

## Police crush Zimbabwe election protest

**HARARE, NOV. 22.** Armed riot police crushed a protest by civil rights activists in Harare on Thursday minutes after they began a march towards Parliament.

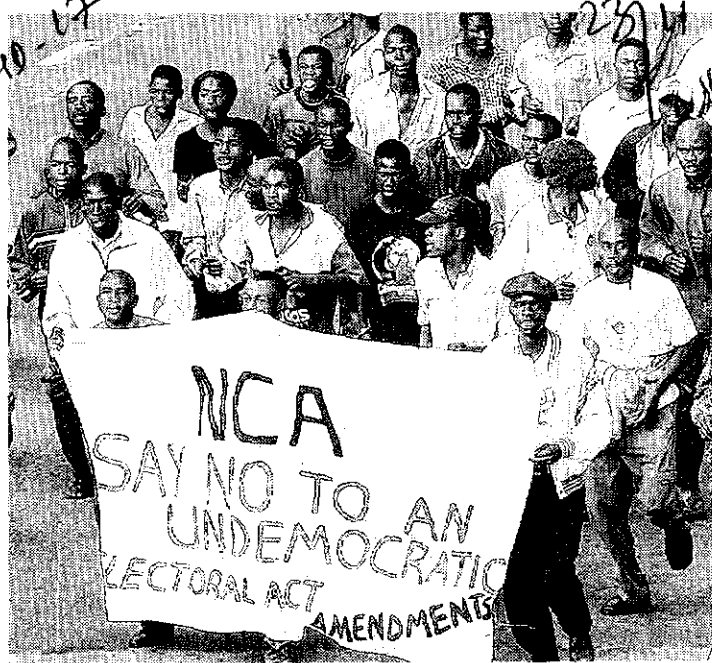
The police outnumbered about 100 nervous protesters, demonstrating against an amendment to Zimbabwe's Electoral Act which critics say will favour President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, in next year's election.

As the civil rights activists approached Parliament, chanting slogans about dictatorship and corruption, hundreds more who wanted to join the protest gathered in the city centre park. They too took cover as police swarmed over the city, maintaining patrols around roads leading to Parliament long after the protesters had fled.

Organisers of the march, the National Constitutional Assembly, said they did not apply for police permission to hold the demonstration because this infringed their civil rights.

On Tuesday, scores of so-called war veterans and government supporters demonstrated against the opposition Movement for Democratic Change outside Parliament.

Amendments to election laws will mean hundreds of thousands



**Pro-democracy activists stage a protest outside the Parliament building in Harare, Zimbabwe, on Wednesday. — AP**

of first-time voters who do not own property or have no legal proof of residence, will be disqualified.

Tens of thousands of farm workers, who lost their homes

and jobs when Mr. Mugabe's supporters forced them or their white employers off commercial farms in the past four months, will also be excluded from the voters' roll. — ©Telegraph Group Limited, London, 2001

23 NOV 2001

# Japan aid essential for South Africa: Mbeki

HT-11  
9/10

Tokyo, October 3

SOUTH AFRICAN President Thabo Mbeki said on Wednesday that Japanese assistance was essential for the recovery of Africa, even as Tokyo eyes a substantial cut in total aid from the fiscal year starting next April.

Mbeki, in Tokyo on a three-day official visit, told a news conference that talks with Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi reaffirmed Japan's emphasis on the importance of support for African development, conflict resolution and refugee aid. "That kind of focus and involvement of Japan is critical to the success of African recovery," he added.

Japan was the world's top donor of official development assistance (ODA) for the 10th straight year in 2000, but has already decided to target a 10 per cent cut in total aid for the fiscal year from April 2002 due to its huge public debt.

Mbeki said that while the topic of ODA cuts had not come up during his talks with Koizumi on Tuesday, it was likely to be an important subject for discussion at ministerial-level meetings of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in December. Mbeki has insisted on the importance of developmental issues during his Tokyo visit. He said that the inter-

national community must continue to focus on critical issues such as development even while it coordinates a response to the September 11 attacks on the United States. Noting "the world has spoken with one voice" in condemning the attacks, Mbeki added: "We...have to ensure that there is no possibility of these attacks creating negative consequences, whereby the development issues that we have been grappling with for decades are sidelined to the margins of the global agenda." Koizumi and Mbeki issued a joint communique in which they outlined bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 OCT 2001

# 100 killed in Nigeria clashes

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**DEUTSCHE PRESSE AGENTUR**

ABUJA, Sept. 10. — Bands of Christian and Muslim youths clashed for the fourth day today in the central Nigerian city of Jos, despite the presence of army troops.

Eyewitnesses said more than 100 people had been killed since the fighting erupted last Friday. Numerous buildings in the city of four million people were on fire.

Despite an overnight curfew gunshots were heard, reports said.

The clashes began last Friday when Muslims began praying at their mosques. Youths from both religions went on rampage, setting churches and mosques on fire.

Witnesses said some people were burnt alive on barricades that had been set up to block streets.

The soldiers, who were sent to the city on Saturday by President, Mr Olusegun Obasanjo, tried to bring the situation under control.

Mr Obasanjo called the religious violence "a national disgrace" and in a weekend radio broadcast appealed to religious and community leaders to seek peace.

Reports said tension had risen in Jos after a Muslim settler was appointed as coordinator of a poverty eradication programme by the local administration. Ethnic Jos inhabitants, particularly Christians, had protested the appointment of the Hausa settler as coordinator of the programme in their ethnic domain.

**THE STATESMAN**

1 1 SEP 2001

# Zimbabwe Opposition slams deal to end land crisis

Harare, September 8

ROBERT MUGABE'S opponents yesterday derided the "historic deal" between Britain and Zimbabwe to end the crisis over white-owned farms.

The main opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), said that the land invasions were only one aspect of a wider campaign of political violence engineered by Mugabe to enable him to hang on to power in next April's presidential election.

The MDC insisted that the murder and intimidation of its activists and supporters must be stamped out before the party would consider law and order to have been truly restored.

"It [the deal] is not going to solve anything and no one should be fooled by that," said Tendai Biti, the MDC's shadow foreign minister. "The international community should continue to bear pressure on the Harare regime, like the EU call for sanctions, like the American bill on Zimbabwe democracy. The most critical question in this country is the rule of law and an end to the [political] violence."

The reaction of the leader of the self-styled war veterans who are behind the occupations of white-owned farms, Joseph Chinotimba, was just as damning.

He said his followers would not leave the land they had seized. "Why should people have to move off farms? They are on farms that have been properly acquired and allocated. They have built permanent homes and structures. They should not have to move off the land," he said.

## Sanction sword over Harare

THE INTERNATIONAL community and, above all, the Commonwealth stands ready to take punitive measures against the Zimbabwe President, Robert Mugabe, if he reneges on an agreement on land reforms aimed at ending 18 months of violence.

The agreement was hammered out on Thursday in Abuja, Nigeria, between the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, the Zimbabwe Foreign Minister, Stan Mudenge, and African leaders led by the Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo.

The agreement was hammered out in Abuja, Nigeria, between Britain's foreign secretary, Jack Straw, the Zimbabwean foreign minister, Stan Mudenge, and African leaders led by Nigeria's president, Olusegun Obasanjo.

Some skeptics say Britain has played into Mugabe's hands by agreeing in the first paragraph of the deal that "land is at the core of the crisis in Zimbabwe". The farm invasions were merely a means by Mugabe to distract attention from the assault on his political opponents, they say.

There is also concern at the lack of a timetable for an end to the occupation of farms and a precise figure on the compensation Britain is offering.

Under the deal, the United Nations Development Programme will monitor Zimbabwe's adherence to the rule of law and freedom of the press. But the UNDP's office in Harare has been roundly criticised in the past for ignoring the abuse of human rights.

The deal was welcomed by white farmers in Zimbabwe, who described it as a landmark, but in private they harbour suspicions that Mugabe may not honour the promises. Opposition politicians have expressed scepticism and Mugabe has maintained an ominous silence.

Mudenge said yesterday the agreement paved the way for normalisation of ties with Britain: "It is a commitment by Zimbabwe, Britain and the international community to come to the aid of Zimbabwe in land resettlement." **The Guardian**

Three years ago, Mugabe made a similar deal with international aid donors in which he pledged to follow the rule of law and implement a gradual, sustainable land reform programme. Britain pledged £35m to pay for land redistribution, but Mugabe swiftly scrapped the deal and launched the farm invasions.

Even if the Zimbabwean government chooses to remove the militants from the farms, enforcement may prove to be a major obstacle, given the number of activists who have been recruited by the police.

**The Guardian**

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

9 SEP 2001

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# Squatters to leave white-owned farms

**ABUJA (NIGERIA), SEPT. 7.** Zimbabwe promised on Friday to abide by an internationally brokered land-reform plan that would grant "full and fair" compensation for white farmers, but denied any responsibility for the often-violent land occupations.

The southern African country committed to "restore the rule of law to the process of land reform," Nigeria's Foreign Ministry said in a communique released early Friday, after a day of crisis talks between Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth of Britain and its former dominions, including Zimbabwe.

Before flying home, the Zimbabwe Foreign Minister, Mr. Stan Mudenge told journalists on Friday that the deal meant satisfying white farmers' demands for "full and fair" compensation for land earmarked by government for redistribution to poor blacks. Under the accord, Britain and other countries agree to bear the cost of compensating white farmers. The United Nations Development Programme will work with the Zimbabwean Government to pursue "effective and sustainable land reform." "Believe you me, my friend, that is music in the ears of my white countrymen," Mr. Mudenge said.

In return, the deal commits Zimbabwe to ending occupation of white-owned farms. Illegal occupiers on farms that have not been "designated" for acquisition by the Government would be removed. A process will begin to provide land for landless blacks "who are on land that the Government does not intend to acquire," Mr. Mudenge said.



**BETTER DAYS AHEAD?:** A Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) worker and a veterinarian assistant tend to a traumatised farm dog at a shelter in Zimbabwe in this August 16 file photo. A rescue team is searching abandoned farms for pets which the owners didn't have time to take with them when they fled from rampaging mobs.

The accord also commits Zimbabwe to broader political reforms, including guaranteeing freedom of expression and pledging "to take firm action against violence and intimidation." Across Zimbabwe, ruling party mil-

itants have occupied more than 1,700 white-owned farms since March 2000, spurred by a government campaign to seize 4,600 farms owned by whites and give the land to blacks. The targeted farms make up about 95 per cent of the land owned by whites.

At least nine white farmers and dozens of Opposition supporters have died since June last year. But Mr. Mudenge denied his Government was responsible for the unrest, saying Zimbabwe was committed to "rule of law." He declined to say what new measures, if any, would be taken to end violence.

The talks saw African leaders — fearful that violence in Zimbabwe could spill across borders — add their condemnation for the first time to that of Britain and other nations over Zimbabwean President, Mr. Robert Mugabe's controversial land-redistribution programme. "Africa cannot afford another war, not least a racial war or one with racial undertones," the Nigerian Foreign Minister, Mr. Sule Lamido said at the session's opening.

The Nigerian President, Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo's role in the talks was said by other participants to have been pivotal.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Jack Straw stressed it had yet to be tested. "It is not for me to judge if this is a breakthrough," Mr. Straw said. "Ultimately what we have written on paper is not important...it depends on how events unfold (in Zimbabwe)." The talks came with Zimbabwe under increasing international pressure over the land seizures. — AP

THE HINDU

- 8 SEP 2001

## Cosatu times strike with racism meet

By M.S. Prabhakara 110-15

CAPE TOWN, AUGUST 15. A nation-wide two-day stay away (general strike) under the aegis of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), partner of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu tripartite alliance, is likely to coincide with the opening of the World Conference against Racism in Durban (31 August-7 September, 2001).

Though the stayaway is planned for August 29-30, its effects are bound to impact on the run-up to the Conference and indeed the Conference itself. Regional protest marches are planned for Thursday, including in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town where the marchers will converge on Parliament.

At issue is the long and bitterly debated issue of privatisation, euphemistically known as 'restructuring' of state owned assets. Topping the list are Eskom (power), Telkom (telecommunications), Transnet (transport) and Deneel (defence industry). All these are major employers.

