

PROJECT ON BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

AFRICA REPORT

Third Quarterly Report on Africa

July to September 2008

Volume: 3

Reports for the month of September 2008

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**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY
ISLAMABAD**

BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

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**Department of Politics and International Relations
International Islamic University Islamabad**

BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

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Third Quarterly Report on Africa 2008

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BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

Weekly Presentation: September 5, 2008

Sub-Saharan Africa

EDITORIALS, NEWS COMMENTARIES N OPINIONS

Abbas S Lamptey

Period: From August 24 to August 30 2008

Botswana: Beijing, the Experience of a Lifetime

Mmegi/The Reporter (Gaborone)

OPINION

22 August 2008

Travelling long distances has always been a nightmare for me. I have travelled between Gaborone and Port Elizabeth between the years 2001 and 2005 while studying Journalism at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. About three to four days prior to hitting the road by bus either from Port Elizabeth to Gaborone or the other way around, I have always had sleepless nights. But little did I know that in a few years' time, I would be embarking on a journey of thousands of kilometres to China to cover the biggest sporting event in the world - the Olympics. I became excited the moment my editor told me that they were looking for a sponsor and that if they succeeded, I and my colleague, Moreri Sejakgomo, would go and witness as well give daily reports on athletes in Beijing. The moment I realised the company had succeeded in getting a sponsor for air tickets, I developed mixed feelings and a lot of questions started to flood my mind. Are the reports that I have been reading in the media what China really is? If they are true, do I have the guts and mental strength to be able to stay for close to two weeks there? What about the language? Are we going to get any assistance since many Chinese are said to be struggling with the English language? What about the earthquakes and the tropical storms that had recently hit some areas of the country? What about the food? Will I be able to fast for two weeks if the food is not ageeable? What about the safety of the Games themselves and the airplanes from terrorist attacks? Which prominent sporting personalities will I get the chance to see and talk to?

The 29th Olympics in Beijing had attracted considerably negative international press even before they started. The Tibet issue became a major topic and a rallying point on a global scale, with protests everywhere, especially when the Olympic torch began its journey around the world. The issue of air-pollution in Beijing and whether foreign journalists would have sufficient access to the Internet soon jostled for space with older ones in the western media. But inspite of all these issues and the doubts in my mind, when the day for my departure came, I had no choice but to embark on what could possibly be the experience of a lifetime for me. It was August 6 when my colleague and I caught the 40-minute flight from the Sir Seretse Khama International Airport in Gabrone to the OR

Tambo International Airport in Johannesburg. On the plane, I sat next to a young woman who said she was a student in Malaysia. To my relief, our conversation revealed that language was often a problem even in Malaysia as most people there do not speak English, but that international cuisine is not much of a problem as different restaurants cater for different tastes. My fellow traveller added that I should be able to find suitable restaurants in China.

It was not until about three hours at OR Tambo that we boarded an Emirates flight for an eight-hour journey to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). My neighbour on Emirates a young man of Arabian extraction. The entertainment and music section on Emirates was a bit disappointing because no reggae, no hip-hop and no Rhumba or Kwasa Kwasa, but there were at about eight songs that I could listen to. My neighbour proves to be a movie fanatic. After about four hours, I realise that he has been watching action movies some of whose plots involve planes being hijacked. I also realise that we have not talked to each other since OR Tambo. Am I about to fall victim to a terrorist attack en route to Beijing? I have an urge to start a conversation in order to distract his attention from 'hijacking', but we have not even greeted each other! With about an hour before we land in Dubai, the young man unfastens his seat belt and heads for the toilet where he is gone for no less than a gruelling eight minutes. He finally emerges to continue watching his movies. And our plane finally touches down in Dubai and my neighbour collects his hand luggage and follows other passengers in to the terminal building. I am relieved, I also feel bad that I had thought this innocent young man capable of perpetrating unspeakable horror. It is about midnight, and two hours later we are on another Emirates flight to Shanghai. But unlike the cosmopolitan makeup of passengers in the earlier Emirates flight, here the passengers are mostly Chinese, despite the long nine hours of the journey.

When we finally arrive at Pudong International Airport, one thing is for sure: security is very tight. It is around 3:30pm and we head straight to the security checks where it is very clear that the officials are not taking any chances. They take their time scanning your passport and ensure that the portrait matches your face. My colleague is ahead of me while I and a Kenyan fellow are told to stay behind while our passports are passed on to other officials before we are finally allowed to pass. A security woman had earlier told me that since my passport looked old, they had to do a more thorough examination to ensure its authenticity. By now, I can feel that we have reached our destination, although we still have another two hours' flight to Beijing. I try to call the woman who has been helping us find accommodation, but the response is not encouraging. "I am sorry I have not received the fax that shows that indeed, your accommodation has been paid for." Fortunately, I had proof of booking and while we are still trying to figure out what to do, some Chinese woman in a jewellery shop at the airport comes to the rescue. A woman immediately calls to say that she has received the fax and that our accommodation has been confirmed.

We rush to the boarding gate and immediately we are on Air China to Beijing. After just two hours we have reached our destination. We do not know where our hotel is, but the lady had told us to call her immediately we got into a taxi so that she may give the driver

the directions. But before we are in the taxi, Beijing gives us a hint of what to expect during our stay: flashes of cameras are everywhere and I realise that the centre of attraction was none other than the recently confirmed number one tennis star, Rafael Nadal. He is surrounded by bodyguards and my colleague does not get a chance to photograph him.

We eventually check in to our hotel at around 11pm, and we immediately head for our rooms to rest. It is supposed to be a two-star hotel, but everything looks very fine, though I realise I will only be able to watch CCTV channels in my room. I console myself with the fact that out of about 40 CCTV channels, at least But there is one channel broadcasting in English, CCTV International on Channel 9. We do not know what the next day will have in store for us, but if only we could get accreditation first thing in the morning.

But we get the shock of lives the next day at the Beijing International Media Centre (BIMC). We are told that BIMC accreditations will not let us into the Games, let alone entry into the Olympic Village where athletes are housed."But you do not have to worry because BIMC will be organising some press conferences and events that might be of interest to you and your readers," a volunteer tells us in consolation. BIMC will also try and organise you some group interviews of sporting personalities that you want to talk to."Fortunately, I managed to get the contact numbers of one of the officials of the Botswana National Olympic Committee (BNOC), Martin Mokgwathi, who travelled with the team and a few updates on our athletes on an hourly basis. Still at BIMC, we meet journalists from different countries, including Kenya, Brazil, Zambia and Nigeria.

But even without getting to the Games and the Olympic Village, the experience and the opportunity were more than worth it. Though we lacked full accreditation, not many have had the chance to cover the biggest sporting event in the world. To be among thousands of foreign journalists covering the event is something to be proud of. Getting the chance to field questions to one of the most popular film directors in the world, Zhang Yomou, has been an experience of a lifetime. He is currently a hero in China after directing the opening ceremony, which many regard as the best ever.China is a very developed country. The buildings and the roads are world class. One interesting fact is that for the two weeks we were in Beijing, I have not seen a single road accident. And although I found almost every make of car in the Chinese capital, bicycles remain the city's main mode of transport.

While it is true that not many are fluent in English, that does not diminish Chinese people's capacity to welcome visitors with kindness and thoughtfulness. On the street, at the media centre and at the Games, there are volunteers on hand ready to help. I struck a conversation with a Chinese journalist who asked me what I thought of the Beijing Olympics and about China hosting the event. I told Bridget Duan of Global Times that I was very impressed and that this was the first time I covered the Olympics."We needed to show the world that we can host this event and host it very well," she says. Reacting to the negative reports by the Western media, she says that people will always have their opinions. "Some foreign media have different opinions about us and we also have our

own opinions. But people should always strive to make balanced reports so that readers can judge for themselves."My colleague and I also had the opportunity to visit one of the shopping markets called the Hongqiao Pearl Market. Though there are other shops around the city, this market had become a hit with Olympic shoppers, especially the foreign visitors from countries like South Africa, Spain, the US and Brazil. We realise that what makes the market popular is that although the items are clearly priced in the stalls, there is still room for haggling. After some serious negotiating between buyer and seller, it's a done deal with a significant discount if you take more than one item.The Beijing Olympics will go down in history as one of the most successful ever. While the western media always fabricated stories introducing doubt about China's ability to host the Olympics, many people have come to realise that the stories were mere hocus-pocus meant to mislead. While the Chinese people deserve credit for proving their detractors wrong, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) also deserves credit for having faith in China.

It is time to return to Botswana, and although, I had hoped to meet and do an interview with one of my favourite sporting personalities in the likes of Jamaican sprinter, Usain Bolt, USA's basketball stars, Kobe Bryant and LeBron James, as well as the American 400m runner, Sanya Richards, I am very proud of the exposure and the experience I gained in Beijing.

The Assassination Plot Against Obama

Ghanaian Chronicle (Accra)

EDITORIAL

29 August 2008

When an American boxer revealed to the British press that he was afraid of the life of Senator Barrack Obama and advised him to step down from the then Democratic Presidential race, many were those who did not take him serious. This is because the world had somehow come to believe that America had gone past this bigotry. Whiles some had even defended the American society against what they thought was ludicrous statements about a possible Barack Obama assassination. So, we have come full circle as the Police in Colorado, the Secret Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), have arrested three men and awoman and are investigating a possible assassination attempt on the life of Barack Obama.

Barack Obama's rise to fame has been hinged on his political ambitions to be the first black President in American history. From the Senator of Illinois to the Democratic Presidential candidate, the dream seems to be on course. He has become a symbol of victory for all blacks across the world. His name now appears to have caught the attention of the world to the extent that he can now be considered as one of the popular politicians in the world. He is also reputed to be the first "Black" African who is inching closer to the White House.Despite the successes of Barack Obama, America still remains a racially divided country. When Obama first launched his bid to occupy the White House, genuine concerns were expressed about Obama's safety and so the US Secret Service decided to provide him with round the clock protection. For the fear of a black man occupying the

White House, some hard-core racists appear to be doing everything possible to get rid of the man. The Chronicle finds those Americans who still believe that the time is not ripe for a black man to rule America as people with warped minds who have to deal with modern times and trends. The economy of US was built using the toil and sweat of slaves that were shipped from the continent of Africa under inhumane conditions. It is about time that people accept that African Americans have paid their due to the American dream, and deserve to be in the White House.

We do not want to believe that all Americans have this distorted mentality, because America has always stood up and defended equal rights across the globe. Yes, Obama is half African and half American but that does not stop him from becoming the president of the US. The world will not accept any excuse if Obama is assassinated just for pursuing his inalienable right to become America's President.

A Future Without Aid Possible

The Nation (Nairobi)

OPINION

Tajudeen Abdula-Raheem

FROM TODAY TILL THURSDAY, yet another important meeting will be taking place in Accra, Ghana. This time, it is High Level Meeting on Aid Effectiveness.

The Accra Aid Effectiveness meeting is meant to review the progress that has been made in meeting the commitment to improve the quality and quantity of aid in the past seven years. It is a follow up on similar reviews that took place in Paris in 2005. The issue of quality and volume of aid has become very important since the adoption of the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs in 2000. In 2000 at the Millennium Summit of the UN global leaders, heads of state and governments, reviewed the achievements and the challenges and also the opportunities that faced us at the dawn of a new millennium. Their collective judgment was not flattering.

While there has been undeniable progress in science and technology, they were ashamed that the benefits of this progress have not been evenly shared by the peoples of the world. There was huge disparity between the richer countries (mostly in the northern hemisphere) and the poorer countries (predominantly in the southern hemisphere and especially in Africa and South Asia). The disparity exists even within the same countries and between regions. The stark reality was that the world's poor and powerless, who constitute the vast majority, were living in poverty and billions of them were suffering extreme hunger. Yet the world could not have been richer. More than 50 years ago, Mahatma Gandhi declared that "there is enough in the world to satisfy our need, but there is not enough to satisfy our greed". It was true then and even truer now. Surely, the world could do more and much better to satisfy the needs of all peoples of the world. It was both a collective sense of shame and shared hope that inspired the 189 leaders gathered at the General Assembly to make the Millennium Declaration (1).

The declaration was subsequently translated into the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2).

THE DECLARATION WAS A STATEMENT of intent, while the goals provide the compass to the realisation of the good intentions. The UN is a museum for many good intentions, declarations, and grand plans that are never implemented before being superseded by yet another set of more plans. So why should the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs be different?

There are important distinguishing features that promise to make the MDGs different. One, it is not just a set of declarations, but it was reduced to concrete, achievable goals. Two, the goals have clear indices of progress. Three, they have time lines and time bound and a target date by which they have to be achieved. The other distinction has to do with the accountability for them. While it is true that they do not have the force of law, they have the political commitment of the world's most powerful political leaders. Unlike in the past when development pledges were usually about declaration of the richer countries to help the poorer ones, the MDGs commit both the rich and the poor.

But it is not just a commitment of the governments, it also sought the partnership of citizens, corporations, clergy and all stakeholders. Fundamentally, the MDGs are a social contract at two levels. The first, between the political leaders and the people, especially the majority poor, sick, the children, the women and the marginalised. The second, it is a pledge between governments of the South and those of the North.

However, the wider concern is that no matter how effective aid is, on its own, it cannot lead to sustainable development. Maybe the real meeting Africans and other poor countries need to have is about a future without aid. Not only would that be desirable but necessary.

Dr Abdula-Raheem is deputy director, UN Millennium Campaign

Too Many Interventions, Too Little to Show

The New Times (Kigali)

EDITORIAL

Over 100 journalists from more than 20 countries in Africa including Rwanda, yesterday interfaced via video link with the World Bank Vice President for Africa, Ms Obiageli Katryn Ezekwesili. This was a prelude to the 3rd High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness that starts today in Accra, Ghana.

The purpose of the high level journalists' conference was, as Ms Obiageli put it, in recognition of the media as important partners in fighting poverty. The journalists asked many questions, some as diverse as why the World Bank (WB) was thin on the ground in the Sudan. Not being the proper forum to mention and explore that question and answer session, this column seeks to follow up on the issue of soft bank loans, and the seeming duplication of work that the powers that be seem to be endlessly engaged in, in their

efforts to end poverty in Africa. When asked by a journalist from Rwanda why the WB does not pursue some interventions like using commercial banks to lend out development loans at rock-bottom interest rates, Colin Bruce, a World Bank director, replied that statistical research shows that low interest rate loans have instead been abused and they have ended up not serving the purpose for which they were set up. Instead, the WB supports market rate lending rates which stimulate development and encourage savings that will in the end be rewarded by the interest charged on borrowers. However, there can be interventions that are geared towards such development. The freshly booming bank leasing business can be used to acquire capital at very low interest rates to kick-start businesses.

It is also true that many people fail to pay off their loans because of the fact that banks' interest rates are prohibitive and discourage borrowers, thereby stifling development. We just need better instruments to screen prospective borrowers, and in the end we have better compliance; the few bad debtors can then be written off, with some insurance cover from the WB. Lastly, there is the Doha Round. Then there is the G8, which put the hitherto obscure Gleneagles on everyone's mind map. And then also this WB's 1st, 2nd, and now 3rd, High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness, besides the many small brother interventions on the African mainland itself, like the MDCs, NEPAD, and so on.

Statistics show that Africa is developing at over 5%, but the poverty reality on the ground belies those figures. Ladies and gentlemen in Accra, we need another intervention against all those interventions, because they seem not to be working, many as they are.

Elections - Real Choice, or No Change?

South African Institute of International Affairs (Johannesburg)
ANALYSIS

Steven Gruzd

Africa faces a spate of parliamentary and presidential polls before the end of the year. Angola, Rwanda and Swaziland will vote in September, Zambia and Côte d'Ivoire (if it happens) in November, and Ghana in December. But will any of them offer genuine choice or real change for citizens?

Despite many excellent governance standards ratified by parliaments across the continent, and reform initiatives like the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to which all these states - except Swaziland and Côte d'Ivoire - have acceded, many African elections are becoming more fractious, rigged and violent than ever, especially where the result is close. Or they produce landslides for ruling regimes. SAIIA's analysis of the publicly available Country Review Reports from the APRM aptly demonstrates that African states face common problems with elections.

Benin's report describes a weak electoral system: the high cost of elections; bribery; the absence of a reliable voters roll due to poor national records (2 million citizens lack birth certificates or identity documents), and diminished credibility of the Independent

National Electoral Commission (CENA) which is dissolved after each poll, shedding institutional memory. Reports from Rwanda, Ghana and Kenya also noted problems with electoral commissions - their capacity, resources, and, critically, independence. Recommendations were made to South Africa to regulate private funding to political parties, and "find creative ways to make MPs more accountable to the electorate and less to the party hierarchy that determines the party list." Rwanda was urged to replace their local elections practice - where voters physically line up behind their preferred candidates - with secret ballots.

Kenya's 2006 APRM report noted weaknesses in the electoral system - most notably vastly different constituency sizes arbitrarily determined and laws that foster ethnic politicking - and chillingly presaged the impending December 2007 violence. It stated baldly that "political parties are regional, ethnic based and poorly institutionalised ... they can be described as electoral vehicles for political entrepreneurs." The aftermath of voting in Kenya and Zimbabwe in March and June demonstrate the worst extremes in a worrying trend. Elections can create a winner-take-all mentality. There is too much at stake for leaders to admit defeat gracefully and vacate State House quietly. Voter registration is restrictive, voters' rolls are suspect and constituency maps gerrymandered, all to suit incumbents. State institutions - including those overseeing voting - are increasingly militarised, and not averse to ballot box stuffing. State media churn out pro-government stories. Voters are intimidated for months before elections, even if polling day is peaceful. Observers appear oblivious, complicit or impotent. Ethnic and economic cleavages are manipulated. Vicious violence ensues. It culminates, at best, in messy, compromise pacts among elites, bloated cabinets and unresolved issues, left to fester until the next vote.

So what do key remaining elections in 2008 herald?

Some look like one-horse races. In Angola, the ruling MPLA is expected to sweep parliamentary polls on 5-6 September. These are the first elections held in the booming oil-rich state since the 1992 presidential elections were abandoned after the first round of voting re-ignited a civil war that raged for another decade, and have been repeatedly delayed. Despite being one of Africa's biggest oil exporters (it earned over \$40 billion in oil exports in 2007, produces about 2 million barrels a day, and is China's biggest oil supplier), petrol shortages persist at home, and huge inequalities exist between the tiny ruling class and the two-thirds of the population living on less than \$2 a day. A party that has been in power since independence from Portugal in 1975 despite almost three decades of civil war, seems extremely unlikely to squander the benefits of that degree of incumbency against weak and divided opposition parties. And the international oil industry will place a premium on the stability offered by an MPLA victory.

No surprises are expected in Rwanda either. President Paul Kagame's Rwanda Patriotic Front is expected to emulate its huge winning margins from the 2003 elections to the House of Deputies. Swaziland's elections have been condemned as farcical by civil society. All candidates must stand as individuals, because political parties have been banned by the Swazi king since 1973. Other election results are less predictable. The

death of President Levy Mwanawasa in a Paris hospital on 19 August means that Zambians can expect fierce party infighting before citizens must unexpectedly choose a new president in a by-election before 17 November, according to the 1996 Constitution. Despite a voter registration drive, many analysts doubt that Côte d'Ivoire's oft-delayed elections slated for 30 November will be credible or even held at all.

If nothing else, Ghana's vote in December will yield a personality change, at least. President John Kufuor will relinquish the reins after two largely successful, stable and prosperous four-year terms. What will it take for more leaders to leave quietly when their time is up?

Steven Gruzd is head of the Governance and APRM Programme of the South African Institute of International Affairs

Uganda: The U.S. Has Hijacked the UN's :New Vision (Kampala) OPINION September 2008

When the United Nations came into place after the Second World War, many people thought it was the answer to the wars between countries and the road to peace in the world because they expected the world body to have power to quell any senseless conflict. However, events on the ground show the contrary because the US has assumed so much power that it intervenes in almost every country's affairs without the UN's approval.

The US invaded Iraq under the guise of destroying weapons of mass destruction that never existed. Imagine how many people have died as a result. Hundreds continue to die every day because of the US invasion of Iraq. Where is the UN in all this? Assuming the US was wrong in its invasion of Iraq, who should hold them accountable for their actions? Only God knows. There are conflicts in Africa where we thought the UN should take the lead. In Somalia, thousands of civilians continue to die in a senseless war that has lasted over 17 years. When the Islamic Courts Union took over leadership at the end of 2006, relative calm followed and we thought Somalia was getting back to normal. Interestingly, the leaders were quickly labelled terrorists and the US threw few bombs on them while cementing its support for the toothless Transitional Federal Government. In all this, the UN does not surface anywhere and has never thought of sending a peace keeping mission to Somalia. Is it not the duty of the UN to bring the troubled nation of Somalia back to life? Is it not surprising that only a small country like Uganda can send peace-keepers to Somalia? Probably the UN cannot intervene where the US has vested interest. The Russia-Georgia conflict has also exposed the supremacy of the US over the UN. The Georgian President made a provocative speech in the presence of US Secretary of State, Condolezza Rice. He must have been motivated by President George Bush's earlier remarks which could be interpreted to mean that had Russia not pulled its troops out of Georgian territory, it was going to be crushed.

In future, we are likely to see the US expanding its territory to include states that subscribe to its ideologies to form a strong power that no coalition can break. Then the US shall be recognised as the king of the whole world.

The writer is a journalist

Zimbabwe: An Evil Monster Wraps Itself in the Mantle of a Messiah

Zimbabwe Standard (Harare)

OPINION

30 August 2008

At every turn during Zimbabwe's nearly three decades of independence, Zanu PF and the government have deliberately mounted sustained assaults against ordinary defenceless citizens of this country, only to turn around and wrap themselves in the mantle of a Messiah. The latest demonstration of this is the unbanning on Friday of field operations of non-governmental and private voluntary organisations.

On June 4 2008, the government banned the operations of the organisations alleging that there was suspicion most of the non-governmental organisations "were dabbling in politics". The sins of a few organisations should not have been used as an excuse to punish others, who have so far stepped forward to do what any people-orientated government would have done in the first place -- take responsibility and ensure that its people are not left to go hungry. The only reason why the NGOs are involved is because of the inability of the government to provide for and protect its citizens from the ravages of hunger.

The government has the resources and machinery to track down and deal with those suspected of "dabbling in politics" if indeed such a conspiracy exists. But since it has not named and shamed such organisations, we can only conclude that this is yet another of the government's diversionary ruses, meant to provide a patina of legitimacy for punishing its own people just as it did with Gukurahundi, Murambatsvina and others. The list of the violations this government has committed against defenceless citizens is inexhaustible. The government loathes competition, even where such competition only exists in the realms of its fertile imagination. It is the government that has politicised distribution of food aid by demanding Zanu PF membership cards before starving villagers can access scarce food from the state-run Grain Marketing Board. Similar concerns over proof of membership of the ruling party are being raised even as the government rolls out its recently launched food hampers under the Basic Commodity Supply Side Intervention programme. Banning the activities of NGOs has been nothing short of an attempted genocide by starvation. Elsewhere in this issue, we report the deaths due to hunger of several prison inmates in Masvingo. Institutions such as prisons operate farms, meant to provide the food requirements of the inmates. It is unforgivable that people should die in a place where they are supposed to be looked after, while serving their sentences. We are certain if the crisis facing the prisons was in the public domain, the very same NGOs whose activities were banned, would have offered to help and thus saved lives.

Being imprisoned is punishment enough. Having to die in prison is double tragedy.

So there is nothing to celebrate after the government lifted the ban. How many poor souls and vulnerable children and the elderly died or have been left on the verge of starvation just because Zanu PF wanted to assert its supremacy and Trotskyite doctrine of "immediate action regardless of the consequences"?

For nearly three months the government has refused to listen as the local humanitarian groups and the international community warned of an impending catastrophic humanitarian crisis. It is only the threat of this scale of neglect being brought before the United Nations that has moved the government from its indifference to the imminent disaster. The government should be ashamed of such callousness. It should not seek to portray itself as a saviour, because by its conduct, it has demonstrated that it is an evil monster prepared to inflict further suffering and misery on defenceless citizens. The race must now be to ensure that ordinary Zimbabweans, who look up to the government in their hour of need, are not allowed to suffer a day longer.

Zimbabwe: Nothing Wrong With Heckling a Rogue Leader: [Zimbabwe Standard](#) (Harare)

OPINION

30 August 2008

Hudson Yemen Taivo

UK

I notice that the Zanu PF controlled press did not like the booing and heckling that President Mugabe was subjected to during the official opening of Parliament.

Personally, I do not think that other than embarrassing and annoying Mugabe, the booing would have achieved anything politically. However, I do not see anything wrong with booing Mugabe, especially considering that the majority of these MPs and the generality of other Zimbabweans believe that Mugabe is only President because he won a discredited election run-off which was characterised by violence, intimidation, torture and sometimes even the murder of innocent civilians. Given that the police, most likely with instructions from Zanu PF, arrested a number of MDC-T MPs during the opening of Parliament, it is difficult to understand why anyone would think that the leader of Zanu PF should get anything less than a hostile reception from the MPs who make up the majority in Parliament. For sure, President Mugabe has all the powers he needs and can do whatever he wants, but for the majority of long-suffering Zimbabweans, anything that reminds our Dear Leader that he is no longer popular is certainly good news. The state-owned media will never publish these home-truths, I have deliberately forwarded these thoughts to The Standard whose Editor thanks to President Mugabe's repressive media laws, has previously been arrested for merely publishing people's opinions.

These are the issues that any self-respecting newspaper should concern itself with, rather than worrying about the booing of unpopular presidents in parliament. In any event, the booing and heckling of presidents and prime ministers has always been a feature of many countries' parliamentary politics, and the fact that the state-owned media or those who control them never expected this would happen to Mugabe should not stop MDC-T repeating the same thing next time Mugabe is in Parliament.

Botswana: Apartheid Museum Takes You Down Memory Lane

Mmegi/The Reporter (Gaborone)

OPINION

29 August 2008

Maureen Odubeng

Museums play a significant role in the lives of people of different generations. It is also true that museums serve as useful educational tools, offering a valuable link between one generation and the next.

So if you want to take a walk down memory lane, especially in South Africa, then the place to be is the Apartheid Museum, which is located on Northern Parkway and Gold Reef Road, in Ormonde, Johannesburg.

Opened in 2001, the Apartheid Museum documents both in visuals and written summaries, South Africa's apartheid era from 1948 up to the historic release of Nelson Mandela who became the first black South African president after the 1994 all-race elections. Segregation was a very prominent part of the South African apartheid system. And interestingly enough, the museum still has signs for whites and non-whites entrances (something that was the norm in the dark days of apartheid South Africa), and the cards issued arbitrarily actually do emphasise, which entrance one is allowed to use to enter (and can only be permitted to enter through that door). In its own way that is a creative way of documenting that part of South African history. Right inside the museum a number of identification cards that classify the race of the cardholder are displayed. Racial classification has been documented as the foundation of all apartheid laws. On the identification cards individuals are placed under one of four groups, these being 'Native', 'Coloured', 'Asian', and 'White', and these identification documents were the main tool used to implement racial segregation policies. While the museum is rich with the history of South Africa the one that struck me as a first-time visitor, is the display on one of the most celebrated anti-apartheid heroes - Steven Bantu Biko, whose short life touched many lives and made a huge difference in freeing South Africa from the clutches of apartheid. A fairly big space is dedicated to Biko, and his life is shown both in visuals (pictures) and a few words, which describe what was happening at the time. Born on December 18, 1946, in King Williams Town, in the Eastern Cape, Biko showed a devotion to anti-apartheid politics at a very early age, and the exhibit takes you through his life as a student to the time he met his death in a Pretoria prison cell on September 12, 1977.

Still on the same section, the visuals show the founding of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, for which Biko has been credited as the founder and martyr. Black Consciousness Movement gave voice to a philosophy of black psychological emancipation, black pride and black self-assertion, one of the earliest challenges to apartheid. The museum also has a total of 131 nooses, which symbolise 131 government opponents executed under apartheid's notorious anti-terrorism laws. The nooses will give any person chills. There is yet another section that depicts the horrific events of the apartheid era. The racist regime at the time claimed that many of its victims committed suicide in detention. On the same side, there are a number of prison cells, very small even, for one person to occupy. The cells do not have any roofing - and that apparently is the way the cells looked in those days as prisoners were tortured and left in pouring rain, thereby exposing them to diseases such as pneumonia. Other visuals that the visitor will come across at the museum are the June 16 protests, a day in African history that will never be forgotten for generations to come. The protests led to many young people losing their lives at the hands of the Afrikaner police. It goes on to show the transition from apartheid South Africa, with the roots of compromise, and the actual release of Mandela on February 11, 1994, after 27 years in prison, which is shown on video. On April 27, 1994 South Africans of all races held the first democratic elections, and for black South Africans (including those classified under minority racial groups) it was the first time to vote in a national election. This, too, is well-documented at the museum.

Somalia: IRIN Interview With Mark Bowden, the UN Resident And Humanitarian Coordinator

UN Integrated Regional Information Networks

INTERVIEW

29 August 2008

Nairobi

*After almost two decades of civil war and anarchy, Somalia is now suffering one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world, with 3.2 million people, almost half the population, in need of assistance. To make matters worse because of security problems, killing and kidnappings of relief workers, access to those in need has become almost impossible. IRIN talked to **Mark Bowden**, the UN Resident and Humanitarian Coordinator, UNDP Resident Representative and Designated Official for Somalia, about how he now sees the humanitarian situation evolving.*

Question: What is your assessment of the current humanitarian situation in Somalia?

A: I think Somalia is moving rather more rapidly than people had expected into an increasingly serious crisis. The main elements of this crisis are: the drought, which has now extended and the news we have is that the effects of the drought are now far worse than before. The consequences, I think will be very serious across the whole of Somalia, Puntland and Somaliland. The issue of food prices is a major problem facing Somalia, and I think Somalia has been worse hit than most other countries in the world, because

it's been coupled with the collapse of the Somali shilling. This means we are now looking at major groups of people in towns as well as in the countryside that are facing extreme poverty as a result of the food price rises.

On top of that we have the continuing instability in the country, which is leading to massive displacement, people having to leave their homes, living in unsatisfactory and highly dangerous shelters and environments. So, Somalia is really at a stage where the situation is increasingly acute and a cause for a major concern.

Q: What would you say are some of the main challenges to humanitarian response in the country?

A: The number one challenge has to be security. The problem that we face is that the most acute humanitarian crisis is in central and southern Somalia and that is where most of the security problems exist. But, it is a very complicated security picture that challenges the humanitarian community. We have had abductions of key humanitarian staff, people like Keynaan [Hassan Mohammed Ali, head of UNHCR's office in the Somali capital of Mogadishu], Somali national staff for all agencies who have been involved in humanitarian activities have been targeted and this creates a very difficult environment in which to carry out humanitarian operation. But I should say we don't have a choice but to continue given the gravity of the crisis and to try and do more in response to Somalia's needs.

Q. What is the UN doing to try to increase access to vulnerable populations across the country? For example are you in touch with Al Shabaab and other groups to defend humanitarian access?

A: I think we are doing a lot to increase access and we have reassurances from all groups ... from many commanders from all the different groups involved in Somalia. What really matters is what happens on the ground and in the locality and that is where we need to have more support.

Q: How concerned are you that civilians are not being protected in this new upswing in conflict, particularly in the last couple of months? What can be done to improve their protection?

A: I am very concerned about the protection of civilians, because civilians have experienced the worst of the conflict and it is a sad reflection on any society that we aren't able to provide the protection for people that really need it. I am afraid that it is a very difficult environment in which to provide protection. There is more work going on in terms of human rights monitoring by a number of agencies and organisations. Locally, there are some very courageous organisations undertaking human rights reporting and monitoring on the ground.

We also need to have better access, as an international community, to provide the levels of protection that are needed in Somalia. This remains a problem.

Q. Is the UN getting the requisite cooperation from the TFG and the Ethiopians?

A: The UN gets cooperation from the TFG in particular, along with the ARS [Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia]. They committed themselves to access. The Djibouti agreement makes it clear that there are commitments to providing support and access. I think the problems are more in actually what they are able to provide in terms of support. So it is not that the commitment is not there, it is more the capacity to provide support is limited.

Q: We have seen a spike in the violence, particularly in Mogadishu, since the signing of the Djibouti agreement. How do you explain that, if both sides are committed?

A: I think it comes down to what the TFG and ARS actually control...Essentially the problem is there are groups that are unhappy with the agreement, did not participate in it and also may wish to undermine the process by acts of violence. What strikes me as a humanitarian, outside the political process, is that the humanitarian organisations are not part of the political process. What saddens us is that humanitarian workers have been attacked as part of the violence in Mogadishu. Mogadishu is a place where there is more need than many other places but the difficulties of getting assistance there are greater than anywhere else. What we would like is far better recognition that people engaged in providing humanitarian aid are outside the political process and just trying to find ways of helping to meet the needs of the population in Mogadishu, at a time when they above all others need it.

Q: Would it be fair to say, because of the situation in the country, there is virtually no international humanitarian presence in Somalia?

A: No. It is fair to say that. There is a considerable international humanitarian presence in the country, but it is there in the same way as it used to be because of the particular security constraints we have. We have at any one time in Somalia over 150 international staff on any one day. There are also many more Somalis working for international organisations providing humanitarian assistance across Somalia. Where it is difficult to maintain a presence is in places such as Mogadishu, where it has now become almost impossible, not just for the UN, but for anybody trying to undertake humanitarian activities and work there effectively. But it is still possible. Some things are happening. There is a major feeding programme taking place from WFP [the UN World Food Programme]. There are nutrition programmes taking place, but what we need is a far better acceptance of the humanitarian task of the international community, to be able to expand that presence.

Q: How have donors responded to the humanitarian crisis in Somalia? Is the response satisfactory?

A: We are working very hard at the moment to increase the response. At the moment only 40% of the Consolidated Appeal, the mechanism we have for raising money for Somalia, has been met. We are going back to donors to say that there needs to be more.

For the moment the food pipeline coming into Somalia is secure. We have committed to providing food for 3.2 million Somalis...

The real gaps in assistance are in the areas of health and nutrition where a lot more needs to be done. I think one of the great tragedies in Somalia is the poor access to health services, which I know makes everybody feel very insecure and unsafe for the future of their children. Again, having said that, we are also able to carry out major immunisation programmes across the whole of Somalia to provide some protection.

Q: There has been upsurge in piracy off the coast of Somalia. Are you concerned that it may affect your ability to deliver food aid and does it have anything to do with funding the insurgency?

A: We are concerned about piracy. It is of a particular concern in terms of the fact that just the reputation that Somalia has now for piracy means that shipping companies are very concerned about even sending ships with food into the country. That is a problem. What it has done is that those companies that are willing to send their ships in are charging far higher prices than before. So, it is making the whole relief effort a lot more expensive. It is a very serious problem and could interrupt the food pipeline. Now, whether it is going to the insurgency or not I have no knowledge or understanding of that at the moment. All I would say is that the amounts of money that are involved are very large and mean that the pirates are now better equipped than ever before and the challenges in addressing this are much more difficult. It is something that the international community is going to have to address. It is also an issue that needs to be addressed very strongly by the government of Puntland and others who feel at the moment, from my discussions with them, that the situation is beyond their control.

Q: You have been in other crises. How would you rate what is currently happening in Somalia as compared to others?

A: Well, I think Somalia is, probably, the most complex crisis we are dealing with in the world at the moment. Partly, because it has gone on for so long, and it is becoming more difficult to find ways of ensuring access and partly because there are so many dimensions to the crisis: not just the drought, not just food price rises but also the instability. It is a major challenge to the international community, one where we also keep having to reassure people that it is possible to work in Somalia, and not only possible but critical to do so at this stage. We all, and I think all Somalis, have to face the challenge, [and counter the] feeling that because it is so complicated, there is nothing that can be done. That in a sense is our other big challenge, to try and reassure the people that are providing the funding for assistance, that it is possible to do things and meet this crisis.

Q: Going partly to protection, in August alone there were a number of incidents where civilians, particularly displaced persons, were the victims. There was a deafening silence from the international community. How is it possible to feed people when you can't protect them in places of supposed refuge.

A: You have raised a point that concerns us all. I think you still have to try and feed people. Everybody I know from the humanitarian side is worried about the inability to protect the civilian population. That is why in the end the solutions are political. The United Nations has made statements about some of these issues. The Emergency Relief Coordinator John Holmes made a strong statement about the levels of displacement in Beletwyene [central Somalia] and the impact of the disproportionate use of force by those involved in the fighting. We do try and draw attention to these issues as they occur. Without the access to the area it is difficult to do anything more than express concern. I am afraid the solutions lie at the end of the day in the political process and with the politicians to operate within the confines of recognised international humanitarian and human rights law.

Q: Anything you would like to add?

A: What I would like to say is that the UN humanitarian agencies express their deep concern for the suffering that people are going through at the moment and recognise the severity of the crisis. We are working very hard to increase our capacity to respond. But above all what we need is the support of Somalis, at the community level, to ensure that we can work together to bring assistance through to those areas where it is most needed. This has to be a joint effort, not just the international community to be willing to provide assistance but communities working the UN and others to ensure that assistance can be made available at this critical time in Somalia.

Somalia: Under Islamic Law, Kismayo Calm And Safe

Garowe Online (Garowe)

ANALYSIS

26 August 2008

Yusuf
Kismayo

Ali

After years of militia violence, roadblocks and assassinations, the southern Somali port city of Kismayo is reportedly calm under the rule of a coalition of local clans and Islamist guerrillas. For the past two days, fighters who seized the strategic port town have been invited to feasts by the region's traditional elders. 'Aqil Abdullahi Bile, a Kismayo-based clan chief, tells Radio Garowe that traditional elders are holding clan conferences as the first phase and are planning to hold an "all-clan gathering" soon.

"The second phase of the peace process is to bring together all clans," the 'Aqil told me during a telephone interview Tuesday. He pointedly stated that the traditional elders' aim is to avoid marginalizing any of the local clans, especially the clan whose warlord-turned-parliamentarian, Col. Barre Hirale, was violently chased out of Kismayo after two days of fighting that claimed upwards of 50 lives. The third phase of the peace process would involve a conference between Kismayo's traditional elders - who represent the region's various clan groups - and Islamist guerrillas who spearheaded the war to oust Col. Hirale and his militia.

As part of the first phase, representatives from the Harti clan, including elders, religious persons and businessmen, held a private meeting and reached a three-point agreement, according to 'Aqil Abdullahi.

"We agreed that Islamic [Shariah] Law is our constitution," the 'Aqil said. The other two points, he added, include an agreement that all men between the ages of 15 and 50 will be "recruited as fighters" and to invite Islamist fighters to feasts as a "show of appreciation." He described the security situation in Kismayo as "100 percent safe," adding that local businesses remained open until midnight.

Plane shooting

On Tuesday, Islamist fighters standing guard at Kismayo's airport shot at a small plane as it attempted to land. The airplane was "transporting a khat shipment," according to airport sources, referring to a narcotic plant used widely across Somalia. One Islamist fighter who spoke with Radio Garowe on the condition of anonymity said the plane shooting "happened by accident." "Our men were not informed of an airplane that was supposed to land," he said, adding: "When the plane attempted to land, they fired [bullets] but there was no damage and the plane flew away." Understandably, the security situation in Kismayo is tense, with Col. Hirale's militia commander vowing to retake the town by military force during comments to the press. Unconfirmed reports from Gedo region, where Hirale fled to safety, say the warlord was wounded in the leg as he fled Kismayo. In Bardhere, an agricultural town in Gedo, Hirale's militias are reorganizing while fighters loyal to al Shabaab are reportedly "in the outskirts of the town," according to locals.

On Tuesday, business activity was minimal in Bardhere as buyers and sellers remained anxious about new security developments and feared an armed clash between al Shabaab and Hirale's militias. Somalia's interim government, which enjoys diplomatic backing from the West and military support from Ethiopia, has failed to restore order in the national capital Mogadishu. Critics accuse the government of being dominated by warlords, who are widely despised across Somalia.

The Islamists, by contrast, offer an alternative form of government and enjoy a reputation for maintaining a strong standard of security in every town they control.

