pictures show evidence of farmland returning to the bush and homes abandoned in some African villages where the population has been decimated, researchers said.

In Zambia, where infection rates are as high as 20 percent in

cities, the country's critical copper mining industry is threatened with collapse as Aids cuts into the workforce.

The economic impact of the disease is being felt in the more economically stable countries and classes of the continent as well.

Kenya, for example, lost several million shillings in foreign exchange in 1988 after Western Press reports of the Aids breakout there caused a steep drop in tourism. The government has since been accused of suppressing public dissemination of information on infection rates.

## Infection

In Uganda, a study found that women with high income male sexual partners were at significant risk of infection.

Even South Africa will face huge economic costs, despite having fewer than 1 000 Aids cases to date. A mathematical model designed by South African researchers predicted that, based on the most conservative projections, Aids will cost South Africa 2.3 to four percent of its Gross National Product by the end of the century.

The costs to South Africa of caring for victims and of lost productivity could total R30,6 billion rand between 1991 and 2000.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome has hit Africa harder than any other region of the world. The World Health Organisation estimates that six to seven million African adults are already infected with the HIV virus, out of 10 million worldwide, and one million Africans have died so far.

WHO projects that at least 14 million adults in Africa will carry the infection by the year 2000. Since virtually all HIV-positive adults develop the fatal Aids symptoms within 10 years of infection, WHO says it is clear that more than five million currently infected adults in sub-Saharan Africa will die in the next eight years, and deaths will continue to increase into the next century.

"These millions of projected Aids deaths will double or triple the total number of deaths in young and middle-aged adults from all other causes by the end of the 1990s," said Dr Michael Merson, director of WHO's Global Aids Programme.

Aids systematically destroys the body's immune system, leaving the victim prey to infections. It can only be contracted through blood and bodily fluids, usually through sexual intercourse or intravenous drug use.

But its pattern of infection in Africa has been far different from that in industrialised nations.

In North America and Europe HIV initially hit homosexuals and drug users the hardest, but in sub-Saharan Africa 90 percent of HIV infections have always been spread through heterosexual intercourse.

Preventative measures, especially condom use, have been slow to get off the ground through

a combination of government disinterest, lack of funds, illiteracy, religious taboos and widespread promiscuity.

The burden on overstretched public health budgets is already crushing, African officials said. In some cities 80 percent of hospital beds are occupied by Aids victims.

Few patients can afford AZT, the primary drug for the symptoms of Aids, which costs R238 000 a year to administer. Even wealthy South Africa has decided not to offer AZT to Aids victims in its public hospitals.

But even without AZT, caring for victims is still expected to take up between 34 and 70 percent of South Africa's total health care expenditures by the year 2000.

Costs go beyond health care and lost workers, however. In Africa, extended families are the norm and one wage can support several dependents.

Researchers say that as parents die, 10 million African children may be orphaned by 2000, overwhelming the orphanage system.

Productivity will drop off even before death, as weakened workers stop to rest and family members take time off from their labours to care for them. Regular funerals and the traditional grieving time they require, will also reduce productivity among survivors.

Governments are already hard pressed to manage other indirect costs of Aids. Uganda's policy of paying funeral allowances for civil servants, including the cost of a coffin, may have to be withdrawn, economists say, as death rates in this group continue to rise.



# A new political landscape

## 1991 — a year of drastic world changes

NEW YORK - As 1991 neared an end, the repudiation of communism, a growth in democratic movements and a surge in ethnic violence reshaped the world's political landscape.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union had centre stage. But the pace of change was no less dramatic beyond the Soviet borders.

In the Balkans, Serbs and Croats waged Europe's bloodiest war since World War 2. In Africa, juntas and military dictators were swept away by winds of democracy blowing across the continent. In southeast Asia, a fragile peace replaced a long-running war in Cambodia.

The year began with the world community rallying to boot Iraq out of Kuwait.

But while the Mideast balance of power shifted away from war-devastated Iraq, President Saddam Hussein remained firmly in control in Baghdad.

### Military coup

Longstanding authoritarian regimes also held sway in Syria, Burma, China, North Korea and Cuba. The Rev Jean-Bertrand Aristide was sworn in as Haiti's first democratically elected president, and ousted in a military coup within seven months. Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated while campaigning to regain his nation's leadership.