The Government is committed to privatisation while the Cosatu and the SACP want the privatisation plans to be scrapped or at least radically modified. Cosatu is categorical in its opposition demanding at the very least a moratorium on the process while the SACP is rather more ambivalent. A submission to be made by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu to the NGO Forum preceding the Conference in which the links of racism and colonialism with capitalism and globalisation are explicitly recognised also reflects this ambivalence.

A crucial paragraph of the submission reads thus: "The current process of capitalist globalisation threatens to further entrench the unequal distribution of resources of the world, both between societies and within societies." The very next sentence however also underlines the ambiguities and equivocations in this opposition, reflecting the inner tensions within the tripartite alliance: "If approached correctly, however, the advent of a global economy and

globalised society provides a unique opportunity to address the inequities generated by our shared history".

Interestingly, two Ministers driving the privatisation process (Public Enterprises and Public Service) belong to the SACP stream in the alliance. The opposition of the SACP to the privatisation programme, while leading members of the party are driving the process, has led to some tensions though not to the breaking point.

A telling point in these dire prophesies, indeed the running theme of much what goes for public discourse in the media, is that any protest by the working class and the unions at a time when the "eyes of the world will be on South Africa" will surely send a wrong message to "international investors".

Curiously, these same voices are also highly critical of the very hosting of the Conference by South Africa on the ground that the whole exercise will be a "talk shop" and "waste of tax payers' money".

THE HINDU  
10 AUG 2001

# Burundi parties reach agreement

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JULY 28. Mr. Nelson Mandela, who is undergoing treatment for prostate cancer involving a daily session of radiotherapy, did not take part in the Burundi peace talks, currently going on in Pretoria.

The Burundi peace process, of which Mr. Mandela is both the facilitator and mediator, resumed in Pretoria on Thursday with Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President, standing in for Mr. Mandela. According to Mr. Mandela's spokesperson, Ms. Zelda la Grange, Mr. Mandela was too exhausted after receiving the radiotherapy treatment.

Mr. Mandela also did not take part in a function at the Gold Reef City complex in Johannesburg where he was to receive an award from King Goodwill Zwelithini on Wednesday. He is not expected to have any public engagements during the daily radiotherapy treatment, scheduled to go on for about seven weeks.

The announcement about Mr. Mandela's prostate cancer was made on Tuesday, after Mr. Mandela's return from Arusha late on the night of July 23, where he was in attendance at yet another regional summit on the prolonged peace process.

The summit formally adopted

the agreement facilitated by Mr. Mandela during earlier meetings in Pretoria and at the OAU summit in Lusaka. This agreement provides for a transitional government involving all the 19 parties involved in the peace process that is, the present Government of Burundi, the present National Assembly and the 17 political parties comprising the so-called G-10 family (10 pro-Tutsi parties) and the G-7 family (seven pro-Hutu parties).

Interestingly, this accord was clinched even as there was an attempted coup, blamed by the Government on sections of the disaffected Tutsi dominated armed forces, unhappy over the prospect of sharing power during the transitional arrangement.

The interim leadership of this transitional government would be headed for the first half of its envisaged three-year term by the present President of Burundi, Mr. Pierre Buyoya (a Tutsi leader), with Mr. Domitien Ndayizeye, the Secretary-General of the Front for Democracy in Burundi (Frodebu), the main Hutu party, serving as his Vice-President.

The specific details of the arrangement for the second half of the term of this transitional government has not been, naturally, spelled out except that the President would be from a Hutu party

and the Vice-President drawn from a Tutsi party.

However, as has been the case consistently at every announcement of a breakthrough in the Burundi peace process, the two main rebel groups, the Council for National Defence and Democracy (CNDD), which broke away from Frodebu, and its armed front, Forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD), are still keeping themselves away from such arrangements, insisting that any agreement on a future government has to be preceded by a ceasefire. According to a spokesperson for the CNDD-FDD, the latest outcome in Arusha had changed nothing.

The problem in Burundi is that any political arrangement that does not reflect the demographic reality, which is that the overwhelming majority of the people consider themselves Hutus, cannot even begin to work, howsoever much it is admired and commended by the international community.

This has been the situation ever since the assassination of the country's first democratically elected President, Melchior Ndadaye, of Frodebu, on October 21, 1993, along with six other Frodebu leaders, in an attempted coup by the Tutsi dominated armed forces.

THE HINDU

29 JUL 2001

## Annun seeks more global support for Africa

**GENEVA, JULY 17.** African leaders, who are trying to tackle the continent's problems themselves, deserve more support from the international community, Mr. Kofi Annan, Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, said on Monday.

"Africans are now much less disposed to blame all their troubles on outsiders and more determined to take responsibility for their own future," Mr. Annan told a meeting of the U.N. Economic and Social Council. Having attended three summits in Africa this year — the most recent last week in Lusaka, Zambia — Mr. Annan believed regional leaders were "getting more serious about putting an end to the conflicts on their continent, about improving their governance and reforming their economies."

He said he wanted to see more international support for African-led solutions to the problems facing the continent — ranging from HIV/AIDS to low economic growth. Mr. Annan, a Ghanaian, said industrialised countries

should not allow fears of a looming global economic crisis to distract them from the need to help poor nations.

He said he welcomed a decision by the European Union to grant developing countries duty-free access to the E.U. market. But the rich should do even more to open their markets to imports from the developing world, and ensure that global trade rules gave pri-

ority to the interests of the poor, he said.

Mr. Annan called on rich nations to slash the subsidies they pay to farmers, which currently amount to \$1 billion a day. Subsidies lowered world agricultural prices, cutting farm incomes and hurting poor growers in Africa, he said. Rich nations should also give developing countries more debt relief, he said, to end the "abstrd

and unjust situation where there is a net transfer of resources from poorer to richer countries."

Better market access also should be high on the agenda of the meeting of the G-8 — the world's most industrialised nations — in Genoa, Italy later this week, said Mr. Annan. The G-8 comprises Italy, France, Germany, Britain, the United States, Canada, Japan and Russia. — AP



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## Gadhafi backs Mugabe's 'whites out' call

**LONDON, JULY 15.** The Libyan leader, Col Muammar Gadhafi, offered aid and comfort to Zimbabwe's increasingly isolated regime and demanded the expulsion of white "colonisers" from Africa.

Mr. Gadhafi had attended a summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Lusaka, the Zambian capital, where he outlined his vision of a united Africa. He then drove to Harare to visit Mr. Mugabe.

During his journey he stopped in Karoi, a town surrounded by white-owned farms, most of which have been occupied by squatters.

He told a crowd that whites should pay compensation for colonising Africa. "We want them to pay," he said. "Europe must not deny us payment and compensation."

After reaching the town of Chinhoyi, where the entire local economy is dependent on the nearby white-owned farms, Mr Gadhafi declared that all whites must leave Africa. "Everyone who came as a coloniser must go back where he came from," he said.

Throughout his progress through Zimbabwe, Mr. Gadhafi was greeted by carefully regimented crowds of supporters of Mr. Mugabe's Zanu-PF party.

When he reached Harare, crowds lined the streets and the official press hailed the visit of "Comrade" Gadhafi.

Mr. Mugabe's overriding objective when he met his Libyan counterpart on Friday was to secure emergency fuel supplies to ease the shortage that has paralysed Zimbabwe since December 1999. — Telegraph Group Limited, London, 2001

THE NEWS

10-11-11

# Unity can erase poverty: OAU

LUSAKA (ZAMBIA), JULY 11. Leaders from across Africa expressed optimism on Wednesday that continentwide cooperation could lift their countries out of the plague of poverty.

The leaders spoke at the final summit of the Organisation of African Unity, which is being replaced by the African Union, envisioned as a stronger, closer-knit grouping.

The Union's charter calls for the creation of an African central bank, a court of justice, a single currency and a parliament.

Regional economic groups, such as the Southern African Development Community and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, or COMESA, would function as building blocks for the new Union, leaders of the two groups told journalists on Wednesday, the final day of the three-day summit.

"This region has to grow by at least 7 per cent if we are serious about making a dent in poverty and if we are serious in addressing issues of malnutrition (and) sustainable development," said Mr. Prega Ramsamy, executive secretary of the Southern African Development Community. Many African countries have growth rates well below half that, he said.

Mr. Ramsamy and Mr. Erastus Mwencha, head of COMESA, said they had resolved to cooperate even closer.

Meanwhile, about 40 heads of state continued a closed-door meeting that was to create the institutions of the African Union and a commission to protect children's rights and to look at two plans for lifting Africa out of poverty.

The leaders were also discussing the conflicts plaguing the continent. The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, who attended the summit, held several meetings on Congo's 3-year-old civil war.

On Wednesday, the former Botswana President, Mr. Ketumile Masire, who is the leader of



The African Union Secretary-General, Mr. Amara Essy of Ivory Coast, arrives in Lusaka to attend the second day of the OAU summit on Wednesday. — AFP

planned discussions between different Congolese groups, said so much work remained that a preparatory meeting had to be postponed from July 16 to August 20.

Many analysts remain skeptical that the Union, first proposed in 1999 by the Libyan leader, Muammar Gadhafi, will bring real change to the world's poorest continent. They doubt African countries will be willing or able to contribute the money and resources necessary for an effective Union.

During the conference, the heads of state elected the former Ivory Coast Foreign Minister, Mr. Amara Essy, as its leader during its yearlong transformation.

## Fringe meetings

Earlier, a flurry of meetings were held to shore up efforts to secure peace in Congo, where a 3-year war has destabilized much of central Africa.

The Ugandan President, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, met Mr. Annan. The Congolese President, Mr. Jo-

seph Kabila, met the South Africa's Mr. Thabo Mbeki, while Zimbabwe's President, Mr. Robert Mugabe paced slowly on the corridor outside, waiting for his turn to talk with his military ally.

"President Mbeki encouraged our President to stick to the path of peace," said Mr. Mwenze Kongo Congo's Security Minister, after the meetings.

The Congo war erupted in August 1998 when Rwanda, Uganda and their Congolese rebel allies took up arms against then-President, Laurent Kabila. Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia poured troops and military hardware into Congo to support Kabila.

The 1999 Lusaka cease-fire accord was repeatedly violated but gained momentum following Laurent Kabila's assassination on January 16 and the ascension of his son, Joseph, as his successor.

Most of the countries have withdrawn their forces from front lines, and about 3,500 U.N. troops have been deployed around two government-held and two-rebel held towns to guard installations and equipment used by unarmed observers monitoring the cease-fire.

During their meeting on Tuesday, Mr. Annan pressed Mr. Museveni to persuade Ugandan-backed rebels to pull back from a front line in central Congo as required by the cease-fire agreement.

The rebels have refused to pull back, demanding the U.N. provide humanitarian assistance to civilians moving with the rebels. They are also demanding they be allowed to run civilian administrations in areas their forces leave.

After the meeting, Mr. Museveni said the discussion did not resolve any issues and that problems in implementing the cease-fire agreement would be addressed later at a regional meeting of heads of state. "These matters do not involve only two people. These are not issues of Kofi Annan and Mr. Museveni." — AP

# Work together to beat poverty: Annan

**LUSAKA (ZAMBIA), JULY 9.** The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, told African leaders on Monday they needed courage and leadership to rebuild the continent, a task he compared to Europe's reconstruction after the devastation of the two World Wars.

In the text of a speech to be delivered at the opening session of the last Organization of African Unity summit, Mr. Annan urged African leaders to shake off their deep divisions and work together to overcome the poverty, wars and health crises that plague the

continent. The three-day summit that opened on Monday signals the end of the 38-year-old OAU and the beginning of a yearlong transition into the African Union, envisioned as a far stronger and tighter body.

Plans for the Union, loosely modelled on the European Union, include an African central bank, a court of justice, a single currency and a parliament. The Union was first proposed in 1999 by the Libyan leader, Muamar Gadhafi.

The transition will challenge all African leaders, Mr. Annan said.

"This historic effort will require leadership, courage and a willingness to depart from the ways of the past, if it is to do for Africa what the European Union has done for Europe," Mr. Annan said in his prepared text.

"That, Excellencies, should be our aim — to rebuild, as Europe did, after a series of devastating wars, uniting across old divisions to build a continent characterised by peace, cooperation, economic progress and the rule of law." Africa also "must reject the ways of the past, and commit itself to building a future of democratic

governance subject to the rule of law," he said. "Such a future is within our reach, I am convinced. But only on one condition: that we end Africa's conflicts, without which no amount of aid or trade, assistance or advice, will make the difference."