Nigeria: Iodised Salt as Elixir to Mental Alertness: [This Day](#) (Lagos)

ANALYSIS

September 2008

Godwin
Lagos

Haruna

Iodine deficiency is said to decrease the production of hormones necessary for the growth and development of the human body. One commodity that can accelerate this process in the human system is iodised salt fortified with Vitamin A.

A state-of-the-art factory dedicated for the production of this variant of salt was commissioned penultimate week in Lagos.

It is a necessary ingredient in all delicacies. Experts contend that the absence of salt in food could lead to several disorders, especially children. It is also reckoned that too much of it or not using the Vitamin A fortified variant, could also be disastrous for consumers' health. It is for these reasons that Nigeria, like other countries of the world, made salt iodization mandatory in order to ensure that people get enough of the very important micronutrient, which prevents iodine deficiency disorder (IDD). This fact was revealed penultimate week by Prof. Dora Akunyili, Director General, National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC) at the launching of "Mr. Chef" iodized by Royal Salt Limited, Lagos.

In her speech at the occasion, Akunyili stated that iodine deficiency decreases the production of hormones necessary for growth and development of the human body. "In pregnant women, iodine deficiency causes babies to be physically disabled, mentally retarded or dead through miscarriage or stillbirth. Children with iodine deficiency disorder grow up to be stunted and mentally deficient. Even moderate deficiency leads to reduction of intelligence quotient (IQ) by 10-15 per cent in children which is permanent," Akunyili noted. Therefore, she advised people to refrain from using imported salt because those locally manufactured have been fortified with vitamin A nutrients. She stated that before the government started enforcing mandatory salt iodization, goiter used to be common adding that the mental efficiency of people must have been negatively affected. She said with the assistance of other government agencies, ministries and domestic salt manufacturers, by 2003, the country was able to achieve 100 per cent iodization compliance at factory level and 98 per cent at retail and household levels. According to her, by 2005, the Global Network for Sustaining Elimination of IDD certified Nigeria as universal salt iodization compliant. She said she got an award for the country in 2007 from the international community in Turkey as the first African country to achieve universal salt iodization.

"The two per cent non-iodized salt we have in Nigeria today are either smuggled or produced by cottage industries. We have been working with UNICEF to close this gap through advocacy and capacity building in salt producing states, but our greatest problem lies with the smugglers. It is unfortunate that the smugglers of non-iodized salt are continuously eroding our gains in salt iodization," the NAFDAC boss lamented. She said it was ironical that the country is producing and exporting iodized salt while at the same time, smugglers were importing non-iodized salt. She said emphatically that most of the imported salts in Nigeria are not iodized adding: "It is necessary for Nigerians to patronise made-in-Nigeria salt because we are sure of their quality and they are 100 per cent iodized."

She said the other challenge tackled was in the packaging of salt in big bags and sale in cups and other measures. "In the course of long storage and continuous exposure, salt loses most of the iodine. Consequently, we directed salt manufacturers to pack salt in small retail sizes of one kilogramme or less to enhance iodine retention," she added. She

said Nigerian local salt manufacturers have invested billions of naira to be able to produce small pack sizes of iodized salt and admonished Nigerians to reciprocate the gesture by buying locally produced salt. Akunyili commended Royal Salt for producing salt in small pack sizes and for its state-of-the-art factory. While lauding the company, she also lauded the four other local salt manufacturers for helping the country achieve universal salt iodization. She advised consumers to check the labels of their salt before they buy them. Also speaking, Mrs. Eshiett, who represented the Dr. John Akanya, director General of Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON), stated that she witnessed the birth of Royal Salt and she credited them with always maintaining standards. She stated that although the issue of standards was a continuous one, company has never been found wanting in its productive activities. She counselled that quality was a target that must be consistently sought after.

Earlier in his welcome remarks, Mr. Reggie Uduhiri, executive director of the company, lamented the high cost of import duty on potassium iodate used for salt iodisation. Uduhiri said this posed a challenge in the drive to actualise self-sufficiency in local manufacturing of iodised salt. He also blamed unfair competition from imported products, congestion of access roads, and poor infrastructure as factors militating against the industry in the country. Nonetheless, he gave the assurance his firm was poised to actualise Nigeria's target of self-sufficiency in salt iodization by 2020. "Royal Salt Limited was commissioned in 1994 with a production capacity of 150,000 metric tonnes of edible food grade salt. Royal Salt opened a branch in Port Harcourt in 2001 with an installed capacity of 75,000 tonnes per annum. The Port Harcourt plant has since been upgraded to 150,000 per annum and today, we have upgraded our Kirikiri plant with a capacity of 150,000 tonnes per annum," Uduhiri stated. He added that the company also operates in Kenya and Tanzania and it is a pioneer in the packaging of salt. Uduhiri added that the firm controls a fair share of the West African market because of the quality of its product, which is attractively packaged in affordable quantity.

In a brief remark, Mr. Alan, deputy high commissioner of Namibia to Nigeria stated that the firm started its journey from his country many years ago. Alan stated that it was in the spirit of linking African trade that Royal Salt has made its present felt in Nigeria. He said he was proud that the firm was helping Nigeria achieve her salt iodisation project.

Botswana: Diabetes, Hypertension Open New Chapter in Life

Mmegi/The Reporter (Gaborone)

OPINION

29 August 2008

Francistown

I could not believe my ears when my fate was finally announced to me: "You are hypertensive and diabetic". The announced results were even passed over to me to view physically. This was announced by Dr. D.O. Mompati of the Francistown-based Riverside Hospital at her Tati River Clinic with a hand to her mouth in exclamation: "Have you been suffering from these two metabolism diseases or what?"

This is after she had sent me to the hospital's laboratory for thorough screening of my blood. I literally stared at her in disbelief as she explained what my high BP and high sugar level meant to my health.

"You are very sick and we are going to admit you and make thorough investigations as to what could be the problem," she said in a motherly tone. She promised, "We will arrest the situation." I realised the seriousness of the diagnosis when Mompoti telephoned her husband who is also a medical doctor and senior partner at the health facility and explained my condition, concluding to "admit him".

I still could not believe she was addressing me. In my small world, I have always associated hypertension and diabetes with rich people and not ordinary mortals. I wondered to myself, "So I will be associated with the UN blue circle symbol for diabetes? Monday August 25, will therefore remain indelible in my mind, for this is the day a lot of things changed in my life including me. I literally saw a new chapter in my life unveiling. I remember a friend telling me boldly: "You should stop jumping sky high at the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) Mochukhu. It will strain your Health". I took this as a joke because my church and I remain inseparable. On admission at the Riverside High Care Unit or ICU, I was put on the intravenous infusion fluid or drip in the layman's language, to balance the sugar level in my blood and I could now see the reality of the problem.

For the three days I was on the drip, I whiled away time by counting the water droplets and reading newspapers and magazines. As and when time permitted, I enjoyed re-reading Cyril Ramaphosa's biography by Anthony Butler. Unfortunately, I was worried that I could not help the doctors and other health workers with the history of the diagnosed disease because I have always remained reluctant to test as I could not associate myself with the two diseases. All the doctors, nurses and other health workers were very helpful. I was also impressed by the fact that I was attended by health workers from various nationalities: DRC, Zimbabwe, Zambia, locals and others. I would call them SADC, AU and so on.

Whilst I have a traceable history of hypertension from my days in 1999 when I used to live in Gaborone, I had reached the conclusion that the problem has healed without even seeking any medical opinion. I think I was unnecessarily foolish in thinking that because my heart had 'normalised' it meant I had healed. On admission, I weighed about 79 kg, which showed a loss of about three kg or more. My height stands at about 1.70 metres. "You are overweight," I was advised by the doctor. She explained how cholesterol has affected me by narrowing some of the arteries and veins in the heart making the distribution of blood difficult. The fatal thing associated with closing arteries and veins is a killer stroke. So now everything was associated with fatality and it dawned on me how vulnerable I was under the circumstances. In my mind, I just wondered how many people could be as vulnerable as myself.

Journals describe diabetes as a syndrome of disordered metabolism, usually due to a combination of hereditary and environmental causes, resulting in abnormally high blood

sugar levels. I was worried when I was informed that my sugar level on admission was about 27mmol/l, when the normal range is estimated at about 3mmol/l, more so that my BP was very high. This is the time when one comes to realise the importance of conducting regular medical checks to ensure that one is aware of his or her condition. A lot about the two chronic diseases that I was diagnosed with was explained to me and how I should change my lifestyle to ensure that there is control ultimately.

For the two most common forms of diabetes -type 1 and 2- are due to either diminished production of insulin or diminished response by the body to insulin. Journals further show that all types of diabetes have been treatable since insulin became medically available in 1921, but there is no widely available cure for any form of diabetes. Type 1 diabetes can only be treated with injected insulin, with dietary and other lifestyle adjustments commonly being part of the treatment. Type 2 is usually managed with a combination of dietary treatments, tablets and more frequently, insulin supplementation. Insulin is used by about two-thirds of the body cells to absorb glucose from the blood for use as fuel, for conversion to other needed molecules, or for storage. Insulin is also the principal control signal for conversion of glucose to glycogen for internal storage in liver and muscle cells. Lowered glucose levels result both in the reduced release of insulin from the beta cells in the reverse conversion of glycogen to glucose when glucose levels fall.

Besides the fight to balance the blood sugar levels with insulin injections, I was introduced to the diabetic diet, which is often recommended to people who suffer from diabetes. The diet is high in dietary fibre, especially soluble fibre, but low in fat. My dietary sheet is a far cry from the junk food that I used to swallow in large quantities. When I complained that I was going to starve since being admission I have been given small quantities of diabetic diet. I was advised that this was part of the plan to control the blood sugar levels. Perhaps, the small quantities are compensated for by the small meals that I take about six times: morning, mid morning, lunch, mid-afternoon, dinner and another late dinner.

Literally, with my condition it means bye-bye to the junk meals that I used to enjoy from the Meriting Spar, which is below my workplace. No fried chips that we often called 'ditapole' in the vernacular and the other stuff. There is no question about it. I have started complying with the dietary requirements. But, I want to confess, a change from my older ways to the current stringent one has come with what I will call 'problems'. With this sudden change, it has occasioned some apparent weight loss and total change in my lifestyle given the level of food intake. Besides reading my normal choice of magazines, I have been compelled by circumstances to include magazines on health, diet and others. A clear message of compliance from the doctors, nursing staff, family members and friends is loud and clear: "Comply with the treatment and the diabetic diet and live."

Although I cannot say with any certainty when diabetes started, I have always guessed something was wrong with me, especially when I realised signs and symptoms like frequent urination, increased thirst, increased fluid intake and increased appetite, which are associated with diabetes. But, definitely when I left the office for medical attention, I never thought I would not return to the office as it happened. Of course, I was just feeling

abnormally tired with some occasional dizziness. At the time of writing this piece, I had already accepted my fate just like many people who have gone open about their conditions. But, for the Riverside Hospital staff, I will always miss the treatment I got from them. From the lowest staff member to the very top, I got the very best treatment out of them. Although at the time of going to press I was still in the hospital, the good news is that by the time this piece is published, I might have joined my beloved family. I will know late Thursday afternoon whether I will go home or remain admitted. Worries that hung in my mind while I was admitted are gone now and I can only encourage those who do not know their status in so far as their blood sugar levels are concerned, to go now and test before it is too late.

In fact, I have learnt the health trick from one health enthusiast who was my neighbour in the ICU ward, Johann of Yappy Entreprises that: "A general check up once a year would keep you in control of your health." The South African man was proud about his state of the heart, which he said 'was very healthy and made him appear like a 30-year-old' although he was 55. Whatever the new chapter offers, it will be part of my life.

Rwanda: Environment - Keep It Real : [The New Times](#) (Kigali)

OPINION

31 August 2008

Philip Stevens

There is increasing concern among politicians and NGOs about the effects of Africa's economic growth on people's health. As anyone who has breathed the not-so-fresh air of Lagos or Nairobi can attest, the soot, pollution and traffic fumes of a growing city do indeed sit heavily on the lungs. Africa's ministers gather this week in Libreville, Gabon to discuss these problems. But before they get too carried away with grandiose plans, they need to get some perspective. Ever since modern Man first stepped out of east Africa, he has been in a constant struggle with the environment, which by turns tries to freeze, overheat, starve and poison us. The good news is that it is relatively easy to prevent the environment from killing us--but only if governments stop getting in the way.

Take the most basic necessities of life, cooking and warmth. For many people too poor to afford electricity, gas or kerosene, the only option is the fuels used by Man since the dawn of time: wood, dried dung and crop residues. When burnt indoors, these fuels give off noxious smoke with dangerous levels of chemicals such as benzene, formaldehyde and carbon monoxide. The result: chest infections are the biggest global killer of children, claiming at least two million under-fives every year. Who would have thought that the oldest task in human history, making a wood fire, could also be the most deadly?

We all need water but streams, rivers and aquifers are full of nasty micro-organisms and parasites, especially without sewage facilities for human waste: some 1.5 million children are killed annually by ancient water-borne diseases such as cholera and dysentery, making dirty water the second biggest killer on the planet. This need not happen. Greater prosperity has allowed all of Europe, North America and large parts of Asia to have

electricity, superseding dirty fuels such as wood. Similarly, practically everyone has access to a flushing toilet and clean running water. These advances have consigned "environmental" diseases such as cholera to the history books. England, once a hotbed of cholera, has not had an outbreak since 1866.

By contrast, just last year an outbreak in Angola infected 3,000 people. Epidemics are still common all over Africa and southern Asia.

Unfortunately for the poor in Africa, many governments actively conspire to prevent access to clean fuels and water, mainly by clinging to the outdated ideological belief that these essential utilities remain a public sector monopoly--although, curiously, food and shelter do not. Faced with few incentives to increase or improve supplies, government utilities have invested little, resulting in serious shortages--like the recent electricity "load shedding" blackouts in South Africa. In contrast, where management has been decentralised and removed from government control, the supply of water has increased. Guinea created a private-public water partnership in 1989 and by 2001 the number of people with access to clean water had tripled. Economic growth, and a pragmatic policy towards water and electricity, is the surest way to help people protect themselves against the vagaries of the environment. Although growth does increase air pollution, history shows that as countries get richer, pollution decreases as more is invested in more efficient, and cleaner, technologies.

Smoke and sulphur in London's air are currently at their lowest levels for 500 years, despite massive increases in economic growth. That growth is hampered in most poor countries by a lack of property rights, constraints on business, high tariffs and government intervention. But this simple message is at odds with dominant debate at the Ministerial discussions in Libreville, fixated on modish environmental concerns such as climate change, described by the head of the World Health Organisation in 2007 as a "fifth Horseman of the Apocalypse."

The effects of climate change on health are hypothetical. What is certain is that schemes for "preventing" climate change will be very expensive. A new global treaty to "stabilise" the climate at today's temperatures would cost a total of US\$18-20 trillion--or 45% of the world's current annual economic output. Restraining economic growth with the hope of staving off hypothetical environmental threats to humanity will reduce our ability to deal with today's real environmental health problems. If this agenda is forced on Africa, there will be no money left to create the clean water and power networks needed to fight the real killers.

Ministers must stick to the basics in Libreville and save their people from real and immediate threats.

Philip Stevens is Director of the Campaign for Fighting Diseases, London, an international development think-tank.

Ghana: Plastic Sachet Blues - Pricing the "Right to Litter"

Public Agenda (Accra)

OPINION

29 August 2008

Dr. Edward Kutsoati

By the end of a typical business day in Accra, Ghana's capital, tons of waste is generated, mostly from the plastic sachets that held drinking water at the beginning of the day. A large fraction of this waste ends up on the streets and in the gutters, creating huge sanitation problems. The cost of cleaning up the city of waste is growing, as is the business of producing water in plastic sachets. It seems that the best efforts of the Accra Metropolitan Authority to manage the problem - e.g., provision of waste bins, periodic clean-up exercises, and an occasional, non-credible threat to ban the sale of water in plastic sachets in the metropolis - have not been enough. A good solution to the problem remains elusive.

But interestingly, it is almost impossible to find a 50, 20 or 10p coin on the streets. And the reason is simple: It is money, and the first person to see the coin will pick it up. But will they also pick up the plastic sachet (or drop it on the street) if it had value? I think the answer is pretty obvious. The question however reminds me of the gentleman who took great pains to retrieve a 50p coin from a stinking gutter around Danquah Circle at Osu, Accra. I asked him if he would have bothered to pick up an empty plastic sachet from the gutter. His answer was clear: "No way, why would I do that?" But would he do it if that plastic was worth, say 10p? "Sure, if I were broke enough," he responded.

In an ideal world, with enough recycle capacity, this problem can be solved away by paying anyone who collects and returns the plastic waste to a recycle facility. In fact, I am told that such a facility exists in Accra, but it is woefully inadequate to handle the volume of plastic waste generated each day. An alternative approach is to levy an instant tax on those who litter the street. The idea is simple, and easy to implement. Basically, this will translate to a 2-tier price for sachet water: (i) a lower price of 5p (the current retail price) will apply if one drinks at the point-of-sale and leaves the empty sachet with the retailer; and (ii) a higher price of, say, 25p will be charged if you buy on-the-go. The difference of 20p represents the price of the "right to litter" the streets with an empty plastic sachet.

Working this price up the production chain will provide an incentive for retailers to charge the higher price, and not buck the policy. So, for example, at the top of the chain, a "pure" water producer shall be made to pay a refundable deposit of 20p to the city council for each sachet-water produced. The 20p will be refunded when the empty sachet has verifiably been returned to a city council approved waste site. In practice, however, the amount refunded will be determined by the weight of the plastics returned. To ensure that they can retrieve the empty plastics and pick up deposits, producers will in turn pass the 20p refundable surcharge to the retailer, who will in turn pass it on to those who buy to go. For those who drink and deposit the empty sachet at the spot, the retailer gets 5p plus an empty sachet which can be exchanged for a 20p cash when the producer's

delivery truck picks up the empty sachet. This way, even the young men and women, who hawk sachet water in the city, will carry larger bags along to retrieve the empties so they too can collect their refundable deposits. But those who buy to-go, pay the full 25p.

Elsewhere, a variant of such a tax has been used to successfully reduce the problem of plastic waste. For example, plastic grocery bags have been completely eliminated in Ireland with a small tax, and plenty of social stigma. Writing about the Irish experiment in the New York Times (Feb 2, 2008), Elisabeth Rosenthal notes that: "In 2002, Ireland passed a tax on plastic [grocery] bags; customers who want them must now pay 33 cents per bag at the register. There was an advertising awareness campaign. And then something happened that was bigger than the sum of these parts. Within weeks, plastic bag use dropped 94%. Within a year, nearly everyone had bought reusable cloth bags, keeping them in offices and in the backs of cars. Plastic bags were not outlawed, but carrying them became socially unacceptable - on a par with wearing a fur coat or not cleaning up after one's dog."

A fundamental lesson in Economics 101 is that: People respond to incentives; everything else is commentary. Imposing a levy on littering the streets with plastic sachets will help to reduce the plastic waste in and around our cities. Put differently, the proposed policy cleverly shifts the cost of plastic waste management on to producers, who in turn pass it on to the final consumer. The more trash we reduce, the more money refunded to the producer, then the retailer, and ultimately, the consumer.

Dr.Edward Kutsoati, is Professor of Economics at Tufts University and a columnist of www.AfricanLiberty.org

West Africa: Coastline to Be Submerged By 2099

UN Integrated Regional Information Networks

25 August 2008

Accra

Swathes of West Africa's coastline extending from the orange dunes in Mauritania to the dense tropical forests in Cameroon will be underwater by the end of the century as a direct consequence of climate change, environmental experts warn.

"The coastline [as it is now] will be completely changed by the end of this century because the sea level is rising along the coast at around two centimetres every year," said Stefan Cramer, Nigeria director of Heinrich Boll Stiftung, a German environmental NGO. Even where urban areas appear unscathed, sea level rise will still challenge towns and cities by threatening the underground water supplies from which millions of people across the region draw their water. "[Increasing salinity] will make the ground water undrinkable and unsuitable for agricultural purposes. The result will be food and water insecurity," agreed George Awudi, Ghana Programme Coordinator for the environmental lobby group Friends of the Earth. The effects of sea-level rise will be most "dramatic" in Nigeria's economic capital Lagos which is just five metres above sea level, with some

parts of the city lying below sea-level, Cramer said. The flooding is likely to be most severe in Lagos because of its position at the southern end of the Gulf of Guinea where stronger tropical storms from the South Atlantic create storm surges up to three metres high, Cramer said. He estimates that most of the 15 million inhabitants of Lagos will be displaced and Nigeria's southern Delta region where oil installations are located will also be swamped.

Other major urban centres in West Africa which experts have identified as at risk of flooding are Banjul in The Gambia, Bissau in Guinea Bissau, and Nouakchott in Mauritania. All three capitals are at or close to sea level.

Blame

Environmentalists blame the gradual melting of the 3,000 metre-thick Greenland ice cap in the Arctic as being responsible for the coastal erosion along the Coast of Guinea. Greenland is three times the size of Nigeria and its emptying into the Atlantic causes a rise in the sea-level. "It is all due to climate change - the greenhouse gas emissions result in global warming and subsequent melting of the Greenland ice cap," Cramer said. Compounding the situation in West Africa, in August 2007 a tropical storm 5,000 kilometres off the coast caused a shift in the strong currents that run near the Nigerian coast and destroyed a protective sand bar.

The solution

Environmental experts have different solutions to the problem. "I think the best way out for the moment is devising simpler and more cost effective solutions such as how to preserve towns and villages under threat and preventing sea water intrusion", the director of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Yvo de Boer said. "The sensible option is moving to higher ground which is a tough option especially for Nigeria as it means giving up its economic centres in Lagos and its oil installations in the Delta", Cramer said. But Awudi at Friends of the Earth described relocation as an "unthinkable option" due to its economic, social and cultural implications. "Every solution to a problem must focus on the major cause of that problem and in this case greenhouse gas emissions by industrialised countries which are responsible for sea-level rise must be effectively tackled," Awudi said. "The industrialised countries should take proactive steps in curtailing their emissions responsible for climate change which will have a positive impact on sea-level rise," he said. However according to Cramer even if the industrialised countries do stop their greenhouse gas emissions, the trend of rising sea levels would continue unchanged for another 50 to 100 years.

The experts all made their comments on the sidelines of a UNFCCC working meeting in the Ghana capital Accra where representatives of 150 countries have gathered to continue preparatory negotiations for a landmark climate change conference due to be held in Copenhagen in December 2009 where a successor to the Kyoto Treaty is to be signed.

Nigeria: Country Pays Least Demurrage Globally On Imported Fuel - Report

Vanguard (Lagos)

26 August 2008

Yemie Adeoye

THERE are fresh reports indicating that Nigeria imports much of its petroleum products to meet domestic consumption as a result of gross under-investment in the refining sector over the years.

Despite the refining capacity of 445,000 barrels per day (bpd), all the refineries put together can only at best produce about 15 million litres (ml) of premium motor spirit (PMS) per day when all the Fluid Catalytic Cracker Units (FCCU) are firing at optimum capacity. This leaves the nation with a shortfall of a minimum of 15ml a day of PMS to import. Because of all these problems, NNPC has called for tenders from oil traders to import petroleum products on their behalf in order to meet the country's fuel requirement. Investigations have revealed that a lot of these cargoes stay upward of 40 days offshore incurring huge demurrage. Demurrage is defined as the extra time a ship spends waiting to discharge its cargo outside the allowed time as per the Charter Party terms and conditions. Nigeria imports a lot of petroleum products to meet domestic consumption. In an ideal situation, demurrage is an occasional cost caused by port congestion, inadequacy of equipment at ports to handle fast discharge, activities of government agencies at various ports around the world and terrorist alert leading to closure of ports. But in the Nigerian operating environment, demurrage is a fixed cost caused mainly by unavailability of pipeline due to pipeline vandalism, and draught limitation at various ports around the country, make it impossible to discharge a vessel promptly.

According to a report by a supplier, "Vessels therefore will have to lighten a 30,000-ton vessel, sometimes up to four times before the mother vessel can sail. Activities of militants also disrupt the free flow of ships in and out of ports, leading to delays in discharge of petroleum products." The activities of Government agencies at the ports, such as Nigerian Navy, Customs, Department of Petroleum Resources (DPR) and Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), are contributing tremendously to loss of several days each time a vessel calls at any Nigerian port due to the delay in obtaining all the clearances required," an official of a petroleum marketing company stated.

It takes a minimum of 14 days for vessels to sail from Europe to West Africa, meaning that cargoes have to be booked in advance to arrive on time. Normal time allowed to book cargo and complete all necessary documentation is about 30 days, otherwise the cargo becomes a prompt cargo and usually more expensive. An official also disclosed that the massive import of petroleum products by NNPC is mainly to meet its daily domestic consumption as well as serve for the country's strategic reserve. Every country plans for energy security. In the United States, it is called Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR). This is handled by Department of Energy (DoE). There are also other strategic stocks held by the industry. Together, these stocks provide security of supply to the US, where disruptions in supplies occur particularly during the hurricane season. In Nigeria, such

stocks are held by NNPC at their own cost, meaning that the whole burden of energy security is shouldered by NNPC. This explains the struggle by NNPC to pay into the Federation Account every month for crude oil supplies to the refineries. Strategic stocks are held 80% on land while marine is just 20%. Unfortunately, due to pipeline vandalism, and the questionable integrity of some of the operating pipelines, products cannot be pushed inland as they arrive the shores of Nigeria.

All the imports are discharged in Calabar, Port Harcourt, Warri and Lagos and these products are trucked on land from there. Therefore, Nigeria's strategic stock held by NNPC is mainly marine laden, on vessels not owned by them which is why the import vessels incur demurrage. This is at variance with what happens in other countries. This storage system is costly and ineffective. There are too many uncertain circumstances, thus fuel security is not guaranteed. Also, local vessels lifting products from the refineries, facing similar conditions also incur demurrage. Unfortunately, NNPC does not pay demurrage to local off-takers of products from the refineries or ship to ship (STS) operations. Nigeria pays the cheapest demurrage in the world. NNPC is perhaps the only corporation still paying Average Freight Rate Assessment (AFRA) published by London Tanker Broker Panel (LTBP), whereas the global oil industry pays spot charter rates as published by Platts; one of the best petroleum price publishing media in the world. Suppliers to Nigeria have continued to show much concern on the application of AFRA rates to their demurrage claims. The difference between AFRA rates and spot rates is as wide as \$10,000 to \$15,000 per day for 30,000 tons. Demurrage affects suppliers and not vessel owners. Suppliers have their margins completely eroded due to this huge differential. A supplier said, it does not make any economic sense for NNPC to keep our vessels offshore as the country's strategic reserve and yet pay peanuts as demurrage. We, the suppliers don't own vessels, we charter vessels to supply NNPC. While we pay demurrage to the vessel owner based on spot rate, NNPC reimburses us based on AFRA rate.

Ghana Aid Talks Must Find Lasting Solutions : [The Nation](#) (Nairobi)

EDITORIAL

September 2008

A major international conference gets underway in Accra, Ghana, today, and the thrust is effectiveness of donor aid. The moneylenders -- the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other multilateral agencies -- are the key players at this parley, where the giver and the receiver are negotiating the skewed benefits of aid.

The meeting, coming three years after a similar one in Paris, France, is as farcical as it is paradoxical.

Farcical because everyone knows that donor aid has not helped the developing nations in any significant way. On the contrary, it has created a dependency syndrome, sucked creative talents and consigned millions of people to destitution. Likewise, it is paradoxical in the sense that the givers, knowing very well their profit motives, can pretend that they

want to make aid effective. Everyone is pretending to be well-meaning when, in actual sense, no one is.

Even before the meeting starts, the lenders are already sealing new deals using the old perverted terms. Corrupt leaders in the South are busy wiring their ill-gotten wealth to the banks in the North. A review of the short history of this engagement is vital. At the Paris meeting, the representatives of governments and donors agreed on five key principles about aid, namely, ownership, alignment, harmonisation, results management and mutual accountability. In reality, these have not been effected. Contrary to the resolutions, aid is donor-driven and the receivers have little say on the timing, projects to be implemented and processes involved. The terms are dictated by the givers.

Consultants and service providers from the giver countries are routinely looped into the donor projects and at the end of the day, up to 60 per cent of the aid fund rolls back to Western capitals. Against this backdrop, the Accra meeting should not be about aid effectiveness, but how the developing countries can wean themselves off aid. The accent must shift from aid to fair trade. But as the World Trade Organisation meetings have proved since the Doha caucus of 2001, fair trade is a pipe dream.

The onus is on the developing countries of the south to enhance trade among themselves.

South Africa: More Than Market Price to Gauging an Equity Investment

Business Day (Johannesburg)

COLUMN

September 2008

Ben

Johannesburg

Temkin

Good asset management is the core of profit growth. Before I return to the results of Murray & Roberts (M&R) for the year ended June 30 - and, in due course, again to the half-year of Liberty Group - I am writing today a bit more on the process of "counting" the value of equity investments. Although the Private Investor portfolio began on August 21 last year, it has held only two equity investments for more than a year -- M&R and Afrox. The other counters were bought between September and December, save Hudaco, which was bought in February after we sold Tiger Brands.

In every instance that we bought a counter, its technical indicators had positive buy signals, and, in each case, the signals were right. Unfortunately, the up-trends, in some cases, reversed. Had we been trading equities, we would probably have taken advantage of some of the sell signals and made some profits. Since, however, the investment fundamentals of the counters had not changed -- which meant our investment criteria were unchanged -- we have ridden the market's roller coaster without too much queasiness. At Friday's close, the trading month-end of August, the portfolio's index was just over 100. If we had sold all our shares that day, we would, therefore, have been able

to cash in for R100000 and some coins. On paper this is little reward for a lot of effort -- but it's only on paper.

Consider this: we bought our shares in M&R just after a month-long dip in its sector. This dip made the sector especially appetising as its investment fundamentals had not changed -- it was simply not the flavour of the month. If you had bought M&R at its peak before the dip, you would have had to pay R78,50 a share. At the bottom of the dip, when the share price was R63, your paper loss would have been about 20% in just one month. Now suppose, as is often the case, one of the bench marks for executive remuneration was the company's share price appreciation, and the share was R63 on the date on which the remuneration committee had to count.

There would have been general management dismay just as there would have been jubilation had the count been made when the share price was fleetingly at a peak of R107 last Friday. As I have repeatedly written, there is a logical close correlation over time with a company's share price trend and earnings growth, but the transitory jerks in the passage of the trend are, in my view, taken seriously too often. The market price of a share tells you accurately what all the body of investors knows about the company but, all too often, that information includes sentiment and perception that override bolts and nuts.

I'm not bad-mouthing market price as a gauge to count how an equity investment is faring. However, the real test of a company's value has to be the current worth of its future profits. And these future profits depend on how well it manages its assets, which brings me, I hope, to M&R again tomorrow.

**Burundi: Burundi - Arusha Spirit Must Prevail : [The East African](#) (Nairobi) :
OPINION
31 August 2008**

Francois Grignon

Burundi's political situation is apparently calm and improving.

The latest political crisis has been resolved, the blocking of government actions in parliament has ended, and since the return of its leader, Agathon Rwasa, to Bujumbura, progress is being made towards a settlement with the Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People-National Forces of Liberation (Palipehutu-FNL), the last active rebel movement in the country. Yet this calm is misleading. Unless political dialogue is restarted between the ruling National Council for the Defence of Democracy-Forces for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD-FDD) and the opposition parties, political tensions will jeopardise the preparations for a free, fair and peaceful electoral process in 2010 and ethnic violence could once again endanger the stability of the country.

IN EARLY JUNE 2008, the ruling party muscled through a final resolution to the endless political deadlock that undermined its actions since its 2005 electoral victory, and

successfully pressured the Constitutional Court to authorise the replacement of 22 dissident MPs with supporters loyal to its leadership.

The CNDD-FDD and its allies thus regained a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, giving them the required political strength to legislate without further compromise with the opposition. Simultaneously, after a military confrontation in which the national army defeated the rebel group, the government finally obtained a permanent cessation of hostilities agreement from the Palipehutu-FNL, and after Rwaswa was almost handed-over to Bujumbura by Tanzania, a commitment to the negotiated resolution of the conflict was also signed. Three years after its electoral victory, the CNDD-FDD appeared to finally be in a position to rule single-handedly and use the full extent of its powers.

This is dangerous for the country.

FIRST, THE CNDD-FDD SEEMS animated by an ambition of political domination that could put at risk Burundi's democracy. Even though opposition parties bore large responsibility for the political crises that has paralysed state institutions since 2005, equitable power-sharing between parties is a constitutional requirement and must be respected. Yet, since January, the CNDD-FDD is trying to reduce all checks and balances against its powers, including attacks and judicial procedures against representatives of the independent media and unions, as well as human-rights and anti-corruption activists and non-governmental organisations. Second, Burundi's stability is closely related to the historical compromise negotiated between Hutu and Tutsi political forces in Arusha.

This compromise provided the political framework for the integration of Hutu rebels in the Tutsi dominated army and for the electoral process that brought the CNDD-FDD to power. Any attempt to undermine the fundamental pillars of the 2003 settlement could lead to a new radicalisation of political forces -- or even compromise the basis for the integration of FDD forces within the army. An alliance between opposition forces and the Palipehutu-FNL is also possible and could lead to the dangerous re-introduction of references to ethnicity in the national debate.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST, THE LACK of internal dialogue between parties runs the risk of a premature loss of credibility and legitimacy for the 2010 polls. Burundi cannot afford an escalation of tensions and violent clashes during the electoral campaign, in a context where FNL disarmament will have barely started and the issue of the integration of former rebels into state institutions and security forces may have remained unresolved. The spirit of Arusha must prevail. Only dialogue and compromise between Burundi's political parties, aiming at a consensus on legislative and possible constitutional reforms, can set up the adequate framework for the organisation of free, credible and peaceful elections in 2010. IN THE SHORT term, a political agreement must be reached on the resolution of conflicts of competence between ministers and deputy-ministers from different parties, the representation of the opposition in the administration and a minimal programme of economic, fiscal and legislative reforms so as to finally bring peace dividends to the population. Such a compromise-driven internal political dialogue might be helped by the creation of the office of the ombudsman, as

provided by the Constitution. A national committee on institutional reforms, comprising all political sensitivities and ethno-regional realities, could also launch a large consultation on the necessary amendments to the fundamental law, supported internationally by the United Nations Peace-building Commission. A CONSULTATION WITH International partners will be necessary on the need for international support to the organisation of elections. The presence of international police units, alongside local security forces should be considered. Burundi's financial partners and guarantors to the peace process should finally set up a contact group, to better co-ordinate and harmonise their actions and messages vis-à-vis Burundian political actors. Unless national dialogue is restarted to reduce political tensions ahead of the 2010 electoral campaign, Burundi could jeopardise its fragile stability and lose all the gains of a difficult but successful peace process.

François Grignon is Africa program director for the International Crisis Group, www.crisisgroup.org.

**Uganda: LRA Shot Itself in the Foot During Peace Negotiations : [The Nation](#) (Nairobi) : OPINION
31 August 2008**

Zachary Ochieng

THE LONG-AWAITED SIGNING of the final peace agreement between the Uganda Government and the Lord's Resistance Army will not be taking place in the foreseeable future.

This is the chilling message delivered in Nairobi last week by Mr David Matsanga, leader of the LRA peace delegation to the Juba peace talks. After treating the international community to a circus of sorts, LRA leader Joseph Kony and his brigade have woken up -- albeit a bit late in the day -- to the reality of the International Criminal Court (ICC) warrants issued in 2005 against him and his commanders, two of whom have since died. Whereas the warrants remained a sticking point during the negotiations that came to a close in June, it is unconscionable that the LRA is abandoning the agreement despite the efforts and resources that have been invested in the peace process.

The LRA peace delegation understood the implications of the warrants, and should not have wasted the international community's time. FOR, UNLIKE PREVIOUS PEACE EFFORTS characterised by threats and ultimatums from the Government, the Juba talks presented them with a chance of a lifetime, which has been squandered. It does not help matters that their Kony continues to snub Dr Riek Machar, the chief mediator, and Mr Joaquim Chissano, the UN Special Envoy to the LRA-affected areas. Four times this year, he failed to honour appointments with the two mediators.

With the ghost of the ICC warrants returning to haunt the signing ceremony, the gains so far made in the talks will be painfully reversed, and northern Uganda -- where the LRA holds sway -- will bear the brunt.

It is noteworthy that for the first time in two decades, the region is enjoying relative calm. Some of the initial two million internally displaced persons have returned to their homes since the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement last August, reducing the number to 1.6 million. The number of "night commuters" has also gone down considerably. But with the imminent collapse of the peace talks, a return to war could be in the offing. Though the Uganda Government has come up with the Peace Recovery and Development Programme (PRDP) for northern Uganda covering the period from 2006 to 2009, this may not be implemented without an immediate return of peace to the region. The current stalemate would have been avoided if the LRA delegation had been carefully chosen.

From the outset, observers expressed concerns over the composition of the delegation, mostly regarded as having little understanding of the situation on the ground. Such concerns have now come to pass. Nothing illustrates the incompetence of the LRA delegation better than the flaws in the agreements they have signed. For instance, Article 6.2 of the Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions to the Conflict signed in early May states that the government shall develop and support special programmes to remedy any imbalances for the north and north-eastern parts of the country.

However, the agreement is silent on the implementation process and modalities. According to Article 8.2, the parties agree that members of the LRA who are willing and qualify shall be integrated into the national armed forces and other security agencies.

But it is silent on what qualifies one to serve in the army. Still the most flawed agreement is the one that touches on accountability and reconciliation. Whereas both parties to the 21-year conflict agreed that they would bear responsibility for the crimes committed, and whereas this is clearly stated in the principal agreement, its implementation protocol only focuses on the atrocities perpetrated by LRA, leaving the Uganda military free.

IT IS ONLY NOW THAT THE LRA DELEGATION is realising that the Uganda Peoples Defence Force (UPDF) committed human rights violations since 1986 and must be called to account. When all is said and done, the agreements fall short of the original goals envisioned for ending the conflict, injustices and inequality. Even if the final peace agreement is signed, the agreements and implementation protocols in their current status won't guarantee peace and equitable development to Uganda, in particular to northern Uganda.

At last Friday's press briefing, Mr Matsanga and Mr Justine Lubeja, a member of the LRA delegation, admitted that some of the agreements they signed are flawed, but chose to blame it on the Uganda Government delegation and Dr Machar for "pushing them to the wall" during negotiations.

What balderdash!

Mr Ochieng contributes on regional politics for The EastAfrican.

BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

Weekly Presentation: September 12, 2008

Sub-Saharan Africa +NORTH AFRICA

EDITORIALS, NEWS COMMENTARIES N OPINIONS

Abbas S Lamptey

Period: From August 31 to September 6 2008

CHINA-AFRICA

A New Scramble for Africa? Perth Hosts Jamboree on Mining

[The Namibian \(Windhoek\): 5 September 2008: Naiem Dollie.](#)

Africa has once again been catapulted into the forefront of exploration targets as global companies line up to continue exploiting the continent's resources. Following the trend set by China, Australian companies are gathering in Perth to show their wares with exhibition booths. Their stated agenda is to angle for a greater scoop of the Africa's pots of gold, manganese, uranium, copper, silver and that rapidly dwindling resource, oil.

The largest gathering of Australian mining companies with exploration interests in Africa kicked off yesterday. Over 1 000 delegates have descended on Perth to participate in the two-days of presentations, exhibitions and networking events. Erasmus Shivolo, Namibia's mining commissioner in the Ministry of Mines and Energy, is billed to deliver his presentation today. Alongside the Namibian delegation, government representatives from across the continent will be rubbing shoulders with chief executives, managing directors, chairmen, presidents and consultants of major resource companies in Australia and the rest of the world.