South African President FW de Klerk repealed his white-ruled country's apartheid laws and moved to share power with the black majority. The prospects were clouded by opposition from rightwing whites and continued black factional clashes in the townships.

The warring factions in Cambodia's 13-year civil war signed a peace accord in October calling for elections, expected in 1993. But the country's painstaking path to self-determi-

nation was marked by the political re-emergence of the Khmer Rouge, the guerilla group behind a reign of terror in the 1970s.

In the Soviet Union and Africa, the end of one-party regimes presented opportunities for reforms but also raised concerns about instability.

In Moscow, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as president last week, and the dissolving nation's powers shifted to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin, a hero of the botched coup by hard-liners on August 18-21. The coup's aftermath spawned independence movements among nearly all the 15 Soviet republics and the removal of the Communist Party from power.

Thus far, the Soviet break-up has produced relatively little bloodshed. But the vicious, six-month-old civil war between Serbs and Croats in Yugoslavia highlighted the threat ethnic disputes pose to a new world order.

Yugoslavia's fragile, ethnically diverse federation of six republics was shaken by the June 25 declaration of independence by Croatia and Slovenia, the country's two richest republics.

Elsewhere in 1991, Africa was shaken by extraordinary change, from the war-ravaged Horn of Africa to island nations off its Atlantic coast.

Marxism and one-party rule fell in country after country after decades of oppressive, corrupt administration.

At least 19 African nations - many former French and Portuguese colonies - have now approved multiparty politics since a wave of violent demands for democracy began sweeping the continent two years ago.

The changes can be linked in great part to the end of Soviet and US support that accrued during the Cold War, especially in the case of Ethiopia and Angola, one-time proxy states where two long civil wars ended in

1991.

Western donor nations, Africa's main lenders, began demanding democratic and economic reform in exchange for aid to African governments.

The most recent case was Kenya, where President Daniel arap Moi in December bowed to domestic and foreign pressure by offering to allow the legal existence of more than his own ruling party.

But an International Monetary Fund official, speaking on condition of anonymity, said pluralism would make life more complicated for Africans.

### Results

"The people want to see instant results," he said. "It's going to be difficult for a newly elected government to ask for additional sacrifices from its people."

In the African upheaval of 1991, devastating civil wars ended and long-time leaders, both famous and infamous, fell.

Ethiopia's Marxist ruler, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, fled after 14 years of iron rule. The new transitional government in Addis Ababa has moved to spur private enterprise in one of the world's poorest countries.

Next door in Somalia, President Mohammed Siad Barre ended his 21-year rule by fleeing his country's civil war, which has killed 20 000 people. Angola ended its 16-year-old civil war, in which 300 000 people were killed.

President Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia's founding father, was soundly defeated in multiparty elections. During his 27-year leadership, the country slipped from one of Africa's wealthiest to one of its poorest. - Sapa-AP.



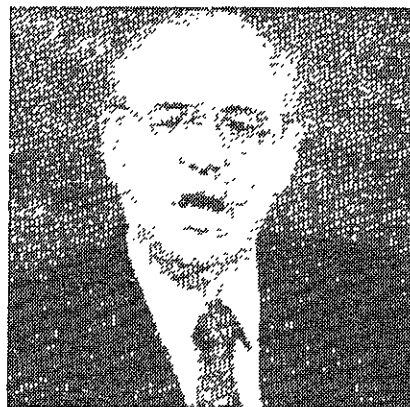
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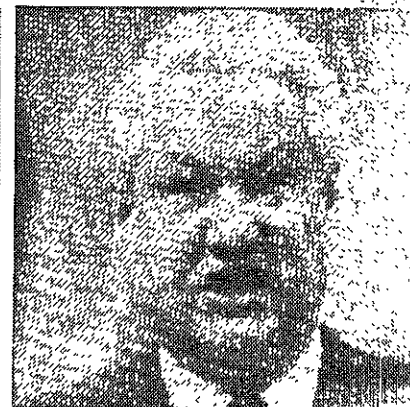
SIAD BARRE



KENNETH KAUNDA



MIKHAIL GORBACHEV



BORIS YELTSIN



Half-blind Serbian pensioner Jela Vukovic lies frozen in her courtyard in Glevica at the weekend after Croatian forces took over the village in Europe's bloodiest war since World War 2.