The OAU Secretary-General, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, said the proposed African Union would create "an enhanced form of cooperation and integration" necessary to meet the new challenges of a changing continent and a changing world. "This should be a turning point for our continent and our people," said Mr. Salim on Monday. However, he warned that commitment was meaningless without action.

The African Union would require far more funding and resources than the OAU had, and it remained unclear how that money was to be raised.

Many analysts questioned whether the new body would ever reach the lofty goals set out in its charter.

Earlier Monday the leaders of six African nations met Mr. Annan and the UNAIDS head, Mr. Peter Piot, to discuss efforts to fight the AIDS pandemic racing across Africa and to officially launch the Leadership AIDS Watch for Africa.

The group comprised the Nigerian President, Mr. Olusegun Obasanjo, the Rwandan President, Mr. Paul Kagame, the Malian President, Mr. Alpha Oumar Konare, the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Mr. Meles Zenawi, the Kenyan President, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi and the Botswanan President, Mr. Festus Mogae. — AP, Reuters



The former South African President, Mr. Nelson Mandela (second right) flanked by the Burundian President, Mr. Pierre Boyaya (left), the Kenyan President, Mr. Daniel Arap Moi (second left) and the Libyan leader, Mr. Muamar Gadhafi (right) addresses the media in Lusaka on Sunday. Rival political groups in Burundi have agreed to split the presidency of the central African country during a three-year transition period, Mr. Mandela, who is the chief peace mediator, announced. — AFP

THE HINDU

10 JUL 2000

# Is Mugabe heading the Milosovic way?

Johannesburg, July 8

ROBERT MUGABE'S opponents longingly eye the pictures of Slobodan Milosevic incarcerated at the Hague. Here is a man who just a year ago was as powerful as their own President, and even more feared.

If he could be deposed and called to account for his crimes then Mugabe's days must be numbered, they argue.

The Movement for Democratic Change, which a year ago predicted the Zimbabwe President's imminent demise after it won almost half the vote in parliamentary elections, now says it is waiting for "the people" to lead the way.

But those of the people who want to get rid of Mugabe, appear increasingly frustrated and bewildered at the lack of a strategy to unseat the ruler of more than two decades.

It is not as if there is a shortage of reasons to confront the Government.

Prices are spiralling, the economy is contracting and jobs are disappearing even faster than the emigrants are leaving.

The Government has almost no foreign currency, even for essential imports, and a food crisis looms, thanks to the disruption caused by the occupation of white-owned farms by the "war veterans".

The finance minister, Simba

Makoni, this week said the Government has begun asking for foreign food aid. "I hope, notwithstanding factors influencing our relations with international donors, where human lives are affected we can find common cause," he pleaded.

The UN food agency says the land seizures will leave Zimbabwe short of 600,000 tonnes of wheat and maize in the next six months.

Yet the opposition is less certain how to confront Mugabe than ever.

It has abandoned any immediate prospect of calling street protests for fear of bloodshed after the military and security police warned that any demonstrations would lead to a bloody crackdown, a state of emergency and the detention of opposition leaders.

Instead, the MDC hopes to ride a wave of spontaneous public revolt. But if, when and how that will come is unclear.

Food shortages would probably galvanise public anger into action, as would a complete collapse of the economy. And then there is the presidential election, due within the year, which Mugabe may well have a hard time winning without fraud or massive intimidation.

This week's two-day general strike was indicative of just how far Mugabe has outmanoeuvred his opponents.

Reuters

# Milosevic trial engineered: Chinese army

Beijing, July 8

CHINA'S MILITARY on Sunday accused the United States and Britain of engineering former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic's war crimes trial to clear the way for Nato's eastward expansion.

Although China is obligated to respect the UN tribunal, Britain and the US have used the court to further their political aims, the People's Liberation Army Daily said in an editorial.

"Right now, the US, Britain and other Western countries claim they are trying Milosevic to uphold international justice. This arises from their need to gain world opinion and the diplomatic upper hand," the editorial said.

China's communist leaders condemned the air war carried out by Nato against Yugoslavia in 1999 to force an end to crackdowns on Muslims in Kosovo. Beijing feared that the action might set a precedent for international intervention in China's restive Tibet and Xinjiang regions. Their opposition hardened when Nato planes bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, sparking mob attacks on US diplomatic missions in China. China never accepted Nato's explanation that the attack was a mistake caused by faulty targeting. Beijing was silent when Milosevic was driven from power last October and was quiet again on June 28 when he was sent to The Hague.

AP

THE HONG KONG TIMES

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*Africa* Zimbabwe  
opposition appeals  
for food aid

JOHANNESBURG, JULY 7. Food aid for Zimbabwe should be channelled through international humanitarian agencies rather than the Government, the country's opposition said on Friday. It made its appeal after the President, Mr. Robert Mugabe's Government finally admitted shortages. Aid should not be entrusted to the Government because it would use it for political purposes, the Movement for Democratic Change said.

It said Mr. Mugabe's ruling Zanu-PF party had repeatedly claimed that it was providing resources that had, in fact, come from external sources.

Zimbabwe has consistently denied that there is a shortage of food, despite considerable damage caused to agricultural production by the forced occupation of white-owned farms. The first admission was made by Mr. Simba Makoni, the Finance Minister, who said there would be a serious shortfall of about 600,000 tonnes of maize this year.

Normally, Zimbabwe is self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs. "That there will be shortages in national food production is confirmed," he said. "The uncertainty is the magnitude."

Agriculture officials said almost all the country's 6,000 white-owned farms had now been listed for nationalisation. The nationalisation of farms has caused great damage to the economy, as the white-owned farms are among the most successful. In almost all cases, their efficiency has tended to fall away after takeovers. —

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THE HINDU

JUL 2001

# Landgrab sets firmament afire

HO-16

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JULY 5. The "land invasion" launched by thousands of dispossessed and landless persons in the Kempton Park area, on prime urban land close to the Johannesburg International Airport, with the support and encouragement of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), brings to the fore the fraught issue of landlessness and homelessness in South Africa.

The situation also has the potential for getting out of hand and indeed spreading to other parts of the country.

The PAC has indeed promised to launch similar initiatives. Already, about 300 squatters have been arrested.

Over the past few days, local PAC officials have been 'selling' sites on this land, owned by the Gauteng provincial government, state owned parastatals and part private citizens, to landless and homeless persons some of whom had been 'illegally' squatting on the land (who also happen to be PAC supporters), at a mere rand 25 per site.

Tens of thousands of people have 'bought' the sites over the past few days. Some of them have already built makeshift homes there.

The PAC leaders, however, maintain that the money has been collected to challenge a possible appeal to the courts by the owners seeking eviction of the squatters.

The Government's urgent application for a

court interdict against the squatters, which would enable it to evict them, was postponed this morning for a hearing tomorrow, to enable the representatives of the squatters to present their arguments.

The initiative by the PAC has been denounced by the Ministers for Agriculture and Land Affairs, Ms. Thoko Didiza, the Minister for Housing,

Ms. Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele and the Minister for Safety and Security, Mr. Steve Tshwete, as well as by the major political parties, including the African National Congress and the Democratic Alliance.

In a strongly-worded statement, the ANC has condemned the PAC for "exploiting the plight of homeless people of Ekurhuleni by selling them land they do not own".

Describing the PAC leaders as "opportunists who never hesitate to fish in troubled waters to score cheap political points", the ANC statement accused them of 'theft' (for 'selling' land that did not belong to them) and of 'sedition' (for creating an "unnecessary confrontation between the misled community and the Government, which owns the land").

Such indignation is understandable, given the bad odour that the 'land invasions' in neighbouring Zimbabwe has acquired.

Indeed, underlying the very strong criticism of the President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, for not being sufficiently outspoken in his crit-

icism of the "land invasions" there and the near-unanimous projection in the South African media of the Zimbabwean President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, as 'mad Bob' is the all too obvious fear that the developments in Zimbabwe are only the precursor of similar, even more devastating, developments in this country, affecting the much larger and far more powerful white farming community.

Further, such 'anarchy' threatening political stability and harmonious race relations is seen as a disincentive to potential foreign investment, only which, in the government's perspective, will ensure growth and employment.

The PAC leaders however are unrepentant. The party which has only three members in Parliament is ever in need of populist issues to heighten its profile.

It knows that it has touched an extremely sensitive and emotive issue which affects the overwhelming majority of African people.

According to the PAC, the theft and dispossession of land belonging to Africans began on April 6, 1652, the date assigned to the very first arrival of European settlers in this part of Africa.

Its 1999 election manifesto seeks an amendment to the Constitution enshrining "the right of individuals or groups to seek restitution of their land which they lost either through colonial conquest, fraud or discriminatory laws from 1652 to the present day".

Africa  
AD-17 38/5

# Referendum on statute in breakaway Somaliland

By M. S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, MAY 30. A controversial referendum is taking place on Thursday in the 'Republic of Somaliland', the territory in the north of Somalia which under colonial rule was known as British Somaliland and which broke away from Somalia in May 1991 declaring itself an independent country, seeking endorsement of a 'Draft Somaliland Constitution'.

The exercise has not received any support from any international structure like the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity. Even Ethiopia, which has cosy relations with Somaliland, has not come out openly in support of the referendum. The Transitional National Government of Somalia (TNG) based in Mogadishu has condemned the exercise as a "violation of international and national law", with the aim of "legitimising the secession of the north from Somalia".

However, despite the lack of international support, and the repeated calls by the TNG for abandoning the exercise, there is little doubt that the referendum, which has been in preparation for nearly a year, will take place on Thursday. Indeed, in a letter addressed to the President of the U.N. Security Council in January this year, Mr. Mohammed Egal, the veteran Somali politician and the last democratically elected Prime Minister of Somalia and now President of Somaliland, took exception to the formulations in the U.N. Secretary General's report to the Security Council

on Somalia, including what he described as its errors and inaccuracies about his alleged opposition to the formation of the new Interim Government in Somalia. "Any discussions between the Republic of Somaliland and the 'Transitional National Government' on future relations can only proceed with prior, unconditional acceptance by the 'Transitional National Government' of the Republic of Somaliland", Mr. Egal declared.

The 'Republic of Somaliland' was one of the three colonised areas on the so-called Horn of Africa, inhabited by the Somali people. The other two colonial powers, France and Italy, occupied French Somaliland (now Djibouti) and Italian Somaliland (the rest of Somalia). The Somali people, with few ethnic, religious or linguistic divisions, have always striven for the unity and consolidation of the areas inhabited by them in the form of a unified Somali State, comprising all these admittedly Somali territories as well as Somali inhabited areas in Ethiopia and Kenya.

However, the prospects for such a Greater Somalia look dimmer than ever, especially since the very viability of Somalia as a nation state has become problematic in the last decade. Somalia failed to secure the integration of French Somaliland (Djibouti) into its territory; and now another part of its territory, still viewed by Somalia as an integral part of the country, is poised to take yet another step in its apparently irreversible path to securing international recognition as a sovereign nation.

A crucial actor in these developments is Ethiopia from which Somaliland has received considerable help in its quest for legitimacy. Ever mindful of the claims of Somali irredentism on its own territory, and with over three million of its Somali citizens indistinguishable from the Somalis across the border, Ethiopia sees in an eventual sovereign Somaliland a useful buffer against Somalia. A friendly Somaliland would also provide access to the sea, a crucial consideration for landlocked Ethiopia.

Recent initiatives taken in this regard are the visits of ministerial delegations to Hargeisa and Addis Ababa, and the start recently of regular commercial flights between the two capitals. Describing Ethiopia as its "main trading partner" in a recent interview to the U.N. Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN), the Finance Minister of Somaliland, Mr. Mohammed Said Mohammed, said: "With Ethiopia our borders are very peaceful. You can drive from here to Addis Ababa — it is very normal, with no check points. People can take their own cars from Berbera to Addis Ababa, to Djibouti and back to Somaliland." However, he also added: "If you go to Jijiga and Dire Dawa, all those small towns there, you see you are still in parts of Somaliland".

As always, such moves to secure dismemberment of a neighbouring country turn out to be a two-edged weapon.

THE HINDU

# A defining moment in S. Africa's history

MS/6 By M. S. Prabhakara 10-15

CAPE TOWN, JUNE 25. On this day, 46 years ago, the Congress of the People, a gathering of 2,884 delegates drawn from all sections of South African society, began a two-day meeting at Kliptown near Johannesburg. The initiative for the congress was taken by the African National Congress, which was joined by the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats.