"This conference provides a unique opportunity for Australian mining companies to expand their exploration focus in Africa, as well as for African governments and miners to benefit from the world-class skills and technologies developed by our own industry," says Bill Repard, chairman of Australian firm Paydirt and who is also the conference organiser. Australian mining and resources investment in Africa is estimated at more than US\$15 billion. The conference will cover "every aspect of mining in Africa from grass-roots exploration to established mines, political risk and incentives, to the continent's unique legal and operating environment". Expectations are that synergies between companies will be spoken about and that possible agreements for future exploration will be discussed. Mining concessions are expected to top the agenda of companies wishing to enter Africa as first-time explorers, and governments with strict regulations on foreign companies will be hard put to explain their policies.

Among the panoply of presentations, the World Bank's acting head of oil, gas and mining, Mamadou Barry, will speak today on the management of risk in mining projects. Notably absent from the printed programme, which was released by Paydirt and

public relations officer Kevin Skinner, is a slot for resources giant BHP Billiton, whose extensive mining operations in southern Africa are well known and widely written about. As China continues to throw its weight around Africa, Australian firms will find it difficult to match the availability of foreign reserves that China is reputed to have.

At an estimated US\$1.3 trillion, Beijing has an edge on most global companies to invest. The new playground is clearly Africa. Investments are clearly welcome but we should be asking the questions: At what cost? Who will be benefitting? The exploitation of any country's natural resources is a necessary activity that should be benefitting the people who live there. Profits are not necessarily a measure of health and growth.

The people and the country's infrastructure must grow with existing and future investments, and this will be the loudest demonstration that the new scramble for Africa's mineral endowment is not a new imperialism.

China and India - Challenging the Status Quo?

Fahamu (Oxford): OPINION: 4 September 2008: Sanusha Naidu.

'Equality and mutual benefit' are reflected today in Chinese leaders' frequent emphasis on aid as a partnership, not a one way transfer of charity, -quoted in Deborah Brautigam's, China's African Aid: Transatlantic Challenge.

India intends to be a partner in Africa's resurgence- Prime Minister Manmohan Singh address to the Nigerian National Assembly in 2007

The rise of China and India has indeed created a new set of impulses in the international system. Not only are these two emerging giants making notable waves in the way that international finance, trade and investments are being shaped but also in the way that the rules, which govern the global governance regime are being influenced. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the realm of the international architecture on aid effectiveness. While the debate rages on around whether China and India are new or reemerging donors in the world today, their behaviour as development partners is certainly changing the global aid picture and most importantly in Africa.

Over the past several years, the politics of aid has been an overarching issue in Africa's development debate. Since 2000 the Group of Eight industrialised rich states (G8) have been promising to double aid to Africa. Unfortunately these promises have largely been unfulfilled with the G8 countries opining that aid money has been misused by African recipients, or that African governments are not conforming to the conditionality of good governance and democratic reform. From the African side the prescriptive nature of the

aid policy of traditional donors, their inertia and shifting of the goal posts around what constitutes this doubling of aid has been equally frustrating.

While the G8 and the DAC members are stumbling to find practical ways to ensure that aid is being effectively used to promote sustainable development across the continent, subtle changes are beginning to show with the increasing and deepening footprint of China and India across the continent. Their use of soft power coupled with generous financial packages, and notwithstanding the rhetoric of South-South cooperation has found traction amongst African leaders. But what really makes China and India attractive as development partners for many African governments is the parochial view that Beijing and New Delhi understand Africa's development needs and are not preoccupied with setting high governance benchmarks that could undermine the delivery of aid, prolong the implementation of projects and emasculate development.

Welcomed by African governments as alternate sources of development finance and for their less cumbersome procedures, these two Asian partners have modelled their development finance on a framework of concessional loans and aid for resource security and infrastructure reconstruction. China's development assistance to Africa best illustrates this. China's increasing penetration of the African market and role as an alternate development partner has raised significant issues regarding the impact this will have for Africa. Will it see new forms of aid dependency? Or does Beijing engender a more inclusive and cooperative engagement with its African partners? What dynamics underpin China's development assistance to Africa and are African governments more pragmatic in their aid relations with China, drawing on their experience with traditional donors? Fundamentally is China's use of development assistance entrenching Africa's indebtedness, leading to a new form of debt risk for African governments? Finally is Chinese aid meeting the expectations of improving the livelihoods of Africa's people?

Balancing China's role in Africa is the increasing presence of India in the continent. Similar questions are being asked of India's development assistance. But perhaps a more significant question is: who will be the better development partner for Africa?

Seemingly then China and India as Africa's 'new donors' has certainly sparked a debate amongst western and African commentators alike. Much of the debate focuses around whether China and India disburse their aid differently and what implications this has for existing western donors in Africa. This is obviously motivated by the fact that China and India are non-DAC donors and somehow represent a challenge to the status quo. Indeed China and India have become significant development partners to most African countries, but their development assistance still remains a negligible portion to that of the DAC and multilateral donors who remain Africa's main development partners.

DEFINING CHINA AND INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

At the very outset it must be stressed that by not being DAC members, it is complex and perhaps cheeky to measure China and India's aid through the lens of the DAC definition of Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) with its main objectives of promoting economic development and welfare at concessional financial terms, and loans including a minimum grant element of 25 per cent. But since no other structure exists by which to gauge China and India's behaviour as donors or until such time both formalise their own evaluation frameworks, China and India will be measured against the DAC consensus. In so doing there may be certain overlaps with the DAC definition of ODA, but for purposes of clarity and distinction we define China and India's aid as development assistance mainly because of the controversy and sensitivities that surround this topic and in keeping with how both countries perceive their behaviour.

What makes China and India interesting developing partners is that both of them have until fairly recently been recipients of large ODA disbursements. In the last three to four years this situation has altered with a significant decline in their inward aid flows as a percentage of GDP (Gross Domestic Product), which has been offset by their concomitant rise as development partners. [Between 1990 and 2003, China's aid as a percentage of GDP declined from 0.6 per cent to 0.1 per cent. During the same period India's aid decreased from 0.4 per cent to 0.2 per cent. See Manning, R. (2006): 'Will "Emerging Donors" change the face of International Cooperation', *Development Policy Review*, 24(4), pp. 371-85] But this does not suggest that ODA flows have dried up altogether. Instead China and India continue to receive limited multilateral and bilateral aid simply because their rising global economic status, middle income profile and transition from aid recipients to aid donors has raised the bar around whether China and India continue to qualify for further international development assistance. To this end western donors are reviewing their country assistance programmes to both countries (Davies 2007, p. 33). And this is becoming more explicit in the Chinese case. The UK's Department for International Development (DFID) China office recently had their programmes assessed in London to determine their success and set out what the next stage of their engagement with Beijing should be as China transitions into a fully fledged aid donor. Similarly, Japan, which is currently China's largest bilateral donor, has indicated that they will be scaling down their aid programme to Beijing by the end of 2008.

In India the situation appears more complex. New Delhi seems to have taken on a more aggressive engagement with its donor partners by asserting that it wants to exert more control over its aid flows. An early announcement in 2003 and following the 2004 Asian Tsunami disaster where India refused humanitarian assistance but instead provided disaster relief to its neighbours signalled New Delhi's intentions to be independent and

manage its own domestic affairs without interference from western donors. While there remains some donor activity, it would appear that the Indian government chose this symbolic gesture to demonstrate to its development partners that it still remains a sovereign state that must be respected (Price 2004, Jobelius 2007).

Both China and India have very similar aid strategies. It is a mixture of both monetary and non-monetary forms of assistance. According to McCormick: 'Monetary aid includes grants and concessionary loans. Non monetary aid includes debt relief, 'free' or low cost technical assistance, access to scholarships or training programmes, tariff exemptions and outright gifts of buildings, equipment, or other capital goods (2008, p.79).' Clearly Beijing and Delhi apply both types of aid in their development assistance packages to Africa. Based on this it can be concluded that there are some broad correlations with the DAC ODA definition, particularly where the promotion of economic development and welfare are the main objectives at concessional financial terms. To this end China and India concur that their development assistance to the developing world is precisely aimed at creating conducive conditions for economic self-sustainability and social development. In Africa this seems to be the official rhetoric for disbursing development assistance. While there may be some broad overlaps with the DAC definition as applied by the traditional donors, there are some grey areas as well. In 2007/2008 the Centre for Chinese Studies based in South Africa conducted an assessment of China's aid policy and practice to Africa where it became abundantly clear that no one approach can best encapsulate China's aid policy or for that matter if there is an official aid policy (Davies, Edinger, Tay and Naidu 2008, p. 2). According to the authors: 'In order to interpret China's aid policy, one can take various different approaches. One approach assumes that the Chinese government defines aid according to two different formats: "co-operation" and "ODA". One respondent differentiated between them by suggesting that "cooperation" refers to foreign direct investments and contracts with Chinese companies, while "ODA" refers to concessionary loans, debt relief and grants. Trade concessions may also fall into this category. However, there were conflicting views from other respondents, who identified only the transfer of funds between governments (including the funds involved in donations of aid in kind), as constituting "aid". These conflicting definitions offered by both Chinese government and well positioned academic sources reflect the ambiguity in Chinese foreign aid policy circles. There is clearly no official definition of aid at present'.

On the other hand, India's development assistance involves a cross sectoral provision of capacity building, skills development, credit lines and scholarships. While Delhi's aid policy encompasses a broader range of aid distribution, it is also more limited in scope as it does not look to provide grants in aid (Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Division, 2006) as traditional definitions would indicate. Rather it opts for development of human resources and education, which again results in complexities surrounding the conceptualisation of India's aid policy.

In sum then, the provision of aid by China and India appear to align more closely to their rising global status, endowed by their historical experiences and underscored by the act of benevolence. [For a concise understanding of China's aid system see Deborah Brautigam, op cit.] This is captured by the emerging logic of China and India's involvement in the Non-aligned Movement (NAM) and the idea that as Beijing and Delhi become prosperous they will be able to give back to the poorer countries by assisting them to develop (Snow 1988, Glosny 2006). Nevertheless trying to pigeon hole or compartmentalise the aid policies of each country into neatly defined boxes proves difficult, particularly as China and India's donor activities in Africa are often inextricably viewed together with their commercial interests and investment projects. Therefore, to develop some synergy with regard to how China and India interpret their development assistance and to make the distinctions less complex, especially in relation to the DAC ODA definition, McCormick's paradigm of monetary and non monetary forms of aid is probably better suited in assessing China and India's development assistance activities across Africa.

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PAN AFRICA

Aid Talks Fail to Deliver for the World's Poor

ActionAid (London): PRESS RELEASE: 5 September 2008.

ActionAid said today that key demands by developing countries and campaigners for immediate improvements to make aid work better for the poor were blocked by the US, Japan and the World Bank.

Hopes had been high that key reforms would be agreed to make aid more efficient, transparent and effective, but these were scuppered by back room deals dominated by donor countries. Some progress was made in some areas, such as the use of country systems, but overall there were few concrete commitments. The talks were convened by the OECD; a grouping of the world's wealthiest nations. ActionAid spokesperson, Wole Olaleyе said "It is disgraceful that powerful countries have denied the poor a chance to benefit from better aid. Future aid negotiations cannot be run by a few rich countries. They must be moved to a forum where northern and southern countries can negotiate on equal terms, such as the United Nations, with meaningful participation by civil society." The European Union has supported developing country positions and hinted that it might consider making additional commitments to improve aid. "Europe provides two thirds of the world's aid," Olaleyе added. "It's time for them to set the bar much higher and agree with developing countries the concrete steps needed to make European aid more accountable and effective."

A Future Without Aids is Possible, Favourable

The Monitor (Kampala): COLUMN: 5 September 2008: Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem.

From September 2 to 4, there was yet another important meeting in Accra, Ghana. This time it was a High Level Meeting on Aid Effectiveness. The issue of quality and volume of Aid has become very important since the adoption of the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs in 2000. In 2000 at the Millennium Summit of the UN global leaders, heads of state and governments surveyed the state of the peoples of the world, reviewed the achievements and the challenges and also the opportunities that faced us at the dawn of a new millennium. Their judgement was not flattering.

While there has been undeniable progress in technology, they were ashamed that the benefits of this progress have not been evenly shared by the peoples of the world. There was huge disparity between the richer countries and the poorer countries. The stark reality was that the world's poor and powerless who constitute the vast majority of the world's population were living in poverty and billions of them were suffering extreme hunger. Yet the world could not have been richer. More than 50 years ago, Mahatma Gandhi declared that "there is enough in the world to satisfy our need but there is not enough to satisfy our greed". It was true then and even truer now. It was both a collective sense of shame and shared hope that inspired the 189 leaders gathered at the General Assembly to make the Millennium Declaration. (1) The Millennium Declaration was subsequently translated into the 8 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

(2) The Declaration was a statement of intent while the Goals provide compass to the realisation of the good intentions. The UN is a museum for many good intentions, declarations, grand plans that are never implemented before being superseded by yet another set of more plans.

So why should the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs be different? There are important distinguishing features that promise to make the MDGs different from previous plans. One, it is not just a set of declarations but it was reduced to concrete, achievable goals. Two, the goals have clear indices of progress. Three, they have time lines and time-bound with a target date by which they have to be achieved.

The other distinction has to do with the accountability for them. While it is true that they do not have the force of law they have the political commitment of the most powerful political leaders representing all peoples of the world - rich and poor. Unlike in the past when development pledges are usually about declaration of the richer countries to help the poorer ones, the MDGs commit both the rich and the poor. The MDGs are a social

contract at two levels. The first, between the political leaders and the people, especially the majority poor, sick, children, women and the marginalised. The second, it is a pledge between governments of the South and those of the North.

The former pledges to eliminate poverty and hunger, educate the children, empower women, and looking after its sick in a pro-poor development that does not destroy the environment. These are the goals No 1-7. In return the richer countries commit themselves to the 8th Goal which stands on tripod stool of increasing Aid both in quality and quantity, writing off the debt of poor countries and reforming the rules of international trade that are rigged against the poorer countries. The Accra Aid Effectiveness meeting is meant to review the progress that has been made in meeting the commitment to improve on the quality and quantity of Aid in the past seven years. It is a follow up on similar reviews that took place in Paris in 2005, out of which grew the Paris Declaration. As we begin the second half of the 2015 target date for achieving the MDGs, progress on Aid effectiveness has been at best mixed. The three decades old promise of richer countries committing 0.7 per cent of their GNI to international development has only been achieved by a few countries. The biggest economies including Germany, Japan, the USA and even Britain that is so enthusiastic about MDGs are yet to meet the target. Accra provides an opportunity to see the much neglected principle of mutual accountability in action. However, no matter how effective Aid is, on its own, it cannot lead to sustainable development without universal debt relief. There is need for a reform of the unfair trading rules which continue to trap the poorer countries. Maybe the real meeting Africans and other poor countries need to have is about a future without aid - not only would that be desirable but necessary.

Dr. Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem is deputy director, UN Millennium Campaign

Tribal Politics is a Recipe for Anarchy: [The Monitor](#) (Kampala)

OPINION: 2 September 2008: Rose Namayanja.

I have been keenly following the debate on tribalism and decided to invest time to understand the subject. The issue may appear parochial but it is causing havoc in Africa - a continent that is home to more than 3/4 of the world's failed states. Tribal passions in themselves are not evil; it's a source of identity. Most people love not only their country but the village they grew up in, the people, food and songs they grew up singing. Indeed, many Black Americans are grappling with an identity crisis. Whereas they are legally Americans, they know for a fact that they came from Africa; and what baffles them most is that they cannot trace their ancestry, no wonder some were saying that Senator Obama is not "Black" enough. But tribal bloodletting is not limited to Africa.

The recent carnage in the Balkans, where many people were slaughtered and women were raped; the conflict between Georgia and Russia over South Ossetia and Abkhazia, speak volumes. You can't understand African politics without grasping the influence of tribal persuasions. Many people imagine that conflicts in Africa are spontaneous expressions of ancient hatreds. But the tribal conflicts erupt into large scale bloodshed when deliberately inflamed by unscrupulous leaders. The Rwanda genocide, usually portrayed as a consequence of ancient ethnic hatred, wouldn't have occurred without predatory politics. All indications point to the fact that genocide was meant to entrench a certain clique in power and totally excluding others.

Burundi, with a similar ethnic fabric, is going through a similar civil strife. One time, I interacted with a Burundian politician who told me that if a Tutsi man marries a Hutu woman, the children will be in danger because Tutsis will hate them for having a Hutu mother and Hutus will also hate them for having a Tutsi father!

Nigeria, a country with more than 200 ethnic groups, is experiencing tribal and religious animosities. The Muslim north and the Christian and animist south are sharply divided. An Igbo, for instance, will tell you that they are Igbo - before adding that they are Nigerians. The Biafran war for cessation left more than 30,000 Igbo dead.

The anarchy in Kenya is still fresh in our minds. Raila Odinga's ODM party had members from most of the country's tribes. ODM wanted Majimbo, which means federalism. However, some Kenyans thought this meant that a person was to go back to their own district/province.

I was dismayed by the tone of MP Beti Kanya's article about the Bahiima, which to me, signalled worse times to come. Later, people demanded the list of URA employees, ambassadors, State House staff and presidential advisors. The squabbles in most political parties only affirm my earlier submission that it's the politicians fuelling tribal animosity for egocentric reasons. It started with Capt. Mike Mukula's outbursts in the NRM Caucus that people from the west were taking a lion's share of the national cake. Scandals in DP are not any better. There are persistent allegations that when the party's NEC sits, it's looks more like a meeting of the bataka. In FDC, Kanya has blatantly and shamelessly played the tribal card for selfish reasons - to attract sympathy and get political mileage - typical of African politicians. She has in the process exposed FDC's hypocrisy and failure to practice what they preach.

Therefore, implore fellow Ugandan politicians especially those of our generation, to emulate Tanzania - a country with more than 120 ethnic groups. The late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere sought to soothe them by imposing a single language, and sternly barring

ethnically divisive political talks. No wonder, the country has been peaceful since independence. *Ms Namayanja is Woman MP, Nakaseke District.*

Continent Leads the World With Call to End Irresponsible Arms Transfers: [Oxfam International](#) (Oxford): PRESS RELEASE: 5 September 2008.

Representatives from 20 African governments have finished landmark talks in Nairobi on international arms transfers, development and the Arms Trade Treaty. The discussions ended with a call for the United Nations to begin consideration of an Arms Trade Treaty as a matter of urgency. The two day conference explored how the current lack of global controls on the arms trade are fuelling conflict, poverty and serious human rights abuses in Africa.

While the delegates, who included senior government officials, arms experts and representatives from civil society, recognized that African states had the right to acquire arms for legitimate defense purposes, they were unanimous in their call to stop the flood of unregulated arms into Africa. The delegates agreed that both exporting and importing states had obligations to ensure a responsible arms trade. They recommended that an effective Treaty would oblige exporters to assess the risk of an arms transfer undermining an importing state's social and economic development. The Treaty should also oblige states to consider the recipient's record of transparency in military spending and its record in preventing patterns of violence, organized crime and regional instability.

Desire Assogbavi from Oxfam International said:

“Time and time again during these discussions we heard how African development is hampered by the scourge of unregulated arms transfers. Most African governments have now agreed that this is unacceptable: the Arms Trade Treaty is a crucial path towards a peaceful future, where economies can flourish and governments prioritize the health of their citizens.” The Arms Trade Treaty is currently under discussion at the United Nations, where states will discuss the next stage of the process for the Treaty in October. Ambassador Philip Richard Owade, Ambassador and Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission of Kenya to the UN in Geneva and Chairman of the conference said: “These two days of discussions have reminded us that Africa cannot afford to wait any longer for negotiations to start on an Arms Trade Treaty. The clock is ticking; people are dying; Africa is losing crucial development opportunities. I feel confident that Africa will present a united view at the UN, where we will call for this Treaty as a matter of urgency.” Joseph Dube, Africa Coordinator for IANSA said: “Civil society organizations witnessed today that governments want to put African lives first - by investing in education and health services before expanding defense budgets. Africa has now established its leadership at the UN, by calling for a new era of responsible arms

trading.”The conference was organized by the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in partnership with Oxfam, IANSA and Saferworld.For more details on the ATT, please see www.controlarms.org

Namibia: Are We Destined to Become a Future Battleground?

Namibia Economist (Windhoek):OPINION: **5 September 2008:** Daniel Steinmann.

With the Ukraine teetering on the brink of a political breakdown and Georgia just recovering from the might of the Russian military, I am wondering why the world's three most powerful nations deem it necessary to build fortified bunkers for embassies in a small insignificant strip of desert land on the south western coast of Africa.

As is customary this time of the year, we started working on a section that focuses on the ups and downs in the building and construction industry. This research leads us to the startling fact that there is a dire shortage of cement in the whole country. As we asked more people and as the facts started unfolding, I heard from several individuals that the popular gossip in town wants to lay the blame for the lack of cement at the door of the Chinese Embassy.This lofty campus of buildings is currently under construction in Ludwigsdorf on a large piece of land bordering the Klein Windhoek River. This is just opposite Village Square and it is also one of the first building sites where I noticed Chinese contractors have now become bold enough to crawl out of the woodwork and start displaying their company names proudly on their overhead gantry cranes. Since the Chinese were exonerated in the High Court in December last year, from the accusations regarding their labour practises, they have all of a sudden assumed a much higher and visible public profile. Nowhere is this more obvious than at the construction site of the Chinese Embassy.

It always amazes me how quickly gossip turns into fact. Earlier in the week it was mentioned jokingly that all the cement goes into the Chinese Embassy. By week's end this has turned into a widely believed statement although it turned out to be improbable. Then my attention was drawn by builders to the Russian Embassy, which it transpired is an equally imposing fortified fortress.This made me remember the big hoo-hah when the American Embassy was extensively renovated and improved (read fortified) beginning of 2002, and the street in front of the embassy was blocked for traffic, all seemingly with the approval of our government.It is only natural that my inquisitive nature started asking: "Why?"I know that the American Embassy in Pretoria is also an almost impenetrable fortress. I remember the big media explosion when it came to light in the early eighties the new embassy, and then still under construction, was bugged and the Americans had to start all over again. In those years, given the highly volatile political and security situation in South Africa, a well-protected embassy made all the sense. I have never seen

either the Russian or the Chinese embassies in South Africa but I assume, going by the stature of the nations to which they belong, they will be just as grand and strong as the Americans'. But what on this earth motivates three such overwhelmingly powerful nations to invest in impenetrable bunkers in our small town that poses absolutely no threat to world peace.

I have to admit I do not have any idea of what the structural design elements in the American Embassy consist of, but on the odd occasion that I had to go there, I noticed the overbearing presence of a highly sophisticated electronic surveillance system coupled to the obvious and very visible physical security out in the street and at the front entrance. These observations make me assume the embassy also wears a hard skin. According to my information the Chinese Embassy is a reinforced block of super-modified concrete. The entire roof structure has been constructed out of solid concrete to create a bunker that can withstand so-called bunker buster missiles. The same applies to the Russian Embassy where even the utilities had to be rebuilt to ensure a more reliable supply of water and energy.

My question remains: "What for?"

I can see very few threats to either the Chinese or the Russian Embassies. The potential threats against the American Embassy merit a thick skin, but I would hope, also balanced by the severity of the threat and the probability of such a threat actually happening. I doubt that any squabbles the Chinese may care to take up with the Americans will constitute any significant threat in future in Namibia. Similarly, I doubt if Russia's difference of opinion with the EU will ever culminate in an actual confrontation on our soil. So why did they construct these monstrosities out of all proportion and out of sync with the obvious, pervasive stability and prosperity we see in our country. Let them tell me.

European Development Fund - The Illusion of Assistance

Fahamu (Oxford): OPINION: 4 September 2008: Mouhamet Lamine Ndiaye.

Equitable and sustainable structural transformation of African economies is a prerequisite for improving livelihoods across the continent. Despite decades of reform often led under structural adjustment programmes, and a very high level of openness, most sub-Saharan African countries remain highly dependent on a narrow range of mineral and agricultural commodities, with low levels of value-addition and low potential for job creation. Africa's share of world trade has declined from 5.5 per cent in 1980 to 2 per cent in 2003,

and of this trade there is an overwhelming dependency on trade with the EU (European Union).

Stimulating growth that enhances welfare, creates quality employment, and fulfils social and economic rights requires holistic economic policies and the political space and financial means to implement them - at national and continental levels. These policies need to reflect the aspirations and values of all sectors of society and to further regional integration and a process of sustainable agricultural reform and industrialisation. As one of Africa's leading economic partners, in terms of trade and investment, as well as wider financial support through aid finance, the EU could play an important and significant role in supporting holistic and equitable economic transformation across Africa.

REGIONAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

Trade policies have a critical role to play in supporting economic development across Africa. These policies are increasingly set through agreements in international arenas. Whilst the World Trade Organisation has set trade rules that have implications for African countries, it is a new generation of bilateral/regional trade and investment agreements that will critically determine the types of trade and wider economic policies that governments can use to support development. The ongoing negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries and the EU will have a decisive impact on the trade and economic policies of African countries. For most African countries, the EU is the single most important trade partner and thus any agreement with the EU will have substantial implications. The EU's current EPAs' proposal are in danger of undermining the very policies that African countries require to promote regional integration and transformation of their economies. There are widespread and justified fears that the configuration of the EPA negotiating blocs will undermine rather than promote aid effectiveness.

Furthermore, the trade in goods component of the agreements requires the liberalisation of tariffs, which threatens the viability and livelihoods of existing rural producers and industry and has sombre implications for government budgets. Moreover, the current proposals would entail African governments freezing all remaining tariffs at zero, effectively relinquishing the right to use tariff policy as an instrument for development. The EU proposes that these agreements should include rules on services, investment, competition, intellectual property and government procurement. As such, these proposed agreements are far more than trade agreements, and enter into areas of domestic economic policy that have not even been discussed in many African countries, let alone agreed at a regional or continental level.

Whilst rules in all these areas are needed for development, it is imperative that such rules reflect the changing needs and priorities of the countries concerned. Despite the EU's insistence on including these issues in any agreement, it is not clear what African countries would gain and the costs could be high. Yet, agreeing to these rules would require countries to consult the EU when they needed to change them thus undermining national and regional policy flexibility.

Implementing an EPA will clearly be costly for ACP countries in terms of losses in tariff revenue and employment. In addition, impact assessment studies show that for ACP countries to reap any benefits from increased market access provided under EPAs, [1] they first need to address the major supply side constraints that impede competitive production. One study estimates conservatively that total 'adjustment costs' such as compensation for loss of tariff revenue, employment, production, and support for export development for ACP countries could be about \$9.2 billion. [C. Milner 'An assessment of the overall implementation and adjustment costs for the ACP countries of Economic Partnership Agreements with the EU', in Grynberg, R. and A. Clarke (2006) 'The European Development Fund and Economic Partnership Agreements', Commonwealth secretariat economic affairs division]

THE ILLUSION OF AID

The EU has a history of providing substantial development assistance to ACP countries, covering areas such as health, education, water and sanitation, and roads. This support is channelled through the European Development Fund (EDF) and disbursed in five year cycles. In response to ACP concerns about the costs of EPAs, the EC (European Commission) has pledged to increase the amount pledged under the next EDF funding cycle (2008-13) to \$22.7 billion [At Port Moresby ACP Council of Ministers, May 2006]. At first glance this would seem to be sufficient to meet the EPA adjustment costs, but deeper scrutiny suggests that this assistance may be more illusion than reality.

The EC suggests that funds to compensate ACP countries for the costs of implementing EPAs would come from the tenth EDF funding cycle (2008-13), for which a total of \$22.7 billion has been pledged. Yet, even before EPAs came onto the scene, it was estimated that \$21.3 billion would be needed for the tenth EDF funding cycle, merely to fund the costs of the EU's existing aid portfolio and maintain EU contributions at 0.38 per cent of the EU's gross national income (GNI). [R. Grynberg and A. Clarke (2006) 'The European Development Fund and Economic Partnership Agreements', Commonwealth secretariat, economic affairs division] If this is the case, the tenth EDF is merely business as usual. Rather than provide new funds for EPAs, the EC will cover EPA adjustment costs from its existing aid budget diverting money away from other areas, such as health, education, and rural development.

Even if ACP countries decide to use existing aid money for EPA adjustment costs, it might be very slow in arriving. During the last five year cycle (2001-06), the EU promised 15 billion in aid to ACP countries. By the end of the cycle, only 28 per cent of this money had been disbursed. The record for the previous cycle was even worse. For 1995-2000, a promise of 14.6 billion was made. Funds only started to be disbursed in the third year, and by the end of the five years only 20 per cent had been paid out. Since ACP countries will quickly feel the impact of EPAs on their economies, the EU's disbursement mechanisms clearly need a major overhaul if EU assistance is really to make a difference. ACP governments are wary of the EC's smoke and mirrors approach to development assistance and have called for a separate and additional EPA financing facility, [Nairobi declaration on Economic Partnership Agreements, African Union conference of ministers of trade, April 2006] so that the EC can be held to its promises and funds can be clearly tracked. To date, this has not been agreed and the promise of assistance remains a mirage.

AID QUANTITY AND QUALITY

In 2005, 15 European member states agreed to increase their aid to 0.7 per cent of GNI by 2015. As part of this agreement they set a series of interim aid targets in 2006 and 2010. Official figures released by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) this year, showed that the EU15 are on track and have met their collective aid target in 2006. However, almost one third of EU aid - 13.5 billion - was artificially inflated due to EU member states including debt cancellation and spending within Europe on refugees and foreign students' education as aid. If these non aid items are deducted from official figures, EU member states missed their collective 2006 target of giving 0.39 per cent of GNI as aid, providing only 0.31 per cent. If EU member states continue to significantly inflate their aid figures with these items, by 2010 poor countries will have received nearly 50 billion less than what they have been promised.

In order to fight poverty, the EU not only needs to provide more aid, it also needs to provide better quality aid. The EU has made some welcome commitments towards improving aid effectiveness which must be met, including agreeing to meet the Paris aid effectiveness targets and setting its own targets on joint analyses and multi-annual strategic planning. In addition the EU must also ensure a greater percentage of aid goes to Least Developed Countries (LDCs) which need it most. It should also provide more aid on a long term and predictable basis.

AID FOR TRADE

Much broader than simple technical assistance or training of trade negotiators, 'aid for trade' describes several categories of trade related assistance to African countries. Its objectives include enhancing worker skills, modernising custom systems, building roads and ports, and improving agricultural productivity and export diversification. Aid for trade aim to help African countries to adapt to the global trading environment. However, aid has rarely been a simple transfer of resources from developed countries to aid recipient countries. Often, aid comes to African countries attached to a development 'toolkit' in the form of aid conditionality. This toolkit involves trade policy prescriptions in the form of structural adjustment programmes that are often a conceptual expression of the political and economic ideology of the donors rather than the development priorities of the receiving countries.

The World Bank and the IMF, in response to request from the G7 finance ministers and the G8 in Gleneagles, jointly proposed an aid for trade package. ['Doha development agenda and aid for trade', prepared by staffs of the IMF and the World Bank, 9 September 2005 (DC2005-0016)] The package is a proposal for provisions of financial and technical assistance to developing countries for two related objectives. Firstly, to address supply side constraints in developing countries ('maximisation of benefit') and secondly to assist them in coping with the adjustment cost of trade liberalization, which is assume to be transitional ('minimisation of the cost'). The 33 African LDCs, according to the World Bank and IMF, have not been able to take full advantage of the benefits of the multilateral trade liberalisation because of limitation that invade on their trading capacity or supply side constraints. The maintenance of high unbound tariffs that, says the Bank, create 'disincentives to enter international markets'. The two Bretton Woods institutions entertain the idea that trade liberalisation could be realised if such limitations are mitigated through increased financial and technical assistance.

LDCs have been granted quota free and duty free market access to EU's market. In the context of low productive capacity, poor infrastructure, limited access to research and technology, and inadequate financial markets, liberalised markets will not stimulate economic growth nor address the structural issues of development.

To genuinely assist poor countries, aid for trade must not only be additional to development aid and meet standards of aid effectiveness, such as those outlined in the Cotonou agreement, but they should also complement a prodevelopmental round of trade negotiations that puts receiving countries' interests at the core of the negotiations. Fundamentally, aid for trade should not be used as a 'bargaining sword' in exchange for a one size fits all trade liberalisation package.

IMPROVING AID

Further, the European commission and the EU member states need to provide, when and where appropriated, aid directly to African countries national budgets, either centrally supporting a government or supporting a particular sector such as health and education. The European commission has already signed up to providing 50 per cent of its aid via budget support. However, over 90 per cent of the additional EU aid flows will come via member states bilateral aid. It is therefore important that EU member states also make the commitment to provide 50 per cent of their bilateral aid via budget or sector support.

The EC and the EU member states should also move towards providing more of their aid on a long term basis and should stop the current practice of attaching economic policy conditions to their aid. With this regard, the EC's proposal for 'MDG (Millennium Development Goal) contracts', which would provide six year budget support and come with a reduced number of conditions set around the attainment of the MDGs, should be supported by member states and put in place immediately. Member states should also move towards providing more long term aid (over six to ten years) and phasing out attaching economic policy conditions to their aid.

Tying aid to the purchase of goods and services from donor countries continues to be a serious problem affecting the quality of EU aid. Most European governments still tie their aid. This practice results in an increase in the cost of purchasing goods and services, meaning that poor countries can afford to buy significantly less. It also acts as an expensive subsidy to donor country industries and jobs, and can potentially damage poor country markets. Untying aid would increase the value of aid by up to 30 per cent.

Despite the rhetoric and repeated commitments, policy coherence for development is in practice missing in many areas of EU policy. Even where EU policy is indeed coherent with development objectives, the implementation of those policies frequently lacks coherence with those objectives.

Furthermore, there continue to be institutional divisions within the commission, which cause significant problems to the coherence and consistency of aid programmes. These revolve around the split of development aid regional policy and programming between the EC's directorates general for development (ACP) and for external relations (ALA, MEDA etc), with EuropeAid undertaking the contract issuing and management of the implementation of the commission's aid programmes. This division of responsibilities within the Commission and the gap between development policy formulation and implementation prompts considerable concern about the possibility of achieving a consistent and coherent development policy.

CONCLUSION

African countries do not need to be apologetic or even feel guilty about needing aid to better benefit from trade. All developed countries have benefited from aid and heavy investment to increase production and trade capacity before engaging fully in international trade. Aid for trade is not charity.

Besides, implementing an EPA will clearly be costly for ACP countries. One study estimates conservatively that total 'adjustment costs' such as compensation for loss of tariff revenue, employment, production, and support for export development for ACP countries could be about \$9.2 billion. This conservative estimate clearly shows that the \$2 billion extra, which the EU has pledged to provide for trade-related assistance (of which a 'substantial amount', but not all, would be devoted to ACP countries) would not be enough. And there are legitimate concerns about how speedily any funds could be made available to ACP countries, given the problems with delays in EDF disbursements.

Hence, ACP countries are correct to ask for clarity on what level of funds will be available for trade related assistance and EPA related adjustment costs. Each ACP country already faces challenges to meet the MDGs, for which current aid levels are already insufficient. So they are also correct to demand that these aids for trade funds must be additional to existing development assistance. The EU should urgently provide clarity on how much additional funding ACP countries can expect to receive, for what specific activities, and how - and when - it will be made available to them. Also these additional funds should not be conditional on signing an EPA, nor should they be linked to progress in the EPA negotiations.

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Post 9/11 Aid, Security Agenda and the African State

Fahamu (Oxford): OPINION: 4 September 2008: Shastry Njeru.

The nexus between aid, security and development is now beyond doubt. In fact, security is a precondition for development. The often cited 'no development without security, no security without development' captures this interconnectivity (Dochas 2007). Iraq, despite huge avalanche of aid for reconstruction, is a good example of the importance of security. Sadly, aid has become one of the casualties in the 'war on terror'. It has been rapidly securitised. Self-interest and political motives determine the priorities of aid.

Since the start of the 'war on terror', when United States (US) President Bush claimed that anybody was either a friend or an enemy, aid has become one of the weapons in their

arsenal. War on terror has brought back the state as the sole referent in security. International aid as known today originated during the Cold War at a time when the US felt that the whole continent of Europe would be converted into a socialist camp and pumped billions of dollars through the Marshall Plan to jumpstart the war damaged economies. Enter 9/11, the good intentions of aid were set aside for the political priorities and self-interest.

US President George Bush said on 20 September 2001: 'We will direct every resource at our command to the disruption of the global terror network'. Relief became a reward for useful intelligence information. Aid was not only a weapon on the battlefield but also used in diplomatic negotiations with poor countries. In 2003, the US threatened poor UN Security Council members like Angola, Cameroon and Guinea with a reduction of international aid. In the post 9/11 era Africa continued to need security and aid as much as before to overcome its 'tremendous economic, social and political' (Mohiddin 2007) challenges. Yet Africa did not have 'capable and intelligent states' (Kauzya 2007) able to provide much needed security which is a precondition for development and peace. Any form of aid creates an asymmetrical relationship between the donor and the recipients vitiating the spirit and letter of the Paris Declaration. This relationship fosters ineffective aid. In fact, it does harm by feeding into existing conflicts thereby perpetuating conditions of insecurity that hinder meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

SECURITY

Before the Cold War, security was interpreted in militaristic terms as defence of the state involving structured violence manifest in state warfare (Fourie and Schonteich 2004). Security was the ability of the state to defend national interests against both national and external enemies (AFRODAD 2005). This traditional notion of security was concerned with 'security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy...' (UNDP 1994). Because it concentrated on nation-state and attached 'disproportionate attention to security of the state' (Regehr and Whelan 2004), 'legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives' (UNDP 1994) were overlooked.

But at the end of the Cold War non military threats became conspicuous confusing and muddling the adversary (Elizabeth 2004). In this regard the concept of deterrence ceased to apply. The Westphalian concepts of the state security and statism were sublimed by globalisation creating what is called 'networked governance', 'new multilateralism', 'decentred governance' or 'polycentrism' (Scholte 2004) outside the realm of the traditional state authority. As the world entered into the 'twilight of sovereignty' (Wriston 1992) or 'beyond sovereignty' (Soroos 1986), the irrelevance of the state as the sole

referent in security matters brought to the fore the human person as academics and organisations withdrew from definitions which ignored the individual and other forms of security, which are very vital for peace (AFRODAD 2005).

The 1994 human development report of the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) officially coined the human security concept. It says the intention of human security is '... to capture the post Cold War peace dividend and redirect those resources towards the development agenda' (Axworthy 1999, p. 2). With the hindsight, the global community increasingly focused on the fate of humans in conflict situations: victims, women, children, child soldiers, refugees, epidemics, etc. Human security has become a call on nation states to remember that sovereignty should not be viewed as control, but responsibility to 'protect individuals and provide their welfare' so that they have 'secure existence in life and dignity' (Wallenstein 2007). Despite US's attempt to recapture the concept of security back to the state security after 9/11, for now the vogue definition of security is human security. This definition captures what they may view as legitimate threats to their lives, 'disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflicts, political repression, and environmental hazards' (UNDP 1994). In the extended form, such security includes widening of range of people's choices and ability for people to exercise these choices freely and safely. The UNDP report provides a schema of values of security which are summed up as economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security (UNDP 1994). Any failure to meet these needs may lead to security problems.

SECURITY THREATS

A cursory view of the checklist of the African security items forming the continent's agenda reveals a variety of threats ranging from climate change, HIV and Aids, small arms and criminality, trafficking of human cargo, to civil wars. The threat of external aggression has significantly diminished with the end of the cold war. Even the terrorist threat is well at the bottom of the agenda list save for the countries which stood in the path of international terrorism so to speak or deemed by the US to be breeding ground for terrorists. For the majority of African states the terrorist threat remains a speculative issue, strategically remote and linked to particular grievances and conflicts (Regehr and Whelan 2004). The immediate and attending threats are those affecting the human person-the human security threats.

One of the profound security threats in Africa is climate change. The phenomenon has been viewed as 'driver of human conflict' (Brown, Hammil and Mcleman 2007). Since global warming is a 'threat to international peace and security' (Brown et al 2007) it cannot be ignored. As such climate change has been regarded as the mother of all security problems threatening water, food security and increasing forced migration, triggering

conflicts. The enormity of the threat forced the Pentagon to institute scenario studies to consider the abrupt implications of climate change on international security implications. Further, the British government has branded climate change as the greatest threat than international terrorism to the extent that foreign secretary Margaret Beckett made 'climate security' as a central plank to Britain foreign policy.