The four organisations broadly represented all the racial groups of South Africa, the Africans, the people of Indian origin, the Coloureds and the Whites. The organisations were also united in their opposition to the apartheid regime and their commitment to a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

At the end of two days of deliberations, marked by active participation by the delegates, the Congress adopted the Freedom Charter on June 26, 1995. That day came to be celebrated annually as Freedom Day by the ANC and all democratic South Africans, in exile or in prison or fighting in the trenches within the country, though this is no more the case since the advent of democracy. The 10-point charter became the policy document of the

ANC the following year, and remained the defining document of the South African revolution.

The charter declared: The people shall govern; All national groups shall have equal rights; The people shall share in the country's wealth; The land shall be shared among those who work it; All shall be equal before the law; All shall enjoy human rights; There shall be work and security; The doors of learning and culture shall be opened; There shall be houses, security and comfort; There shall be peace and friendship.

The directness, simplicity and eloquence of these formulations, in particular the opening formulation in the Preamble — "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white" — has inspired and will continue to inspire generations of South Africans. These ideas, and their amplifications in the relevant paragraphs, have profoundly influenced the crafting of democratic South Africa's Constitution, with its unequivocal commitment to human and democratic rights. In the words of the President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, "The Freedom Charter is not merely an historical document; it remains still an important guide about the direction in which we should take our country". (ANC Today, June 22, 2001).

However, the actual policies of the democratic Government in practice have, either by choice or because of circumstances and compulsions beyond its control, not always remained true to the commitments and promises made in the charter. This is not surprising, for such is the case with even the most inspiring and scientifically crafted of manifestos envisaging a whole new world, not to speak of a new South Africa.

Democratic South Africa has also stopped observing June 26 as Freedom Day which is now officially observed on April 27, the anniversary of the day on which in 1994 all adult South Africans voted for the first time in a democratic election. Strictly speaking, April 27 should have found official recognition as "Independence Day", marking the transition from colonial bondage to freedom and political independence.

Perhaps, given the ambiguous way in which the transition was negotiated, with no clear-cut "winners and losers", such demarcation between the past and future was not possible. Nevertheless, the differing perceptions of the past, present and future of South Africa underlying these concepts, as indeed the positing of the concepts of "Freedom" and "Independence", continue to be in contestation.

THE HINDU

20 JUN 2001



# Winnie hits back at Mbeki Govt.

By M. S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JUNE 24. The incident involving the South African President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, and Ms. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, during the Youth Day rally at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto on June 16, simply refuses to go away.

In her own first public statement on the incident, broadcast in a SABC newscast on Saturday night, Ms Madikizela-Mandela denied that she was trying to hug and kiss Mr. Mbeki. She only wanted to ask for some time to see him. "When I bent down to speak to the President, I was actually going to say to him, can I see him after he has delivered his speech, that's all. I was not bending down to kiss and hug him as the media has been saying".

However, she did not blame the media for its take on the incident "because I am normally warm to my colleagues, I am that sort of person".

More significantly, she spoke of her unhappiness about the lack of performance by the Government. Underlining her support base, she said: "You have no idea how it pains me when I go to the squatter camps and I find them worse than they were when I told them to vote the ANC and vote for a better life, situating the criticism in the context of the commitments made in the Freedom Charter."

This is truly a hit, a palpable hit, one might say. The Charter, a defining document in the evolution of the ANC from its original petitionist character pleading for re-

dress of grievances of Africans into a revolutionary organisation committed to seize state power in the name of All the People of South Africa, was adopted at a Congress of the People which met after a long countrywide preparation and mobilisation at Klip town, Johannesburg, on June 16, 1955.

The simplicity, directness and eloquence of the document, which begins with the profoundly moving formulation, South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, has never been surpassed in any other ANC document.

Though the economic policies of the ANC Government have by and large bypassed those articles of the Charter dealing, admittedly in the form of very general formu-

lations, with the economy, the document itself continues to be acknowledged as guiding the South African revolution, an important guide about the direction in which we should all take our country, in the words of Mr. Mbeki in his weekly Letter from the ANC President in the latest issue of ANC's online weekly journal, *ANC Today*.

Indeed, the journal which has been appearing without a break since it was launched 22 issues ago, despite prophecies to the contrary, has been carrying over the past few weeks articles on the various clauses of the Charter, with the weekly "Letter from the ANC President" in the latest issue devoted entirely to the Charter's forthcoming 46th anniversary.

THE HINDU

24 JUN 2004

## Winnie's behaviour was wrong: Mbeki

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JUNE 23. Speaking for the first time about the very public brush-off he gave to Ms. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela at the commemorative Youth Day rally in Orlando Stadium in Soweto on June 16, the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Soweto uprising, the President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki accused the senior ANC leader and president of the ANC women's league of disruptive and disrespectful behaviour on what was a State occasion, not an ANC occasion. He also disclosed that Ms. Madikizela-Mandela had defied his orders not to come on the podium but instead take her seat with other dignitaries in front of the stage.

In that incident, Ms. Madikizela-Mandela who made a late entrance to welcoming ululating cries of her supporters, went up the podium and tried to greet Mr. Mbeki with a hug and a kiss. This was rudely rebuffed by Mr. Mbeki who pushed her away and in the process knocked her cap off. The whole incident was captured live on national television. The incident continues to be debated. It even figured during the debate on the budget vote of the Presidency on Thursday.

Mr. Mbeki addressed the issue for the first time in public at the very end of a one hour Q&A programme broadcast by the SABC nationally over radio and T.V. yesterday evening. The questions, sent in by listeners and viewers, dealt with various aspects of economy, government, service delivery, the crime situation, etc., and were supplemented by follow-ups by the two anchors.

The very last question asked by one of the anchors, summing up numerous questions on the same subject by the listeners and viewers, dealt with the contretemps on Youth Day. In response, Mr. Mbeki said: "It was incorrect for anybody to arrive late and arrive in the manner that happened, because that was obviously going to be disruptive. I do not approve and I am not going to approve of behaviour that shows complete disrespect for anything and everything. It is not right. The disrespect shown for that occasion was not good. I clearly would have wanted to avoid interaction with her. But she comes on stage when I say she should not and then she marches up to me. We were listening to the chairperson of the National Youth Commission, and now I must stand up and be kissing and cuddling on a State occasion. It's wrong, it's wrong. It would never happen in any other country."

Despite such categorical admonition in words, amplifying the physical brush-off, the incident is not going to go away. The general secretary of the South African National Civic Organisation, a vital ally in electoral battles, has expressed concern at the ANC statement accusing Ms. Madikizela-Mandela of trying to enjoin the President into her tomfoolery. Mr. Mbeki, the statement said, was only protecting himself from this caper.

This is not the first time that Ms. Madikizela-Man

deli has drawn the ire of the ANC leadership. However, such reaction has always been tempered by an awareness of her undoubted mass appeal, in particular among the African poor as well as women. Ms. Madikizela-Mandela herself has frequently spoken of this support. For instance, during the last National Conference of the ANCWL in Rustenburg in April 1997, there were attempts by the ANC leadership to secure the election of a political rival of hers within the ANC Women's League as president of the League. To no avail, for Ms. Madikizela-Mandela won a decisive victory. In her fiery acceptance speech on that occasion, she took several swipes at the ANC Government, rubbing in the fact that persons within the ANC had tried to oust her without success.

Describing her re-election as an amazing vote of confidence, she mocked the media campaign against her fed by her opponents within the organisation as "a pathetic attempt calculated to damage my election today." In the process, she drew a pointed contrast between "the three per cent accessibility that the media had with the 8.5 million of my people in the squatter camps who cannot afford your costly newspapers, radios and T.V."

## Nuns found guilty in Rwandan genocide trial

BRUSSELS, JUNE 8. A Belgian court today found two Rwandan Roman Catholic nuns guilty of helping Hutu militia massacre thousands of Tutsi refugees in Rwanda's 1994 genocide.

In a landmark ruling — the first time a civilian jury in one country has judged suspected war criminals from another country — the jury of seven men and five women also found a former Rwandan Minister and a businessman guilty of war crimes. The four were accused of aiding Hutu extremists butcher and burn over 5,000 Tutsi refugees who had sheltered in a convent to flee the ethnic violence in Rwanda seven years ago.

The two nuns, one a former Mother Superior at the Suvo Benedictine convent near Butare in the south of the small central African State, provided cans of petrol

to the killers who torched buildings housing the refugees. Sister Gertrude, 42, tried under her full civil name of Consolata Mukangango, forced refugees to leave her convent and go to a nearby health centre. There they were massacred by Hutu militia using machetes, guns and grenades.

Sister Gertrude and Sister Maria Kisito (Julienne Mukabutera), 36, also provided cans of petrol to killers who torched a garage sheltering some 500 refugees. Vincent Ntezimana, 39, a former university Physics professor, and Alphonse Higaniro, 52, a businessman and former Rwandan Transport Minister, collaborated with Hutu radicals during the three-month slaughter in which an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed.

Prosecutors said Ntezimana had drawn up a list of Tutsi families trying to escape from Butare, knowing the list would be used by Hutu extremists to hunt them down. Higaniro was found guilty of ordering the death of a Tutsi family of eight. Several countries, including Canada, and human rights groups, watched the trial closely as a test case for future action to deter war criminals from seeking sanctuary abroad.

In 1993, Belgium, the former colonial power in Rwanda, gave its courts universal jurisdiction over war criminals, whatever their nationality and wherever the crimes were committed. Up to one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus may have been exterminated during the three-month carnage. — Reuters.

110-17 TRC to submit final report in Dec. 6/6

By M. S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JUNE 5. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), in a state of suspended animation since it submitted its Interim Report to the then President, Mr. Nelson Mandela in October 1998, has revived itself.

The revival of the TRC comes in the wake of a proclamation from the President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, recently dissolving the Amnesty Committee of the TRC with effect from May 31 on the completion of its work.

The Presidential proclamation also sets December 31, 2001, for the final dissolution of the TRC itself.

In the following seven months before it is finally dissolved, the revived TRC will attend to the task of compiling two more volumes of its report which, together with the earlier five volumes released in October 1998, will constitute its final report.

Of these two forthcoming volumes, according to a TRC media release, Volume VI will contain summaries concerning the circumstances of each victim identified through the TRC process as a whole; and Volume VII will contain the reports of the Amnesty Committee and an account of the activities relating to Human Rights Violations and Reparations, subsequent to the submission of the Interim

Report of the TRC in October 1998.

It will also include any further issue which the TRC may wish to deal with in amplification of its October 1998 report, in the light of the other reports referred to.

With the impending conclusion of the whole TRC process, the Government is expected to take a final decision on the issue of payment of reparations to identified victims of human rights violations.

The TRC went into a state of suspension following the submission of its report in five volumes to Mr. Mandela, on October 29, 1998. However, the Amnesty Committee of the TRC, one of the three statutory Committees of the TRC, continued its labours.

At the time of the submission of the Interim Report in October 1998, the Amnesty Committee had disposed of 5,000 of the amnesty applications of the 7,127 the TRC had received. According to the latest consolidated figures (as of 1 November 2000), the Amnesty Committee had granted amnesty in respect of 849 applications while refusing amnesty in respect of 5,392 applications.

The Amnesty Committee recently finalised hearing of all the pending amnesty applications and is currently in the process of finalising the decisions and other outstanding matters.

One of the last major decisions taken by the Amnesty Committee was to deny amnesty to the notorious apartheid assassin, Eugene de Kock, currently serving two life sentences (and other penalties) of various charges of murder, torture and fraud, for the killing in 1992 of five men and the blowing up by explosives of one of the dead bodies — one of the crimes for which he received a life sentence.

Though the Committee had granted amnesty to De Kock in respect of all his earlier applications relating to 54 other crimes, including 12 murders, the denial of amnesty in this case means that the killer will remain for the rest of his life in prison.

According to the legislation that gave birth to the TRC, the Commission was expected to complete its task, including the completion of its report, "within a period of 18 months from its constitution or a further period not exceeding six months".

In the event, having "come into being" on December 15, 1995, when the Commission was formally inaugurated by Mr. Mandela, even the submission of its interim report was delayed by over ten months beyond the initially mandated deadline.

A little more than three further years will have elapsed before the task is finally completed.