In spite of the threat of terrorism, the US has conceived climate change as a 'threat multiplier' making existing food insecurity and water scarcity more complex and intractable. Making a presentation at the African Union summit in 2007, the Ugandan President Museveni regarded climate change as 'an act of aggression' by developing world and demanded compensation and Kaire Mbuende resonated the same when he said that the greenhouse emission tantamount 'to low intensity biological and chemical warfare'. Even the UN Security Council has come to accept the threat posed by climate change and agreed that even Darfur crisis was a product of climate change and environmental degradation.

HIV and AIDS are real security threats to Africa (Elizabeth 2004). Hadingham (2000) argues, in terms of the post Cold War human security regime, HIV/Aids poses a 'pervasive and non violent threat to the existence of individuals, as the virus significantly shortens life expectancy'. HIV /Aids has direct and indirect human security implications, 'so immense that they do not constitute one human security issue among many, but rank amongst the gravest human security challenges the twenty first century confronts' (Elbe 2006). The pandemic causes 'at the simplest level premature and unnecessary loss of life' becoming 'perhaps the greatest insecurity of human life'. In numerical terms, the Aids pandemic is amongst the worst to have ever threatened humankind (Elbe 2006). It has become indirect threat to human security affecting the economic security, food security, personal security, political security, political security and healthy security (Elbe 2006). Using the threats posed by the global Aids pandemic as a case study, the analytical breadth of the human security concept 'emerges not so much as a liability, but on the contrary, as a distinctive asset over the narrower conception of national security' (Elbe 2006).

Connected to the climate change and HIV/Aids is the problem of food security. Climate change affects the productivity of land as aridity affects crops due to depletion of water budgets. HIV/Aids can not only affect the production of agricultural goods, but can further skew the access of certain individuals and groups to food - as often food security is a challenge of 'access' rather than a matter of physical availability. Coupled with these twin problems of climate change and HIV/Aids is the use of cereals for the production of biofuels leading to the artificial food shortages worldwide. Debate and research are still on this matter, but the practice has been challenged for diverting food availability from the table.

Drugs consumption and trafficking have not been ranked as critical threats to Africa. The market for these drugs is not yet grown to the western proportions. To this end drugs still rank low on the security agenda of the sub-Saharan Africa. However, money laundering, gun running, and human trafficking are slowly picking up in intensity and as security threats.

THE AFRICAN STATE

The African state is unable to meet the ever changing needs of its people who have either resorted to arms of war or voting by their feet into diaspora to claim their dues. The state has failed to adopt or adapt to scientific or technological changes, new ideas, organisational and management principles, experiences and relevant best practices. In some cases constitutionalism has been blocked and rule of law made anathemas. Democracy and social justice, accountability and transparency, inclusiveness and empowerment of people so that they can participate fully in public affairs have been unacceptable in some African states. The virus of brutality of big governments has destroyed sensitivity of good governance.

The African state is facing twin challenges affecting its capacity to manage aid and offer security to its citizens. These challenges are domestic and global. Mohiddin (2007) notes several capacity challenges that have weakened the state. He says African state is unable to promote 'sustainable human development including meeting MDGs, promotion of peace, security and stability, combating HIV/Aids pandemic, malaria, sustaining popular electoral participatory democracy, and ensuring thriving private sector' on the domestic front and unable to 'promote regional economic and political integration' on the global front. The lack of capacity inhibits 'continuous supply of appropriate legal, institutional, human and material resources' necessary to meet the ever changing challenges'.

9/11 has had varying impacts on the security, official development aid and the relationship between African states and their western counterparts. The incident has led to the redefinition of aid at least from the western perspectives. The US, Sweden and the United Kingdom have stood clear on the nature and course their official assistance was to follow. US President George W. Bush stated on 20 September 2001: 'We will direct every resource at our command to the disruption of the global terror network'. Aid was included in their arsenal to fight terrorism. United Kingdom reframed their aid policy and foreign policy toward fighting terrorism in earnest. This syndrome caught up with the rest of Europe including the Scandinavian countries, which in the past had supported many African states in their bid to fight poverty and underdevelopment.

By overtaking ODA with nation-state security and counter terrorism agenda and orienting ODA toward the security interests of the donor rather than the development interests of

the recipient states, the basic development and poverty eradication objectives were lost. The little aid that trickled into Africa was constrained by ODA spending targets, which were easily achieved through increased security spending (Regehr and Whelan 2004) rather than development and poverty eradication spending. While terrorism is not generally caused by underdevelopment, conditions of economic underdevelopment are a soil in which terrorists are likely to take root. Bonn international centre for conversion (2003) concurs that terrorists are 'often motivated by, and justify their actions with reference to economic injustice and exploitation'. Reduced ODA in Africa progressed the continent toward its vulnerability and attending conflicts.

To address the pressing problems in sub-Saharan Africa of peace and security and control of aid there are several avenues that can be taken. First Africa needs to improve on its capacity. Secondly, the continent needs to reconceptualise its security. Thirdly, there is need to democratise governance systems. Finally, the Africa state needs to work as part of a regional architecture not in the disparate form.

CONCLUSION

The 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA led to drastic policy change in the western world which has had an impact on the sub-Saharan Africa security envelope. The change of policy has left sub-Saharan Africa exposed to security challenges it has no capacity to manage as a result of historical, domestic and global structural issues. Unless the capacity is addressed in Africa there will be continued vulnerability since the continent cannot control the ODA that it receives nor demand the strict observance of the 1994 Paris declaration on the operation of aid. In search of that capacity, sub-Saharan Africa needs to deliberately redefine its security and raise the moral plank to address the threats that are affecting its citizens in an era of diminished external aggression. Sub-Saharan Africa needs to be persuaded by the virtues of human security rather than state security. This paper proposes democratisation, regionalism and capacity development as key to the attainment of security-human security, among others. When all these are achieved, even the redefinition of ODA will have little impact on the focused and united African continent and the goals for the continent will remain in full view.

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Aid Effectiveness - The Question of Mutual Accountability : Fahamu (Oxford) OPINION 4 September 2008: Charles Mutasa.

The issue of development cooperation especially aid can be traced back to the United Nations resolution 2626 of 1970 on the international development strategy for the second United Nations development decade where rich countries pledged to give 0.7% of their gross national products as development assistance after recognising the role that aid could play in fostering development in developing countries. The next 30 years that followed saw aid being manipulated and used to meet political ends such as recruiting and rewarding southern allies during the Cold War. The question of aid for development seems to have taken a lull in this period and only surfaced again after the signing of the Millennium Declaration.

The financing for development conference held in Monterrey in 2002 that followed sought to examine the internationally agreed development goals adopted during the past development decade, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that originated from the 2000 Millennium declaration, for their financial implications and to indicate ways of mobilising the financial resources needed to achieve them. The outcome of the conference on financing for development was a turning point in international economic cooperation. The adoption of the Monterrey consensus at the summit level on 22 March 2002 not only signalled a new partnership in international economic relations but also

reaffirmed the advantages of the new approach toward consensus building taken by the international community.

In February 2003, leaders of the major multilateral development banks and international and bilateral organisations, donor and recipient country representatives gathered in Rome for the high level forum on harmonisation. They committed to take action to improve the management and effectiveness of aid and to take stock of concrete progress, before meeting again in early 2005. The high level forum concluding statement, the Rome declaration on harmonisation, sets out an ambitious programme of activities, which includes among other things agreements to streamline donor procedures and practices, ensure that donor assistance is aligned with the development recipient's priorities and most importantly to implement the good practices principles and standards formulated by the development community as the foundation for harmonisation.

The Paris Declaration of March 2005 represents a landmark achievement that brings together a number of key principles and commitments in a coherent way. It also includes a framework for mutual accountability, and identifies a number of indicators for tracking progress. There is a general recognition that the Paris declaration is a crucial component of a larger aid effectiveness agenda that could engage parliament, gender groups, civil society actors, new lenders, global funds and foundations in a more direct manner. In the Paris declaration, donors and partners committed themselves to monitoring their progress in improving aid effectiveness against 56 specific actions, from which 12 indicators were established and targets set for 2010 (OECD 2007).

Although the international post Paris process has represented a significant amount of work (in terms of surveys, analysis, consultation process, evaluation of the Paris declaration etc), there still remains the need to ensure that the Accra agenda for action is more ambitious, securing strong input and impact, reaffirming the Paris commitments, reflect on the midterm review of the Paris commitments, and include guidance on areas where further progress is needed.

THE PARIS DECLARATION

The purpose of the 2005 Paris declaration on aid effectiveness is to improve aid delivery in a way that best supports the achievement of the MDGs by 2015.

It highlighted the importance of predictable, well aligned, programmed, and coordinated aid to achieve results. See Paris declaration on aid effectiveness, ownership, harmonisation, alignment, results and mutual accountability. One of its five key principles is mutual accountability in which donors and developing countries pledged that they would hold each other mutually accountable for development based on the other

four principles of ownership, alignment, harmonisation, and management for results. The Paris declaration emphasises accountability in relation to parliament and other domestic stakeholders, which can only be feasible with effective structures for dialogue (Tjonneland 2006). Although these commitments build on the content of previous agreements, notably that which is expressed in the Rome declaration of February 2003, the Paris declaration is more comprehensive and reflects a broader consensus.

The Paris Declaration flags CSOs (civil society organisations) as potential participants in the identification of priorities and the monitoring of development programmes. However, it does not recognise CSOs as development actors in their own right, with their own priorities, programmes, and partnership arrangements. By taking a narrow view of CSOs' roles, the Paris declaration fails to take into account the rich diversity of social interveners in a democratic society and fails to recognise the full range of roles played by CSOs as development actors and change agents. CSOs are often particularly effective at reaching the poor and socially excluded, mobilising community efforts, speaking up for human rights and gender equality, and helping to empower particular constituencies. Their strength lies not in their representation of society as a whole, but in their very diversity and capacity for innovation, and in the different perspectives that they bring to the issues when engaging in policy dialogue (OECD 2008). CSOs operate on the basis of shared values, beliefs, and objectives with the people they serve or represent.

This responsiveness to different primary constituencies explains the extensive diversity of CSOs in terms of values, goals, activities, and structure. It also explains the particular emphasis on human rights and social justice, including women's, children's, and indigenous people's rights, which many CSOs take as a starting point for their development work. As the commission of European communities (2008) noted civil society were the 'missing link' of the Paris declaration. Civil society is a fully fledged player in development. It has to be included in the process and supported in its efforts to define its own principles of aid effectiveness. The same applies to parliament, local authorities, gender groups and others who are increasingly vocal in their wish to become stakeholders and actors in development.

Overall, human rights principles and standards should be upheld and promoted through results achieved and strategies used to achieve Paris declaration targets and indicators. Synergies between the human rights and aid effectiveness agendas should be sought and further developed in the ongoing roll-out of 'Paris' if other cross cutting policy issues such as gender equality and environmental sustainability are to be considered at the Accra third high level forum on aid effectiveness (OECD 2006). There is much potential for the international human rights framework and the Paris declaration to reinforce and benefit from each other. The application of the principles and partnership commitments

of the declaration can help advance human rights in a changing context of more aligned and harmonised aid and new aid modalities.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND AID EFFECTIVENESS

Accountability is now a buzzword in contemporary development discourse. When accountability works, citizens are able to make demands on powerful institutions and ensure that those demands are met. [IDS (2006) 'Making accountability count' IDS policy briefing No. 33] The concept of accountability describes the rights and responsibilities that exist between people and the institutions that affect their lives, including governments, civil society and market actors. International financial institutions and donors have been consistently criticised for using aid to further their own interests. The current patterns of accountability in which donor agencies hold recipients accountable, and are in turn accountable to their own taxpayers must change. Donors continue to use unfair, undemocratic and inappropriate policy conditionality, in a way that skews recipient accountability away from the citizens of poor countries. The civil society message has been loud and clear that this 'one way' accountability should be replaced by a system of genuine mutual accountability, which balances the legitimate interests of donors, recipients and, most importantly, poor people. In this regard, civil society continues to monitor whether international financial institutions and donors use aid for their own purposes or for primarily reducing poverty and promoting development.

If donors are serious about promoting accountability, dialogue and making an effective contribution to the fight against poverty they must radically improve the quality of their aid. Failure to target aid at the poorest countries, runaway spending on overpriced technical assistance from international consultants, tying aid to purchases from donor country's own firms, cumbersome and ill coordinated planning, implementation, monitoring and reporting requirements, excessive administrative costs, late and partial disbursements, double counting of debt relief, and aid spending on immigration services all deflate the value of aid.

While some tensions remain between the CSO community at large and governments, especially in the South, we are witnessing a steady shift in the attitudes of both the government and civic groups. Each, at long last, is recognising the critical and indeed, legitimate role played by the other in achieving consistent, sustainable long term development. For the sake of accountability and other reasons, there is a growing realisation that civil society needs to engage government officials, donors, politicians and parliamentarians more determinedly. This reduces opposition and increase support and accountability for national, regional and global policies; it works for greater burden sharing of the cost and benefits of policy. For effective aid delivery, ordinary citizens have to be involved not only at implementation stages, but also at the initiating,

evaluating, monitoring and institutionalisation stages. Inconsistent and incoherent policies on the part of donors have to a large extent made policy dialogue and accountability difficult. Conditionalities stressed by donors especially on governance matters cause recipient countries to account to them at the expense of accounting to their citizens - visit Reality of Aid. Too much aid is project based, according to the donor's priorities rather than those of recipients and so on. Aid quantity is insufficient while its 'quality' is not good enough and the transaction costs of aid are still too high. Involving reciprocal obligations over the long term as well as monitored relationships and commitments could be a significant new mechanism to improve the effectiveness of aid and give added confidence to the development relationship.

MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND CONDITIONALITY

Mutual accountability is unlikely to function in a way that does not include donors calling governments to account over basic human rights violations. Accountability in aid effectiveness will not work if the framework used is restricted to donor recipient government relations without going further to include other stakeholders at national level (Uvin 2004). Improving transparency and accountability on the use of development resources is also an important objective of the Paris declaration. Partner countries have a big challenge to ensure that information and disaggregated data is accessible and transparently shared with all stakeholders. Capacity building here becomes necessary for aid effectiveness. Strengthening the credibility of the budget as a tool for governing the allocation and use of development resources can not only improve the alignment of donor support, but also permit parliamentary scrutiny of government policies on development, which is key to deepening ownership. Broadening and reinforcing CSOs involvement in aid effectiveness from inception or design stage allows independent assessments of the adherence to the commitments under the Paris declaration. Multi-stakeholders monitoring of progress reinforces accountability. Donors will also need to improve the transparency and predictability of aid flows by sharing timely and accurate information on intended and actual disbursements with budget authorities.

Ownership and conditionality represent the core issues in aid effectiveness - as ownership is the defining issue in development, while donor conditionality poses one of the gravest challenges to country ownership. The process of deepening the understanding of development partnership and advancing aid effectiveness reform requires further interrogation into the issue of ownership and conditionality from the southern context of development as well as taking the circumstances and needs of the poor as the starting point as well as the final destination or goal. While it is clear the policy conditionalities affect ownership negatively, fiduciary conditionalities also need to be reformed to promote national ownership and alignment.

In discussing mutual accountability between development and country partners the problem of conditionality is central. Dealing with conditionality is of the great importance for developing countries and is related to the ability of the various international agencies and institutions to impose political conditions on development assistance that restrict independence of action and limit the right of each country to define and implement the public policies it deems most appropriate to safeguard the rights and well-being of its people and the principle of 'national ownership'. Many consultations held in developing countries in the last three years pointed out that conditionalities are antithetical to Paris declaration principle of country ownership and accountability (DFID 2005).

In instances of unreformed supply driven technical assistance aid effectiveness have been patchy and piecemeal especially at the national level. This continued policy conditionality through tied aid undermines ownership. It is, therefore, important if development partners are to build effective development partnerships that increase the volume and maximise the poverty reduction impact of ODA (official development assistance) based on the recognition of national leadership and ownership by developing countries to end all donor-imposed policy conditions. Thus the outcomes of both Accra and Doha should interpret the terms of national country ownership as democratic ownership and elaborate on its implications in the context of countries' obligations to international human rights law, core labour standards, and international commitments on gender equality and sustainable development. In line with this it becomes important to consider the creation of an independent monitoring and evaluation system for aid at international, national and local levels. At the international level, new independent institutions will be needed to play this role, in order to hold donors to account for their overall performance.

The emergence of new donors and creditors, public and private, who are contributing to financing for development, has brought in more resources and diversity to the aid architecture. It is estimated that between 2002 and 2006, net disbursements from non-OECD (organization for economic cooperation and development) donors increased by 60 per cent. These resources are both complementary to other resource flows and an important catalyst in achieving poverty reduction goals in developing countries. Non-OECD donors bring unique perspectives and contributions to the development agenda based on their own experience. Without proper management, non- OECD donor resources could prove ineffective at poverty reduction and counterproductive to maintaining the recent improvements in good governance, particularly where institutional and technical capacity is weak.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In line with the discussions above, it is important that regular and systematic spaces be provided for effective parliamentary and civil society participation in policy dialogue on aid and development effectiveness in all stages of the development process, and that this be recognised as standard practice that needs to be actively promoted at all levels. In this regard, it becomes vital to put in place structures, work frames and policies that govern the relations of these stakeholders with government and donors. Much focus must be put on responsibilities and division of labour to avoid duplication and unnecessary conflicts (OECD 2008).

There is growing concerns at the decline in the levels of ODA in recent years. It is, therefore, necessary for Accra to call for the sharp increase in ODA by a number of donor countries, and call upon all donors to honour their ODA commitments and to improve the effectiveness of ODA in support of nationally owned development strategies. Emphasis here is given to the special importance of continued work towards durable solutions to the debt sustainability and management problems of developing countries. Demonstrating tangible changes in sustaining the momentum and achieving progress in the commitment is key and inspirational for both development partners and recipient countries.

Further, there is need for the Accra agenda for action to consider how it brings on board those that are outside its Paris declaration framework. Emerging lenders such as China need to be engaged not only with the view to win them to the OECD framework, but for coherence and consistence in global partnerships and development cooperation. Besides, there are also big donors that need to be part and parcel of the joint assistant strategy at national levels.

Accra and Doha are important steps on the road to enhance development cooperation for the realisation of internationally agreed development goals, including the MDGs, and to promote dialogue and find effective ways to support this process. There is need to put mechanisms and indicators that work for medium to long term results that go further than Accra. The challenge now is to use the momentum of both Accra and Doha to implement the agreed global development partnership, scaling up efforts on the part of developing countries and the international community. Policy guidelines emanating from both Accra and Doha will need to be translated into concrete actions. This is a technical as well as a political task since the policy instruments have to be identified in detail, in an effort to ensure that they can become operational as each country's circumstances warrants.

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Simple Case for Investing in Sub-Saharan Africa

Business Day (Johannesburg): OPINION: 2 September 2008:Jonathan Garner and Michael Wang.

SUB-Saharan Africa - the continent excluding Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia, and, for this purpose, SA - is showing similar investment opportunities to the former Soviet states and the east Asian economies at a similar stage of their development, in the 1990s and 1980s respectively.

The investment case for sub-Saharan Africa is simple. It is one of the fastest growing regions in the world, with 6% real gross domestic product (GDP) growth a year since 2001 and projected GDP growth of 6%-7% a year from 2008 to 2010, behind only Asia and the Gulf countries within the emerging-market universe. It is also one of the areas with the lowest investment flows from foreign institutions. The total free-float market capitalisation of sub-Saharan African stock markets excluding SA is just \$75b n compared with \$3 200b n for emerging markets overall. Though the region still lags emerging market peers in human capital development and gross fixed capital formation, the trend towards increasing economic liberalisation and integration into the global

economy, and particularly the Chinese growth dynamic, is a positive. There are signs that the growth is due to more than just improving terms of trade and is more likely attributable to economic reforms and improved fundamentals. As part of structural adjustment programmes, many African countries have taken reforms to liberalise capital account and exchange rates, reduce trade tariffs, privatise state-owned enterprises and ease restrictions on private investment. These reforms have generated smaller public and private deficits, more prudent use of commodity windfalls, lower inflation, and higher international reserves, making the region less vulnerable to a cyclical downturn. Fiscal discipline is now much more entrenched as a result of two decades of stabilisation programmes, which tightened public sector wage policies, lowered central government expenditure targets and improved tax collection. Fiscal restraint has in turn helped to bring inflation in the region to its lowest level in nearly two decades. The headline consumer price index has fallen from a peak of 50% in 1994 to 7,2% last year. Increasing forex reserves are another indicator of more prudent macroeconomic policies this cycle, resulting in a decline in currency risk in the region, helped also by lower current account deficits.

Coupled with improved macroeconomic fundamentals, these reforms have begun to stimulate a revival in capital flows to the region, which have increased fivefold since 2000. The pace of increase has been among the fastest of any region. But capital inflows into sub-Saharan Africa are still small because of the high costs of doing business in the region relative to other regions, though improvements, such as licensing and tax payments, have been made. In addition, the institutional environment in sub-Saharan Africa (rule of law, freedom of press, independent judiciary, and business environment) remains one of the weakest globally. The overall political climate in sub-Saharan Africa has also improved dramatically since the end of the Cold War. The number of African countries holding multiparty elections has also increased from three in 1973 to 40 in 2005. So given the recent economic improvements, an obvious question is how far the region is from marking the transition from "frontier" to "emerging market" status.

Compared with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations region in 1980, just prior to its "take-off" phase of growth, sub-Saharan Africa has lower inflation, higher reserves and stronger foreign direct investment flows, though GDP growth is slightly lower and debt higher. Undoubtedly this comparison is superficial, but it does suggest some of the historical prerequisites for transitioning to more mature "emerging market" status do exist in sub-Saharan Africa, though, notably, the concerns over weaker political institutions and the spectre of internal conflict are still more prevalent. For a transition to the high, steady state growth rates found in east Asia, sub-Saharan Africa will require a higher rate of savings and investment. However, sub-Saharan Africa's rising working-age population should help savings and investment ratios going forward.

In terms of potential returns from sub-Saharan African equity markets over the next year, the record-high valuations that stocks are trading on suggest that much of the region's expected growth and structural improvements are already priced in. However, as growth in corporate earnings exceeds that of emerging markets, and the region's economic fundamentals improve further, investing in sub-Saharan Africa stocks on a three- to five-year basis is an appealing investment proposition. Botswana, Ghana and Mauritius have the most favourable combinations of market valuations and strong macro fundamentals.

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HUMAN RIGHTS, GENDER AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Nigeria: Inseparable! Man With 86 Wives Adamant: [This Day](#) (Lagos)

ANALYSIS: **31** **August** **2008:** Aisha Wakaso

Not many people reckon that a single man could keep 86 women under the same roof as wives until media reports revealed his identity and some of his wives in Bida, Niger State recently.

However, since the revelation, both Islamic authorities and the traditional institution in his native Bida emirate have teamed up to ensure that Mallam Muhammadu Bello Abubakar bows to the Islamic injunction, which forbids believers from taking more than four wives. Spitting fire initially, he was defiant, but under pressure, Bello is bidding for time to take a decision. He is the quintessential King Solomon of our times. Nobody in recent memory has rivaled the feat of Mallam Muhammadu Bello Abubakar, who has 86 wives and 189 children. His libido appears large and insatiable to be catering to the needs of 86 women, all whom are under his roof. But following media reports on this unusual man, the Jama'atu Nasril Islam (JNI) last weekend threatened him with the death penalty. According to the Muslim Body in the country, Abubakar ran foul of the Islamic injunction by marrying 86 wives instead of the four which Islam approves.

In the report of the death penalty (fatwa) published in the Daily Trust newspaper of the August 18, 2008, by the JNI, it gave Bello an order to pick four out of the 86 wives and divorce the others within 3 days or face the death penalty for committing adultery. "Any muslim that marries more than four wives either by mistake or out of ignorance, is instructed to choose but only four and seek Allah's forgiveness or shall be sentenced to death according to the Shari'a law," the JNI said. When THISDAY contacted Bello who was obviously unshaken by the development to respond to the Fatwa which was given by the JNI, he did not only accuse the JNI of lack of proper understanding of the Quran, he

said he was baffled at the JNI for asking him to reduce the number of his wives to four and divorce the remaining 82 wives. He dared the Muslim body to carry out its threat."Did JNI get permission from God concerning my actions? Or when God decided to bless me with the wives were they aware? The Suratul Nasi does not state the maximum number of wives a Muslim should have," a defiant Bello declared.He said since there is no punishment indicated for any Muslim who marries more than four wives, he said the JNI has no basis for telling him to reduce the number of his wives. He added that they could also not determine any punishment on him if he sticks to all his wives."Even if the JNI thinks I have transgressed God's law, are they the people that will punish me for God? JNI are not a group of prophets or God's Angels, so they cannot take the laws into their hands. I am not going to reduce the number of my wives. In fact, I am going to add more wives and no one can stop me," he said.One thing that baffles every one is where Bello seems to be drawing the finances to fend for this large family/dependents with no visible source of income. In meeting the needs of the very large family and huge dependants, Hajiya Raliat, one of Bello's wives, disclosed that two bags of rice are cooked per meal and two bags of beans are always cooked per meal. If the family choose to feed on semovita, ten bags are prepared per meal to go round the multitude of family members and hangers-on, while a cow is in most cases slaughtered to go for each meal.Even with the responsibility of fending for 86 wives, 189 children, many followers and their family members, coupled with the threat from the JNI, Abubakar said he is not yet through with women, as he disclosed that more addition are on the way. He reiterated that he would continue to add more wives until Allah instructs him to stop. He disclosed that the last wedding bells in the household rang in February 3, 2008 with a marriage of 30 year-old; Hajia Monsura to Pa Abubakar. With that solemnization, Monsura became the 86th surviving wife.Bello who claimed to be more vast than any member of the JNI who should not tell him what to do, said they would have contacted him before going to the press, said he would have given them his reasons for marrying many wives but since they did not and he only got to hear about the decision of the JNI from the media because according to him, no letter or delegation had been sent to him by the JNI.The Niger State government, which in a bid to eradicate polio completely from the state in one of its executive council meetings came to an agreement that any one who prevents his/ her child/ward from being administered the polio vaccine will be ostracized from the community, would have been the first to take it up with Bello.

Briefing the press after the state executive council meeting recently, the Commissioner for Health, Dr Yahaya Vatsa said the issue of Pa Bello, who said no form of medical treatment is being received by any member of his family and that of his followers was raised at the meeting. Vatsa said the state government had vowed it was going to take it up with the 86 year-old man who has refused any form of medical treatment for members of his family and followers which includes immunization for his children and those of his followers.Raliat, one of the wives of Pa Bello, while speaking in an interview with

THISDAY, spoke glowingly of their husband. She described him as one who was specially created by God for mankind. According to Raliat: "God is really using him to assist people in wonderful ways, things unheard of. He commanded us all, his wives and followers not to take drugs. We do not go to the hospital for any form of treatment. Four women, among Baba's dependants, have given birth inside this house today without visiting the hospital. One of them, an 18 year-old, SS2 girl, who was brought from Lagos after being impregnated by her fellow secondary school mate, has given birth to twins without taking a pill or traditional, western or eastern medicine against the declaration by medical experts that she had to be delivered of the baby through caesarean operation." "In this house, women give birth freely without going to the hospitals and people with afflictions are healed without taking any drugs. Baba will only caution to look unto God and stop whatever bad habits you are into and whatever is the problem will be solved by God. Hardly will a day pass by without four to seven women being successfully delivered of their babies without the use of drugs or any medication."

18 year-old Ajoke Shittu, who until she got herself impregnated by her fellow student was a student of CMS Girls Secondary School in Bariga, Lagos, disclosed that she was brought to Bida from Lagos by her father due to the danger alarms raised by medical experts in Lagos. She said they claimed that the chances of her having a normal delivery was very slim and the possibility of a caesarean section being conducted on her was high. She disclosed that her father, following this development, based on information about Bello, took her to Bida. According to her: "I have been here for the past two months before I was delivered of the babies today. Since I have been here, I have never been taken to the hospital since nobody visits the hospital here. I only mix and interact with other people around. Most people whose cases have been described as precarious or difficult by the hospitals are all here. We all eat from a common pot and today when I saw the sign of labour, I called Mama (Hajia Raliat), who followed me into the room. Nothing at all was applied on me and with ease I gave birth to the twins, one baby boy and the other girl." "In an interview with THISDAY at the weekend, Bello denied the allegation that he forbids his children and those of his followers to receive immunization and termed the allegations as mere lies and a way of causing problems for him with the government. However, he gave reasons why he stopped members of his family from taking orthodox treatment since a nurse tried to inject him and the needle refused to pierce through his skin." "It is not true that I don't allow my children to be immunized, I am surprised at the kind of noise being made because the former Governor of Niger State, Engineer Abdulkadir Kure had advised me in 2006 and since then, all my children are being immunized. However, the one that will never be done in my house is for my wives to be taken to the hospital for ante natal care or delivery," Bello stated.

Last Thursday, members of the Niger State Sharia Commission and prominent Islamic scholars from all over the country gathered in Bida at the palace of Etsu Nupe, Alhaji

Yahaya Abubakar to summon Bello before what could be described as a peoples court. He was asked to swear by the Holy Quran to tell the truth at the meeting. Initially, he refused, saying that it was wrong to swear by the holy Quran because he knew the implication which he later accepted to do. After he had sworn, the Chief Imam of Bida, Shiek Adamu Yakatun read out what could be described to be the charges against him and quoted aspects of the Quran which Bello had violated. There were so much argument between the Islamic scholars and Bello, with quotations and counter-quotations from the Holy book. Bello said he stopped reading the Quran in 1972 after seeing Allah face to face, but still has perfect knowledge of what the Holy book says and has not seen anywhere where the Quran states that he should not marry as many wives as he desires.

After the arguments, the Etsu Nupe concluded that Bello should pick four out of the 86 wives within the next two days and failure to do that, he said he would not be able to guarantee his safety in his kingdom or entire Nupe land any more. The Etsu Nupe also asked him to leave his kingdom and entire Nupe land if he fails to comply with the instructions that has been given to him and added that it was obvious that Bello was mentally unbalanced and needed psychiatric attention.

"If he chooses to go the way he is going, he should leave my kingdom and my domain and we will never consider him as one of us. That is our position now and it will continue to be, he should decide to follow Allah now. But from his utterances, it is obvious he has a mental problem and it is our obligation to assist him because himself and all his followers have gone astray and are equally going against the tenets of Islam," Etsu Nupe said. Speaking further, the traditional ruler said: "Bello has undermined the integrity of the Nupe people and has rubbished Islam. Polygamy in Islam means not marrying more than four wives." Bello appealed to the Etsu Nupe to give him two weeks to take decision and think of which wife to divorce and which one to retain as his wives, adding that with such number of wives, to reduce them would need a lot of haggling. However, the monarch refused the request and stood his grounds.

The Niger State Sharia Commission will be responsible for taking care of the wives he agrees to divorce and the children by those women will be taken to the welfare. Pa Bello, who is a traditional healer of some sorts and that could explain the reason that has made his home is a beehive of activities and also probably why he has so many wives. There were unconfirmed speculations that he was banished from Lagos where he had lived for 39 years and that whatever woman he wants as wife no matter how beautiful, educated or marital status, he gets. Seeing the calibre of wives Papa has lined up like a congregation, one will wonder how he was able to get those women and how he satisfies their conjugal needs inspite his age. Another worry is how he is able to cope with meeting the needs of such a large family despite the economic situation in the country which is biting hard and having no visible means of income from which Bello draws to fend for this large number

of dependents. The women in his life are beautiful, enlightened, fashionable and among them, are very educated ones too and they all claim to be happy and love their husband irrespective of how many they are.

According to one of the wives: "We are not working or doing any trade, but we are happy because even those women who are working or doing a trade are not better than any of us in Baba's house," she said. As it is with most polygamous homes, one would have expected a household of 86 wives and over 189 children to be a citadel of confusion and disharmony, but fortunately enough, the family is closely knitted with all the wives in profound love and affection among themselves and the head of the family, Pa Abubakar, whom they all highly revere. According to one of his wives who was allowed to speak with THISDAY: "We live like sisters, we love ourselves and you can never find us fighting because all we care about is our husband and since he satisfies us all he likes is what we like so we don't fight," she said. While the wives are busy professing love for their husband and how happy they seem to be, most people around are of the opinion that all is not well which has led to the speculations/conclusions that the women were hypnotized and are all under a spell and as a result, are out of their minds and can't think straight. It is also being speculated that Bello's wives must have been his customers in the past who either came to seek spiritual help for one reason or the other, healing or those who went to hypnotize their husbands and put them under their control or prevent them from taking other wives. According to the speculations, Baba got the women, married them and has put them all in a trance that they do not know what they are doing. How else can one explain a situation where in a house with 86 women as rivals from different families, tribes and of different ages, could stay together like sisters without setting the house ablaze?

If the speculations by this group of people are right, then what can be done to salvage these women from this bondage they have found themselves? Besides the speculations, people around Bello, who are his followers revere him and his wives too are treated like Queens as they are not allowed to do any chore which includes cooking the meals that they eat. The followers' wives strictly carry all household chores. Bello himself does not help the speculations about using unusual means to get attracted to his women. He discusses freely about his prowess/ability to get any woman he desires despite class, age and level of education with so much ease despite his age. "For me, I can get any woman I want no matter where she comes from and what she does for a living. A woman will never do shakara for me (refuse his overtures). All I need is to get one, it is just to like her and wish to have her as my wife and I get her," Bello said. One question on the lips of many people is that has womanhood degenerated so much that 86 women will accept to be under one roof claiming to be married to one man?

As the JNI and the Etsu Nupe's group continue to see how to get Baba to do what they think is right, every one is asking what is next for the King Solomon of our times and what will happen to the wives who are not empowered or practically jobless if the Etsu Nupe, Niger State Sharia Commission, JNI and other Islamic scholars succeed in making him do their bidding? The answer to this important question lies in the belly of time.

Ghana: Another Hajj Fiasco Looms?: [Ghanaian Chronicle](#) (Accra)

EDITORIAL: 27 August 2008.

It seems to have become a perennial thing for potential Moslem pilgrims to expect the difficulties and problems associated with the organization of the Hajj in Ghana. After all the hullabaloo that surrounded last year's Hajj, we thought the organisers would have learnt a lot of lessons. Maybe they did, because in the aftermath of last year's disaster, the Chief Imam's office gave a verbal assurance to put in place, proper mechanisms for the forthcoming Hajj programme, to forestall the suffering that the pilgrims have endured over the past years. In fact, a national conference on the Hajj was held early this year. The conference involved all the major stakeholders, and culminated in the formation of the National Hajj Council (NHC), which was mandated to organize the 2008 Hajj.

By some twist of fate, the Chief Imam has just constituted a seven-member Interim Hajj Committee (IHC) to ensure a smooth Hajj programme this year, but before the dust could settle on the newly-formed body to start work, a salvo has been fired by the NHC, which are refusing to die away. According to them, they were the legitimate and authorised body to organise the Hajj, and that the IHC should be disregarded. In the midst of all the confusion, the potential pilgrims have been left in a quagmire, not knowing who to turn to. The government has not helped matters by maintaining a deafening silence. The Chronicle believes that it is about time government called all the factions to order, if we are to have a successful Hajj this year. We must also bear in mind that the organisation of the Hajj was a government to government arrangement, therefore, the government of Ghana has the legitimate right to get involved. Although the government has left the handling of the pilgrimage to the office of the Chief Imam, it looks like the authority of the latter is fast being eroded, especially with the organisation of the Hajj.

The pilgrimage to Mecca, as one of the five pillars of Islam, is of spiritual significance to every Moslem. This spiritual obligation should therefore, not be seen to be taken away from the potential pilgrims, through no fault of theirs. The act of performing the Hajj should be a spiritually joyous occasion for pilgrims, but the reverse has been the case in Ghana over the past years. We cannot understand why pilgrims will be made to pay, in the region of \$3,000, only to be left to sleep by the roadside, as it happened last year, due to someone's organisational inefficiency. The government owes it as a duty to intervene now, rather than wait for the situation to get out of hand, before it goes to the Saudi government to beg for an extension of the deadline for flights into Saudi Arabia. It would be a big embarrassment if it happens again, as the Saudi government has already issued a statement that it would not extend the deadline this year, and we believe the Saudi government should by now have had enough of Ghana. When two elephants fight, it is the

grass that suffers, and Ghanaian Moslems seem to be telling the NHC and IHC to settle their differences, in order for them to have a successful Hajj.

Malawi's Poor Brace for Tough Ramadan: By Mallick Mnela, IOL Correspondent

BLANTYRE — Malawi Muslims have gone full throttle with preparations for the holy fasting month of Ramadan, with food stockpiling dominating the arrangements.

This year, they will have to cough a little more money than in previous years because of the global food price rises, leaving the low-income and underprivileged watching not buying. "It's an annual tradition to gather food-stuffs in readiness for the fasting month here," Jassim Zacharia Nsosa, a Muslim social worker, told IslamOnline.net in Blantyre. "But this year, it seems a substantial population of poor Muslims will brace themselves for tough times as a result of rising costs of food." Although Malawi has sufficient food reserves, media frenzy on the prospects of global food price hikes prompted a sharp increase in the cost of maize, the main staple food, among others. The speculation on the hikes has ultimately led to hoarding of food items on the local market. On the other hand, other food items such as cassava, potatoes and rice – while available in abundance – are becoming unaffordable for the average Malawian. "The main problem is that poor people are likely to starve when food is available. Food traders are capitalizing on their vulnerability," says Nsosa. "It actually makes little sense to victimize the starving poor at the alter of maximizing profits."

Nothing New

A brief survey conducted by IOL correspondent in some parts of southern Malawi suggests a majority of poor Muslims will have tough times unless there is intervention by Muslim bodies.

"We can not rule out suffering due to the lack of food, but we have become used to it," said Abiti Sumani, an old woman, at her homestead on the outskirts of Zomba. "Ramadan or no Ramadan food problems have always been with us." She said she will have to make do with maize husks she has been getting as payment for winnowing errands at a local maize meal. "This is life as we have always lived it. We can not claim to need luxurious food to enable us to fast if we involuntarily fast almost all year round due to lack of food." "This time we ought to be proud that we go hungry alongside those who can afford to buy the food – but for Allah's pleasure." Poverty levels are high in Malawi, with a majority of its 12 million population living below the poverty line, consuming less than a dollar per day. According to state figures, Muslims constitute 12 percent of the entire population, though the Muslim umbrella body puts the figure at 36 percent.

Helping

Muslim charities are on alert, determined to mitigate potential problems as a result of the food costs rising."We normally compliment one another in these efforts – only that we go different ways to avoid duplication of activities," says Sheikh Hatim Ibrahim, Chairman of the Al-Barakah Charity Trust."Our main focus will be on those who can not afford to feed themselves and their families."Munazzamat Al-Dawa Al-Islamia (Malawi Mission) hopes to cater for over 500 institutions – including mosques, orphanages, madrasahs, hospitals, prisons and secondary schools - during Ramadan."We are trying to gather as much food as possible to ensure that we cater for a majority of vulnerable poor people around the country," says AbdulRahman Abdallah."We will cater for suhur and iftar."

He said that his organization has so far made considerable progress in gathering food stuffs to distribute among the poor in the country."We are determined to see the plight of a majority poor reduced to the lowest levels. This is one of our objectives."We feel more obliged to commit ourselves to the cause of ending the suffering of the poor, particularly in the month of Ramadan."The organization is sponsoring agricultural irrigation schemes in selected parts of southern Malawi as a way of empowering communities to be food secure."The project has just started but we trust it will start yielding results soon. By next Ramadan we trust they will be independent."

Uganda: We Need Law On Human Trafficking Urgently: [New Vision](#) (Kampala): EDITORIAL: 5 September 2008

FOUR Ugandan girls are stranded in Iraq after they were taken there by illegal agents. This comes only three months after the US issued a report indicating that Uganda is both a source and destination for human trafficking. In particular the report points out that some companies export labour to Iraq and then confiscate the recruits' passports to deny them freedom.