THE HINDU  
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100-12

# Abide by law, Powell tells Mugabe

**JOHANNESBURG (SOUTH AFRICA), MAY 26.** The U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin L. Powell, called on the Zimbabwean President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, on Friday to "submit to the law and the will of the people" in a fair and free presidential election next year instead of clinging to power. In a speech assessing the state of Africa, Gen. Powell praised the Presidents in countries like Mali, Senegal and Ghana who had stepped aside or had agreed to do so in favour of a new generation of leaders. But in his address to students at the University of Witwatersrand here, he characterised Mr. Mugabe, who has drawn international criticism for a land-seizure programme and tottering economy, as a throwback to the days of African strongmen.

Mr. Mugabe has led Zimbabwe for more than two decades, first as Prime Minister and since December 1987 as President. "I hope we can put the right kind of political pressure on him so that he will yield to the desire of the people to have a free and fair election," Gen. Powell said, "and that he will bring war veterans under control so they stop terrorising the communities in Zimbabwe, and that he will take action to deal with land issues and all the other issues in a democratic process, not through totalitarian methods."

At least 34 people died in the period leading up to last June's parliamentary elections, while thousands more were beaten, raped, kidnapped or otherwise intimidated.

Gen. Powell's remarks drew a stern response from the Government in Zimbabwe. "The Americans must not try to impose leaders on us," said Mr. Didymus Mutasa, Foreign Affairs Secretary for the governing Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front. "They must leave us alone and mind their own business. The issue of who leads Zimbabwe is an issue for Zimbabweans alone."

But Gen. Powell said South Africa would ultimately suffer from instability he said was attributable to Mr. Mugabe. "It is liable to become a problem for South Africa if the situation gets so bad in Zimbabwe that they start to come across into South Africa," he said. "That is why we are pressing for a more responsible set of political acts on the part of

Mugabe in order to avoid the kind of crisis that is slowly building." Earlier on Friday, Gen. Powell heard emotional pleas for help from a roomful of people affected by AIDS as he toured a clinic that is trying to control the explosion of the disease in the sprawling and struggling township of Soweto. One by one, people who had lost relatives to the disease and were now facing looming death themselves described how AIDS was ravaging their communities, fuelled by a lethal mix of myth, ignorance, carelessness and Government neglect. So high is the infection rate here that during the course of Gen. Powell's stay, officials said another 1,700 people across South Africa had died of AIDS. "You're an African," Ms. Prudence Mabele told Gen. Powell, describing a grim life of discrimination and

rejection for those like her who carry the virus. "As an African, you must see to it that Africa's issues are taken into consideration. We are facing a form of AIDS apartheid where as a young woman you cannot build a future."

But he offered no new dollars on Friday and characterised the problem as a complicated one that U.S. money itself would not solve. "It is a health care problem, but it is also a problem of poverty," he said. "It is a problem of the environment. It is a problem of family and culture. It requires engagement by the Government." But AIDS was not the only problem that Gen. Powell focused. In the university speech, he outlined his dream of a continent free of the kind of regional conflicts tearing at places like Congo, Sierra Leone and Sudan. — *New York Times*



The U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, hugs HIV/AIDS infected children at Hope WorldWide, a clinic in the Johannesburg township of Soweto, on Friday on the second day of his visit to South Africa. — AFP

THE HINDU

21 MAY 2001

# Ethiopia simmers

ETHIOPIA IS unique among African countries in that it is the only one which, though briefly under Italian occupation, was never colonised. Hence, it has no formal 'independence day', though it has three 'national days'. The first, March 2, commemorates Ethiopia's victory at Adwa over the invading Italian armed forces in 1896 — the only fullscale war, leaving aside individual battles, won by an African country against a European power. The second, April 5, called Liberation Day, commemorates the return of Emperor Haile Selassie to Addis Ababa in 1941, marking the end of Italian occupation during the second world war. The third, May 28, commemorates the end to the Derg regime on that day in 1991.

The three days, which along with May Day constitute the only four national holidays, mark connections and continuities whose relevance is all too contemporary, though one of the days commemorates an event over a century ago. The days also constitute defining moments in the modern

*How authentic are the democratic credentials of Ethiopia's present Government?*  
**M. S. Prabhakara**  
*says there are no easy answers.*

history of this ancient land. The victory at Adwa under Emperor Menelik II marked the beginning of a process of unification and modernisation, "laying the economic foundations of the modern Ethiopian state". The process was carried forward with greater vigour under Haile Selassie who succeeded Menelik II after a prolonged and astutely conducted internal dynastic struggle. The process of unification of the Ethiopian state had a new element of expansionism, the true mark of a self-proclaimed imperial regime, culminating in the annexation of Eritrea.

However, the very forces released during this process of expansionism and consolidation, which Haile Selassie sought to control and direct, ultimately consumed the Emperor and his imperial pretensions in July 1974.

The policies of the Derg ('Committee') regime under Haile Mariam Mengistu, though opposed to the imperial regime in every way, were marked by important elements of continuity, in partic-

ular the further consolidation of the state including the annexed Eritrea. Eritrea had been 'integrated' into Ethiopia as a 'federated province', with a measure of autonomy, after the Second World War through an arrangement between Haile Selassie and the victorious allied powers. Its enforced 'integration' into Ethiopia in November 1962 was the spark, as it were, that led to the Eritrean armed struggle for independence which ended nearly 30 years later in victory, coinciding with the fall of the Derg regime, in May 1991.

How has the country fared especially in the area of national consolidation, always problematic in complex and ethnically highly diverse societies such as

ted excesses, released forces whose causal and even ideological links to the armed struggle against the Derg itself are all too obvious. That struggle culminated in the victory of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), comprising several ethnically organised regional opposition groups whose dominant component was and continues to be the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), in alliance with the older insurgency in Eritrea led by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF). The two insurgencies were based in areas whose people shared ethnic identities, for the nuances of differences between the people of Tigray and Eritrea are difficult to comprehend even for many Eth-

no easy solution, the Government is faced with the perennial challenge of consolidation of the Ethiopian state. An even more crucial challenge is the consolidation of the democratic order, only which can ensure the consolidation of the state. However, for a system and a people long accustomed to autocratic order from above, this simple truth is difficult to comprehend. Thus, the harshness of the Government in handling even the most legitimate kind of protests, as was the case with the student protests last month in which over 40 people were killed. Hence, too, the utter negativity of the criticism of the Government by the fragmented and (in Parliament) numerically insignificant Opposition.



**Ethiopian women celebrate the fall of the Derg, the former military Government of Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, in this file photo.**

Ethiopia where historically there have always been rivalries between the three largest ethnic groups, the Oromo, the Amhara and the Tigray? More crucially, how authentic are the democratic credentials of the present Government which came to power at the culmination of a struggle against 'feudalism and dictatorship'? Or has Tigrayan dominance replaced Amhara dominance?

There are no easy answers. The integration of Eritrea into Ethiopia has been reversed, denying once again the long cherished desire of Ethiopians for an access to the sea. The 'socialist experiment' under Derg which overthrew the Selassie regime, despite its admit-

ted excesses, released forces whose causal and even ideological links to the armed struggle against the Derg itself are all too obvious.

Hence, the incomprehension in much of the outside world when less than four years later, the two countries went to war over a border where, to quote from a different context in a different continent, 'not a blade of grass grows'. As the issues have become unravelled since the agreement on cessation of hostilities (June 2000) and the signing of a 'comprehensive peace accord' (December 2000), the deeper differences that had existed between the TPLF and the EPLF, united under a common cause, are becoming clear.

Apart from the conflict with Eritrea which, of its nature, admits

One of the more serious charges made by the Opposition is that the EPRDF is pursuing a policy of 'ethnic federalism' which will lead, inescapably, to the disintegration of Ethiopia. Underlying this criticism is the assumption that Ethiopia had achieved national integration under the imperial regime, that there had been a consolidation of an Ethiopian identity shared by all its diverse people.

The fact, however, is that the centralised state of the imperial regime was challenged even in its heyday by organised or unorganised revolts, as indeed is the case with the present Government, be it by banditry or insurgencies.

THE HINDU

27 MAY 2001

# African Union comes into being today

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, MAY 25. Today is Africa Day. Today is also the eve of the formal and legal transformation of the Organisation of African Union (OAU), founded on this day in 1963, into another structure called African Union (AU). From tomorrow, the OAU becomes the African Union.

It was on this day in 1963 that heads of State and government of the then independent 32 African States gathered in Addis Ababa and adopted the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity. According to a contemporary account of the event, the Charter was signed by 30 heads of State and government within half an hour the following day, with Morocco and Togo ratifying the Charter later. Emperor Haile Selassie, who chaired the founding conference, expressed the hope that this continental union, would last "a thousand years".

However, this 38th anniversary of the founding of the OAU will be its last as the OAU is now well on the way to formally reinventing itself as the African Union when it holds its three-day annual summit in Lusaka, Zambia, on July 9-11 this year — the last OAU summit and the first AU summit.

The process of transformation of the OAU into AU began with the adoption at the fifth extraordinary summit of the OAU at Sirte, Libya, of what has come to be known as the Sirte Declaration of September 9, 1999. The date is now invested with a numerological mystique, referred to in OAU documents as 9.9.99. The next stage was the adoption of the Constitu-

tive Act of the African Union (CAAU) at the OAU summit in Lome, Togo, in July, effectively replacing the OAU charter.

Unlike the OAU charter which was ratified within hours of its adoption, the three-stage process of signing, ratifying and depositing the instruments of accession of the CAAU has been rather more prolonged. According to Article 28 of the CAAU, the Act shall "enter into force" 30 days after at least 36 of the 53 member-States complete this process. With an appropriate symbolism, the last two member-States which completed this process were two of the most influential and powerful countries of sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa, the 35th OAU member to deposit the instruments of accession, did so on April 23, and Nigeria, the 36th OAU member to do so, followed suit on April 26. Thus, on May 26, 30 days after Nigeria's accession, the Constitutive Act attains the legal requirement for entering into force.

Why an African Union? According to the Sirte Declaration, the decision was taken after extensive deliberation "on the ways and means of strengthening our continental Organisation to make it more effective so as to keep pace with the political, economic and social developments taking place within and outside our continent". This is about the closest that the OAU has come to admitting that it has been less than effective during the 38 years of its existence.

Will the AU be more effective? It is true that the Constitutive Act provides for several new structures like the Pan African Parliament and a Court of Justice. It also makes the necessary genuflection to the promotion of "democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance". It is all somewhat like the curate's egg, good in parts. For instance, unlike the OAU whose "Principles" included an inviolable commitment to "non-interference in the internal affairs of member-States", the CAAU acknowledges "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member-State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly [of the Heads of State and Government of the Union] in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity". However, the CAAU also recognises "the right of Member-States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security" — a provision which may well be used to suppress with outside help legitimate domestic dissent. It is much too early in the day for any judgment on how the new structure will work.

THE HINDU

26 MAY 2001

# Boesak released on parole

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, MAY 22. The well-known anti-apartheid activist and cleric, Dr. Allan Boesak, convicted on charges of fraud and theft of donor money and sentenced to a term of three years in prison, was released on parole this morning, after serving just over a year of his sentence. He was enthusiastically welcomed by a large crowd of supporters.

At his meeting with the media within minutes of his release, Dr. Boesak reiterated that he was innocent of all the charges against him — a stand he has consistently maintained. In a statement issued under his name and the name of his wife, Ms. Elena Boesak, on May 14 last year, a day before he began serving his sentence, Dr. Boesak had said: "I am not guilty as charged... I will be entering prison as an innocent man." His trial, Dr. Boesak said, had been "fatally politicised, to such an extent that even the judicial process did not escape its impact" because of "who I am and my role in the struggle."

The Foundation for Peace and Justice, of which he was the Director and from which he was convicted of stealing rands 300,000, was "never a charity or developmental organisation but a political entity created to serve as a front for the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress... Most of the funds of the FPF were utilised to fund the political work of the UDF and the ANC... The people for whose liberation we fought knew this, the leadership of the ANC knew this, the donors knew this and the Board of Trustees of the Foundation knew this," the statement said.