This is absurd. Trafficking and slavery are among the worst forms of human rights violations. This is a growing crime that must be fought with urgency.Unfortunately, Uganda does not have a strong and comprehensive law against human trafficking, though the Penal Code prohibits slavery. The Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons Bill has been gathering dust in Parliament for more than a year. Why?

Parliament should urgently scrutinise this Bill and pass it. No matter how hard security agencies try to fight human trafficking, without strong legislation, their efforts cannot yield much.Apart from the Iraq incidence, Ugandans have been trafficked to other countries like Canada, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia for forced labour and commercial sexual exploitation. The abduction in northern Uganda by the Lords Resistance Army and the sale of girls in Karamoja are all forms of human trafficking.The business committee of Parliament should, therefore, give this Bill priority and include it on the timetable for debate as soon as possible.Above all, Members of

Parliament should devise means to clear the huge backlog of Bills. Some of them, such as the Domestic Relations Bill have delayed due to contentious issues.

Uganda: 'Muslim Intellectuals Now More':[New Vision](#) (Kampala)

2 September 2008: Olandason Wanyama

THE number of educated Muslims has increased, according to the third deputy prime minister and minister of information and national guidance. Hajji Ali Kirunda Kivejinja said Muslims "have spent sleepless nights to make sure we arrive where we are today." The deputy premier added that many Muslim elites were employed in various institutions, while others had private ventures. He was on Sunday speaking during a reunion of former students of the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) at the female campus in Kabojja, near Kampala. The Muslims, said Kivejinja, were moving very fast to fill the holes of illiteracy among their communities and shed off the tag of the "uneducated religion."

The IUIU Alumni Association president, Darawish Mwanje, said the organisation had solicited about sh1b for the construction of a multi-million shilling building to house a modern library, theatre and information technology centre at the main campus in Mbale district. "We decided to set up this project at the main campus but in the subsequent years, the same will happen in the Kampala and Arua campuses," he explained. The association, noted Mwanje, had offered a chance to former students to interact with the current ones for networking.

Time for Female Soldiers to Do More Than Secretarial Work

[The Nation](#) (Nairobi): ANALYSIS: 4 September 2008

The low level of participation of women in African militaries was in the limelight in August, which is celebrated in several parts of the continent as the month of heroines of the anti-colonial struggle. As of February 2008, only five per cent of soldiers in the world were female. The figure is not any better for Africa, which behoves governments to increase the ratio of women in their disciplined forces and introduce gender-sensitive policies to empower female soldiers already in service. Over the past 50 years, the role of women in the African military has changed considerably, with a number of females joining the military service. Despite this, women soldiers have been restricted to prescribed gender roles as nurses, cooks, secretaries and officers in personnel units.

In keeping with these gendered perceptions, studies in the military in Africa has constantly depicted women as victims and men as perpetrators of violence or protectors of women. Yet, women have been part and parcel of warrior class in Africa. The classic case is Dahomey (now Benin), where female warriors known as the Amazons formed

part of the national defence. At one point, it is reported, the country had a 30,000-strong unit of infantry women. Commenting on female warriors in Libya, the renowned Greek historian, Herodotus, wrote of men "whose wives drive their chariots to battle." The women warriors of the famous Monomotapa kingdom in modern Zimbabwe were hailed as "quick and swift, lively and courageous." And, in certain cases, pre-colonial African women warriors passed on the baton of bravery to liberation veterans. Writing on women liberation veterans who defied patriarchal restrictions, the famous theoretician, Frantz Fanon, documented the role of Algerian women in the national war of independence, even highlighting the revolutionary role of prostitutes as fighters. In the Horn of Africa, the Eritrean People's Liberation Army (EPLA) is said to have comprised of about 40 per cent women fighters. Kenya's Mau Mau liberation army recruited literate women into the forest fighting force as generals, fighters and strategists. One of them, Field Marshal Muthoni, is still alive. Zimbabwe's vice president, Joice Mujuru, who went by the nom de guerre Teurai Ropa (spill blood) is hailed as ferocious warrior who brought down a colonial military helicopter with an AK-47 assault rifle. And General Thandi Modise is just but one of the heroines of South Africa's Unkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation), who were subjected to the same training as their male counterparts, and were involved in combat in line with the African National Congress (ANC's) policy of non-sexism.

But now, the colonial perception of the military as a purely male institution and the post-colonial litany of coups, civil wars and instability have contributed to meagre presence of women in the African military. Even now things have not changed greatly. To stem the persistent civil wars, coups and conflicts in the continent, the African Union (AU) has adopted the Common Africa Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) and set up the African Stand-by Force (ASF), made up of five regional brigades. But women remain on the fringes of this regional military structure. Despite this, African countries have made some progress in ensuring gender balance in the military. Post-apartheid South Africa is leading the pack, with women comprising 22 per cent of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) -- higher than the regional average of about 10.5 per cent. But progress in ensuring gender equity in the forces has been slow. After 40 years of independence, the Botswana Defence Force (BDF) has just recruited its first women soldiers to private and officer ranks.

Regional armies

"It took 20 years of lobbying," says Ntombi Setshwaelo, the spokeswoman for Emang Basadi, a Botswana women's rights organisation. How to fast-track women involvement in national and regional militaries was the subject of a recent meeting of top women military chiefs from the 14 Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, in Pretoria. Women soldiers participating in the meeting underscored the gate-

keeping role of human resource units in promoting the participation of women in national and regional armies. Other African countries are also making tiny advances, including taking part in, or, hosting women soldiers involved in international peacekeeping.

Liberia now hosts the second Indian all-female peacekeeping force, the first having been deployed in 2007. On its part, Malawi has deployed over 20 women to UN Peace Support Operations since 1994. Beyond SADC, Libya has drafted women into its army, with Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's bodyguard being a 200-strong female-only unit. Figures on the ratio of women to men in African armies are hard to come by, but whatever glimpse there is indicates that some hard spade work is needed to reach gender equity. For example, Egypt, Ethiopia, Morocco, Eritrea, Angola and Algeria-- the largest armies on the continent -- have over 1.5 million active duty uniformed troops but it is not clear how many of these are women. Accurate figures of women's participation in national and regional military structures are critical to those working to ensure gender equity in this employment sector. Strong leadership and political will is needed at AU level to set specific quotas on equitable gender representation in national forces and the African standby force.

The inclusion of women in regional peacekeeping in particular brings in unique benefits. In hot spots experiencing sexual crimes against women such as the "food-for-sex" scandal involving the United Nations peacekeepers in the Democratic of Congo and Liberia, increased participation by women peacekeepers can provide a sense of security where male troops have failed. At the international level, the tide is shifting in favour of more commitment to increased and improved participation of women in the military sector following the adoption of the United Nations Resolution 1325.

Peace keeping operations

Despite this, although the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations has been in existence for 60 years (1948-2008), only seven women have ever held the top post of Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG). Further, according to a 2008 gender audit of women in peace keeping operations, only 1.9 per cent of military personnel are women. As of October 2006, only seven out of 16 peacekeeping operations in countries such as Haiti and Sudan had a full-time gender adviser. The rest of the missions had gender focal points people dealing with gender issues. This skewed representation of women in UN peacekeeping mirrors the gender imbalance within the UN bureaucracy. The only one female head of mission and four women deputies in the UN system were based in Africa (Burundi, Chad, Liberia, and Sudan). Some major players in the international system are facing pressure to increase the number of female combatants in their forces, albeit with deep resistance. China, as the world's largest army with over 1.2 million troops does not have many women on the frontlines. India, the

second largest, has a small contingent of 2.65 per cent while Britain and the US have approximately 15 per cent and 14 per cent women within their forces, respectively. Women's struggle for equal representation in the armed forces, however, is facing resistance from male counterparts. In the armed forces women are excluded on the basis of biological and physical reasons.

In the SADC, some countries do not have operational equipment that is suitable for women. Items as basic as bullet proof vests are not designed for large-breasted women and, in addition, some fighter jet seats do not accommodate large-hipped women. Adjustments in budget, technology as well as clearly defined career paths and equal salaries are necessary to put women soldiers at the same level as their male colleagues. With new emphasis on strategy and electronic technology, the frontline has receded significantly with less dependency on physical force and presence in the battlefields. Women military personnel do not, therefore, have to take place into combat. Those with the appropriate strategic knowledge and technical competence can still be part and parcel of this new system of warfare. But with Africa's continued heavy reliance on the physical form of defense and low technology, women are likely to remain in the military office blocks typing out letters.

Violence against women

The 30 per cent target for women's involvement at all levels of decision making within Africa, set by the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children, should be extended to armed forces and peacekeeping operations.

Notably, following the adoption of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality (2003) and the implementation of the parity principle within all AU structures, this proportion has been revised upwards to 50:50. But Africa has to walk the talk implementing the spirit of these documents. Bridging rhetoric and reality is central to improving the position of women in the national, regional and international armies.

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Lost in a Haystack - Gender Equality in Aid Effectiveness

Fahamu (Oxford): COLUMN: 4 September 2008: Florence E. Etta

Early in September 2008 the world will hold another one of its mega gatherings in Accra Ghana - the third high level forum on aid effectiveness. World leaders will convene to append their priceless signatures to a document now popularly called the triple A, which stands for the Accra Agenda for Action. The triple A, an outcome document ostensibly from the three days of intense discussions and lobbying is actually a prepackaged condensation from evaluations of the implementation of the Paris declaration and consultations about them conducted between 2006 and 2008 in all the regions of the world. It includes promises to expand and include more of the actors/agents of development such as the civil society organisations (CSOs) who were sidelined in the earlier rendition of the Paris declaration. It charts the broad actions that will no doubt occupy many development actors between now and December 2011 when the fourth high level forum on aid effectiveness takes place.

This paper attempts to show how and why the text of the triple A had to be different from the Paris declaration. The custodians of the Paris declaration insistently make the point that the triple A does not overtake, override nor overwrite the Paris declaration. The former only reasserts the latter.

BACKGROUND

For over three decades assertive programming in human rights, social justice and in particular women's rights have generated and expanded the literature and instruments, created a number of global and local institutions and, above all, popularised the notion and language of (universal and attainable) human rights. The investments have been massive and in many instances the gains have been significant. But the results cannot be said to be equivalent to the value of investments.

Despite being on the international development agenda as a programmatic commitment for over 30 years and with a good number of multilateral, bilateral and private development institutions in addition to many international non governmental organisations pursuing the cause, gender equality and women's empowerment has still not been fully achieved in most parts of the world as in Africa. This is despite the multiplicity of signed, ratified and even domesticated legal instruments designed to protect (and assure) these rights. It would seem that development aid has failed women and the cause for gender equality. Clearly a paradigm shift is required to assure aid effectiveness. Has this come in the form of the Paris declaration?

The global aid architecture has undergone significant changes since the turn of the century. Spurred by development failures in many developing nations, rising donor disenchantment with the reach, depth and sustainability of NGOs (non governmental organisations) led and inspired transformation coupled with their generally weak

governance, many donors renewed their commitment to working directly with and through developing country governments. On the other hand, calls for good governance and participation in public policymaking were growing louder and louder. Beginning with the Millennium Declaration in 2000, which gave birth to the contemporary global development framework - the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals), a number of significant high level meetings led to the charting and adoption of a number of landmark declarations. The Monterrey consensus in 2002 together with the Marrakech roundtable in 2004 led to the crystallisation and juxtaposition of the notions of ownership, alignment, harmonisation, and managing for results in relation to aid effectiveness. In March 2005 a declaration was signed in Paris now popularly called the Paris declaration, which has become the lighthouse document for aid effectiveness currently shaping the contours, architecture and discourses of global aid. The Paris declaration consolidated commitment among a sizeable number of donors and their development partner countries and actors to implement changes in the planning, coordination, monitoring and evaluation of aid.

Major reviews of the Paris declaration suggest that the narrow focus of the Paris declaration on efficiency and structural reforms of aid delivery mechanisms has limited positive impact on development or aid effectiveness in general and gender equality in particular.

AID EFFECTIVENESS

The European network on debt and development suggests that aid is effective if it is helping to tackle global inequality and poverty. The advisory group on civil society and aid effectiveness states in a concept paper of 2007 that 'Aid effectiveness means the extent to which aid resources succeed in producing sustainable development results for poor people'. According to the advisory group on civil society, aid effectiveness is important because it:

- draws attention to the big picture, to ensure that the ultimate objectives of the aid system as a whole are being met;
- can help to ensure that the international aid system remains true to its primary purpose in the face of competing interests of a political or bureaucratic nature, institutional imperatives, foreign policy goals, or commercial objectives;
- provides a framework for enquiring into broad lessons of good practice and establishing a consensus on how aid could be improved', (Paragraph 46).

From a gender equality perspective aid would be considered to be effective if it reaches and sustainably transforms the lives of poor women and men, if women and men equally contribute to and benefit from the investments and from the fruits of development. Aid is thus said to be effective if it delivers on development, reduces poverty, brings about gender equality, the advancement of women and the protection of their human rights and national growth.

THE PARIS DECLARATION

The Paris declaration is currently the guiding framework for aid effectiveness. This three year old declaration with targets for the year 2010 is shaping the contours, architecture and discourses of global aid. As the lighthouse document for aid effectiveness, it has been described by the organisation for economic cooperation and development (OECD, 2007) as:

'An ambitious attempt to increase the impact of aid on development by promoting more mature partnerships between donors and partner countries. It also seeks to enhance partner countries' ability to manage all development resources more effectively; and enable their citizens, and parliaments, to hold governments accountable on its use. As well as committing all parties to the Declaration to a clearly specified set of actions and behavioural changes, it also calls for periodic monitoring at the country level, so that the governments of developing countries and their external partners are increasingly accountable to each other for the progress being made' (OECD, 2007,Chap 3).

The Paris declaration is laid out in three sections namely the statement of resolve, partnership commitments and indicators of progress. Much of the discussions and contentions to date have revolved around the five principles that underlie the partnership commitments: ownership, alignment harmonisation, managing for results, and mutual accountability. The statement of resolve highlights the *raison d'être* of the declaration as the scaling up of aid, identifying the management and implementation processes of the new approach, including the adaptability to differing country situations, the specification of targets and their timelines. It also suggests a monitoring and evaluation schema. Two monitoring and evaluation exercises have been conducted to date in 2006 and 2008.

The second section, of the Paris declaration contains 50 partnership commitments in relation to the five principles of ownership, alignment, harmonisation, managing for results, and mutual accountability. The commitments are partner specific so that the responsibilities are clear. The third and final section of the Paris declaration is the table of 12 indicators and targets to be achieved by the year 2010. Each of the five principles has one or a set of measurable indicators: ownership has one indicator, alignment has seven indicators, harmonisation two indicators, managing for results one indicator and mutual

accountability also has one indicator. It has been suggested, on account of the heavy emphasis on the principle of alignment, as shown by the number of indicators attached to it, that the Paris declaration is principally an instrument to improve the efficiency of aid not necessarily its effectiveness.

The new aid agenda dominated by the Paris declaration is seen as attempting to perform two related functions:

1. increasing the resources for doing development, and;
2. better management of aid in order for it to more effectively deliver development and poverty reduction.

To this extent the declaration of principles and commitments attempts to shape (change) the conduct of both aid-givers and aid-takers to ensure that aid does indeed lead to genuine development and the transformation of lived realities. Yet the Paris declaration is silent about the most disadvantaged poor, many of who are the world's women. There is one mention of the words 'gender equality' in the entire Paris declaration. Many of the major reviews of the Paris declaration to date suggest that the narrow focus of the Paris declaration on efficiency and structural reforms of aid mechanisms will have a limited positive impact on development effectiveness in general and gender equality in particular (DCD/DAC, 6-2006, 7). Gender equality is a fundamental human right, an issue of social justice critical for growth and poverty reduction. No global instrument or mechanism purporting to be at the service of transformatory development can be insensitive to dimensions of poverty, which is itself sensitive to gender, social exclusion, illiteracy etc. To be effective therefore aid in any modality must necessarily support gender equality, the advancement of women and the protection of human rights. As the Paris declaration moves from formulation through implementation to monitoring, and to the target year of 2010 there is an urgent need for activism around its accountability for gender equality. One practical way to do this is to engender the Paris declaration.

ENGENDERING THE PARIS DECLARATION

On account of the global reach and critical importance that the signatories, the participating countries and organisations ascribe to the Paris declaration, it is imperative that all development workers treat it with weighty seriousness. Thus if a critical dimension such as gender equality is left out or is given treatment that does not correspond to its important role in development effectiveness, it must not be left unchallenged and unheeded. The words gender equality appear in paragraph 42 of the Paris declaration as follows: 'similar harmonisation efforts are also needed on other cross-cutting issues such as gender equality and other thematic issues including those by

dedicated funds.' Although the Paris declaration provides the framework and principles that could support gender equality and women's empowerment, the inescapable conclusion is that in its current or original form, the Paris declaration is gender blind. It is this paradox of gender insensitivity on the one hand, and the great potential to foster gender equality and the empowerment of women on the other, that has captured the attention of gender equality advocates, activists and researchers. Globally, gender equality enthusiasts, women's rights activists have been working to make this potential lodged in the Paris declaration evident and overt. Organisations such as UNIFEM, Association for Women's Rights in Development, the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Network on gender equality, to mention a few, have supported the engendering of the Paris declaration and this work is still ongoing. Although all the sections of the Paris declaration require revision to make them gender sensitive, much of the engendering to date has centred on the commitments, their underlying principles and the indicators. The DAC network on gender equality suggests that the donor community 'use the implementation of the Paris declaration's principles and commitments to:

- harmonise approaches to support for gender equality;
- implement concrete actions, focussed on results and impacts;
- be responsible and accountable for ... gender equality and women's empowerment'.

They offer specific suggestions as do many other women organisations about how some, each or all of the commitments, can be made more gender sensitive so as to respond to gender equality and women's empowerment. Work supported by UNIFEM in Africa and undertaken by a six member expert group on new aid modalities, along with the African gender and development evaluators network, resulted in the generation of 29 gender sensitive indicators to correspond to each of the 12 Paris declaration indicators. It cannot, therefore, any longer be said that measurements and assessments cannot be made of the gender equality and women's empowerment dimensions of aid effectiveness because there are no indicators. In addition to the twenty nine gender sensitive Paris declaration indicator set now available as a global public resource, many commentators have suggested that the performance assessment frameworks that include gender equality indicators be used as one way to go. The clamour for good governance and accountability has popularised results oriented management and/or managing for results in development evaluation. These approaches deploy frameworks that are based on the logic model. Since it has been observed that none of the current assessment frameworks of the Paris declaration explicitly incorporate the monitoring of gender and social equity, one model was generated by Florence Etta working with and as a member of the UNIFEM new aid modalities expert group since 2006.

GENDER EQUALITY ASSESSMENT AND ACCOUNTABILITY FRAMEWORK

Gender equality assessment and accountability framework is a results oriented assessment framework, which can be used for any monitoring or evaluation exercise sensitive to the issues of gender equality and women's rights. The framework matrix (7x4) identifies the monitoring and evaluation dimensions/issues at four levels (rows in the matrix) of input, output, outcome and impact. Each row has an identified and corresponding expected or desired result as well as their indicators. These in addition to other desirable/common dimensions of a monitoring or evaluation plan such as sources of information/data; methods of collection etc constitute the columns. Aid flows constitute the input or first level/row. At this level the desired result is high aid volumes for the 'right' programmes, sectors, projects or institutions, which target women and girls, their empowerment and or gender equality. The entire Paris declaration with its 12 indicators along with the corresponding or complementary gendered indicator set, are regarded as output indicators. The expected results at this level are aid efficiency and effective aid management. Full scale support for gender equality otherwise known as gender mainstreaming is treated in this framework as fitting at the third or outcome level. The desired results would be gender mainstreaming in all sectors, projects, programmes receiving aid irrespective of their nature where there is routine use and application of gendered tools and techniques in project implementation and in the monitoring and evaluation of results and impacts. At the fourth and highest level of impact, the transformation of gender relations, more equitable sharing and control of and benefits from resources (and development) would be the expected result. At the lower first and second levels the place and role of aid is very visible but at the higher third and fourth levels the fact that aid is effective ought to translate into more global development outcomes so much so that the direct contribution and thus attributions of change from the effects of aid and of growth become increasingly difficult to disentangle. It is for this reason that the indicators at this level appear less and less tied to aid. We however acknowledge that aid by itself will not lead to development.

The programme logic/model subsumed by the framework can be represented as follows: aid flows (input) → efficiency and effective management of aid effectiveness (Paris declaration) (output) → gender mainstreaming in all in aid interventions (outcome) → gender equality and women's human rights upheld globally (impact).

CONCLUSION

Aid can be no more effective than the Paris declaration is blind. So perhaps it is just as well that the text (of the Paris declaration) cannot be changed as the custodians tell us. For lost in its power and beauty is gender equality and women's empowerment. The triple A however shows great promise for in its embrace of multilevel consultations and

changeability a rich harvest for aid effectiveness is possible. On account of this we are hopeful. Hopeful and encouraged to use the opportunities offered by the new aid modalities and the tools that have been and continue to be developed in a new way to generate pictures of aid effectiveness that are not partial but whole in the hope that a future we envisage of genuine, sustainable and equitable development can be reached. History, however teaches that hope alone never delivers justice. Gender equality and women's rights activists, programmers, supporters and all who fervently desire a world rid of gender based injustice should continue the militancy that has accompanied the preparation for the Accra high level forum well beyond September 2008. As this work moves forward it will be informed and guided by strategies, approaches, tools and techniques that are suited to the task in hand. Never before has this convergence happened.

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** This article is an extract from a longer paper which will be included as a chapter in the forthcoming "African Perspectives on Aid in Africa" book published by AFRODAD and Fahamu*

**Please send comments to editor@pambazuka.org or comment online at <http://www.pambazuka.org/>*

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Uganda: Why Women Give Birth to Many Children: [New Vision](#) (Kampala)

COLUMN:1 September 2008: Lydia Namubiru

The average Uganda woman gives birth to more children than she would have desired. In fact, the 2006 Uganda National Demographic Survey proves it. Women and men, were asked what their desired number of children was. Seventy percent of the women who have not yet started child-bearing desired two to four children. Yet, the average Uganda woman gives birth to about 6.7 children as is our current fertility rate. Women are unlikely to say they want fewer children than they already have.

Nevertheless, at least a quarter of the women who already had six or more children admitted to the researchers that if they could turn back time, they would have had two to four children. Our inability to stick to achieve our desired fertility rate is explainable for some categories of women, for others, it is still a puzzle even to family health experts. For the rural uneducated poor woman, it is a cocktail of factors. "Family planning services are hard to find for some of these women. For some, the services centres are very far away," Angela Akol, the programme director of Family Health International explains. The demographic survey found that other factors, including polygamy make women bear

children in competition and the cultural value we attach to children still contribute to the high actual fertility rate."It is hard to understand when it comes to the educated and rich women because even if the public sector family planning services are not available, they would afford the private ones," Akol concedes. However, she points out that fear of the side effects of contraceptives is an underlying factor to not using them among all groups of women.

Gambia: Al-Fattah Revolution Celebrated: [The Daily Observer](#) (Banjul)

EDITORIAL: 4 September 2008:Musa Ndow.

The secretary of state for Foreign Affairs and foreign diplomats were, on Tuesday evening, treated to a reception at the Kairaba Beach Hotel by the Libyan ambassador to The Gambia in commemoration of the Al-Fattah Revolution, which saw Col Muammar El-Ghadafi rise to power in 1969. Ambassador Dr Ali Muhammed Dukaly told the gathering that the Libyan leader has turned his country into a great Jamahiriya, and from retrogression to progress and prosperity. According to Ambassador Dukaly, Libya was "not at all considered" in the past, as it was listed among those poor countries dependent on aid, until the birth of the revolution. On the Arab front, the Libyan ambassador said the revolution had strived hard to unite the Arab countries and to unite the big Maghreb Arab, but the inherited cultural and colonial systems had frustrated them. Ambassador Dukaly described President El-Ghadafi as a "champion leader" who supported the liberation movements across Africa for the attainment of independence and liberty. He added that the Libyan leader has always been at the forefront for the unification of the continent, as demonstrated by his call for one African flag, one national anthem, a single African passport, a united army, an African central bank and foreign policy. He said it was Ghadafi's belief that these initiatives will free the continent from the excruciating bondage of retrogression, disease and poverty when they are implemented. According to him, when these dreams are realised, Africa will be connected through a major railway network and a powerful electricity supply system. Ambassador Dukaly informed the distinguished guests that the celebrations back in Tripoli were remarkable, as the event was graced by kings, Sultans and leaders of ethnic groups from African countries. He also used the opportunity to pay tribute to President Jammeh. "On this joyous occasion we hail the champion of the 22nd July Gambian Revolution, His Excellency President Dr Alhaji Yahya AJJ Jammeh, who has changed all features of life on this good land and joined The Gambia in the African struggle and has always worked hard to realise progress, enhancement and prosperity," said Ambassador Dukaly.

For his part, Dr Omar Alieu Touray, the secretary of state for Foreign Affairs, congratulated President El-Ghadafi through Ambassador Dukaly, on behalf of President

Jammeh and the entire people of The Gambia, on the 39th anniversary of the revolution."Anybody who follows The Gambia's foreign relations under President Jammeh will appreciate the importance that The Gambia has given to its relation with the Great Libyan Jamahiriya," SoS Touray said.He said under Dr Jammeh's leadership, The Gambia has championed Libya's cause at the United Nations and other international fora.SoS Touray recalled that President Jammeh and President El-Ghadafi were among the pioneers of the African Union (AU), culminating into the end of sanctions on Libya.The Foreign Affairs SoS observed that "if cooperation between the two countries at the international and continental level can produce results, there is absolutely no reason why cooperation between the two countries at bilateral level cannot produce bigger results".SoS Touray pointed to Jerma Hotel, Atlantic Hotel and the Libyan sponsored mosques in Serrekunda and Kotu as clear testimony of the potential of the Gambian-Libyan cooperation and then prayed for a stronger relation for the benefit of the two peoples.

**Gambia: Ramadan Mubarak: [The Daily Observer \(Banjul\)](#): EDITORIAL
3 September 2008**

Yesterday, Muslims in The Gambia joined billions around the world to commence a month-long divine task, in fulfilment of one of the most revered pillars in the Islamic religion - Fasting. Like the rest of the other pillars, fasting is fundamental in ensuring one's success in the Hereafter.Given the enormous challenges posed by this material dominated world of ours, in which temptations abound, the task of fasting comes with extreme difficulties. This is more so because the demands of fasting transcend praying and merely depriving oneself of food.It requires total abstinence from any worldly enjoyment that can distract one from concentration on Allah. Backbiting, cheating and all other vices, including those that have to do with personal relationships, are strictly forbidden by the religion, but emphasis is laid on these vices even more during the fasting period. These are sinful acts that blemish the worshiper's record in the eyes of their Creator.But there is more to Ramadan than this issue of self-deprivation or supplication to the Creator. Ramadan encourages sharing and caring among the Muslim Ummah. It provides room for the rich to get a taste of how the hungry feel; thus the practice of giving alms is common place during this month.Unfortunately, however, because of the heightened demand for basic foodstuff, prices of these commodities tend to skyrocket during this sacred month. This makes the whole scenario ironical; and it sets a big question mark over the genuineness of our faith as Muslims.Therefore, as we welcome this very important and sacred month, it is important that we, as Muslims, reflect on these points and endeavour to refrain from all dubious acts, at least until the end of the month. This is not to rule out the ideal thing, which is to continue the good deeds even after the fasting period.

Uganda: Let us Set Moral Standards to Judge our Leaders' Actions

New Vision (Kampala): OPINION: 1 September 2008: Christopher Kibanzanga

The term morality is derived from the Latin word *mores*, which refers to customs of generally held beliefs and practices of a society. *Mores* are the social norms of a given society making its moral systems. A moral system means the integrated and systematised set of ideas of right or wrong in a given culture.

So, whereas, ethics refers to principles of behaviours, morality refers to the behaviour itself. Morality is what someone thinks or feels is right or wrong. The Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary describes the word soul as a person's inner character containing their true thoughts and feelings. The spirit is described as the part of a person that includes their mind, feelings and character.

In religion, the spirit is the representative of God in a person's life, which Christ left to believers to guide them in the choices they make (John 14:15-17, 1 John 2:26-27).

A person's soul and spirit will always reveal to him what is right or wrong, what is good or evil. But in many instances, we ignore these revelations because they come in terms of feelings. Therefore, one could easily conclude that the leadership in Uganda has lost the soul and morality to understand the implications of their actions. It is unfortunate that Uganda was crafted from different ethnic groups with various moral systems. The Ministry of Ethics and Integrity has also not helped the country to come up with an integrated moral system that will guide the decisions we make in our daily lives. For example, what moral standards do we use to judge the actions of Rubaga North MP Beti Kamyia, when she accuses her party of practising tribalism while she is pushing for a tribal tendency at the same time? Kamyia is in court for having told President Yoweri Museveni that he is nothing but a chief of the Bahima sub-tribe of the Banyankole. I am one of her sureties.

I was put aback when Kamyia sought to promote her ethnic group, the Baganda, to take lead in the Forum for Democratic Change. Where is the conscience of our African leaders? This is an ethical problem. Ethics requires consistency in the sense that our moral standards, actions and values should not be contradictory least we are described as leaders without integrity. There can never be a national party worth its name which reserves certain elective positions for a particular group of people based on gender, tribe, religion and other sectarian tendencies. The essence of elective politics is that those who seek offices behave in such a way that they win the confidence, trust and the admiration of the majority. They must raise their moral standards beyond the ordinary so that they could be accepted across social economic and political divides. We cannot compromise

competence by merely resorting to sectarian tendencies only to appease for shortterm gains in the wider and long term struggle for national integration. You cannot abandon a national platform for an ethnic agenda while you want to lead a country which is multi-ethnic and you expect other ethnic groups to trust you with power. This is the reason why most of the African governments have alienated most of their citizens because after being given power through a national platform, they rule the country through their tribesmates. The rest of the citizens feel left out thus unrest, strife and disturbances set in. In the case of defence minister Amama Mbabazi and the NSSF saga, what moral standards do we use to judge their action as right or wrong; or good or evil? The country lacks moral standards to examine the actions of those managing the State, especially when the leaders have lost both their souls and moral authority to know what is right or wrong or what is good or evil.

For Kanya, is it normal and morally correct to accuse others of manipulation and tribalism, while at the same time you demand special privilege for your ethnic group? Don't you see that that is tribalism? For Mbabazi and company, is it normal and ethically right to inflate the price of goods and cheat the country of your birth? Is it normal to tell lies even when the lies do not create the greatest benefit of doubt? These two examples show that morality and human souls play a pivotal role in many choices we make in our lives. They clearly demonstrate how it is dangerous for the leadership to lose its soul and morality.

The writer is the shadow minister for presidency and anti-corruption and MP for Busongora South in Kasese.

REFUGEES , MIGRATION and IDPs

South Africa: Xenophobia, Crime and Security in SA

New Era (Windhoek): DOCUMENT: 5 September 2008.

Xenophobia has been described as an intense dislike, hatred or fear of others who are perceived to be strangers. Xenophobia describes attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity.

Dr Romi Fuller from the Centre for the Study of Violence in South Africa was in Namibia last week to present the considerations the recent xenophobic attacks have on the FIFA World Cup of 2010.

Socio-economic Implications for the FIFA World Cup

IN May 2008, South Africa was shaken by the outbreak of a wave of violence characterized by an intensity and fierceness previously unknown in its young democracy and reminiscent of apartheid bloodshed.

According to police statements, 62 migrants were murdered, while hundreds, including women and children, have been attacked, raped, and have had their houses and belongings looted and destroyed. The most severely affected groups were Africans from neighbouring states, such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique, but migrants from more distant countries, such as Nigeria and Somalia, as well as a few South Africans, were also victims of attacks. Within the country, up to 40 000 people fled from their homes and had to camp in temporary shelters until refugee camps were established. Thousands more returned to their countries of origin. For instance, according to the Mozambican authorities, 26 000 people have crossed into Mozambique since the start of the unrest. During the second week of turmoil, President Thabo Mbeki agreed to call the army into the affected areas to assist the South African Police Service, which could not fully contain the riot situation. While conditions have calmed down in the ensuing months, a new humanitarian crisis has been unfolding as refugees in provisional reception camps struggle with inadequate shelter and supplies and brace themselves for the outbreaks of disease already reported in many areas. Most recently, a group of foreigners have appealed in the South African courts to keep the refugee camps open for longer than the two months initially set aside for their existence.

Context

In order to assess the socio-economic implications of the xenophobic violence in South Africa for the 2010 World Cup, it is important to contextualise the circumstances in which it happened and analyse some of the more important root causes of the violence. Firstly, it is important to note that xenophobia in South Africa is not a new phenomenon: it is an ongoing problem and not one that will easily disappear. In 1977, local hawkers in central Johannesburg attacked their foreign counterparts. The chairperson of the Inner Johannesburg Hawkers Committee was quoted at the time as saying: "We are prepared to push them out of the city, come what may. My group is prepared to let our government inherit a garbage city because of these leeches". In 1998, gangs of South Africa tried to evict perceived 'illegals' from Alexandra Township, blaming them for increased crime, sexual attacks and unemployment. The campaign, lasting several weeks, was known as 'Buyelekhaya' ("go back home"). Later that year, three foreigners were killed on a train traveling between Pretoria and Johannesburg in what was described as a xenophobic attack. In January 2008, acts of violence and foreigners' home-based businesses were vandalised and items stolen in Atteridgeville West. In April, South African nationals looted the shops and burned the homes of foreigners in Mamelodi East. These material incidents have been supported by the

attitudes captured in two nationally representative surveys conducted by the Southern African Migration Project in 1997 and 2006. In 1997, it was found that 25% of South Africans wanted a total prohibition of migration or immigration and 22% wanted the South African government to return all foreigners presently living in South Africa to their own countries. Forty-five percent of the sample called for strict limits to be placed on migrants and immigrants and 17% wanted migration policies tied to the availability of jobs. In the same survey, some 61% of respondents agreed that migrants put additional strains on the country's resources. In 2006, respondents continued to consider foreigners to be a threat to the social and economic wellbeing of South Africa. More than two-thirds said that foreigners use up resources such as water, electricity and healthcare destined for citizens. Two-thirds of respondents felt that foreigners from other African countries commit crimes and close to one half said that foreigners bring diseases such as HIV to South Africa. Thus, like in the 1997 survey, respondents in 2006 appear to continue to have a negative view of the impact of foreigners on the country, and in fact it would appear that their view on certain issues has hardened, with greater percentages saying foreigners take up resources meant for citizens. Whenever there have been violent attacks on foreigners, many politicians and government officials have tended to downplay the significance of xenophobia, preferring to label such attacks as opportunistic crime and 'conflicts over resources'. While crime and resource conflicts clearly play a part in provoking these attacks, it is also apparent that the attacks are targeted primarily at black foreigners, which confirms the xenophobic and racist nature of the attacks.

Secondly, even before the collapse of apartheid, South Africa was perceived by the rest of Africa as a country in which to earn a livelihood. Migrant workers have been coming into South Africa for many generations to find work (generally in the form of unskilled or semi-skilled labour) on farms or in the mines. Post-1994, South Africa has been seen as a land of opportunity for many foreign nationals in economic terms, as well as a haven of peace for those coming from countries torn apart by war, political conflict or ethnic-based violence.

Conversely, as a consequence of apartheid, South Africans still tend to see themselves as separated from the rest of the African continent and, combined with many years of isolation, do not easily identify with other Africans. Increased migrant and refugee flows to South Africa since 1994 has meant that foreigners are now much more visible, leading to the perception that South Africa is being 'over-run' by millions of poor, illiterate Africans. Unsubstantiated claims about the presence of five to eight illegal foreigners in South Africa contribute to this popular myth.

Thirdly, a number of current events have added to the tinderbox. The global economic problems have had an impact on the price of food and fuel, while unemployment in South Africa continues to rise. South Africans have continued to have high expectations of

economic and social delivery following the advent of democracy. That these expectations have not been met in terms of the scale and rate at which might have been anticipated, is a fact that has been widely acknowledged. Many South Africans continue to be unemployed and poor, with little or no access to basic social, health and welfare services. It is also apparent that many migrants and refugees have been able to establish successful small businesses or trading operations; much more so than their South African counterparts. In the past it was possible to blame poverty and the lack of development on a government that was unrepresentative and illegitimate. This is no longer the case and, as happens in many countries across the world, foreigners are often scapegoated for taking away opportunities from South Africans.

Misperceptions of foreigners, such as their involvement in crime, in spreading disease and in keeping South Africans in poverty, have grown as economic conditions have worsened in South Africa and as media reports have over-emphasised the influx of foreigners. The perception that South African nationals and foreign nationals are competing over scarce resources has enflamed an already tense situation. The political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe has been an additional factor.

The political violence, torture and intimidation, in combination with the economic meltdown of the country, have resulted in an increase in the number of Zimbabweans fleeing their own country for the relative safety of South Africa. Feelings of xenophobia in South Africa are not helped by the South African government's response to the situation in Zimbabwe. President Thabo Mbeki's statement that there is 'no crisis' across the border paints those fleeing the violence and repression as purely economic migrants with no 'real' or legitimate reason for being in South Africa. Fourthly, the Southern African Migration Project's survey results show that, while South Africans still tend to hold negative views about each other, the nation-building project has had some impact on their collective views towards foreigners. Almost without exception across racial and income groups, attitudes towards foreigners are negative and steeped in stereotypes, reinforcing the perception that 'they do not belong'. Thus, by virtue of not being South African citizens, foreigners are barred from a range of economic, social and welfare benefits in a process that has been described as 'excluded by nation building'.

This is best illustrated by the fact that foreign nationals are not afforded the same protection as South Africans by that state, either because of their status or because of xenophobic attitudes among officials. Previous research conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and other organisations documents the complicity of some officials in corruption, intimidation and abuse of foreigners. Foreigners state that they are reluctant to report violent crimes because police neglect to follow up cases, commonly interrogate and victimise the complainant, and, most importantly, because they risk being detained themselves, regardless of the validity of their

documentation. Fifthly, public and official discourse does little to dispel myths and stereotypes pertaining to foreign nationals. Many of the beliefs about foreigners are based on ignorance and/or hearsay. Sweeping generalisations are made about foreigners without any apparent evidence or knowledge, and it is only when confronted with actual evidence to the contrary, that some South Africans are willing to reconsider their views. For many South Africans, Africa continues to be the 'dark continent', and they have very little knowledge of, or interest in, the countries and cultures that exist beyond the Limpopo, or indeed in getting to know their fellow Africans living in South Africa. In 2000 and again in 2004, the Southern African Migration Project conducted an analysis of print media coverage of cross-border migration in South and Southern Africa's major English-language newspapers, drawing from more than 1 200 clippings about migration between 1994 and 1998 and a further 950 clippings about migration between 2000 and 2003.

In sum, the findings suggest that coverage of international migration by the South African press has been largely anti-immigrant and un-analytical. Not all reporting is negative, and newspaper coverage would appear to be improving over time, but the overwhelming majority of the newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor surveyed for this research were negative about immigrants and immigration and extremely superficial in nature - uncritically reproducing problematic statistics and assumptions about cross-border migration. While not blaming the media as the cause of xenophobia, the report concludes that, at best, the press have been presenting a very limited perspective of cross-border migration dynamics, and in the process leaving the South African public in the dark as to the real complexities at play. At worse, the press has been contributing to xenophobic sentiments in the general public by weaving myths and fabrications around foreigners and immigration.

The immediate impact of the xenophobic violence in South Africa

There have been a number of immediate socio-economic implications stemming from the xenophobic violence in South Africa - many of which will still be impacting the country in the future. The first set of implications for South Africa (and the region) was, and still is, logistical. The displacement of populations has been of grave concern. In the immediate aftermath of the violence, a humanitarian crisis developed as displaced people faced shortages of shelter, food, medical care and sanitation in crudely affected temporary accommodation in police stations, churches and even petrol stations. In collaboration with local government, UNHCR and NGOs had to step into an emergency situation, providing food, shelter, medical supplies and clothes in the vacuum created by an absence of policy or planning for such an eventuality. Temporary refugee camps were constructed in various parts of the country to accommodate the displaced until they could be reintegrated into their communities or until they decided to return to their countries of origin. These camps in themselves created problems: there were complaints from

residents in the suburbs in which they were constructed about the possible impact of the camps on middle-class house prices and crime in the area, which illustrates that xenophobic attitudes in South Africa are not limited to poor blacks living in informal settlements. In addition, violence flared up again in some of the camps between foreign nationals from different countries, usually over scarce resources. The punishment of the perpetrators of the violence is a second logistical nightmare - firstly because of the difficulties of identifying perpetrators of the violence. Foreign nationals cite fear and intimidation or their own illegal immigrant status as barriers to reporting, while South Africans cite an unwillingness to get involved or the fear of being seen to be on the side of foreigners. Secondly, any mass prosecution of the perpetrators would place a terrible strain on an already over-burdened criminal justice system. This means that justice may well not be served for the victims of the xenophobic violence - those injured and displaced, as well as those who lost property and possessions, and those who lost family members. This creates a culture of impunity for those involved in perpetrating the violence, which could contribute to a belief that xenophobic violence is tolerated by the state. Furthermore, a lack of justice for the victims of the violence compounds the perception and reality that foreign nationals in South Africa struggle to access the criminal justice system. The second immediate implication for South Africa is that the country was once again in the international press for all the wrong reasons. The xenophobic attacks immediately sent a negative message to the rest of the world about the security situation in the country and the South African government's ability to contain outbreaks of violence. Already perceived by the rest of the world as having a runaway crime and violence problem, the xenophobic attacks added to the negative opinion of South Africa's ability to host such an immense international sporting event as the soccer World Cup, in terms of providing adequate security, as well as ensuring the safety of players and fans. In addition, the xenophobic violence put some strain on the South African government's relationship with the governments of neighbouring countries. There was the widespread condemnation of the xenophobic violence by regional leaders, many whose citizens had been victims of the violence or displacement.

One of the underlying sentiments behind the regional leaders' dissatisfaction seemed to be that, during apartheid, many ANC cadres found refuge in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia and beyond, in which countries they were offered asylum and assistance. Some members of the South African government have insisted on labeling the xenophobic violence as purely criminal, refusing to acknowledge its political facets as violence motivated by dynamics of inclusion or exclusion, access to resources and nationalistic identities, with, undeniably, an element of opportunistic criminal activity. This attitude has not helped the South African government's international image, making it look like the government is trying to amalgamate the xenophobic problem into the problem of violent crime in South Africa rather than treating it as its own problem, with discrete symptoms, manifestations and solutions.

Longer-term implications

Although the xenophobic violence in South Africa in May this year has been contained, with less than two years to go before the World Cup is held, there are a number of ripple effects from the crisis, which may still affect the World Cup. The reintegration of foreign nationals back into their host communities in South Africa, which is the preferred resolution for both the government and the displaced people, has its own pitfalls. We know from the experience of other countries such as Rwanda and Kenya that integration is a complex process, which if not managed correctly could have serious consequences. We know from our own context and experience with ex-combatants that the impact of poor integration strategies, or the lack of such strategies, can be felt years later - in further violence, reprisal/revenge attacks and civil unrest. South Africa needs to be aware that the integration process involves sending people back into communities where they have experienced extreme violence and loss. While the victims need considerable support regarding their trauma and the practicalities of reintegrating and rebuilding their homes and lives, most of the work needs to be done within the South African communities. Various areas need to be addressed within these communities before integration can be wholly successful. These include: building trust between South African nationals and both victims and foreign nationals; investigating the underlying causes of the xenophobic violence and beginning to address these constructively; addressing the myths surrounding foreign nationals and raising awareness regarding migration and refugees; laying the groundwork for conflict transformation in those communities in order to prevent future incidents; and giving a voice and/or space to South African community members so that they do not feel that the only way to make their voices heard is through the use of violence against the most vulnerable of society. If integration is not thoroughly and sensibly completed, the problem will not have been dealt with and the potential will exist for xenophobic violence to flare up repeatedly in the future. In addition, there are implications for the foreign nationals who have been victimised and who have had to return to their home countries or flee to other neighbouring states.

This is especially true for people from war-torn or conflict situations who have been forced to return home - if economic refugees, they face extreme poverty and starvation; if political refugees, they face renewed violence (and possible death).

Another element to consider is the transference of trauma with displaced persons across state borders. The journey undertaken when fleeing violence (whether in their countries of origin or host country) is often fraught with fear and the threat of further violence. The needs of traumatised individuals are complex and individual-specific, but at the very least, such people need to access mental and physical healthcare facilities and, ideally, long term interventions. This has implications for both the trauma sufferers and the host

communities. Many traumatised individuals need the most basic of assistance such as immediate food relief and shelter. The concept of movement of trauma and violated displaced populations needs to be understood by host countries in order to be able to adequately deal with the implications. Because of this movement of people, the aftermath of the xenophobic violence in South Africa, if not properly managed, contained and dealt with, could lead to the destabilisation of the region as a whole in the build up to the World Cup. The southern African region is intimately connected: what happens in one country impacts those around it. Violence in one country spills into neighbouring countries - if not directly in the form of the perpetration of violence by displaced persons across borders, then by implication through the movement of traumatised individuals and political refugees who have specific needs. Competition between host populations and displaced populations can, in turn, result in more violence in the form of xenophobia. To use Zimbabwe as just one example: the political violence and economic problems in Zimbabwe have spilled over into South Africa through the movement of large numbers of political and/or economic refugees. Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State, stated on June 19, 2008 that "the political instability and economic collapse created by the Zimbabwean Government's actions are destabilising an entire region", adding that the situation in Zimbabwe had troubling implications for the security of its neighbouring states. The crisis in Zimbabwe and influx of refugees into South Africa contributed to the rising xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, resulting in violence, which in turn has had implications for regional stability. Movement of populations across borders is not going to cease, and may even increase in the run-up to the World Cup. South Africa needs effective and well-implemented policies and measures in place to deal with this. There is often confusion among the general population, as well as among foreign nationals and even state officials as to the legal status of immigrants. The length of time taken for asylum applications to be processed combined with uncertainty about the different categories of immigrants, means that officials and foreign nationals alike often do not know where they stand in terms of the law. In addition, there is lack of coordination from government departments in addressing the challenges facing foreign nationals. In many cases government departments will refer foreign nationals to the Department of Home Affairs for assistance with service provisions. However, while the Department of Home Affairs is set up to assist with documentation, the relevant government departments at local level are mandated to assist with service provision. The good news is that the xenophobic violence has had very little impact on South Africa's preparations for the World Cup in terms of infrastructure, transport systems, planning and organisation. In addition, the incidents of violence have not occurred near any of the central business and tourism areas where visitors would be staying. It is highly unlikely that World Cup fans will be targeted by xenophobic sentiments - which, unfortunately, are not to say that they will not fall prey to violent crime (South Africa having the high crime rate that it

does). Xenophobia in South Africa is directed towards those people living in South Africa (legally or illegally) and sharing resources with the local population.

The violence has, however, had an impact on the enthusiasm of fans to travel to the World Cup - especially if the nature of the xenophobia has been misrepresented to include the fear and hatred of all foreigners (including tourists). The fewer fans and visitors attracted to South Africa and the World Cup will definitely have an impact, not only on South Africa, but on the southern African region as a whole, in terms of the anticipated economic boom that the World Cup should bring to the region in terms of direct revenue and spin-off tourism. The anticipated economic opportunities that the World Cup promises, such as the influx of resources, as well as opportunities for small businesses, hawkers and even criminals, will attract foreign nationals from the region and even further a-field. This could create another situation where there is competition between South African nationals and foreign nationals over the resources and opportunities available. Foreigners might be perceived to be flooding into South Africa expecting to share in the economic benefits of the World Cup - with the precedent set by the xenophobic violence in May, this might result in a resurgence of the xenophobic sentiments and ensuing violence.

In a related concern, the handling of the xenophobic crisis in South Africa generates a legitimate question mark over South Africa's ability to cope with the World Cup in terms of security, crowd control and crisis control. The South African Police Service was overwhelmed by the xenophobic crisis, resulting in Thabo Mbeki calling in the army to help control the violence. Emergency responses were not well coordinated or managed during the crisis, and many NGOs had to step in to bridge the gap. However, having said that, the xenophobic violence was largely unanticipated by the emergency services (including the police force), whereas as a lot of thought, planning and resources have been poured into the preparations of security for the World Cup - extra police officers are being trained and the private security companies have been drawn in to reinforce the state forces. On a positive note, the latest crisis has alerted South Africa to the fact that xenophobia is a real problem. The horrific nature of the violence has sensitised many stakeholders to the severity of the problem of xenophobia. The issue has received increased media coverage, continuously providing platforms for individuals to voice concerns and presenting an opportunity for collective engagement between government, civil society and communities. It has also highlighted the need for South Africa as a country to educate its population on the issues of migrants and migration in good time for the influx of visitors and opportunity-seekers to South Africa for the FIFA 2010 World Cup. To end, I would like to emphasise that the xenophobic violence in South Africa has regional implications, not only for the World Cup, but also for the stability of the region as a whole, especially bearing in mind the continual and extensive movement of people within the southern

African region. South Africa and South Africans have tended to look inward since the crisis in May, scouring the political and domestic landscape for root causes and solutions.

South Africa: Country's Soul On Ice: [FOROYAA Newspaper](#) (Serrekunda)

EDITORIAL: 27 June 2008

A week ago African immigrants of Zimbabwean, Mozambican and Malawian origin were attacked by men with guns and iron bars in Alexandra South Africa, chanting xenophobic slogans such "kick the foreigners out". The victims had to seek refuge at the local police station, while others flee to other townships for security. This did not quench the assault. Their shacks were burnt down and their properties looted. The violence has since spread to other areas. Since Friday, 16 May, 12 people have been killed in Johannesburg in connection with xenophobic attacks. Tear gas and rubber bullets are being used to stop the attacks but to no avail. The most disturbing news entails the attack of a church in the Cleveland area, where the immigrants sought refuge. Armed youths have used guns and knives, which led to the hospitalisation of over 50 people for gunshot or stab wounds. SABC radio has reported opinions that the situation was getting out of police control as immigrants run into police stations in Johannesburg carrying whatever belongings they have. Hundreds of them are now being provided shelter by the Red Cross.

Review

The South African Government has promised to establish a panel of experts to look into the problem. It is however important for the panel of experts to include bishop Tutu who has been warning that South Africa has been losing its soul as the scramble for status and wealth became the order of the day, while the basic contradiction of Apartheid, which created an extremely rich and extremely poor groups of citizens, remains. This is what the experts should have studied before the ANC came up with post apartheid policies. Now, the non South Africans are being blamed for the unemployment and crime rate in South Africa. A bureaucratic approach to such a study will not do any good. What is needed is a study by people with the moral authority to pioneer a cultural revolution in South Africa, which will be nurtured by a nation-wide debate on her future. They need to universalise the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for it to permeate the whole cross section of South African society so that all the marginalised will be heard and that measures taken to consolidate a sense of common destiny in people. This should awaken the type of community spirit which alone can curb crime and foster good neighborliness. If South Africa fails to do this, the war against foreigners should be seen as a prelude to a

more devastating violence as those hardened from their hatred for foreigners turn against the privileged groups in South Africa.

Police have been trying to restore order in Diepsloot township. The government is racing against time and should act now.

HEALTH

Kenya: Society Paying for Its Lax Attitude Towards Sex

The Nation (Nairobi): EDITORIAL: 6 September 2008:

At the turn of the last century, the African traditional society crumbled under the twin assault of Christianity and colonialism. With it went the collective moral values that held together the societies of yesteryears as we embraced liberal thinking that informs the modern world as we know it.

A liberal view certainly widens the scopes of freedoms enjoyed by an individual. But there is always a price for everything and it is evident that we are paying dearly for those unfettered freedoms, particularly for our liberal attitude towards sex. Much as we want to proclaim the freedom to choose when and how to engage in sex, there are some fundamental truths which we sometimes consciously seek to suppress. Sex comes with a raft of some awesome responsibilities and consequences. This is why, in principal, it is generally agreed that sex should only be practised by adults; people who can make sound decisions and live with the consequences.

Yet, we never can run away from the fact that the age of first sexual encounter is going down each year. Research in recent years has conclusively revealed that youngsters in their early teens are engaging in sex. First, this is an indication of our failure as parents and as a society to teach our teenagers how to cope with their sexuality during a sensitive phase of their lives when an explosion of hormones takes place.

Secondly, we are living in an age of shameless glorification of sex. There is sex everywhere. There is sex on TV, in magazines, on the Internet as well as in the streets. The teenager is therefore under tremendous pressure from practically all fronts and it is small wonder that premature sex has become the cool thing. But this is just part of the story. As we report elsewhere in this newspaper, the use of emergency contraceptive pills popularly known as the 'morning after pill' by teenagers and young adults is reaching frightening levels and experts are concerned that users are blissfully ignorant of the dangers posed by these drugs. What is even more disturbing is that experts are convinced young women and girls are more worried about getting pregnant than contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

In this day and age, when HIV/Aids is threatening to wipe out an entire generation, it is terrifying to think this plague which by last year had in some way touched virtually every family in Kenya, is the least of young people's concerns when they practise sex. It also throws in a new dimension in the fight against the spread of a scourge that is the biggest health challenge of all time. It means that many people are yet to internalise the fact that by engaging in unprotected sex, young people are playing with fire -- literally.

However, it is also important to place this fear for pregnancy into perspective among young women and girls. It is tough being a teenager, but worse being pregnant. In this stage of development, the teenager will most likely be in school and dependent on parents. It means dropping out of school and diminished opportunities of a better life. Worst of all is the thinly-veiled rejection by family, peers and a society that frowns on teenage pregnancy and yet feels hopelessly lost when it comes to giving guidance to its offspring. It is also important to note that the emergency contraceptives are not 100% effective and therefore in addition to the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, the user is still exposed to unwanted pregnancy and all the dangers that go with it. Even more worrying is that the popularity of the pills has triggered off a flood of fake products which can seriously compromise the health of users. One incontestable fact though is that these pills are not alternatives to safe sex and contraceptives available on prescription by qualified professionals based on the suitability and specific needs of the individual.

While there is need to educate the public on the dangers of using these over-the-counter pills, it is also important to recognise that in matters of sex, young people are in crises and, as a society, we need to rethink our increasingly permissive attitude to sex.

Nigeria: Intimations of Mortality: [Daily Trust](#) (Abuja): OPINION: 4 September 2008.

Few Nigeria leaders concentrate the minds of Nigerians on mortality as President Umaru Yar'adua has done. His periodic trips abroad on account of ill health have been well documented.

Newspaper reportage of it are full of the air of foreboding as if his visits to foreign hospitals presage the unmentionable. As I write, speculation is rife about when he is coming back from Saudi Arabia where he has gone to perform the lesser Hajj and apparently took a beeline into a hospital for medical check up. Since not much officially is being volunteered by way information outside terse comments about his well being, editors have contented themselves with pushing out a lot of ink but with little substance on which one can make reasonable guesswork on the health of the president.

The question however is, should the presidents latest ailment be kept under so much secrecy? I think not. This will not be the first time a leader will be indisposed. There was the celebrated case of former president Ibrahim Babangida's radiculopathy which took him to a French hospital to treat. It took him a while before he could return to his post. Sani Abacha was rumoured to have had some undisclosed internal infirmity which apparently was not serious enough to warrant journeying abroad to cure. Whatever it was, he treated it locally using local resources. His sudden death after allegedly having eaten some apples may or may not be due to the sickness. Former president Olusegun Obasanjo presented a facade of one who is of strong constitution, ostensibly acquired by dint of his military background. I am made to understand he plays marathon squash, an exercise he took to, under strict medical advice to beat the on set of diabetes, a condition he may have acquired for eating too much of pounded yam. Baba Iyabo, I understand still relishes his pounded yam which he washes down with the frothy, whitish "wetin call". The bad days that followed his climb down from power owing to the manner he ran state affairs and other domestic matters, which better judgement would not permit us to mention, constituted enough vicissitudes which have taken the spritely gait from his swagger these days.

Mohammadu Buhari's 2 ½ years at the helms was too short for any meaningful study of his health profile, though reference was made to some nagging asthma which he must have outlived by now, well enough to have decided to make a go for the post he lost, he always believed, through some treacherous palace coup. I understand he still rankles from it whenever he crosses IBB's path. Similarly, Earnest Shonekan also had a short spell at the helms, but even so, the mere 7 months he stayed precipitated some circulatory problem. The last time I saw him he was in the company of the conclave of former heads of state looking quite himself, and aging gracefully. Nice to see him take his place in the pantheon of erstwhile leaders, no doubt to the chagrin and belly ache of opponents of Interim Government who thought his was barefaced usurpation of a post not deserved.

Former President Shehu Shagari was noted to have suffered from some eye problem for which he had sought treatment abroad. Quite easily the doyen of the group; in his 80s his has been the serene grand fatherly voice whenever he has had to intervene in state matters, delivered in the measured patrician's tone of his. And then lastly but not the least is General Yakubu Gowon who have so far scrupulously lived above the medley, some would say the messy fray of partisan politics, but constantly seeking divine intervention for Nigeria's many self-inflicted problems. As far as we know he has enjoyed robust health. Who wouldn't if you are superannuated in your 30s with ample time on your hands?

Of all these lot, no one has drawn attention to his health in the presidency as President Umar Yar'Adua. The periodic overseas travels on account of it tell it all. In a rare moment

of revelation he had told the nation about his infirmity during his 1st anniversary as president, in May when he told the nation that as a human being he has health concerns just like everybody, adding that his life like everyone else was in the hand of God:- he could live up to 100 to become a grand old man to see his grand children grow and... Then, he came across as forthright but also earthy. His exposition served to remind all of us of our mortality. It is surprising therefore that his latest episode could now be treated with so much secrecy, as if it does not concern the Nigerian people. Nigerians knew his health status, still he was elected to the highest post in the land. They therefore need to be taken into confidence.

The US has a tradition of disclosing the infirmities of those seeking to lead it. John McCain has been treated several times for carcinoma, which in the lay man's language means cancer growths on his face and every voting American knows this. He is still in the race and could jolly well become president, if he can beat Barack Obama to it. They know the risks involved, particularly for a man in his 70s, yet he is continuing his campaign unhindered. What is more, President Dwight Eisenhower (I think it was) who was said to have governed the United States from his wheel chair having been stricken by polio immediately after the 2nd World War, it took nothing away from him going down as the one who charted the course for the US to outlive the years of the depression. Several instances can be found where rulers who were not well, ran their countries as best they can. As Umar Yar'Adua himself has said sickness is a human condition.

Meanwhile, what we should bother about is that the perennial foreign travels by the president in search of succour is bad for Nigeria. It is of utmost imperative therefore that the nation's health facilities are developed to the standards obtainable in those places he frequents. That way experts could be brought to supervise the treatment on our own soil.

Uganda: What Could Put You At Risk of Oesophagus Cancer?

The Monitor (Kampala): COLUMN: 4 September 2008: Edgar R. Batte.

On Monday, the country woke up to the news of the death of the Kyabazinga of Busoga Kingdom, Henry Wako Muloki.

At the age of 87, Uganda's longest surviving king succumbed to cancer of the oesophagus at Mulago Hospital Cancer Institute, after more than half a decade of being in and out of hospital over the terminal illness. Muloki has been admitted several times in Padova Hospital in Italy where he had undergone a throat operation.

Cancer of the oesophagus, Dr Henry Wabingira- the director of Kampala Cancer Registry says, is currently one of the commonest among cancer patients and continues to suffer poor facilitation. The oesophagus is part of the body's digestive system, the tube which links the stomach to the mouth. Muscles in the oesophagus push food down into the stomach during the swallowing process and according to Dr Vincent Karuhanga, cancer of the oesophagus occurs when the cells lining the oesophagus change and turn cancerous. The cancer is common among men over 50 years of age and risk factors include old age, taking strong spirits like Waragi and smoking.

In tobacco users, Dr Karuhanga adds, this involves both smokers and those who chew the tobacco (commonly known as the kacama) and for the smokers, this could cause them throat damage or at worst-throat cancer. Cancer of the oesophagus is also frequent among obese people and those who lack minerals especially iron in one's diet. Foods rich in iron include beef, green leafy vegetables like spinach, asparagus, broccoli and cabbage among others.

"These days, cancer of the oesophagus has also been linked to the human papillomavirus (HPV) which also causes cancer of the cervix. Oral sex can also play a role in perpetuating the cancer of the oesophagus," Dr Karuhanga adds.

According to bbc.com, if undiscovered, oesophageal cancer can spread to the stomach, lungs and liver, as well as nearby parts of the body's lymphatic system called lymph nodes. Unfortunately, it is also one of the more difficult cancers to treat. Dr. Jackson Oryem, the director of Uganda Cancer Institute at Mulago, says the difficulty in treatment could be due to patients visiting hospital when the cancer is already in the advanced stages. Professor David Cunningham, an expert in oesophageal and stomach cancers from the Royal Marsden Hospital in London adds, "Cancers higher up in the oesophagus may be associated with cigarette smoking and excessive drinking of alcohol." The earlier symptoms, Dr Karuhanga adds, would be pain or having difficulties while swallowing food or voluntary vomiting of blood and food stuffs which has not been digested. Other signs could also include a bad cough (sometimes with blood) which shows that cancer has started spreading to the wind pipe. "People above 50 who complain of difficulties in swallowing, ought to be screened. This can be done through direct viewing using a (lit) tube into the oesophagus to a remove a piece of meat cut the affected area (biopsy) which is taken to the laboratory for testing," Dr. Karuhanga explains.

On the other hand, the cancer could be avoided though avoiding strong alcohol, cutting out cigarette smoking of any form and living a healthier lifestyle with a balanced diet with particular interest in food rich in minerals as well as taking care when having oral sex. However, the BBC cautions that early detection of oesophageal cancer is unlikely because smaller tumours produce fewer symptoms. In later cases, many of the treatments

offered aim to extend life and relieve symptoms rather than cure. Surgery is therefore a key option where often the tumour is removed, along with nearby lymph nodes and other tissues. The tube is then repaired so that the patient can comfortably swallow food.

Alternative on this procedure include using a section of the lower intestine to replace the removed part (biopsy), or to bypass a whole area of oesophagus if the tumour is too large. Sometimes the main aim is to simply make sure the tube stays open by inserting a man-made tube inside it, [bbc.com](#) further elaborates, adding that some doctors will choose to use a dose of radiotherapy to shrink a tumour before operating.

ENVIRONMENT

Rwanda: Another Global Conservation Medal for Country

[The New Times \(Kigali\)](#): EDITORIAL: 4 September 2008

A Rwandan by the name Edwin Sabuhoro has recently won a global Young Conservationist Award for his untiring and highly successful efforts to conserve the environment, as well as helping the community around Volcanoes National Park benefit from his innovative concepts.

According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature, Sabuhoro helped transform former mountain gorilla poachers into tourist guides under Iby'Iwacu Cultural Village. Under this umbrella, tourism is up, and poaching is down. He has been hailed, as he actually is, an inspiration to the youth for honest endeavour and using his head to help not only himself but the community of both animals and people alike to have security of life and livelihood respectively. Success has not been sudden for this young man. A few years ago he received a State award and a certificate from Prime Minister Bernard Makuza for his work as a tourism warden at Volcanoes National Park and his great commitment to professional guiding ethics.

It appears that he has followed his Masters Degree thesis titled: "Ecotourism as a potential conservation incentive for local communities around Rwanda's Parc National des Volcans" to the letter. It is rare that we marry our books to our life and work experiences; but that is exactly what Sabuhoro has done. It is this kind of innovation that will lift us out of abject poverty; and will also help 'job-poor' graduates from tramping Kigali streets looking to get employed, to turning their certificates to better account, as in creating their own jobs. We are still lucky that almost everyone who graduates can still find something to do in our human resource-starved nation. But the time is coming soon when the graduate glut will set in, and so we need to get prepared for this. The pride we take in having KIST around should extend to other institutions - they need to provide us

with manpower that will create jobs not only for themselves, but for us too, like Sabuhoro has managed to do.

Uganda: We Cannot Afford to Mishandle the Environment

The Monitor (Kampala): OPINION; 3 September 2008: Jenkins Kiwanuka.

It is not often that the Pope and Queen Elizabeth of Britain speak with one voice on international issues, but it happened in Rome and London on March 11 this year. When the Pope was updating the seven deadly sins by adding seven new ones that include environmental pollution, the Queen was warning that indiscriminate harnessing of valuable environmental resources could soon plunge the world into calamity.

President Museveni, current chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (Chogm), was in London at the time to celebrate Commonwealth Day. In spite of his continuing battles with environmental activists in his own country over conservation and protection of Uganda's natural resources such as Lake Victoria and Mabira Forest, he surprised many when he proclaimed that he was worried that destruction of the forest cover in Uganda was getting out of hand. "The environment", President Museveni said, "remains our future and the future of generations to come. We must ensure that in all our activities, we put environment protection into consideration." As if she was responding to President Museveni, the Queen stressed that time for rhetoric was up; that 'leaders need to match words and good intentions with deeds'. The 2006 election manifesto of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) addresses the environment issue briefly: "The NRM Government is fully committed to the national aspiration regarding environment. The focus will be placed on environmental conservation, regeneration and sustainability". But has President Museveni and the NRM matched the foregoing commitment with deeds? Evidence that they have not is everywhere: the damage that has been done by building in the wetlands, the disappearing forests plus the lakes and rivers that have become depositories of garbage are but a few examples.

Not long ago, the NRM Government almost gave away part of one of the world's surviving wildlife sanctuaries, the Queen Elizabeth National Park, to the Madhvani Group of Companies to develop a Golf Course. Large chunks of the forests on Ssesse Island have been leased to foreign investors for growing palm trees and, despite public protests, the President has allegedly not abandoned the idea of giving 7,500 hectares of Mabira Forest to the Mehta Group of Companies for increased sugar production. While it is appreciated that the Government is encroaching on the country's natural resources to boost development, investors, as previous writers have observed, invest to make money. If they are not closely guided and supervised they can mine the soil and when it is exhausted leave for other climes. Where, for example, are the vast rubber and coffee

plantations that were owned by Asians 50 years ago?As Prof. Lwanga Lunyiigo strongly emphasises in his book, *The Struggle for Land in Buganda*, the Ugandans themselves are great environmentalists through the vehicles of their cultures. There are taboos governing forests, rivers, wells and lakes, all of which were invented to protect the environment."It is perfectly possible to blend these taboos into modern environmental science and grow the economy at the same time. If instead of palm oil and other palm products we were thinking of eco-tourism, the peasants who disturb the environment least could be left in situ (in their original or correct place) while, to the advantage of the environment and people, the eco-tourism business booms", the Professor contends.Now that at least a large portion of the Christian world knows that to pollute the environment is a sin, the nations that have been lacking in implementing the measures recommended by the United Nations and other bodies should pull up their socks and match their 'words and good intentions with deeds'. *The writer is a journalist and retired Foreign Service Officer.*

ENERGY

Nigeria: North Ready to Produce First Black Gold? : [This Day](#) (Lagos)

ANALYSIS: **4** **September** **2008.**Reuben Buhari.

Whether the north has oil deposits or not has always been a speculative subject to many with just some few individuals and groups firmly convinced that, like the Niger Delta, the north also has oil in commercial quantity. However, all that is about to change courtesy of the New Nigeria Development Company (NNDC), which is convinced of the presence of oil in the Benue and Chad basins. The firm recently committed millions of dollars in proving that commercial oil deposits exist in the north.

If all goes according to plan, the northern part of Nigeria should start bringing to the surface the oil and gas reserves that lies under the ground around the Benue and Chad basin before the end of next year. To make this a reality, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) involving about 100 million dollars that was recently signed in Kaduna between the African Finance Corporation (AFC) and the New Nigeria Development Company (NNDC) owned by the 19 northern states governors.

NNDC, based on recent discoveries is convinced that over 100 billion cubic liters of oil and gas reserves lie within the region and hence, after years of consultation and analysis of available data, has firmly committed its funds to the project. The expected benefit of the project has already been calculated in physical terms.The crude oil will be refined and sold to the local market and then, when proven to be adequate, would be sold to the international consumers. The generation of 20 megawatts of electricity by August 2010 from the gas in the region is also one of the projected plans, while another is a fertilizer

plant with plans for other projects depending upon further discoveries of gas and oil. The Group Managing Director of NNDC, Alhaji Aliyu Alkali said the discoveries would contribute to the growth of the oil industry in the north as well as to the development of Nigeria in general.

Apart from the MoU signed recently with AFC, NNDC had earlier on signed an oil exploration Sharing Contract Agreement with the Nigeria National Petroleum Company (NNPC) during the tenure of Chief Funsho Kupolokun. Out of the whole financial portfolio of 160 million dollars in the agreement, Alkali promised to provide 40 million. He further explained that the north is propelled by its yearning to contribute its quota to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and to broaden the economy through oil exploration in the region. He added that it would create both employment opportunities and wealth for the region and the country. Also, NNDC which was established in 1949 under the name Northern Regional Production and Development Board before transforming in 1960 to NNDC, has been holding talks with Gazprom, a Russian company which is one of the largest gas development company in the world, with a view to further ensure that every drop of gas and oil in the region is commercially utilised. The NNDC's ambitious project which could put paid to allegations of the north's sole dependence on the proceeds of oil from the Niger Delta region, centres around the hydrocarbon potentials of four oil blocks; OPLs 809 and 810 located in the Benue Trough, and OPLs 722 and 733 located in the Chad Basin which NNDC paid for. The proven reserves in these oil blocks was what convinced the NNDC to start shopping for a technical partner which, in addition to others, culminated in the MoU signed with AFC. The financial institution was represented at the signing by its vice president, Mr. Solomon Asamoah.

But why is the north suddenly concentrating on oil exploration. Is it because of the profit or simply because of sentiment? This is because the accusation that the north has always been depending on the proceeds of the south-south's oil and gas deposit has been re-echoing for a long time. It is alleged that the region, rather than being a fellow contributor to the economic development of the country has, rather, been a "parasite." The accusation was recently re-stated by a prominent Niger Delta militant who necessitated the Northern Governor's Forum through its chairman, and governor of Niger State Dr. Muazu Babangida to respond that the north has the potentials to survive on its agricultural potential. "The future of the north lies in our hand, and we should today begin to shape our destiny. As a Nigeria of northern extraction, I feel very unhappy when someone call me a parasite because of oil, when I know I have the capacity to solve my problem and probably do even better through agriculture and education," he stated. Despite the governors' displeasure with the parasitic description of northerners by the Niger Delta militants, the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF), through its Publicity Secretary, Mr. Anthony Sani agrees with the accusation, saying that "northerners are lazy and parasites who rely on other regions for survival. There is no reason to run away from the truth," he

said, perhaps annoyed with the level of poverty in the region which the ACF has always accused northern elites of complacency by not doing enough to reduced it. While speaking on the economic benefits of the oil discovery, NNDC's GDM, also took time to respond to what he said was the wrong notion that northerners are simply parasites because of oil. "The significant of the discovery is not only to the north, but also to Nigeria as a whole. Some people, who do not understand the issue regarding Nigeria's settings, have been abusing the north by saying that we do not contribute anything to the coffers of Nigeria." They however fail to remember the contribution by the north prior to the discovery of oil. They also fail to remember the contribution of the north in terms of food production. They said the north is parasitic and reaping from where it did not sow. This is wrong because today the oil gotten from the region was not tilled by anybody, but God-given.

"Now that we have established that we have gas in commercial quantities in the north, we are happy and it is a good development for Nigeria, because other than the Niger Deltans, the north too would produce gas and oil in commercial quantity," he added. He further explained that "if the north is making financial contribution to the national coffers through oil and gas it would silence the mischief makers who view the north as not doing anything to the growth of the country. It would provide more income to the people living within the area where it is found, allowing them to be engaged in various commercial activities." Giving a history of NNDC's effort toward the exploration of oil and gas in the north, Alkali said, "in the Benue Trough which is between Bauchi and Gombe States, a few wells had been drilled by multinationals from 1999 to date. On OPL 809, Shell had conducted a work programme on the block and drilled one well named Kolmani River-1 in 1999. The hydrocarbon phase encountered in the well was essentially gas and condensates phase estimated to have minimum gas reserves of between 33 billion to 100 billion cubic feet. Also on OPL 810, Chevron had acquired regional 2D Seismic data and drilled a well name Nasara-1. The result of that campaign was inconclusive, though some gas was encountered," he explains, however, adding that in the absence of policies on gas at the time of the campaign, both wells were shut down by Shell and Chevron respectively. He further adds that NNDC paid for and obtained available data on OPLs 809 and 810 which have been evaluated by consultants whose interpretations cover the evaluation of the current wells, generation of prospects as well as the appraisals of drilling locations to eventually produce the proven hydrocarbons. On the current status of the availability of gas and condensates on OPLs 809 and 810, which the company is putting so much hope, the NNDC put it at 33 BCF, while the data on OPLs 722 and 733 in the Chad Basin, which were initially drilled by NNPC is being kept by the Nigerian Petroleum Investment Management Services (NAPIMS) and would soon be gotten. Explaining further on why Shell and Chevron stopped further activities on the wells initially dug, Alkali said: "They left because they were more or less compelled to prospect it by the Federal Government in return for oil blocks in the Niger Delta. And

because they found more gas than oil they left because they realised that they have not been able to do more with the gas in the Niger Delta, not to talk of the one in the hinterland. But the issue of Independent Power Project (IPP) had not been looked into then.

Currently, the Federal Government is encouraging the oil exploration companies to look into IPP, while imploring them to stop gas flaring. "We want to establish an IPP in the area (Bauchi and Gombe States) where the gas deposit is found, we want to generate electricity in that area and put it in the national grid or sell it to major users," he added. On why Shell and Chevron which started oil exploration in the area were not brought back as technical partners but new ones like Gasprom in the picture, Alkali explained that "we did not abandon anybody. It is rare in this kind of venture to start and finish with one company. The foreign companies did the work on the blocks because it was allocated to them by the Federal Government; it was not done in conjunction with NNDC. We started the prospecting with Anzion Energy Limited about a year ago, then Gasprom came into Nigeria with the intention to utilise the abundant gas potential in the country. They met with us and discussed after hearing that we also have the same interest." Meanwhile, work would soon commence fully in OPLs 809 and 810 in the Benue trough, while OPLs 722 and 733 in the Chad Basin will also be given full attention as soon as the data being kept in storage by NAPIMS is retrieved. Whether the north can start producing oil and gas in commercial quantities or not is about to be answered by the NNDC, which has an authorised share capital of about 57 million dollars. But as to when the answer will be gotten remains anybody's guess.

ECONOMY

Most Muslims 'Think Globalisation is Good'

Business Day (Johannesburg): 1 September 2008: Hopewell Radebe.

CONTRARY to the common assumption that Muslims view Globalisation as a threat, a survey of Muslim countries has found that globalisation is generally viewed positively.

Asked about "globalisation", especially the increasing connections of their country's economies with others around the world, majorities in six of the seven states polled said it was "mostly good" for their country. Approval is highest among Egyptians (79%) and Nigerian Muslims (78%).

Sixty-three percent of Azerbaijanis, 61% of Iranians and Indonesians, and 58% of Palestinians see globalisation as mostly good. While support in Turkey does not reach a majority, a plurality still calls globalisation mostly good (39% to 28%). On average

across all seven states, 63% say that globalisation is good for their own countries. Only 25% think it is mostly bad.

The poll was conducted by WorldPublicOpinion.org in six nations with predominantly Muslim populations - Egypt, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Indonesia and the Palestinian Territories - plus the Muslim population of Nigeria.

"These findings run counter to the widespread assumption that people in the Muslim world are anxious and hostile about the prospect of integration into the global economy," Steven Kull, director of WorldPublicOpinion.org, said. The survey of 5216 respondents was conducted from January 12 to February 23 this year by WorldPublicOpinion.org, a collaborative research project involving research centres from around the world and managed by the Programme on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland. The poll found that most respondents also viewed international trade as good for their countries and themselves. At the same time, many were concerned about trade's effects on workers and the environment. However, most expressed interest in addressing these effects through an international, co-operative effort integrating labour and environmental standards into agreements on international trade. Asked if international trade was good or bad for their country's economy, majorities in five of the seven states polled said that it was good. Similar to answers on globalisation, on average 64% thought international trade was good for their country's economy while 29% said it was bad. Individual states varied. The majority of Turks surveyed (72%) were positive about international trade.

While Egyptians and Nigerian Muslims were the most positive about globalisation, they were the most sceptical about trade. Just 51% of Nigerians gave it a positive rating, while Egyptians were evenly divided.

Mauritius: A Critical Review of Central Bank's Guidelines for Institutions in Islamic Banking Services Finance : [L'Express](#) (Port Louis)

27 August 2008: Muniruddeen Lallmahamood

The race to develop an Islamic financing industry through new products, such as shari'ah-compliant hedging instruments, has become the latest focus in the financial sector. «Shari'ah» laws, current practices and proper supervision are highlighted. Raju Jadoo (L.), Managing Director of the Board of Investment, and Tan Chee-Peng, principal consultant of Team SYNthesis, last month announced that the legal framework for Shari'ah-compliant finance is ready. They invited all banks interested to join the concept.

The U.S subprime crisis and global credit crunch have spurred greater interest in shari'ah-compliant financing. It clearly appears that the philosophy of Islamic finance, which involves dealing with real assets, reducing uncertainty, avoiding interests as well as implementing other Islamic prohibitions against investing in sectors such as alcohol, pornography and gambling, have made Islamic Finance a more stable and also viable alternative for non Muslims. To put it simply, the shari'ah Compliance Framework is at the base of the critical success factor (CSF) of any Islamic Financial Institution (IFI) and its businesses. The framework is the very essence of an IFI which gives confidence to market participants that products, contracts used and the day-to-day operations of the IFI are all shari'ah-compliant. Generally, the provisions of the framework should include (although not limited to) the advisory board, compliance officers, and periodic reviews. Most IFIs have a three board member shari'ah committee panel. Full time resources are not a necessity but accountability is a must. The board must be transparent and open to scrutiny of market participants. Other CSFs include a liquid Islamic money market, an efficient transaction platform to ensure shari'ah compliance due to involvement of multiple parties, a low transaction cost which is at least at par with conventional products, and a reliable supply of products. Inevitably, a shari'ah supervisory board or shari'ah advisors are crucial. The supervisory board would entrust the responsibilities of ensuring shari'ah compliance in the advisers. The Accounting and Auditing Organisation for Islamic Financial Institutions (AAOIFI) stipulates, in its at paragraph 2 of the The Governance Standard for Islamic Financial Institutions No.1, shari'ah Supervisory Board: Appointment, Composition and Report, that : "A shari'ah supervisory board is an independent body of specialised jurist in fiqh al-mu'amalat (Islamic commercial jurisprudence).

However, the shari'ah supervisory board may include a member other than those specialised in fiqh al-mu'amalat but who should be an expert in the field of Islamic financial institutions and with knowledge of fiqh al-mu'amalat. The shari'ah supervisory board is entrusted with the duty of directing, reviewing and supervising the activities of the Islamic financial institutions to ensure that they are in compliance with Islamic shari'ah rules and principles. The fatwas and rulings of the board shall be binding on the Islamic financial institution."

Therefore, the requirement to have expertise in Islamic Commercial Law is a necessary pre-requirement for the proper discharge of the duty of ensuring shari'ah compliance. This is simply because most, if not all, of the issues involved in banking and finance are commercial and financial in nature. It has been reported that in the early stages of Islamic banking and finance, many of the shari'ah advisers were not qualified in Islamic commercial law. They were individuals who enjoyed a good reputation in the society because of their general knowledge of Islam and their significant role in the society. They were in fact scholars which their society accepted and recognized as reputable entities

even though they were not academically trained in Islamic commercial law and related disciplines. The imposition of this academic requirement is missing in some national legislations pertaining to shari'ah advisers. Malaysia is such an example. In some other countries, (e.g. Sudan), although there is mention of academic qualifications, no reference is made to fiqh al-mu'amalat (Islamic commercial laws). Instead reference is made to "scholars of shari'ah". In the case of Mauritius, the Central Bank's guidelines for Institutions Conducting Islamic Banking Services Finance have set a complete list of criteria for a shari'ah advisor. He/she should be a person with knowledge of fiqh al-mu'amalat, and have the highest integrity, honesty, ethical reliability, and proven experience or knowledge in the delivery of shari'ah rulings and issuing scholarly opinions on matters of Islamic law.