It is widely known but seldom officially acknowledged that a substantial amount of these donor funds were used to fund the political work of the UDF and the ANC, though part



The former anti-apartheid cleric, Dr. Allan Boesak, accompanied by Mrs. Elena Boesak, waves to well-wishers after his release on parole in Stellenbosch near Cape Town on Tuesday. — Reuters

of it was also used for personal enrichment and not only by Dr. Boesak. However, the rhetoric notwithstanding, the judicial process did give Dr. Boesak a fair hearing. He was initially found guilty by the Cape High Court in March 1999 on three counts of theft and one

count of fraud, involving over rands 1.3 million of donor money, and sentenced to an effective six-year term of imprisonment. The Supreme Court of Appeals upheld his appeal against his conviction in respect of one of the counts of theft, and halved the sentence to three years.

However, developments subsequent to the conviction and sentence have undoubtedly been influenced by what Dr. Boesak refers to as "who he was" as much as his "role in the liberation struggle". The normal procedures of parole have been more strictly observed resulting in his release being delayed by more than a week after it was due. There was also what now appears in retrospect to have been a contrived controversy about a "stolen cellphone" that he is supposed to have illegally obtained and used while in prison, though the provincial director of public prosecutions finally denied to press that charge.

In a statement, the African National Congress has welcomed the release of Dr. Boesak "with joy". "We wish his family well after enduring such pain and as the ANC we will continue to hold Dr. Boesak in high esteem for the role that he played and continues to play in our transformation," the statement said. Given the bitterness of the statement Dr. Boesak made the day before he began serving his sentence, it is to be seen how he will negotiate his future relations with the ANC.

Despite, or even perhaps because of his well-documented flaws, Dr. Boesak remains by far the only hope for the ANC to capture office in the Western Cape, a task at which it has failed twice, in 1994 and 1999. His release poses both a challenge and an opportunity to the present ANC leadership in the province. Asked about his political future, Dr. Boesak was evasive.

THE HINDU

13 MAY 2000



## Dissension in Ethiopia's ruling party deepens

By M.S. Prabhakara

**ADDIS ABABA, MAY 18.** The assassination over the weekend of Ethiopia's security chief, Mr. Kifle Gebremedhin, is clearly linked to the ongoing political struggle within the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the dominant party in the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).

This was among the points made by Mr. Hailu Shawel, president of the All Amhara People's Organisation, one of the opposition parties in a still incipient alliance of four opposition parties, in a conversation with this correspondent.

Kinfe was shot dead on the morning of May 12, by a serving major of the Ethiopian Armed Forces while entering the Armed Forces Officer's Club in Addis Ababa. His alleged assailant, Major Tsehaye Woldeeslasi, was apprehended on the spot, according to a radio report.

Kinfe, whose official designation was Head of the Federal Security and Immigration Authority, was also a high-ranking member of the TPLF, being a member of both its central committee and the politburo.

The TPLF saw a split last month with 12 dissident members of the 30-member central committee walking out. Two of them, one of whom was Kinfe, later returned to the fold.

However, according to Mr. Hailu, Kinfe was really not a dissident at all but actually a close confidante of Mr. Meles Zenawi, the Prime Minister and Chairman of the TPLF, "keeping an eye" on the dissidents. This puts a wholly different complexion on the assassination, Mr. Hailu said.

As is so often the case with a political party seemingly entrenched in power, the most serious challenge to the TPLF since it won its political and military victory against the regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam in May 1991

has come from within the TPLF itself.

Among the dissidents are Mr. Tewolde Wolde Mariam, the Number Two man in the TPLF hierarchy and Mr. Gebru Asrat, a former president of the Tigray National Regional State.

Tigray, one of the eight "national regional States" that constitutes the Federal Republic of Ethiopia since it was reconstituted in 1994 following Eritrea's independence in May 1993, is the home base of the TPLF.

Indeed, opponents of the Government maintain that the political philosophy of the TPLF, which they characterise as "ethnic federalism", is deliberately crafted with an explicit encouragement to such national or sub-national political mobilisation, reversing the "Ethiopian nationalism" forged over a century of imperial rule — and 17 years of the Derg (committee), the name by which the regime of Mengistu is generally known.

The debate on this issue is endless, for it is also true that the "Ethiopian nationalism" allegedly crafted during imperial rule was undoubtedly in tatters in the years of imperial decline.

However, it is also true that the victory of the TPLF and its assumption of office and power has, inevitably, led to the feeling of being marginalised among the Amhara people, for over a century the politically dominant group from which the Ethiopian ruling class was drawn.

This sense of alienation becomes evident even in the most casual conversations with the Amhara people, and is indeed a central issue in Ethiopian politics. In so far as their numbers go, the Oromo people are the most numerous, closely followed by the Amhara and the Tigray.

Amharic, the language of the Amhara people, is the most widely spoken language in Ethiopia and is indeed its official language.

THE HINDU

19 MAY 2001

# South Africa battles on after Mandela's war

London

THE FIRST time F W De Klerk went to the polls before the entire country he was defeated heavily. The first time Thabo Mbeki presented himself to the people he increased the ANC majority. And if the people don't like him in 2004 they can get him out. These are the two principal achievements of the ANC — democracy and stability.

Mandela was released just a year before the anti-Gorbachev coup, which signalled the end of the Soviet Union.

"I was reading about Berlusconi the other day," says one ANC veteran. "It said he had won under investigations for money laundering, complicity in murder, connections with the mafia, bribing politicians and judges and all of that. I thought, God our president's done some stupid things and this plot thing is crazy but imagine what the world would be saying about us if we had someone like that as

our leader."

The alleged plot is more than crazy. It is a mixture of the banal and the bizarre. The security minister, Steve Tshwete claimed on national television that black business leaders were raising funds to support candidates who would challenge South Africa's President Mbeki within the ANC and were influencing the media to show him in a bad light. He then went on to name the plotters as Cyril Ramaphosa, the former ANC secretary general who had negotiated the transition to democracy for the party, Tokyo Sexwale, the former premier of Gauteng and Matthew Phosa, the former head of Mpumalanga province. The three men, claimed Tshwete, were trying to implicate Mbeki in the murder of the late Chris Hani, a popular and sorely missed ANC leader gunned down outside his home in 1993.

Banal because, were it true, (the murder aside) it would be no more serious than the kind of



story that emanates from most political parties. Bizarre, because the fact that it is evidently untrue — the source of the allegations is a man under investigation for 77 counts of fraud and embezzlement — casts serious doubts on the judgment of the ANC leadership, including Mbeki, for airing them in the first place. But, for all that, it is important.

The link between governance and competence is often racially connoted. It does not have to be. Ask any commuter or farmer in Britain and they will point to several examples of incompetent white people.

But in countries where black people were once kept away from the levers of democracy on the grounds that they were intellectually incapable of operating them intelligently, charges of incompetence made by whites have a specific currency. That does not mean that they should not be made or that they may not be valid.

One look at recent events in neighbouring Zambia and Zimbabwe indicate there is a lot to criticise.

Since he came to power, racism has been Mbeki's retort to almost every attack on his Government. When Max du Preez, the editor of an Afrikaans-language anti-apartheid weekly, *Vrije Weekblad*, accused Mbeki of being a womaniser, the ANC's

spokesman accused him of "irresponsible and undermining" behaviour that "bordered on hate speech". Often Mbeki's responses are coded.

If he lambasts "enemies of transformation" or those intent on "subverting the new democracy", he is talking about whites. "They want to stay on top," says Elizabeth, "We don't want to bring them down or make them suffer. But they must share some of the pain."

For most white South Africans the new South Africa looks very much like the old one. They have kept their maids, houses and cooks and they can travel freely all over the world, watch their national teams in international competitions.

The price they pay for this is that they have to live in a democracy. They look on 1994 not as the first year of democracy after centuries of oppression but as year zero, after which all states are wiped clean.

The Guardian

# Ethiopia cracks down on student protests

Africa

By M.S. Prabhakara

10-17

ADDIS ABABA, MAY 13. The arrests earlier this week of two human rights activists, Prof. Mesfin WoldeMariam, a founder and former President of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council, and Dr. Berhanu Nega, a leading economist and a former President of the Ethiopian Economic Association, are the latest in the Government's action against the current turmoil on the campuses.

Both the human rights activists have been accused repeatedly by the Ethiopian authorities of "inciting" and "instigating" the ongoing student turbulence on the academic campuses in the country, in particular, the Addis Ababa University campus.

There have been repeated clashes between the police and protesting students demanding academic and democratic freedoms in the AAU since early last month.

The students' demands include, among other things, withdrawal of the police force from the campus, release of arrested students and a democratic environment on the campus.

In the most serious outbreak of violence on April 17 and April 18 which spread into the commercial centre of the city, over 40 persons were killed and several hundred arrested.

Defying several ultimatums from the Government, the majority of students have been

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boycotting classes and refusing to vacate the campus.

If the face-off continues, the authorities may decide to close the university.

The political significance of student militancy in Ethiopia, which after all was one of the key factors that brought down the Haile Selassie regime, is not lost on the Government and the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF).

Though enjoying an overwhelming dominance both in the Council of People's Representatives and the Federal Council, the two Houses of Parliament in Ethiopia, the EPRDF has, however, from the beginning blamed the disturbances on the Ethiopian Human Rights Council and the Council of Alternative Forces of Peace and Democracy in Ethiopia (CAFPDE) — the latter a coalition of opposition "forces" rather than "parties". One of the components of the CAFPDE is the Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces, some of whose leading figures were closely associated with the ousted Mengistu regime, is described by Mr. Tecola W. Hargos, a leading political analyst, as a "mirror image" of the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Indeed, this spin on the student protests and their alleged linkage with human rights activists and, even more significantly, the linkages between the protests and those yearning for the two preceding regimes, was

explicitly given by Dr. Kinfe Abraham, Chief Political Adviser to the Foreign Minister, in a conversation with this correspondent.

While conceding that the alleged links had still to be established, Dr. Abraham, however, maintained that the protests were being manipulated both by die-hard monarchists dreaming of the return to the old order and by those who were closely associated with the Derg (the Committee) — the dreaded name by which the regime of Mengistu was known.

However, student protests are not the only problem that the ruling party faces. Far more serious is the recent split in the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the leading and the most influential component of the EPRDF with 12 of its 30 central committee members being expelled.

Though two of the dissidents have since returned to the party fold, the fact is that a third of the central committee has pushed their political and ideological differences with the TPLF party leadership beyond the point of return.

The issues on which the dissidents differ from the majority in the central committee relate as much to the performance of the TPLF in the Government over the past 10 years as to the future ideological direction of the party, in particular, the departures from its earlier Marxist orientation.

THE HINDU

14 MAY 2001

# Two worlds in one

By K.V. Krishnaswamy

**JOHANNESBURG, MAY 9.** If ever a metropolis can represent a nation, Johannesburg certainly does. It is a microcosm of today's South Africa with all the diversities, deep divisions, all the hopes and uncertainties of the post-apartheid society. The most visible evidence of the two worlds that constitute this country is here in abundance.

One comes to South Africa prepared for unpleasant surprises right from arrival at the international airport, with friend and foe warning you of lurking armed criminals (that this proved unwarranted is another matter: it served to put you on alert). But such anticipation of disaster in no way cushions the impact as you emerge from the glamour of the airport into Johannesburg, hailed as the gold-

## INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA — II

en heartbeat of Africa. Awaiting you is a bewildering spectacle.

Past the airport you get a glimpse of the unsettling mix of hope and despair that is the city. Across the highway is a new hotel complex that can put to shame the most modern fortress, with the gun-toting security guards looking as formidable as the steel gates. The rainbow nation's largest and most vibrant city is a showpiece: its large lakes, botanical gardens, the cheetah farm and lion park, and sport and recreational facilities rival the attractions of business and commerce for attention.

Amid all this is the downtown where the rural unemployed in their thousands have crammed themselves in, hoping to see the light of day sooner rather than later. The land of opportunities has, since the end of apar-

theid, acted as the magnet to attract the rural unemployed. As the Government tries to cope with the rush, fully sympathising with the aspirations of the dispossessed population, there has arisen a bizarre situation.

The downtown seems today like a city under siege. Admittedly, downtowns have, true to character, their macho identity marks: crowded with the poorest of poor, unending crime and violence, fear ruling the streets, large apartment complexes in tumbledown condition, pavements filled to overflowing with perishable and perishing goods, pedestrians freely spilling on to roads. Some of these might be everyday scenes in India. But here in Johannesburg the downturn has other markers that must be exclusively its own: boarded up business houses and an atmosphere of decay. If you were coming into town after visits to Cape Town or other cities, the sight could prove to be disconcerting, even disturbing. The contrast hits you in the eye.

In the past decade, apparently ever since the fall of apartheid became certain, the city's mainly white population which had been the bulwark of the racist minority regime began to move into the suburbs. Business houses took the lead, some of them leaving their posh buildings in the downtown area blocked with brick and mortar. The stock exchange was among the last to move out, now housed in a resplendent structure off a new shopping mall that is being touted as a rival to the Sun City, venue of international beauty pageants.

Abandoned by the whites who have moved to the posh suburbs, parts of the city have been taken over by the rural unemployed. Their aspirations, suppressed for decades by the racist regime, have begun to be heard loud and clear. For South Africa's revolution to succeed, these aspirations need to be met early.

*(Concluded)*

THE HINDU

10 MAY 2001

# A nation haunted by its past

By K.V. Krishnaswamy

**JOHANNESBURG, MAY 8.** Two of the tributaries of the mighty Amazon, themselves nearly as gigantic, flow side by side for nearly five kilometers off the exotic coastal town of Manaus in Brazil before joining the main river. One of the two is called the Negro, deriving its name from the colour of its water which turns a deep black and extremely dense because of the decaying foliage upstream. The difference in density results in a curious phenomenon: the waters of the two tributaries never mix and flow alongside each other till they flow into the Amazon.

This bizarre phenomenon kept coming back to mind during a short visit to South Africa, a nation deeply divided by a common destiny, with two streams of people running parallel who never seem destined to arrive at a meeting point. The contrast is not strikingly apparent in cities like Cape Town or Durban but in the countryside — besides in Johannesburg, the primal apartheid centre — it is too obnoxiously pervasive to be missed. The experience left but one impression: the slowness of the post-apartheid democratic process to remove racial inequalities may begin to sow the seeds of instability.

In restaurants and resorts, housing complexes, shopping malls and wherever else visitors have to do business with the local population, one could spot the difference in living styles, much like in key Western European cities that have begun more and more to depend on immigrant labour to oil the machine of opulence. The only difference here, a fun-

damental difference, of course, is that, unlike the Turks in Germany, the Asians in Britain or the north Africans in France, those on the wrong side of the scale of life in South Africa are the majority population, the natives and not those refugees of poverty crowding Europe.

Seven years after the great revolution that brought down the repressive white minority regime of apartheid, hope appears to remain a deferred dream for the majority population in South Africa. Believe it instantly if someone tells you that South Africa is an uneven mix of the first world and third world, the former peopled predominantly by the whites and the latter exclusively by the natives. Natives constitute nearly

1/2  
9/5  
flicting only the black population. The squalor of their residential areas, no more called townships because of the racial overtones of the past, and the absence of basic amenities stand out in contrast to the facilities that the whites have built for themselves across the country.

Often, one saw black school children laden with books and bags, tired labourers and the aged and the infirm standing in the road margins under the noon sun, seeking lifts from vehicles speeding by. The lack of confidence and of hope that their thumbs up signs will meet with some positive response was fully reflected in their despondent faces.

In fact, the most striking impression of travel in the country was the absence of public transport. You met even a stray cyclist but hardly any buses for the common man. Everything in free South Africa seemed still focussed on the needs of the rich, the white: the miles and miles of highways, the inns on the wayside and the enchanting resorts by the vast expanses of beaches. The high quality of the facilities available on the tourist trail in even small towns like Knysna and George made one wonder where South Africa's third world was lying hidden.

But that countryside is stirring, though it appears that apartheid's legacy is taking time to wipe out. The longer the delay, the greater the threat to the stability of the country, and consequently, of the continent. The dilemmas facing the country were fully reflected in Johannesburg, which presented a bewildering picture.

## INSIDE S. AFRICA — I

three quarters of the approximately 37 million population of South Africa, 15 per cent are whites and the rest are of Indian origin and the coloured.

Clearly, urban centres like Cape Town, Durban and Pretoria can match any European city for their infrastructural and other facilities and their lifestyle. The first world is very much alive in these cities. It is here that you meet the new black middle class that is said to be emerging and on which the hope of a democratic, peaceful evolution of South Africa rests.

It was during the long drives across Western and Eastern Cape and in KwaZulu-Natal that one had glimpses of poverty and deprivation. These were certainly not uncharacteristic of a third world nation. But the startling detail was that this cruel poverty seemed to be af-

THE HINDU

MAY 2001

## 410-12 **Chiluba dissolves Cabinet** 65

**LUSAKA (ZAMBIA), MAY 5.** In a shock announcement, the Zambian President has said he will not stand for a controversial third term as President, and announced the immediate dissolution of his Cabinet.

"I will leave office at the end of my term," the President, Mr. Fredrick Chiluba said in a late-night television address to the nation. "That had always been my position and I have never said anything to the contrary. I still stand by my word."

Zambia's Constitution currently restricts Presidents to serving two terms, but Mr. Chiluba was widely expected to try to have it changed to enable him to extend his 10-year reign. But that engendered fierce opposition within the country, the ruling Movement for Multi-party Democracy party, and even his own Cabinet. Nine government Ministers and 12 legislators have been fired from the ruling party this week for opposing a third term.

Announcing the dissolution of his Cabinet, Mr. Chiluba said Zambia needed Ministers who served the Government and the people. "This will facilitate the constitution of a government that will function in harmony," he said. Mr. Chiluba's remarks come a day after Zambian legislators opposed to him seek-

ing a third term in office moved to have him impeached for flouting the nation's Constitution.

Sixty-five legislators petitioned on Thursday for an urgent parliamentary session by next week, at which lawmakers planned an impeachment motion. Mr. Chiluba's opponents say he is still hoping for a referendum that would enable him to stand again once he has vacated his post. The impeachment motion, launched by the former Local Government Minister, Mr. Ackson Sejani, comprises seven complaints against Mr. Chiluba, including proposals that would have enabled him to run for a third term and allegations that Mr. Chiluba illegally diverted public money.

A former trade unionist, Mr. Chiluba, 58, won Zambia's first democratic elections in 1991, ousting long-time ruler Kenneth Kaunda, who led the nation to independence from British colonial rule in 1964.

Meanwhile, police fired tear gas at opponents of Mr. Chiluba rallying in Zambia's capital on Saturday, and the crowd responded by stoning government vehicles. Chaos engulfed Lusaka's city centre for almost three hours before the protesters dispersed. — AP

**THE HINDU**

**6 MAY 2001**

## OAU to reincarnate itself

By M.S. Prabhakara

ADDIS ABABA, MAY 4. The forthcoming summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity at Lusaka (July 9-11), the 37th Assembly of Heads of State and Government since the organisation was founded on May 25, 1963, will be the last OAU summit. During this meeting, the OAU will "dissolve itself" at least in its present nomenclature, to rise again, if not exactly like the phoenix, as the African Union at the next Assembly of African Heads of State and Government which will be held in South Africa next year.

With more than the required 36 members of the OAU (two thirds of the total OAU membership of 53) having deposited the instrument of ratification of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (CAAU) at the end of April, the original character of the OAU will now be replaced by the end of this month by the CAAU and the African Union (AU). The only remaining formal requirement for the new Act to enter into force is the 30-day period after the deposit of instrument of ratification by two-thirds of the member-States of the OAU.

Thus, yet another dream and vision of African Unity, articulated from days long before the process of decolonisation began by African ideologues on the continent and in the African Diaspora, is once again being given shape, a local habitation and a name. The present process, driven in the main by the Libyan leader, Muammar Gadhafi, which began with the Sirte Declaration of September 9, 1999, has taken less than two years to reach its completion.

At least in two crucial respects, the CAAU marks a departure from the OAU character. One, the provision for a pan-African Parliament; and two, a court of justice. For the present, the pan-African Parliament will have an equal number of representatives (five, of whom one shall be a woman) from all the member-States of the OAU, though "in principle" the idea of proportional representation has been accepted. The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community already provides for both a pan-African Parliament and the Court of Justice. While these were intended originally to discuss and arbitrate on economic matters, the CAAU substantially expands this mandate.

The detailed "protocols" governing the composition, powers and functions of these two putative institutions are yet to be worked out. Nevertheless, the concept and the implied acceptance of the supremacy of pan-African structures over national structures, marks a significant departure from normative concepts of national sovereignty.

In a conversation with this correspondent at the OAU headquarters, Mr. Faustin Kinuma, head of the OAU's Policy and Programme Coordination Office, maintained that member-States of the African Union must be prepared to surrender what he characterised as "second degree sovereignty" for the collective good of the Community. In such an arrangement, decisions taken by structures of the African Union have to have precedence over national legislation, he said.

THE HINDU

5 MAY 2001

# U.N. panel yet to demarcate Ethiopia-Eritrea border

By M. S. Prabhakara

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10-17  
ADDIS ABABA, MAY 3. The recent establishment of a 25-km-wide Temporary Security Zone (TSZ) along the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia, according to Mr Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary General and Head of UNMEE, is a "penultimate step in the solution of the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict".

Perhaps no recent war on this continent has been more fiercely fought, and more difficult to comprehend, than the three-year conflict, a war seemingly over disputes about the border between the two countries. The belligerents, in particular the leadership of the Tigray People's Liberation Front, the dominant party in the ruling coalition in Ethiopia, going under the name of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front, and the Eritrea People's Liberation Front, have been the closest of friends and comrades in arms who fought long and hard to oust the Mengistu regime. Further, the two parties co-operated with each other in ensuring that an independent Eritrea would emerge following a peaceful agreement. And yet, less than five years after Eritrea became independent, it was engaged in a bitter conflict with its erstwhile comrade. The costs so far: some 750,000 internally displaced persons; and an estimated 65,000 killed in Eritrea alone.

The agreement on the cessation of hostilities signed between the two countries in Algiers on June 28 last year, marking the beginning of the end to the bloody conflict that began in May 1998, provides for the establishment of a TSZ, "a temporary measure which in no way prejudices the final status of any contested areas", along with the deployment of a U.N. peace-keeping mission and the creation of a military co-ordination commission, in order to create a climate of confidence and "conditions conducive to a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the conflict". The June 28, 2000 agreement on the cessation of hostilities was followed by another comprehensive peace agreement signed on December 12, which provides that the two parties shall permanently terminate military

hostilities. A most notable feature of the current situation on the Eritrea-Ethiopia border is that though the two sides remain deeply divided, the ceasefire itself has held. This does contrast with the two other (of the many) areas of conflict on the continent, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the U.N. has been involved as peace-keeper.

In a 50-minute-long conversation with this correspondent at the UNMEE offices in the ECA complex here, Mr. Legwaila, sounded positive and upbeat about the state of the peace process. Describing the observance of the June 12, 2000 Agreement as something that was doomed to succeed, Mr Legwaila said: "The peace process has held because even before the U.N. entered, the parties themselves realised that the war was a terrible, tragic mistake, and an embarrassment".

With the creation of the TSZ, the U.N. mission had come to an end of its most important task "except that we cannot get out until the border is demarcated". Indeed, Mr. Legwaila expected the mandate of UNMEE, currently extended up to September 15, to be renewed. "I can assure you that by September 15, the Border Commission will be nowhere near completing its work. Our presence here is linked with the work of the Border Commission (and) I will not be surprised if we have up to two more extensions", Mr Legwaila said.

The next major task was the delimitation and demarcation of the border between the two countries, disagreement over which led to the war, by the International Boundary Commission, which will function from the Hague. However, the two sides continue to remain divided over the personnel of the Boundary Commission.

Another disagreement noted by the U.N. Secretary General in his report to the Security Council relates to the larger scale operational map of the border used by the UNMEE. Among the other tasks that remain to be done are the exchange of prisoners of war and civilian internees still held by both sides, clearance of mines, and the return of the internally displaced persons to their homes.

THE HINDU

9 MAY 2001



**S**OUTH African President Thabo Mbeki faces a serious threat to his leadership after an attempt to discredit three senior members of South Africa's ruling African National Congress.

Challenges for the ANC's top five posts are said to be almost inevitable after the three men, Cyril Ramaphosa, Tokyo Sexwale and Mathews Phosa, were accused of being involved in a plot to oust the President. The unsubstantiated claims provoked criticism from the former President, Nelson Mandela, and howls of protest from inside and outside the party.