Most Mauritian Muslim jurists who have been fully trained locally in shari'ah laws are not conversant with the local legislation and modern financial theory and practices. On the other hand, overseas universities, especially in the Middle East, include fiqh al-mu'amalat as a common course for graduates of shari'ah. In some other shari'ah programmes, the conventional law as well as finance and accounting treatments are included. The knowledge and mastery of all these facets of finance will determine the quality of shari'ah supervision, not to mention product development and enhancement. Ideally, a shari'ah adviser must be able to understand not only shari'ah but also issues pertaining to law and economics in today's world. This would indeed conform to paragraph 15 of the guidelines.

In Mauritius, the main issue could be the appointment of the shari'ah advisor at the Bank level. The AAOIFI standard on the appointment of the members of the shari'ah advisory board stresses the point that the authority to appoint them must be vested in the annual general meeting (AGM) of all shareholders of the institution. The reason for this is to ensure that the members of the shari'ah board upon their appointment would be free from any undue influence by the management board because the latter does not have the authority to appoint or to dismiss them. However, it is acceptable for the management board to propose the names of prospective members of the shari'ah board to the AGM for deliberation and endorsement. The AAOIFI standard might not be applicable to the appointment of shari'ah advisers at the level of central banks in some countries. For example, in Malaysia, the power to appoint the shari'ah advisers at the State level is vested in the government. Another example is the UAE; all appointments of members of shari'ah advisory councils at banks in UAE must be subject to the approval and endorsement of the UAE's shari'ah advisory board at the central bank.

This provision, though its wordings are in conflict with the provision in the AAOIFI's standard, is not necessarily problematic because the aim of the AAOIFI is to prevent any undue influence of the management board over the shari'ah advisers which may exist if

the former were to be given the appointing authority. There is a consensus among Muslim economists that the Central bank of any country should supervise the Islamic financial institutions. This supervision should not be confined to a formal audit of transactions but should encompass a material appraisal of the quality of management decisions especially with respect to more risky profit & loss sharing instruments. One of the aims of this supervision is to protect the clients who put their money into investment accounts against avoidable losses. «Ideally, a shari'ah adviser must be able to understand not only shari'ah but also issues pertaining to law and economics in today's world.» Another issue would be the centralised shari'ah supervisory board for all commercial banks as suggested by the guidelines. This approach has not been fully tested yet. To further examine this in detail, an examination of the process through which the shari'ah supervisory board arrives at any decision is required. It appears that the most common method is through having periodical meetings between the shari'ah supervisory board and the management of the bank. There could be many reasons why this method is preferred, not only by the shari'ah advisers, but also by the management. It may be that in this way, the bank would only present the cases that they think require deliberation. In other words, the bank can shortlist the issues for discussion. However, this can be very problematic if the bank management fails to disclose areas of practices that they think are not shari'ah compliant in their banking operations. The other possible reason is that the shari'ah advisers are not full time shari'ah advisers to the bank. Although having a permanent office of shari'ah advisory board at the bank is less common amongst the IFIs, it is believed that the presence of a full time internal shari'ah compliance officer would be more appropriate and very significant in regard to the realization of the objectives of shari'ah supervision. This is similar to the internal audit committee in a corporation. «One of the aims of this supervision is to protect the clients who put their money into investment accounts against avoidable losses.»

The AAOIFI standard has pointed out that shari'ah supervision is intended to investigate to what extent the financial institution has adhered to shari'ah rules and principles in all its activities. The investigation and vetting would include examination of the bank's memorandum and articles of association, its contracts, agreements, policies, products and transactions, its financial reports and various others reports, particularly the report of the internal auditor and the reports of any investigation undertaken by the central bank. Thus, the internal shari'ah compliance officer would review the internal procedures prior to the launch of new Islamic products and services and report to the shari'ah advisory board. It is for this reason that IFIs would need an internal shari'ah compliance officer. The cost involved in running the centralised shari'ah advisory board would be a determining factor for all the banks to solve. If all the IFS in Mauritius are to offer standard shari'ah compliance products, then having a common shari'ah advisory board would be more cost-effective, taking into consideration that the centralised advisory board will have to be impartial in its dealing with the banks.

Having said that, while members of the shari'ah advisory board should be amongst Muslim scholars, the internal shari'ah compliance officer must be an Islamic Finance Expert and could be from any religions other than Islam.

Kenya: Islamic Bank Seeks Market Dominance: [The Nation](#) (Nairobi)

22

August

2008:

Amina

Kibirige.

A second Islamic bank has opened a branch in Mombasa in as many months setting the stage for fierce competition between the institutions which carry out business according to the Shariah law and the mainstream conventional bankers. Gulf African Bank opened its branch today along Nkurumah Road following in the footsteps of First Community Bank whose offices are along Digo Road. Speaking during the launch, Gulf African Bank chairman Suleiman Shahbal promised the Muslim community that the institution will stick to the Islamic Shariah principles in its transactions. "We are coming to the market faced with a huge challenge ahead of us and accountability before God but we are committed and if we do not keep our promise in five years time, then we would have failed," he said. Mr Shahbal promised that the bank was not out to do business in the name of religion "but live up to its principles". Speaking during the same ceremony, the bank's Shariah Board Chairman Professor Mohammed Badamana urged employees to take customers' complaints seriously as they settle on the new market "in order to build credibility and ward off competition". "Nairobi's challenges are different from those in Mombasa so take complaints on anything that is deemed not Shariah complaint seriously and work on it to build credibility as well as fight competition," he said. Gulf African Bank was the first bank to open its doors to the Islamic shariah of doing business in January this year and now has five branches in Nairobi and Mombasa. Besides being rooted in ethics, transparency and fairness, the bank would follow religious teachings of eliminating interest from financial transactions as well as keeping off investments in prohibited sectors such as alcohol, gambling, and pork industry. According to the bank's CEO Mr Najmul Hassan, it will make its profit from pay transactions, renting products and services like accounts and ATMs.

"In any product, sharing of risks is the integral part of business and unlike in conventional banking where the risk is entirely on the customer, in Islamic banking, the risk is only subjected to your part of investment," said Mr Hassan.

He said the Islamic mortgage is centered on the bank buying a house and renting it to customers while they pay for it as opposed to loaning money on interest. He said that the

bank was accessible to both Muslims and non-Muslims adding that it planned to roll out more branches regionally to Uganda, Mozambique, Tanzania and Djibouti in the near future.

Rwanda: Country Manufactures First Phone: [The New Times](#) (Kigali)

30

August

2008:

Tony

Barigye

The first Rwandan made phone, christened Alira, has been unveiled on the streets of Kigali as the country consolidates its stance as an Information Technology hub in the region. Some of the phones have been specially programmed with Kinyarwanda software to the advantage of Rwandans who only use the native language. A group of 30 Rwandan electronics trainees dressed in yellow T-shirts strutted Kigali streets showing off the colourful locally manufactured handset.

ALIRA is also programmed to be pocket and user friendly.

"A300 [one of the phones] is in Kinyarwanda. It costs Frw19,900. It is the first phone to be manufactured in Rwanda," stressed Yin Quing Ri, the Chief Executive Officer [CEO] and owner of the company. The phone is also the first to be manufactured in the region. The phone project is the first of A-Link Technologies, a company started last year by a Chinese electronics specialist in conjunction with Rwanda Information Technology Authority [RITA]. A-Link is an affiliate to Chinalink Digital and Technology Company Limited, a Chinese based electronics company owned by Yin Quing Ri. The unveiling of the first phone follows the ongoing laying of fibre optic cables for wireless broadband in Kigali and the suburbs, a new technology intended to increase coverage of high speed wireless internet. According to the project plan, the new technology will be extended to the rest of the country by 2009 making Rwanda the first African country with such coverage. On the streets, one of the leaflets being circulated showed a display of phones. "There is A100, A200 and more are soon to be made," promised the CEO. Some of the major features mentioned on the leaflet include radio function, colour screen and a torch.

The leaflet also read that ; "Rwanda's position as the region's Information and Communication hub has been vindicated by the first mobile phone manufacturing plant in the south of the Sahara."

Yin Quing Ri said that the project follows the 2006 signing of a memorandum of understanding [MOU] with Peter Fullaton, the Former executive Director of RITA. "After signing the MOU, I advertised with the New Times and got people who had just finished their senior six. We train them before we enrol them," said the Chinese specialist. He

promised that by Christmas, the first Rwandan made radio will have been assembled and will be followed by a television set.

Yin Quing Ri said that the official launch of ALIRA will be in October. At the moment they are producing 100 phones per day but have a capacity to produce 700 phones a day. Apart from the Rwandan populace, the company are also targeting the East African Community and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa [COMESA].

Uganda: Give Citizens More Hospitals Not Districts: [The Weekly Observer \(Kampala\)](#): EDITORIAL: 3 September 2008.

President Museveni who has been touring the country recently is back at his game of creating more districts out of villages. He has reportedly promised district status to Ntoroko, Serere, Buikwe and Ngora counties.

Uganda already has 83 districts! His argument is that these administrative units will bring services nearer to the people. But which services? These counties don't have good roads, clean water, hospitals or even decent health centres to speak of. Ntoroko especially is inaccessible during the rainy season. Even the moderate health centres that were built there not only lack drugs but also personnel to run them because professionals cannot live in such remote places without social amenities. Not even the introduction of Local Service Tax can rescue these struggling districts because the majority of the residents subsist on primitive means of production. There are no factories and service industries to employ the people in order for them to pay the taxes. So these new districts cannot even pay salaries for their army of councilors, CAOs, RDCs, DISOs and other local government officials. The truth is that districts are not being created to take services closer to the people but to please some parochial politicians who want to create small fiefdoms for themselves. The ordinary people of Uganda do not need districts. They need hospitals, better roads, schools, food, and security.

If the colossal amount of money used to maintain the local government apparatus was spent on health, education and agriculture, the citizens would get services much closer to them. If the money was channeled into improving the welfare of primary school teachers, the move would bring more benefit than proliferation of districts. The President must be reminded that small districts will not end poverty among his voters, but better roads, improved seeds and indeed more classrooms will. Yes, the people need social services as close to them as possible, but creation of districts is not one of the ways of going about it. In fact, Uganda had better social services in the 1960s and 70s when the country had only a fraction of the districts it has today!

Uganda: Prioritise Higher Education for National Development

New Vision (Kampala): OPINION: 2 September 2008: Samuel Baligidde

A development strategy that deliberately or inadvertently fails to prioritise higher education alongside defence, health and agriculture in its budgetary policies makes an omission which requires an apology. It demonstrates a superficial analysis of what drives a developing economy and the creation of sustainable wealth. As Parliament debates the budgetary proposals for the 2008/9 financial year, there is an urgent need to consider finding a lasting solution to Makerere University's leadership and management issues, and in particular its chronic financial challenges.

There is a linkage between development and higher education. As one scholar observed, the concept of education is like a diamond which appears to be a different colour when seen from a different angle; the inference being that different individuals, groups and societies perceive the role of university education in national development differently. Whatever the differences, research shows that the truth is heavily skewed towards higher and specialised education as the drivers and levers of development.

President Yoweri Museveni views education as a means of removing the dependence syndrome and producing intellectuals for development. Addressing a youth seminar at Buloba many years ago, he said the NRM Government had the mission of changing the lives of Ugandans from dependence on manual labour which produces substandard work to intellectual and specialised labour. The early missionaries, chiefs and kings recognised higher education as the key to progress and national development. Dr. Sibrino Barnaba Forojalla, a renowned educationist, opines that education plays a major role in national development through the provision of skills and techniques designed to improve the kind of competences the President conceptualised at Buloba. The contribution of university education to national development is in terms of the quantity and quality of occupational skills because intellectual labour is a vital component of the factors of national output. Developed nations, despite their high levels of advancement in many fields, still maintain state universities and schools which are funded through government subventions. The developments in Japan after World War II demonstrate the utilisation of university education for rapid industrialisation, economic and social development. The US and Russia, both superpowers, devoted a large percentage of their resources and development plans to higher education in their early stages of development. In 1961, the first conference of ministers of education of independent African countries was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Education expansion was seen as a catalyst for economic development, and a leveler of social inequalities. Finances are the lifeblood of any institution. It has been evident, for sometime now, that Makerere badly needs life-saving financial transfusion. Lack of sufficient funds has led to irregular payments and in some cases insufficient remuneration, causing quality staff to seek greener pastures elsewhere, sit-

downs, go-slows and strikes that have dented the image of the once best university in Africa.

Makerere needs urgent and substantial subvention from the Government and it is high time Parliament and the Government, considers rescuing the institution from eminent financial demise. According to internationally renowned Prof.Ali Mazrui, Makerere's Medical School came close to getting the Nobel Prize for Tropical Medicine before Idi Amin's coup. I do not think the NRM Government would like the dubious legacy of having indifferently watched as this once internationally eminent monument deteriorated to the point of being relegated to the "scrap heap of history."

The writer teaches Leadership and Human Relations at Makerere University

South Africa: Chavez Oils Way Into Country, Sarkozy Splits Atoms

Business Day (Johannesburg): COLUMN: 5 September 2008

THE government's preoccupation with security of supply, in electricity and energy, was always going to trigger the interest of energy rich countries.This year alone SA has played host to two leading statesmen - French President Nicolas Sarkozy in March and Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez this week.

Their visits, although months apart, were almost an identical execution of the single-minded pursuit of foreign policy. That Sarkozy's visit came soon after the government published its nuclear energy policy and strategy document, and -- even more importantly -- as Eskom was looking for bidders for its multi billion-rand nuclear programme was hardly a coincidence.

Sarkozy put on the agenda what French nuclear company Areva can do as a major player in nuclear energy. Areva CEO , Anne Lauvergeon, who was part of the French delegation could have stayed at home.Sarkozy was capable of punting the group eloquently. Engaged in a neck- and-neck race with rival US group Westinghouse, Areva could do with a little Sarkozy magic.

Enter Chavez. He came to charm SA this week . And boy he made all the right noises. But, while impressing his hosts, he was not going to take his eyes off the ball -- to be SA's "best energy friend forever".Given our economy's overreliance on energy, SA can do with oil-rich friends.In SA Chavez has found a government eager to set up its national oil company, PetroSA, on the world stage. PetroSA has the ask of ensuring that we do not run out of fuel.

Hence the mooted multi-billion-rand crude oil refinery at Coega. And the Venezuelans have a foot in the door. Discussions between PetroSA and its Venezuelan counterpart PDVSA include the Venezuelans investing in the refinery.

The Bottom Line is Edited by Edward West

South Africa: Rising Foreign Investment a Double-Edged Sword

Business Day (Johannesburg): COLUMN: 3 September 2008: Neva Makgetla

IN THE past five years, SA has seen an extraordinary increase in dependence on foreign capital to fund investment.

For the decade from 1994, foreign capital inflows, less changes in reserves, paid for about a third of net fixed capital formation. In the three years to last year, in contrast, the share of foreign financing jumped to over 80%. That growth might be welcome if it went to fund a long-term improvement in infrastructure or production. Indeed, the increase was associated with significant growth in investment, mostly for construction. But the rise in foreign investment also saw increased vulnerability to fluctuations in world markets, plus a steep drop in domestic savings. The bulk of the new capital inflows have taken the form of investment in the stock market. As a share of total foreign investment, equity rose from just over 20% in 2000 to about 40% last year. While this type of investment is usually cheaper than foreign loans, it is generally even more liquid. The rapid growth in foreign shareholdings largely reflected the belief that SA would benefit from booming world commodity prices. Not surprisingly, then, between 2003 and 2006 -- the latest data available from the Reserve Bank -- a quarter of equity investment went into mining stock, and two-fifths into the financial sector. These new inflows let SA live beyond its means. In particular, although investment climbed steadily relative to gross domestic product (GDP), the domestic savings rate stagnated. Between 2004 and last year, investment rose from 16% of GDP to over 20%. Although still on the low side by world standards, at least SA is back in the range for middle-income countries.

In contrast, in the same period gross savings remained almost unchanged, fluctuating around 14% of GDP. Particularly worrying was a steep drop in savings by households and companies after 2003. In 2006 and last year, household savings actually turned negative, as families borrowed more than they earned. For most of the 1990s, household savings accounted for about a fifth of total investment; in contrast, from 2004 to last year, they contributed virtually nothing. In the same period, company savings dropped by over 75% in nominal terms, said the Bank. By last year, domestic corporate savings funded under a tenth of net fixed capital formation. In the past few years, only government savings have increased.

The decline at least in household savings seems directly linked to the increase in capital inflows. Foreign investment raised the value of the rand, dampening inflation and contributing to comparatively low and stable interest rates until a year ago. In response, households with access to bank credit vastly expanded their debt, resulting in a boom in housing construction and car sales. Domestic residences accounted for a disproportionate share of the rise in investment, climbing from 9% of the total to 12% between 2000 and last year, before dropping in recent months. In the main, the recipients of credit were the already well off. According to the 2005 Income and Expenditure Survey, the richest 10% of households accounted for over three-quarters of the value of housing and car loans. In contrast, the poorest 60% of households owed well under a tenth of their earnings. In short, the increase in foreign equity inflows demonstrates both the benefits of growth based on the world commodity boom and the risks. It has permitted rising investment and growth but has dampened domestic savings. That means that if foreign investors change their minds, SA has very little cushion to maintain investment and growth. To manage these risks requires, above all, that investment be channelled more consistently into developmental projects that can sustain growth even if capital inflows reverse or commodity prices fall. The massive expansion in government investment can play a part. More targeted measures to constrain borrowing by well-off households would also help. *Makgetla is sector strategies co-ordinator in the Presidency.*

Gambia: A Demand for Inventory of Our Sovereign National Wealth

FOROYAA Newspaper (Serrekunda): EDITORIAL: 12 July 2008.

The Gambia is a country with abundant natural and mineral resources.

The State is made a custodian of the national wealth of each country. The State is supposed to generate revenue to provide services to the people. In some cases, it does so through taxation or by the establishment of public enterprises. The public enterprises could be wholly owned by the public sector or could be a by product of a public-private venture. Many mines and oilfields in many parts of the world are managed through three forms of ownership, that is, Private ownership, public ownership and public-private ownership.

The States should utilise revenue from mines and oilfields in such a way that they are able to maintain an account to deposit their surpluses. Such surpluses are referred to sovereign National wealth.

Foroyaa has reviewed all the budget speeches of the Secretaries of State for Finance and Economic Affairs and Ministers as well as the annual addresses given by the President to the National Assembly, but have not discovered any mention of income coming from oil or mineral resources other than sand mining. Any government which is serious about

economic development must engage in serious prospecting to discover the natural and mineral wealth available in the country and further develop a strategic plan to harness them so as to create sovereign National wealth, which should be utilised to finance infrastructural projects and provide public services. The Gambian people are fully aware that companies have been mining minerals from The Gambia. The quantity and quality of these minerals and the total sovereign wealth they have generated and could generate are yet to be documented by official or non official sources.

In a properly managed corporate environment, the State would inform the media of all the conditions established to promote competitiveness in mobilising investors and an annual report given on the benefits of investments in the mining and other sectors. For example, Africell is proud to announce that it has over 500000 customers. At least People can understand that the company can make 25 million dalasis right away if each customer purchases 50 dalasi worth of their cards. This transparent way of declaring their earning capacity can make people to understand why it is possible for it to have a 10 million dalasi lottery scheme. Transparency is what enables the people to know the development potential of the country, whether the sovereign National wealth of the country is being properly managed and put into good use. We hope like AFRICELL, GAMCEL will also indicate its number of customers so that we can know how much it is earning. We also hope that the speech of the president during the July 22nd anniversary and the budget speech of the Secretary of State for Finance will inform the people how the mining sector had fared over the years and how much it has contributed to the Sovereign National Wealth of the country, which has been euphemistically called "Allah's World Bank" Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea are very rich in mineral resources.

PEACEKEEPING, SECURITY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Libya: Italy to Pay U.S. \$5 Billion for Colonialism

This Day (Lagos):31 August 2008

Italy yesterday agreed to pay Libya US\$5 billion as compensation for its 30-year occupation of the country, which ended in 1943. AP reports that the compensation agreement was sealed in Benghazi, Libya, when the Italian Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi held a discussion with Libyan Prime Minister, Baghdadi Mahmudi. Berlusconi and Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi signed a memorandum pledging a US\$5 billion compensation package involving construction projects, student grants and pensions for Libyan soldiers who served with the Italians during World War II. "It is a material and emotional recognition of the mistakes that our country has done to yours during the colonial era," Berlusconi told reporters at the airport on his arrival. "This agreement opens the path to further cooperation."

In return, Italy wants Libya to crack down on illegal migrants turning up on Italian shores, and Italy will fund US\$500 million worth of electronic monitoring devices on the Libyan coastline. Gadhafi received Berlusconi under a big tent in Benghazi where they discussed the agreement over lunch. The Italian leader said US\$200 million of the package would be for infrastructure projects over the next 25 years, including a coastal highway stretching across the country from Tunisia to Egypt. The two leaders exchanged gifts, with Berlusconi giving Gadhafi a silver inkstand, sculpted in the form of a lion's head, with two pens inside to sign the agreement. The Libyan leader gave Berlusconi a linen suit.

Berlusconi's office said in a statement that the premier would also hand over to Gadhafi the Venus of Cyrene, an ancient Roman statue taken in 1913 by Italian troops from the ruins of the Greek and Roman settlement of Cyrene, on the Libyan coast. Relations between the two countries have warmed over the last few years, with Italian leaders meeting Gadhafi several times. However, it has taken years of negotiations for the two sides to reach a deal on compensation for Italy's rule over Libya from 1911 to 1943.

Libya named Aug. 30 Libyan-Italian Friendship Day.

The Libyan success in getting monetary compensation for the exploitation of her resources by a colonial master raised the issue of whether Nigeria should also not initiate a process of demanding adequate compensation from Britain for decades of colonial subjugation spanning the period 1914 to 1960.

The only co-ordinated attempt by African nations to demand compensation from European colonial masters and slave traders was initiated in 1990 by late Chief M.K.O. Abiola who initiated discussions on reparation for Africa.

The initiative however died when late Abiola joined politics in 1993 and sought the presidency of Nigeria. He died in incarceration resulting from his struggle to reclaim his electoral mandate usurped by the military government of Gen. Sani Abacha. While responding to the question of whether Nigeria can equally make legitimate claim for compensation from Britain her colonial master for over 40 years of exploitation, Dr. Eyimofe Atake (SAN) said: "To be able to answer that question, one needs to know exactly why compensation was paid and the circumstances in which compensation was paid. One needs to know the fact of the case between the Italians and the Libyans and how the issue for the payment of compensation arose. No two cases are necessarily similar, so in the absence of the facts and circumstances that led to the payment of compensation, it will be totally speculative to say if Nigeria could ask for compensation or be paid compensation by Britain.

"In any event, under international law, Britain and Italy are separate and distinct states. They are sovereign states. Consequently, the British government is not bound by the acts of the Italian government. The decision of the Italian government is personal to them based on their peculiar circumstance and facts, which have nothing to do with the British government and the Nigerian government," he said through a text message forwarded to THISDAY from Miami, Florida in the United States.

Kenya: Lessons From Post-Election Chaos Can Take this Country to the Next Level: [The Nation](#) (Nairobi): OPINION: 1 September 2008: William Ochieng

AN AMERICAN FRIEND WHO had a plan to live in Kenya for two years wrote to me, and asked for my genuine opinion whether he was taking a risk, given the turbulence that followed our December 2007 elections. I thought: what do I tell this man, given that now and again, in the last four months, certain volatile politicians, both in PNU and ODM, keep threatening to disband the coalition!

I nevertheless wrote back and told him that Kenya is very peaceful and safe. But at the same time, I began to think like the historian that I am. WHAT LESSONS DID KENYANS LEARN from the post-election trauma? Why did Kenyans act so savagely? Are we genuine that we wish to live together for ever? If so, how do we ensure that the post-2007 trauma is not repeated? As I pondered the above questions, I kept telling myself that there was no need to look back in shame? In deed, there is not a single world power that did not experience similar or worse internal conflicts in their early growth. Apart from fighting, the British to gain their independence, the Americans also fought a savage civil war in the 19th century. To build modern day Germany, Otto von Bismarck used Prussian blitzkrieg to topple independent German principalities. In England, Cromwell's round heads fought and defeated the king's army in the English civil war of 1642 to 1649. The Chinese civil war - which they tenderly call the Cultural Revolution - was probably one of the most deadly civil strifes in recent history. And every Kenyan, who was taught European history, must have heard of the French Revolution. Thinking of the above, and more, made me think that our January clashes were actually tame, and yet many Kenyans were deeply traumatised by them. The question is: did we learn any lessons from them?

I keep looking back to the Kenya that I knew when I was in school before independence, and I keep telling myself that this country has greatly developed and changed. But change, even sea changes, takes place in our sub-conscious minds gradually. To many, the world seems to be one with which they are very familiar; but in fact, it is very different. Some of the Kenyan communities, which several years back looked pre-dated, have greatly changed through education and interaction with others. The radio, television, internet and handsets have brought everybody at par with everybody else. The first lesson which we should learn from our January trauma, then, is that no group should take the

other groups for granted. We do not live in the Kenyan state due to a divine dictate, but voluntarily as individuals or as communities. Ultimately, we have a right to withdraw from the State, or even to destroy it, if we find internal conditions intolerable. This explains the never ending revolts that have characterised the states of Somalia, Chad, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In other words, a state must be ruled by the agreed laws and values. If these are abrogated or ignored, then there can only be never ending conflicts.

THE SECOND LESSON IS THE NEED to always listen carefully to the desires of the people. Complaints about land, legal system, constitutional reform, corruption and tribalism, have been heard in Kenya since independence, but the meritocracy has paid little attention. The violence was partly the result of the hopelessness, which had pervaded the despondent sectors of urban and rural Kenya for decades. We must be fair to one another, regardless of our different social or economic conditions.

The good news is that President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga, have emerged from our trauma with sound minds. I think they both understand that unlike most African countries, Kenya has the potential to develop and grow rich very rapidly, if justice, diligence, fairness, broad-mindedness and unity are put in place. They have put behind them the nosey advisers who only think in ethnic terms. But there is much more to be done. In deed, if Kibaki and Raila keep the tempo of management until 2012, Kenya will be a very different country. *Prof Ochieng' teaches history at Maseno University.*

Uganda: A Day in the Life of a Ugandan Guard in Iraq

New Vision (Kampala): OPINION: 5 September 2008

THERE are four companies that are involved in active exportation of labour to Iraq; Watertight, Askar, Dreshak and Gideon's Men/Connect Finance. They have taken over 12,000 Ugandans to Iraq since 2005. John Kifefe (not real name) is one of the recruits that have spent at least two years in the Iraqi capital - Baghdad. He told Chris Kiwawulo the story of the life of a Ugandan guard in the war-torn country.

I was taken to Iraq as a guard in 2006. At first I was handling a machine gun, but after some time, I acquired more training and I became a dog handler. My normal day starts at 4:45am because I have to be at work before 5:30am. I have my breakfast at 5:00am. Breakfast is normally African tea and all types of accompaniments like bread, cakes, eggs, chapatti are available. I then proceed to work in my car. I work under the K9 unit, a dog handling section of the coalition forces in Iraq. Others are Life Support and Guard units. The dogs we handle (German shepherds) are used to carry out foot patrols and detect explosives.

They are so sensitive that even when a car passes near a place where a bomb has gone off or when a car has been used to carry explosives, they will detect it. On several occasions we have stopped cars from entering our base under such circumstances. These dogs are also used to detect explosives in buildings. It can take two dogs about two to three hours to search a building with 100 rooms. Our normal working time is between 10 to 12 hours every day and six hours on weekends. Unlike in Uganda, weekends in Iraq are observed on Fridays and Saturdays. The rest are normal working days. There is not too much work but it is better you have something to do rather than being idle because you can get bored stiff. We handle tough and professional dogs. They cost between \$8000 (about sh13m) and \$15,000 (about sh24m) depending on their experience. While moving with the dog in public, you have to alert the people by shouting that 'dog passing through'. If you don't and it bites someone, you face it rough with the law. But if you warn them and they hesitate to give way, then you have no case if it bites anyone. The good thing is that they are vaccinated against rabies. But still if a dog bites someone, investigations will have to be done to ascertain if you really sounded the warning. You have to hold it by the lead at close range so that it does not attack people. My dog has bitten me several times though in a playful manner. When not at work, the dog is kept in a private room so that it does not get used to people, lest wrong persons befriend it.

Our base is about 15 acres big and machine-gun wielding coalition soldiers monitor it 24 hours every day. The only boring thing is that you can keep guard of your assigned area and no enemy attacks, but you have to stay stuck on your gun. There are other bases that are as big as 45 square miles. All coalition bases have anti-missile installations that divert them once directed to a particular camp, and this has happened many times. The unfortunate thing is that at times the diverted missiles end up hitting people's homes. We have our lunch at work and when we retire, we have supper at the dining facility in our base. This is where we sleep. There are also halls of entertainment with huge screens and gyms where we go after work to relax. The entertainment places can house over 100 people at a go. Within the camp, we have dry cleaners and cooks as well. All these services are rendered to us at no cost. The people are paid by the coalition funds. We only pay for airtime in case we want to call back home. It costs about sh300 per minute when calling someone in Uganda from Iraq. One dollar (sh1600) can take you for over five minutes. There are also free call and internet centres provided to us, only that they are most of the time congested. Probably, airtime sales increased by over 30% ever since Ugandans started going to Iraq in 2005. The biggest population of Africans in Iraq is for South Africans and Ugandans. Every tribe in Uganda is at least represented. Within our bases, there are both permanent and temporary houses. I have a room which is about five by 10 feet in which I sleep. Most shelters are made of containers that have Air conditioners (ACs). The ACs help to provide warmth when it is cold and cool the rooms when it is hot. They look good. You can compare them to a three-star hotel typical of developing countries. Besides the volatile security situation, the weather in Iraq is another

problem both during summer and winter. During summer, it is very hot. If you do not drink water, you can die of thirst. Good enough, there is constant supply of cold mineral water. In fact, summer is as hot as a sauna, but winter is terrible. The temperature goes as low as eight degrees centigrade in Baghdad. To keep alive, we are given thermal clothing that generate heat. This kind of life can make you think about home. Some Ugandans feel homesick after a month and others create excuses to return home. Those who persevere, return home at least after every six months for a holiday, if you want.

Liberia: Maintain Integrity of Arms Embargo Exemption

The NEWS (Monrovia): EDITORIAL: 3 September 2008

The United Nations panel of experts on Liberia charged with the responsibility of assessing UN sanctions regime on Liberia has reported to the UN Security Council series of concerns in its June 2008 report.

Major among the concerns is that the exemption from the arms embargo on Liberia faces a challenge, apparently due to procedural non-compliance. The panel recalled that the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1521 (2003) previously permitted China, Nigeria, Great Britain, Northern Ireland, the United States and UNMIL, under specific conditions, to provide arms, ammunition and equipment for the training or use of trained and vetted officials of Liberian army, police and Special Security Service. Under the exemption from arms embargo, the Security Council specified that the Government of Liberia should mark such arms and ammunition, maintain a registry of them and formally notify the Sanctions Committee that these steps have been taken. Arms and ammunition brought into the country are to be reported to the sanctions committee or the UN Mission in Liberia and routine inspection conducted. Notwithstanding, the UN panel of experts discovered that in early 2008, neither the Sanctions Committee nor the UN Mission in Liberia was notified upon the delivery of arms, ammunition and policing equipment to the local security forces as required under Security Council resolution 1792 (2007). The panel also discovered that the Liberian government in March took delivery of a container of arms under the disguise that the weapons were furniture for President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf's guesthouse. Moreover, the panel disclosed that UNMIL was not invited to inspect arms, ammunition and related equipment that were in the custody of a third party in various locations in the country. These concerns as raised by the panel of experts should not be taken face down, because they have the propensity of sending out wrong signals that could be detrimental to the larger environment.

Why would, in spite of the internationally recognized exemption from the arms embargo, authorities provide false or misleading information when taking delivery of arms and ammunition that have been internationally approved for the country? Why would, in spite of a UN Security Council resolution, a third party not invite the UN Mission to inspect

arms and ammunition in their custody for the country? A non-adherence to full procedures of the exemption from the arms embargo regime could unnecessarily be misconstrued as lack of transparency and double standards. Such factors usually undermine international relations with negative consequences.

We urge that the UN panel's concerns be addressed in line with the Security Council resolution and that the acquisition of arms and ammunition under the exemption of the arms embargo should be done in ways and manners non-suggestive of selfish motives.

Uganda: Time to Return the Army to Barracks: [The Monitor](#) (Kampala)

EDITORIAL: 2 September 2008.

The Chief of Defence Forces Gen. Aronda Nyakairima said, Friday, that the army will not allow "bad characters" to take power from the ruling National Resistance Movement. The officer said: "We liberated this country in 1986 and we will not allow bad characters from coming back to power. We will fight all these forces." Gen. Aronda has not clarified who he defines as bad characters. In giving him the benefit of the doubt, we must assume that he refers to the unelected government of Tito Okello Lutwa that the NRM/Army toppled in January 1986. However, the timing of his statement is intriguing. For starters, neither the Lord's Resistance Army rebels, with whom a peace deal has been agreed but not signed, and the Allied Democratic Forces, which were defeated several years ago, have the capacity to take power in Uganda today. In the absence of a credible internal or external military threat to the government, Gen. Aronda's comments can be understood to refer to the internal opposition political forces that, in all intents and purposes, stand the best chance of taking power through the ballot, and not the bullet. In that context, Gen. Aronda's comments are unwarranted and unfortunate. They come a month after the army chief said that the UPDF would support any candidate who defeats President Yoweri Museveni in the 2011 election, and raise questions over what role the army should play in the current multiparty political dispensation. Since 1966 when the army first intervened directly in Ugandan politics, it has stayed an active participant, both as a kingmaker and a king provider. Thirty years later, in 1996, efforts started in earnest to transform the army into a professional and national force that would pay allegiance to the country and not the president. Well-documented cases from the 2001 and 2006 elections show that army officers have routinely abused their impartiality to act in favour of the incumbent, often with impunity. Gen. Aronda's statements, therefore, are not idle remarks to be dismissed out-of-hand.

On top of seeking to enforce the laws that bar serving army officers from active politics it is time to pull the army out of parliament and other spheres of competitive politics and put it back where it belongs; in the barracks. The army's professionalism should not only be measured by the quality of its fighters and equipment, but also by its respect for

constitutionalism, the rule of law, and the pursuit of power - free from violence, threats and intimidation - that multiparty politics is supposed to offer.

TERRORISM, MILITANCY AND REBELS

Terrorism suspects arrested in Entebbe : Thursday, 21st August, 2008

By Steven Candia

Two South African men suspected to be terrorists were arrested minutes after they landed at Entebbe International Airport on Monday.

The Muslim men, one of them a cleric, had just landed from Kenya when they were picked up by Ugandan security along with two Ugandans, also Muslims, who had turned up to receive them. Airport sources said the men, who arrived at about 2:00am, were held briefly at the airport before being transferred to Kampala. The sources said the men were arrested by the Joint Anti-Terrorism Task Force. Army spokesman Major Paddy Ankunda said: "Security had interest in them and picked them up. They are with us and helping with investigations." He would not identify them or say where they were being detained.

But a New Vision contact in Lenasia, South Africa, yesterday identified the two South Africans as Mufti Hussain Bhayat Haroon Saley, said to be working for Crescent Hope, an Islamic relief and organisation. The source said the men are in their late 50s. The South African foreign affairs ministry also identified the men as Mufti Hussain Bhayat of Lenasia and Haroon Saley from Azaadville. Attempts to get comment from the South African High Commissioner in Kampala, Chiliza Thandiyise, failed. The men's mission in Uganda is unknown but sources said they were due to meet "associates.

The two were supposed to have returned home yesterday morning. Mufti Bhayat owns a bicycle shop in Johannesburg and has four grown up children. Little is known about Haroon Saley. Early this month, internal affairs minister Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda warned of the presence of suspected Al-Qaeda terrorists, the group responsible for a number of deadly attacks across the globe.

Rugunda's statement came just a day to the 10th anniversary of the twin bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1998 and days after the prime suspect, Fazul Abdullah Mohammed, eluded Kenyan police. Fazul has eluded arrest for the last 10 years and is believed to be the East African Al-Qaeda linkman. Following the incident, Kenyan police widened the search for him and alerted Tanzania after the man slipped away at the coastal town of Malindi.

Fazul is said to have arrived in Malindi from Somalia. Anti-terrorist police stormed his hideout and seized two passports and a laptop.

Uganda: America Declares Kony Global Terrorist: [New Vision](#) (Kampala)

29 August 2008: Henry Mukasa

THE United States government has slapped new sanctions on LRA leader, Joseph Kony, as patience wears thin over the slow pace of the peace talks and the possible signing of a peace agreement. In a brief statement on Thursday, the US Treasury Department added Kony to its list of "specially designated global terrorists," which carries financial and other penalties.

It is unclear whether the elusive rebel leader, who has fought a bloody two-decade rebellion and is currently holed up in the dense Garamba Forest in the DR Congo, has any assets that might be affected by the order. The LRA is already considered a terrorist group by the US, but there had been no sanctions applied to Kony. His brutal rebellion has devastated the North. The LRA is accused of atrocities that include rape of children, abduction and conscription of child soldiers, massacre, deadly raids on villages, amputation of civilians and torching of huts. Kony and his commanders, Okot Odhiambo and Dominic Ongwen, were indicted by the International Criminal Court for war crimes and crimes against humanity and arrest warrants were issued against them in 2005. Since July 2006, the LRA and the government have been engaged in peace talks in Juba, brokered by the Government of South Sudan. Internal affairs minister Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda is the government's chief negotiator, while the LRA team has been led by Martin Ojul, Dr Alfred Obita and David Nyekorach Matsanga. Kony refused to sign a peace agreement on April 10, leaving dignitaries, observers and journalists stranded at Nabanga in South Sudan. He claimed he needed further clarification on the traditional justice and the special division of the High Court that was agreed on to try his fighters. "What has been done by the US is what is expected. The only way that Joseph Kony can extricate himself from that type of high level ranking of a terrorist is for him to disarm and submit himself to the jurisdiction of the High Court of Uganda for purposes of accountability and to provide a basis to lasting peace and reconciliation," Rugunda commented. He said although money to the LRA has not been transmitted through official channels, a message has been sent to his backers in the diaspora. "Ranking him highly is also a warning by the international community to those who have been abetting Kony's activities to stop their support," Rugunda added.

The ICC chief prosecutor, Maurice Ocampo, has accused the LRA of using the peace talks to recruit and regain strength for renewed conflict. The ICC has, therefore, dismissed calls for it to suspend indictments for the rebel leaders during the peace talks. Kony also refused to assemble his fighters at Ri-kwangba on the Sudan-DRC border

as demanded by the cessation of hostilities agreement signed on August 28, 2008. Fearing arrest because of the ICC warrants of arrest, Kony has never come out in the open but meets selected guests including Acholi leaders, at his base.

NORTH AFRICA

Morocco's Illegal Migration Anxiety: by Arezki Daoud on the December 19th, 2005 .

Morocco and Spain are facing usually scrutiny and criticism over their handling of Sub-Saharan immigrants who have been seeking to enter Europe. The situation of the would-be-immigrants transiting via Morocco is so bad that Ron Redmond of the U.N. refugee agency UNHCR urged "authorities to respect international protection principles, particularly against refoulement - or forcibly returning people to a country where they face persecution; to treat everyone humanely; and to ensure that all asylum seekers are given access to fair and proper procedures." Six deaths were the latest in a series of reported violent incidents at the border fence between Morocco and the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. These statements from U.N. officials are concerning and are indicative of a policy of "fortress" Europe that has spilled over into North Africa. Europe is apparently succeeding in involving other third nations in its immigration enforcement frenzy, often with disregard to the most basic human rights that these very governments pledged to uphold. For the Sub-Saharan refugees, being between Morocco and Spain is not a comforting situation as the hunting season against them has been declared. Fear has been rising as governments have worked to confine refugees into camps without future. The latest violence recorded at the end of September began at the notorious Bel Younech refugee camp. Violence started when a rumor that Spain would raise the height of the barriers separating Morocco to the Sebta and Melilla enclaves controlled by Spain from three to six meters circulated in the camp, adding to fear that the refugees may be stuck there for an unlimited time. Despite warnings by some of the camp leaders that any action would lead to a violent reaction from authorities, refugees decided to take their chance and started moving into Spain. Unable to cope, the Moroccan guards were inefficient in halting what many Europeans called an "assault against Europe."

According to sources within the camp, the refugees' actions happened in incremental phases. In the first wave, the refugees on the move faced only a handful of Moroccan guards estimated at about 20. Witnesses say that a first wave of 200 refugees succeeded in jumping over the fence and crossed the border without resistance. The second wave of refugees was less lucky. Their attempt to follow their successful peers on the other side of the fence was faced with tear gas and rubber bullets. For the Moroccan and Spanish officials, the guards never received orders to shoot. However, the guards, in particular on the Spanish side were equipped with rubber bullets and have apparently used them directly against the crowd. Five deaths of individuals aged between 16 and 45 were recorded. There was also a sixth victim, an infant baby of 3 months only. The father was carrying the baby during the crossing when a single bullet killed both of them. There were several wounded resulting from the use of the rubber bullets, falls, and the climbing of barbed wires. Violence affecting refugees is widespread and is not confined to this event only. A report released at the end of September by the international medical

humanitarian aid organization Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) describes escalating violence against immigrants crossing from Morocco to Spain. Up to 25% of MSF's patients are seeking medical treatment as a result of persecution and attacks. Since early 2003, MSF has been running mobile clinics and monitoring the immigrant community for disease outbreaks. Medical data and testimonies collected from migrants reveal that of the 10,232 medical consultations conducted between April 2003 and August 2005, 2,544 are violence related. This places violence and illnesses related to poor living conditions as the two greatest health risks to these vulnerable people.

Immigrants who have been victims of violence and treated by MSF say that their injuries have been caused by Moroccan police forces (44%), Spanish police forces (18%), criminal gangs (17%), mafia groups or networks engaged in human trafficking (12%), other immigrants (2%), and accidents (7%). Injuries include gunshot wounds, beatings, as well as from attacks by dogs as people tried to escape Moroccan security forces. Deaths have also occurred. MSF is concerned that these findings reveal systematic violence and degrading treatment, which only serve to increase the suffering and marginalization of people who are already exposed to extremely precarious and often inhumane conditions. On September 29, the day after the event, Spain sent some 500 troops along its Sebta and Melilla borders. Morocco also reinforced its side of the border with a vast contingent of troops. On September 30, the Moroccan government ordered a sweep of the Bel Younech refugee camp, which is located a dozen kilometers from Sebta. The sweep led to the arrest of 285 refugees from Mali, 276 from Senegal and 9 from Algeria. Despite efforts, often violent, to contain the refugees, several of them fled toward the Gourougou camp in Melilla, and toward Tangiers and other Morocco towns. Others were forced to hide in some of the most rugged mountains of the region, witnessing from a distance the destruction of the camp and seizure by the Moroccan security forces of their belongings, including blankets and food. It was not the first time the Bel Younech camp came under attack by the Moroccan security forces. Police sweeps occur on average twice per week with the goal of intimidating the already vulnerable residents. That week, the usual sweep was canceled after the commanding officer was reassigned to another site. Since the event took place, Morocco's security forces continued to launch assaults against the refugees hiding in the area and within the camp itself. The plight of those remaining behind has deteriorated, worsened by a bitter cold and lack of food. For Morocco, this event has been an embarrassment. However, the North Africa country has unwillingly become an important transit for would-be-immigrants seeking a way out of Africa and into Europe. The violence that northern Morocco witnessed at the end of September and early October was predictable. For years the government of Morocco has been warned by NGOs operating in the region that the local border will inevitably be "assaulted" by illegal migrants if a sound policy of prevention is not implemented. But while NGO focused on the border regions, migratory pressure was not confined on northern Morocco only. Virtually all Moroccan cities have their share of undocumented migrants originating from Niger, Mali, Nigeria, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Somalia, Togo, the Congo, and other nations. Morocco is not the only destination or transit point. Neighboring Algeria faces a similar situation.

When caught, the future of the illegal migrants remains uncertain. Governments have been working to send them back to their countries of origin, however many migrants manage to return once again. In the worst cases, Morocco deports thousands of Sub-Saharan Africans who arrived in Morocco via the vast desert of Algeria. In this deportation, Morocco sends them back the way they came, forcing the immigrants to take major risks crossing the Algerian desert again. While Morocco is attempting to honor its engagements with Europe in terms of securing its borders, there is in fact little it can do to completely control all access and transit points used by migrant smugglers. According to official Moroccan data, since 2003 the Moroccan police managed to reduce the illegal outflow of Moroccan citizens by 25%. The number of foreign nationals using Morocco as a transit point was reduced by 27%. A total of 425 smuggling networks were dismantled in 2004, a number that is 60% more than 2003. For the first nine months of 2005, the number of individuals who illegally crossed the Morocco-Spanish border fell by 35% to 23,000, with 17,000 being non-Morocco citizens. These numbers are indicative of the rise of a tense security climate which makes the movement of people between Morocco and Europe intensely scrutinized. The increase of this security is such that migrants and their smugglers have adapted to the changing landscape. New exit points in Libya are growing as Morocco tightens controls of its borders. Desperate migrants use desperate means such as substandard boats to cross the Mediterranean Sea. But the creation of barriers in Morocco to stop migrants moving north has its limits, as there is also a lucrative business. Smuggling a single individual into Spain via Morocco costs between €5,000 and €7,000. With this money, smugglers can afford equipping themselves with the latest technology, allowing them to operate below the radar screen. Those who cannot afford the €5,000 fare often end up stuck in Moroccan towns and in camps like Bel Younech, Gourougou and other similar facilities. Their only option remains the jumping of the fence separating them to Spain's Sebta and Melilla. This has become an increasingly difficult task to achieve. The remaining alternative would be to stay in Morocco.

Inside the Bel Younech Refugee Camp:

The Bel Younech refugee camp is a sad place. It is the symbol of a failed global migration policy. At any given time, the camp is what between 500 and 2,000 men, women and children call home, where they stay for two years on average. Most of them are between the prime ages of 16 and 40, because it takes an able body to cross the desert to arrive there. The refugees are well organized and water-gathering duties are shared in a disciplined manner. Beggars from the camp line up the streets that link Bel Younech to Tetouan and Fnideq. The Bel Younech camp is a small town, with its own mosque, church, market and its very own meeting hall. The meeting hall is an important gathering place where the leaders of each community meet to organize the camp and optimize access to medical care and food. Services tend to go in priority in order of community size. When doctors came recently to treat patients who have contracted rheumatism and respiratory illnesses, two of the most frequent diseases in the camp, the last one to be checked was a Mauritanian refugee, the single one from that country. Many of the refugees living in the camp claim to have left their country due to political persecution. However the Moroccan government remains inconsistent in its interpretation of

international law. While the police and other agencies in Rabat tend to recognize the refugee status issued to individuals by the high commission on refugees, officials in other regions do not recognize such status and often end up arresting the refugee, jailing them and finally deport them. In this environment, traffickers have made a good living from selling false documents. Several networks involved in false document production have been dismantled in Morocco but there is a lot more to be done to make a real dent on this type of crime.

Reaching the Morocco-Spanish border is not a small task at all. The site is situated between the towns of Mdiq and Fnideq, and is only 12 kilometers away from Spain's Sebta. Those who reach that region are prevented from crossing to Spain with the presence of the Moroccan police. Now and after the September 29 event, the camp has been destroyed and refugees escaped the area in fear of police crackdown. For many, the march to northern Morocco involved 7,000 kilometers. The poorest of the refugees, those with no financial means to pay for transportation are forced to walk for up to three months as was the case of many Malians. Some from further south say that it even took them years to get there, stopping in various regions to work or beg for months before resuming their journey. In this long road toward Europe, various territories are crossed and the ones that are the center of this wave of migration are Mali, Niger, and Algeria. Niger is the biggest transit territory in the Morocco migration route. The individuals crossing Niger toward Morocco speak of a dangerous journey characterized by violence, aggression, and rape. Although they are less than men, women are the main victims of violence. The desert is also harsh, killing an untold number of migrants.

Solving a great deal of Morocco's illegal immigration problem requires important political and diplomatic efforts. This is because Morocco has no bilateral agreements with its neighbor Algeria on issues of border control. And the Algerian border is also source of illegal migrants. Not only there is no accord with Algeria, but also Morocco does not have a single agreement with any of the major source countries. The situation is even more difficult as migrants that are caught often refuse to divulge their identity and nationality, preventing the organizing of repatriation procedures. The source countries are also among the poorest nations in the world and cannot afford paying for the repatriation cost. This was not the case last year when Morocco and the oil-rich Nigeria launched a spot joint operation to transfer 1,700 Nigerian nationals living illegally in Morocco. Nigeria sent five airplanes to Morocco for this purpose, something that most other Sahel region countries couldn't afford.

In this complicated environment, tension inevitably rises, resulting in human rights violations. There have many documented cases of deportations of individuals who had legitimate political refugee status and whose forced return home could mean imprisonment, torture and even death.

America and the Western Sahara Conflict: by Arezki Daoud on the March 26th, 2006

I recently discussed North African issues with an official at the U.S. Commerce Department. The discussion was centered around political issues and one of his questions

related to whether the United States can do anything to help solve the Western Sahara conflict. Over the past couple of days I have come to the conclusion that the answer is very simple and can be summarized as follows: Yes the United States can do something about, but no, it would not do anything to change the situation right now.

The answer may be shocking but if you are a decision maker or a person who recommends policy in the State Department or elsewhere in the administration, what are your options? Initially my response was that the Europeans have more leverage to impose some sort of settlement. But then I realized that the United States has a lot more political capital in the Maghreb than any individual European nation or even the EU as a group. After all, the United States remains the only superpower with the biggest economic and cultural clout. In the Maghreb, despite the erosion of the image of America in public opinion due to the events in Iraq, the governments there have been particularly attentive to American positions on several issues. For now, the United States looks at the two protagonists in the Western Sahara conflict and says: "Morocco has been our faithful ally ever since the United States established itself as a nation. We have full support of Morocco on almost all regional and political issues affecting North Africa and the Middle East." This is certainly true as Morocco became the second MENA country after Jordan to have been selected by the United States to establish a free-trade zone.

Turning to Algeria, the Americans look at it from an economic angle with oil and gas in the background. During the hottest moments of Algeria's civil war in the 1990s, the Americans took the risk to work with the Algerians in developing the country's oil and gas infrastructure. This is while the Europeans took a hunker-down position in fear of being drawn into a conflict that could eventually harm them. The American risk-taking stance paid off as the two countries have seen their economic relations improve. Then there is the other factor, global terrorism. In addition to securing new sources of energy and oil, the other key American policy determining its relations with the Maghreb is its interest in eliminating terrorist organizations. The Sahel region has been on the Pentagon's radar screen for some time now so as to insure that this largely uninhabited region does not turn into another Afghanistan-like safe heaven for shadowy organizations. While it is in the best interest for the United States to see a final settlement to the Western Sahara conflict, the Americans do not necessarily see the urgency to use their diplomatic capital to break the status quo in the region. They are too concerned about events in Iraq and Iran to spend time solving a problem that does not affect America at all. After all, this silent conflict is all that it is. A low-level conflict with zero likelihood of military confrontation between the two neighbors, two nations that are essentially pro-American. Meanwhile, Morocco will remain a loyal political ally and Algeria will continue to be an important economic partner. As for the North Africans, I continue to believe that the Western Sahara conflict is a major hurdle although the region will end up moving towards economic integration whether Algiers or Rabat want it or not. After all, the political differences between these two capitals, including their disagreements over the Western Sahara question, are not preventing the emergence of some level of ongoing integration. Think of those pipelines that start from the Algerian desert and go through Morocco and Tunisia toward Europe. Think of the power grids that are increasingly inter-connected. Economic interest in this case may be the best equalizer

where everyone seems to find common grounds. But yet these forms of “forced” integration risk turning the Western Sahara issue moot and that can be dangerous if these problems do not find comprehensive solutions.

Libya: Special Briefing on U.S. Relations with Country :United States Department of State (Washington, DC): DOCUMENT; 5 September 2008

The following is a special briefing on U.S.-Libya relations by C. David Welch, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs, and Robert Wood, Deputy Spokesman for the U.S. State Department. It took place on September 2 in Washington, DC ahead of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's visit to Libya.

MR. WOOD: Hello, everyone. Thanks for coming. You all know Assistant Secretary Welch. He's going to talk to you about the Secretary's upcoming trip to Libya. Before asking your questions, if you could just identify yourself and your news organization, that would be greatly appreciated.

Assistant Secretary Welch, thank you and welcome.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Hi. Well, Sean announced today the Secretary of State would be visiting North Africa. This will be her first visit as Secretary of State to that area of NEA, and the trip will include a stop in Tripoli. This will be the first visit by an American cabinet officer to Libya in quite a number of years and the first trip by a Secretary of State, to the best of our knowledge, since 1953, which my boss happily points out was before she was born.

We intend in this visit to cover a number of issues. First, we want to advance our bilateral relationship, which we think is in the interest of both countries. Second, we want to pay some attention to some of the regional issues, and by that I mean the ones up in North Africa, broadly speaking, but then also the Middle East in general, and then exchange views with the Libyan leadership and others on international events as well.

Objectives in the other stops, I think, are a little more straightforward, if you will. As you know, we have good relations with the other countries in North Africa. Our relationship with Libya has improved substantially, but I would describe it as very much improved in the course of this Administration. So we think with this trip at this time we can mark a significant advance in America's relations with that part of the NEA area, with North Africa, in a significant manner.

The bilateral issues vary from instance to instance, but I think most of your attention right now is probably on Libya, and so we can go into that in the questions and answers.

Where are we in the claims settlement agreement? As you know, I briefed you all on this agreement which was signed August 14, a few days ago. The Libyan side has gone through their procedures to establish the fund from their end and to begin to look at the resources for that fund. We're in touch with the Libyans on this constantly. As you know, we are pressing for the full implementation of this agreement. None of the U.S. obligations pursuant to the agreement kick into effect until the appropriate amounts are deposited in the accounts for the American victims and for the Libyans as well. I expect that, if necessary, the Secretary will take this up during the course of her visit.

We're also very interested in what else is happening in the North Africa area, especially since there's been a recrudescence of terrorism there, particularly in Algeria and there's been an extra-constitutional change of leadership in Mauritania. But we intend also to discuss with those countries developments in other countries in that Sahel region, in particular Chad and Sudan.

So with that brief introduction, let's open it up for questions. If you would please identify yourself – some of you I know, but I'm forgetful, too.

QUESTION: Dan Dombey, Financial Times. Assistant Secretary, how – could you expand a little bit on how you see the relationship right now? Qadhafi said that it was neither friends nor enemies recently. Is that how you see it? And in particular, how do you address the Libyan rumbling that it hasn't seen enough from the U.S. when they come to it from the high-level visits that some of the Europeans have brought? Is this visit (inaudible)?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, I thought Colonel Qadhafi put a positive gloss on the development of Libya's relationships internationally, and particularly with the United States, on the occasion of his September 1 speech. That's an important day for Libyans. It's their national day. And typically, it's at that event that you see statements from the leadership or around that event you see statements from the leadership indicating the direction of their foreign policy.

And setting aside the adjectives one way or another that people use on these and other occasions, I thought he was signaling a way forward here. It is true that our relationship in the past has been at times very adversarial, but that has changed substantially. It changed as Libya began to recognize the isolation that it had imposed upon itself from its involvement in past acts of terror, and as it began to look at other important changes in its foreign policy; for example, the decision to forswear weapons of mass destruction and the means to produce them. Those are really important and dramatic changes in the behavior of a country, and we believe they come as a result of a serious, rigorous and bipartisan effort over a number of years and different administrations to use American

influence for the purpose of changing the behavior of countries that once were very, very difficult for us.

This is now, and looking forward I think we can see the path toward a much more normal relationship. Libya is not involved in terrorism anymore and it has foresworn terrorism. It has given up its weapons of mass destruction. In fact, it's been verified by the U.S. and others. They're now on – have an elected seat on the Security Council. And we are engaged on a broad variety of topics of interest to the United States, ranging from the decisions that the Security Council undertakes – for example, on an issue like Iran, where I would point out Libya voted positively for Resolution 1803, and there are other elected members of the Council who saw fit to abstain even though they excellent relations – relationships with the United States.

We are also involved with them discussing Sudan. I can remember when I took this job some years ago, that was a rather narrow conversation about a humanitarian corridor from Benghazi into Darfur for the shipment of food products to – for assistance. Today, it's a broad-ranging and very political conversation about what's the right way to take on the Darfur issue.

In Chad, Libya was quite helpful to us some months ago, when our Embassy came under siege during fighting, and it facilitated the transit of American aircraft in for evacuation. In short, we have a whole variety of interests now that we're trying to represent at the highest possible level. The Secretary's visit, I think, will be an occasion to move these things forward. I know the Libyan leadership looks forward to discussing this and other things, but we want to listen to them. This, for the United States is, I would say, a success in our foreign policy. And we believe it's been built over several administrations, but particularly in most dramatic fashion during this one. And Congress has helped out on this, too. I mean, in all honesty, we are not very fond of some of the legislation passed at the beginning of this year, but it did serve to influence the decisions that Libya made. And when Congress decided that it would empower the Administration to lift the restrictions in that legislation upon certification by the Secretary that the standards had been met, I think that gave an important boost to these negotiations.

So we feel headed into this that this is an area where, again, there's been very positive movement across the board, and we want to memorialize that with this visit and then look forward to what else we can do in the future.

QUESTION: Sue Fleming, Reuters. Are there going to be any announcements made during this trip? For example, when the Foreign Minister visited Washington in January, there was a scientific and technical agreement. Are you going to announce any specific things?

And then, secondly, are you going to raise the case of Fathi al-Jahmi and other human rights concerns that I know you've been pushing on but that still haven't been resolved, and the trip is going ahead despite those outstanding issues?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, there are other issues that are outstanding, too, and we may raise those. As you know, I typically do not give readouts of what are private discussions. But when I mention that we have a variety of bilateral issues that we will be raising, among those is the human rights issue, broadly speaking and specifically speaking.

We actually can have this discussion now with Libya in a manner that we couldn't before because we have an Embassy in Tripoli, and it represents itself to the Libyan Government on a daily basis on issues of concern to the United States. Of course, when the Secretary visits, she'll put into her own words all these subjects and we'll let you know afterwards, in general, how it went, Sue.

QUESTION: But would you – would you see it as a goodwill gesture for Muammar Qadhafi to release Fathi al-Jahmi?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, we think he should have been released before. You know, I think you can be confident that we have a long record of having discussed this with the Libyan Government. And it's not the only bilateral issue, by the way. There are others, too. And one sign of a maturing relationship is that each side can be honest to each other about such things.

QUESTION: What's the – I don't understand why – why is she doing this trip when the mechanism hasn't been funded yet?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, first of all, having the mechanism is a significant and important change from the past.

QUESTION: Well, it's a mechanism that's got – it's empty.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, bank accounts can be empty or they can be full.

QUESTION: Right. So –

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: And our belief is this one is – they are looking at ways to fund it. And I am confident that they will do so. However, if I'm wrong and it is not funded, then none of the American obligations under this agreement kick into effect until it is fully funded.

QUESTION: I understand that. But I just – but why the trip before that?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, the trip was never conditioned on this or on any other issue.

QUESTION: I'm not suggesting that it was or – I'm asking why it wasn't.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: It's the same question, one way or the other. We do this kind of diplomatic engagement because we have a range of interests, and this is an important one, and we expect to see it satisfied. And we think that this visit is a good way to advance it.

QUESTION: Okay. And do you know – are there any – I know that this is going to come up in Algiers, but are there any Libyans in Guantanamo?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Yes, there are.

QUESTION: And so -- substantial? I'll go back and look, but I mean, is it more than five, more than – is it a handful or is – because there have been problems, I know the Algerians, especially, that people have been repatriated and then arrive back in Algeria and all of a sudden, they've disappeared. I presume that's something you're going to bring up in Algiers. What exactly on this issue are you going to bring up --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, the detainee issues vary from place to place. And I want to be cautious on this because -- I'll discuss it in broad terms. But I expect this to be a topic of conversation in each of the Secretary's stops. And again, the circumstances vary. With respect to Algeria, my understanding is the current status of the two individuals returned is that they've been released. So there's no issue of their disappearance. But that said, our goals are for those who are not going to be sub judice in the United States in some manner or under our system, that we would like to look for ways to repatriate them. And in all cases, we'll be raising that with the governments concerned, including Libya.

QUESTION: Do you know how many are –

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: I can't remember exactly, but these are not the largest populations there by a long shot. But no number is insignificant in this regard. My objective for that area for which I am responsible, the NEA area, is to reduce that number to zero.

MR. WOOD: Libby.

QUESTION: David, Libby Leist, NBC. What can you tell us about this Trade and Investment Framework Agreement which says – that she says is going to be signed in the near future? How long –

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, we have a number of initiatives underway with Libya and there may be -- I think Sue asked me before if we intend to announce anything. But we want to look at ways in which we can move things forward on those issues of concern to us.

And – but, Libby, just generally speaking, the philosophy here is to look at ways to deepen our relationship. We think that that's going to be in Libya's interest. We think it will be in the United States interest. A trade and investment framework agreement is a vehicle to enhancing and regularizing the economic relationship. As you know, Libya is a small country in population terms, but a wealthy country in resource terms. And that's of interest to many American firms. They have a considerable oil export potential, and we would like to be involved in that. But it's – their regulatory environment, their economic policy environment is less mature than it is in other countries in the immediate area. So we're looking at ways to work with and to develop that better. We think that will help Libya because it will attract more business interest in the country. And of course, it will help us in commercial and economic terms as well.

The TIFA agreements are typically a precursor to broader, more established trade relationships. We have quite a number throughout the NEA area. I can't – I don't think I have that off the top of my head exactly. But it is a sign of a maturing relationship.

QUESTION: Yes. Joyce Karam with Al Hayat. Thanks for doing this. Historically, there has been a lot of concerns from countries in the Middle East – Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, most recently Iraq – over Libyan role, mostly in terrorism. You said before that the Libyans have committed to not to have any role in terrorism anymore. What role do you see, you know, specifically related to these countries, Libya taking? How do you see, you know, Libyan-Saudi relations going from here? And also, have you been talking to the Europeans about this? Are the Europeans, mostly the French, happy with the openness of Washington to Tripoli?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, it's a difficult question, Joyce, for me to answer, because I represent the United States and not these other countries, and they much better positioned to speak with respect to their interests. Some of the countries you mention already have quite advanced relationships with Libya. The French President has visited Libya. A British Prime Minister visited. So Europe is, I think, if anything, well ahead of us in this respect.

Saudi Arabia has a normal diplomatic relationship with Libya, despite some tensions in the past between them, as you know. You know, from time to time, other countries I see in the news do raise issues of the past. That's up to them how they pursue them. It is a reality and a very uncomfortable one in the U.S.-Libyan relationship that there have been these very difficult and painful episodes.

We've tried to help American citizens address these in the most fair and responsible way. I believe we've done a good job of helping and protecting Americans in that respect. But some part of helping and protecting Americans is also by pushing forward on our national interest in dealing with this country, especially as we expect that that is based upon cooperation against terror in the future. That's the undertaking the Libyan Government has made not simply to the United States, but to the UN Security Council.

MR. WOOD: How about here, and then we'll go (inaudible).

QUESTION: Bay Fang with the Chicago Tribune. You may have touched on this when you briefed on the claims settlement agreement, but I was wondering if that kind of agreement can be used as a precedent for other cases pending in the U.S. courts about sort of acts of terrorism, like the ones that are pending against the Palestinian Authority. Has there been any discussion about that?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, I've learned from experience that these are all difficult problems that may on the surface look comparable to one another, but are frequently not. I do believe there is one basis of comparability, if you will. We would like to show that it is possible to fix these problems and to do so in a manner that is responsive to the interests of the American citizens, that is protective of our national security, and that advances our other interests that are out there. In the case of Libya, I think we are managing to do that. Our diplomacy has been very careful, but it's been very serious over a number of years, especially throughout this Administration, but also in the 1990s. And it's paid off.

Now, there is a – there is still a settlement to be done under this agreement that we have. The agreement frames it, makes very clear what each side has to do. But the United States is not going to do any of those steps to implement this agreement until we are satisfied that the funds are there to address our – the issues of our claimants. So that's where we are.

Now, what model other – how other countries might see that is one model – one view of the model. And look, it's a reality that there are some states out there that, notwithstanding the pressures being put upon them, the offer of a more reasonable path forward, are choosing to defy the interests of the international community on issues like

terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. I mean, the case in point is, I think, Iran, but there are others, too. And it's very useful to be able to say, look, if you made a different choice, there is a path forward here, you can get out of this box if you behave responsibly.

The other part of your question is: How do you translate this kind of an agreement into other situations? And there, that's a little bit more difficult, because I think those depend on the cases involved. I mean, in the Libyan case, there was a bewildering array of these suits and claims and so it was very complex in how to address it. And I wouldn't want to foreshadow that as the ideal model for others. But there's no question that some elements of that might be useful in other cases. While we were looking at this negotiation with Libya, one of things we did do is go back and look at these past examples and see if they offered us any clue or any ideas on how to deal with these subjects. And fortunately, we have an excellent team of lawyers here who are paid lowly government salaries for doing superb work on this stuff. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Do you think it could – sorry, can I just follow up? Do you think it could be seen by the Palestinian Authority as – for example, as a way forward on the cases that are pending against them?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: I think what they're exploring now is direct contacts to try and resolve those cases. I wouldn't want to prejudice that discussion by answering your question directly.

QUESTION: Sylvie Lanteaume from AFP. You said that it's a diplomatic success. But why – why was it so long to come? Why it took seven years after Qadhafi's decision to renounce its WMDs? Is it now that – is it now that you need to claim a success because it's the end of the Administration, so you have to push --

QUESTION: Yes.

(Laughter.)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, Matt's cynicism is breathtaking. He – the Libyan leadership decided five years ago, not seven years ago, that --

QUESTION: I'm sorry.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: -- they wanted to be out of the WMD business. It took it quite a long time to reconcile itself that it should be out of the terrorism business, too. In my business, I'm prone to trust people, but I also demand to verify things. Sometimes verification takes a while. These negotiations are very complex, Sylvie. We

started this one at the beginning of this year when Libya came to us with a suggestion for a comprehensive settlement. But it took six months to do. And it's because they took it very seriously and so did we. And – I mean, the agreement that is there shows that, I think.

Would I like it all to have gone faster? Certainly. But I prefer that it be there to be very clear and well grounded, and that we not make any mistakes.

QUESTION: But you said yourself that Europe is well ahead.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, they're well ahead in their relationships, yes.

QUESTION: Mm-hmm. So they scored the successes earlier than the U.S?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, I would say they could not have scored their successes were it not for us. But yes, that they should have gotten a little advance credit on it. It's maybe more their way than ours, but so be it.

QUESTION: My name is (inaudible) Italian News Agency, ANSA. There was a recent agreement between Libya and Italy. Was it helpful for you or not?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: I'm not briefed on this agreement yet. I haven't spoken to my Italian colleagues about it. One of the Libyans with whom we were working was deeply involved in this issue between Libya and Italy. I think that as Libya has reemerged into the international community, it has enabled progress for a number of countries on a number of fronts. I mean, broadly speaking, I think this is a good thing.

QUESTION: Thank you.

QUESTION: One – Jay Solomon from The Wall Street Journal. One question I'm still not totally clear of on the mechanism. I know the Libyans have made a big deal about the 40 victims they say of the '86 bombing. Is there an element of – in this agreement that allows for them to be compensated? I've read – how exactly does that work? Who's funding that? Is that clear?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, the agreement is a claims settlement agreement. There are claims against the United States in Libyan courts by Libyan citizens who allege that they were harmed by the U.S. military retaliation for the La Belle disco bombing. And there are, as you know, a whole variety of cases in the U.S. courts against Libya. So the agreement envisions that once the agreed level of funding is reached, that each side will take care of its own victims and these claims will then be extinguished.

It doesn't go into effect, however, until the agreed funding is reached. So it is in that sense symmetrical, yes. And we have an interest in that these cases against the United States in Libyan courts would go away.

QUESTION: You didn't answer who's funding it.

QUESTION: How much?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, the fund, as I – when – you weren't here in Jay, when we did the readout after the signature of the agreement. But the fund is available there for any potential contributor --

QUESTION: Including you.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Including you, Jay, a Wall Street journalist, a financial powerhouse, you know. Who knows? It might be able to muster something to contribute.

QUESTION: How much –

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: It's voluntary. The United States is not pressuring anybody to participate, including any American companies. But if folks want to donate, they're welcome to do so.

QUESTION: And is it for sure that Condi's meeting with Qadhafi? Is that set or can you say?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, the Secretary of State will be going to each of these countries and Secretary Rice will be meeting with the leadership in each one of them.

QUESTION: Sean confirmed it today (inaudible).

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Oh, he did?

MR. WOOD: Yeah, he did.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Okay. Charlie.

Sean, confirmed it. Sorry, Jay. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: But he didn't say where. (Laughter.)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: I'm sure that we will be treated in a very hospitable way every place we go.

QUESTION: David, on a related issue. Can you talk about the discussions the Department might have had with families who were concerned that this wasn't a great mechanism and the side* of policy versus personal stake in settling these claims?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, look, we've – Charlie, we've stayed in touch with the representatives of the families, and of all claimants for that matter, for a long time now. We've tried to keep them informed on a regular basis. Before Sean's announcement today, we communicated that we would be making the announcement to the families and their representatives. I spoke to some people on the Hill earlier today as well.

I believe that the agreement that we have offers a fair and rapid way for many of those people to see their claims satisfied. That said, it doesn't take away any of their rights if it's not implemented. The current status quo is the status quo until the agreement is implemented. And the agreement can only be implemented on the basis of it receiving full funding as agreed between us.

QUESTION: That's why – I have a sort of higher problem with this. If the status quo is the status quo until the thing is funded, why is she going?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Because we think that this helps advance our interest.

QUESTION: You think that your – well –

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Including to get the agreement implemented.

QUESTION: You think – okay, so she will – when she goes, she'll be saying, hey, cough up the cash?

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: You know, Matt, we normally express ourselves in a different way. (Laughter.) But you're welcome to try doing this job if you think that way works better. We will press forward on all these things. It may be that it will be implemented by the time we get there. Personally, I don't know because that is a very large sum of money and it's – even for countries with some wherewithal, it's not all that easy to aggregate these funds in one place so quickly. That said, none of our obligations are triggered until it is satisfied.

But we believe that approaching this in the way we have, by consistent engagement with Libya over a long and sustained period of time, more often than not results in success. That is – that is one of the things we will be doing during this trip is trying to advance that.

MR. WOOD: We have time for two brief questions.

QUESTION: Can I just clarify something? Sean -- I thought Sean said today that there are guarantees that the funds are going to be met in – very quickly.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: I'm optimistic. But "guarantee" is a big word.

QUESTION: Well, I don't know if he used the word "guaranteed". But he said he's been assured.

QUESTION: He said it would be very soon.

QUESTION: Yeah. He said he'd been assured by a certain official who's sitting in this room right now. (Laughter.)

QUESTION: Well, I --

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: I'm optimistic on this, Libby. And you know, I wouldn't say that if there weren't some evidence for it. That said, as of today, those funds are not yet in the account. And until they're in that account, we're not doing anything pursuant to that agreement.

MR. WOOD: One last question.

QUESTION: Michele Kelemen, National Public Radio. I just have – you know, this – you talk about changing the behavior. But this is still the same leader that's been there forever. Mad dog of the Middle East, as Reagan once called him. And I wonder, you know, how the Secretary is preparing to see him, what kind of behavior you're expecting from him personally. (Laughter.)

ASSISTANT SECRETARY WELCH: Well, I have met with Colonel Qadhafi several times. And it's – he is a person of personality and experience. I am very confident that America's senior diplomat is quite capable of having a meeting with him and looking after our interest. Secretary Rice typically prepares exhaustively for her meetings, Michele, as you know. She's a very serious person who studies hard. She is anticipating

this one with great interest. She knows the issues of concern, whether those are WMD or Darfur, very, very well. As I said earlier, Libya does have an influence and interest in those things, so there's a lot to talk about with them.

We don't refer to Colonel Qadhafi in those terms today. You know that this is a relationship that has had a troubled past, but now it is on a much firmer foundation. He, as leader, has undertaken certain decisions which have really changed things. It's important to recognize that. Those are very much in America's national interest, I would argue also in Libya's national interest. There are people in Libya who would want to change the course of that country and have very interesting ideas about the future. It's an important signal when countries from the West, in particular, reach out and try and encourage that trend. And that's part of what we'll be doing as well.

MR. WOOD: Thank you, David. Thank you all.

QUESTION: Thank you.

US Removes Libya from Terror List, Renews Diplomatic Relations: Analysis: by Arezki Daoud on the May 15th, 2006

THE NORTH AFRICA JOURNAL

The US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice announced the resumption of diplomatic relations with Libya and the removal of Tripoli from the list of nations that sponsor terrorism. This decision marks the end of a quarter century feud between the regime of Muamar Kaddafi and the United States. In a statement, Secretary Rice said "we are taking these actions in recognition of Libya's continued commitment to its renunciation of terrorism and the excellent cooperation Libya has provided to the United States and other members of the international community in response to common global threats faced by the civilized world since September 11, 2001." Adding, "today's announcements are tangible results that flow from the historic decisions taken by Libya's leadership in 2003 to renounce terrorism and to abandon its weapons of mass destruction programs. As a direct result of those decisions we have witnessed the beginning of that country's re-emergence into the mainstream of the international community. Today marks the opening of a new era in U.S.-Libya relations that will benefit Americans and Libyans alike."

Seeking to persuade Iran and North Korea to follow Libya's path, Rice added "just as 2003 marked a turning point for the Libyan people so too could 2006 mark turning points for the peoples of Iran and North Korea. Libya is an important model as nations around the world press for changes in behavior by the Iranian and North Korean regimes — changes that could be vital to international peace and security. We urge the leadership of Iran and North Korea to make similar strategic decisions that would benefit their citizens.

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Analysis:

The renewal of diplomatic ties and the removal of Libya from state terror list did not come as a surprise. The surprise however was that it took this long for the Bush administration to move toward the final stages of normalization. While the administration may have been keen to end a quarter century quarrel with the North African nation, it had to deal with some resistance in Congress and elsewhere, which explains why it took so long to clear the way for the rapprochement.

While Libya needs Washington to speed up its entry into the world community, Washington needs Libya even more. Indeed in a global economy where petroleum is becoming an expensive and rare commodity subjected to intense competition from Europe, to Asia and the Americas, Washington could no longer ignore Libya. For Tripoli, diplomatic relations with Europe and Asia have long been restored. And as such, there is no shortage of foreign investors in a market where oil shortages instead are expected in the long run. Oil companies from Europe, Australia, China, Japan and dozens of other nations are more than eager to raise their profile in the centers of power in Libya and Tripoli knows that very well. US companies, although extremely important in the global supply chain could have lost enormous opportunities in what is going to be the next exploration frontier had Washington waited a little longer and failed to close the Libyan chapter once and for all. Oil lobbyists know that very well. In a market that calls for a \$70 barrel, Chinese and Europeans explorers are not waiting for Washington to clear a diplomatic hurdle. With this opening, Washington is now closer to Libya than ever and competitive on the oil front. Washington also needs to show progress on the international diplomatic front. With a tough time in Iraq, and no immediate solutions to the Iranian and North Korean nuclear confrontations, the Bush administration has to deliver some positive news. And Tripoli helped, in particular as the American people prepare for mid-term elections.

Finally, what may be “good news” for the American people, however, may not necessarily mean the same for the Libyan people. Sure they will see their domestic economy improve but the prospect of democracy will have to wait for another day.

Libya: Italy Pays Libya Reparations - Will Other Colonisers Follow?

The Nation (Nairobi): OPINION: 5 September 2008:

Peter Mwaura

Last week, Libya became the first African country to receive apologies and compensation from a former colonial power. Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi apologised to the North African country for the damage inflicted by Italy during 40 years of colonial rule and signed an agreement to pay \$5 billion as compensation. Will the Italian move set a precedent? Will the other former colonial masters in Africa be willing to pay reparations for the civil wrongs and human rights abuses they visited on their so-called subjects? Restitution must begin by saying you are sorry and acknowledging that

colonialism was a crime against humanity whose consequences are still with us. An apology is required from countries that benefited from colonialism.

Mr Berlusconi had no qualms about that. "It is my duty, as a head of government to express to you in the name of the Italian people our regret and apologies for the deep wounds that we have caused you," he told the Libyans. He even bowed before the son of Omar Mukhtar, the hero of Libyan resistance who was executed by the Italians for resisting their occupation. Can we expect, for example, that one day a British PM will bow before a descendant of Mau Mau hero Dedan Kimathi and say: "I'm sorry for all the deep wounds we have caused you"? Can we expect the British to acknowledge the massacre and devastation they caused during their punitive expeditions against the various Kenyan tribes when they first entered the country at the beginning of the 20th century?

Will they pay reparations? Or will they take the position of the Germans in Namibia (formerly German South West Africa)?

The German Schutztruppe -- imperial colonial troops -- systematically exterminated more than 100,000 Herero between 1904 and 1908 so that Germans could settle in their land. In 1985, the United Nations' Whitaker Report recognised Germany's attempt to exterminate the Herero as one of the earliest attempts at genocide. On August 16, 2004, the 100th anniversary of the start of the Herero genocide, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Germany's development aid minister, officially apologised for the first time. She expressed grief about the genocide committed by the Germans. "We Germans accept our historic and moral responsibility and the guilt incurred by Germans at that time," she said. She also admitted that the massacres were equivalent to genocide. But she ruled out paying reparations. Germany justified the refusal to pay up by declaring that it is Namibia's largest aid donor and has given more than \$1 billion (Sh67 billion).

Up till last week's Italian confession and penance, the former colonial powers had refused to acknowledge the legal and moral basis for reparations for the genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, human rights abuses and other international injustices they committed in Africa and whose consequences continue to haunt us.

Italy has indeed come a long way since 1911 when it invaded Libya. It is the same country, under fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, that 24 years after invading Libya also invaded Ethiopia. Both Ethiopia and Italy were members of the League of Nations (forerunner of the UN), but the league could not control Italy or protect Ethiopia. In that invasion, Italy also used phosgene, a colourless gas which gained infamy as a chemical weapon during World War I, and mustard gas -- both banned by international conventions. Will the next news be that Mr Berlusconi has paid reparations to the

Ethiopians for attacking them with poison gas?When Italy invaded Libya, much of the European thinking was that colonialism was legal. But the accompaniments of colonialism had certainly been outlawed by international conventions and international customary law.

Reparations for such crimes are recognised in international law. There are, in fact, many examples in recent history of reparations being paid.Germany paid reparations to the victims of the Holocaust and in 1952 reached agreement with Israel for the payment of \$222 million for the costs of resettling 500,000 Jews who had fled from Nazi-controlled countries.In 1990, Austria made payments totalling \$25 million to survivors of the Jewish holocaust. Japan recently made reparation payments to South Korea for acts committed during the invasion and occupation of the country by Japan.

Most recently, the UN Security Council passed a resolution requiring Iraq to pay reparations for invading Kuwait.

Mr Mwaura is the director of the East Africa School of Journalism. The views expressed here are his own and do not necessarily reflect those of the school