"The irony is that there was no challenge before this week. But the ineptitude, the mishandling and the paranoia now make it very likely that the President will be challenged during next year's ANC party congress," one ANC source said in Johannesburg. All three men have denied

the claims, which were made on national television last week by Steve Tshwete, Minister of Safety and Security.

Cosatu, the trade union federation, and a member of the ruling alliance, has called on Mr Tshwete to withdraw the allegations. ANC members and political analysts have accused Mr Mbeki of authorising the claims in the hope that they would silence criticism of his leadership and crush any prospect of an internal revolt.

Mr Ramaphosa, former ANC secretary-general who had been Mr Mandela's first choice to succeed him when he stepped down in June 1999, left politics in 1996 to pursue his business interests after losing a power struggle with Mr Mbeki for the position of Deputy President. But he has not ruled out returning to the political arena.

Mr Mandela conceded on the BBC television programme,

**S**OUTH AFRICA'S problem is that the more the government tries to eliminate poverty, the more it appears to be impoverishing the country.

The reason is that South Africa is two worlds in one country: a developed, rich, high-tech society, with sophisticated industry, advanced medical research and world-class universities; yet no more than 100 miles away are Third World villages where there is no running water, primitive agriculture, little access

to education and lives blighted by dirt and disease. To equalise these two societies would take either massive investment on a scale unseen anywhere; or a redistribution of income and a redirecting of resources.

This first was the hope of all those who voted in the first all-race elections, exactly seven years ago. The world, blacks and whites thought, would pour in the investment held back during Apartheid.

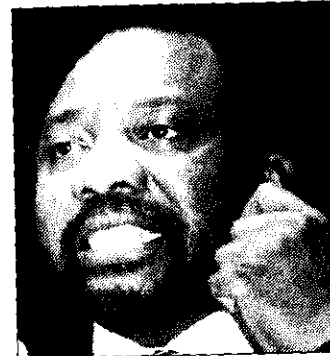
It did not happen. And so the policy of equalisation neces-

## Storm signals from the veld



Thabo Mbeki: Vague accusations

A challenge to Thabo Mbeki can only come from within the ANC as the President's claim of an ouster plot has triggered a power struggle, write **MICHAEL DYNES** and **RICHARD BEESTON**



Cyril Ramaphosa: New challenger?

Breakfast with Frost on Sunday that the post-Apartheid leadership is under a threat. Mr Mandela began by defending Mr Mbeki, who has come under growing criticism at home for his divisive leadership style, his belief that there is no causal link between HIV and Aids and

his failure to challenge President Mugabe's illegal land grab in neighbouring Zimbabwe.

"President Thabo Mbeki is a remarkable man," Mr Mandela said. "He is intelligent, very bright, alert and hardworking. He is the driving force in the

the highest esteem," he said.

Mr Mandela said Mr Ramaphosa would make a good President if he chose to return to mainstream politics. "Cyril Ramaphosa has been the architect of the modern South Africa," he said. "He led our negotiation team. He made such an impact on friend and foe that he is still regarded as the man who helped to bring about a peaceful transition. If he wants to come back (to politics) he has got the abilities and he would be one of the right people to lead South Africa."

A challenge to Mr Mbeki could only come from within the ANC's party structure, or if the party's elder statesmen, including Mr Mandela, urged a change of leadership.

Although Mr Mbeki still retains strong support in the senior ranks of the ANC, there is growing dissatisfaction over his leadership, though the ANC has

blamed its misfortunes on what it calls an attempt by the Western media to discredit Mr Mbeki.

Peter Gastrow, a political analyst with South Africa's Institute for Security Studies, said the ANC knew Mr Mbeki's first year in office had not been a success, and that had led to the current power struggle. "Cyril Ramaphosa is the man to focus on," he said.

"Mbeki is gathering baggage on the eve of the ANC's provincial congresses, where the delegates to next year's important national congress will be chosen. Ramaphosa is not gathering baggage. This has increased his chances.

"He issued a brief statesman-like comment on Tshwete's allegation. But it did not close the door on his running for the Presidency."

— The Times, London.

## Figureheads on the sidelines



Former South African Presidents FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela in Pretoria. — AP/PTI

a brake: economic reality, political opposition or internal criticism. President Thabo Mbeki sees the political opposition as a reflection of white attempts to retain power and privilege; he sees dissatisfaction within ANC ranks as evidence of plotting and conspiracy. The result, paradoxically, is not to speed up change but to slow it by undermining confidence.

All this hampers any attempt to separate race and politics. Mr De Klerk's attempt to unify South Africa by throwing the old ruling elite's expertise and support behind the triumphant new majority government lasted little more than three years; the Nationalist Party could not make such a U-turn.

Eventually the party split, with the right-wing walking out and a younger rump trying to accommodate itself to the new realities. This was eclipsed and eventually absorbed by a new, left-of-centre party, the Democratic Alliance, that honed to

THE STATESMAN

1 MAY 2001

# Ethiopian hijackers release hostages



An Ethiopian hijacker (left) with the Sudanese interior minister, Mr Abdel-Rahim Mohammed Hussein, at Khartoum airport on Friday. — AP/PTI

## REUTERS

ADDIS ABABA, April 27. — Hijackers, who diverted an Ethiopian military plane to Sudan, freed all the forty passengers on board unharmed early this morning and surrendered after negotiations with Sudanese authorities.

The hijackers, who were believed to be armed and who claimed to be Ethiopian students, had freed 11 women and children hours after landing at Khartoum airport yesterday evening.

The Sudanese information minister, Mr Ghazi Salah Al-din, said, the hijackers had been taken into custody. He said they had made no political demands but had been given an assurance that they would not be handed back to Ethiopia. "I think they just wanted to get out of the country," Mr Salah Al-din told CNN television.

"What we were offering them was not to hand them over to Ethiopia and to deal with them fairly according to international law. They started seeing that they didn't have any other choice.

"They have been granted asylum, which does not confer any immunity from the crimes that have been committed."

THE STATESMAN

28 APR 2001

110-17  
WA

# Court rejects U.S. Embassy bombing accused plea

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, APRIL 24. In a significant ruling with implications for the conduct of South Africa's foreign policy as well as immigration and asylum policies, the Cape High Court has dismissed with costs the application by Mr. Khalfan Khamis Mohammed, a Tanzanian national, challenging the legality and constitutionality of his "deportation" to the United States.

In a judgment delivered last week, the court ruled that the application had no validity. An appeal to the Constitutional Court is being considered, according to Mr. Mohammed's attorney.

Mr. Khamis Mohammed, a 27-year-old Tanzanian national, is presently on trial in New York with several other co-defendants, accused of being involved in the August 1998 bombing of the U.S. Embassies in Nairobi and Dar as Salaam.

As many as 224 people were killed, several hundreds more were injured in the two bombings.

In the so-called retaliatory air attacks by the U.S., several more people were killed and a

pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum destroyed without any harm coming to the alleged mastermind behind the embassy bombings, Osama bin Laden.

Mr. Khamis Mohammed arrived illegally in South Africa soon after the bombings and was living in Cape Town. He was arrested on October 5 1999, while on a visit to the immigration office to renew his temporary residence permit, on suspicion of his involvement in the bombing. Within days of his arrest, he was handed over to the FBI, which had him on its "Most Wanted list".

The "worrisome aspects" of South Africa's action, in particular the risks of appearing on the continent as a deputy sheriff of the U.S. law enforcement agencies, had aroused even then serious misgivings among human rights organisations.

The issues before the Cape High Court were whether South Africa, whose Constitution has outlawed death penalty, was justified in handing over Mr. Mohammed to the U.S. without securing a guarantee that the death penalty would not be imposed on Mr. Mohammed.

The setting of such a "Right-to Life" condi-

tion in cases of extradition/deportation is now international practice and is indeed built into many extradition agreements between sovereign States, according to the lawyers who argued the case.

Other issues argued were that the "deportation" was itself illegal since it did not follow the prescribed procedure under the Aliens Control Act; and whether Mr. Mohammed, admittedly an illegal alien, should have been deported to the U.S. instead of Tanzania of which he was a national and from where he had arrived illegally to South Africa.

None of these arguments appears to have carried conviction.

In contrast, the government advocate's argument that Mr. Mohammed himself had apparently preferred to be sent to the U.S. rather than to Tanzania where he feared he could be lynched on arrival — apart from the fact that Tanzania, like the U.S., retains the death penalty — appeared to have carried conviction.

Reacting to the Cape High Court's ruling, the Justice Minister, Mr. Penuell Maduna, said that it was doubtful if South Africa could have "dictated" to the U.S. on how to deal with Mr. Mohammed.

# Sleaze and slander

HD-17  
22

**T**HE POINT can never be made too often. No aspect of South African society can even begin to be understood unless situated in the unique historical context which every South African is heir to — that uniquely vicious construction of institutionalised apartheid, crafted and implemented by the White minority for its calculated material benefit, at the expense of the Black majority. Apartheid indeed touched everyone from the womb to the tomb, and even beyond.

Superficially, everyone in South Africa is now a votary of democracy. It is hard to find anyone who supported apartheid. The end of apartheid, one is often told, liberated the Whites as much as it did the Blacks. Indeed, the spin put on such feel-good sentiments is that under the apartheid regime the White minority suffered great spiritual and moral deprivations and consequently experienced an even greater sense of liberation on the advent of democracy than the Black majority whose very humanity was denied — as clear a case of the perpetrator of an atrocity claiming victim status as any.

Only this explains the persistent malice and malevolence of the resourceful and influential sections of the White minority towards the democratic dispensation. Nowhere is this malevolence more evident than in the media, still largely controlled by the White minority. It is true that in all democratic societies the media has by definition played an adversarial role. However, given the unique history and correlation of race and class in South African society, this critical role of the media has, especially in the last two years, evolved into being an active participant in an agenda of delegitimisation of the liberation movement.

This is true as much of that section of the media which was an acknowledged voice of the apartheid regime as of the predominantly English language media which, always within the framework prescribed by the apartheid regime and its so-called laws, was a voice of dissent. The headline to a recent report in one such voice of the English-speaking White liberal establishment — Is Thabo an Anagram for Botha? — with the implication that the democratic Government is no better, perhaps even worse, than the apartheid regime, tells all.



Mr. Thabo Mbeki... target of hate.

*The recent allegation by a well-known journalist that South Africa's President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, is a 'womaniser' is of a piece with the White-controlled media's tirade against him, writes M. S. Prabhakara.*

There are several elements and axiomatic givens in this agenda of delegitimisation. However, central to the agenda is the politics and person of the President, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, seen as a uniquely baleful and vengeful Africanist, in contrast to the benevolent Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the barely concealed hatred and related emotions, including visceral fear that he evokes in the still predominantly White (and foreign, mainly British capital) controlled media. Indeed, the thrust of all the media polemics, such as there is, in the last one year and more is that the country faces a disaster under

Mr. Mbeki; and the sooner he is replaced, the better for the country, indeed for the ANC itself and the spirit of the liberation movement.

One explanation for such malevolence, especially on the part of the liberal media, could be that having an exaggerated view of its role as a 'fighter against apartheid', it now feels left out, its privileged ownership of the struggle taken away. Intolerably for this liberal establishment, those who it with such condescending compassion once supported and promoted now seem to have minds of their own, determined to carry on with the task of governing

the country, making mistakes on the way and learning through experience, not caring for their hands to be held.

There are numerous instances of these fraught relations, always manifesting initially on the basis of 'rumours' or 'sources' which conveniently remain 'unsourced', or, on occasion, self-serving leaks from within the ANC itself. Thus, the recent remarks of Mr. Max du Preeze, a well-known journalist, during a radio discussion on the SABC radio, the national broadcaster, that Mr. Mbeki was a 'womaniser', in a context where Mr. Mbeki's alleged sexual propensities were not relevant, had its origin in a letter allegedly written by Ms. Winnie Madikizela-Mandela to the Deputy President, Mr. Jacob Zuma, denying accusations that she had made such comments about Mr. Mbeki.

The curious 'disclaimer' by Mr. Zuma himself that he ever had plans to challenge Mr. Mbeki for the top position in the ANC too was provoked by similar 'rumours'. The pattern is well-established. A 'rumour' floated in one newspaper acquires greater currency when the rest of the media picks it up and soon, hey presto, the 'rumour' becomes god's own truth.

Underlying all such exercises is the mutually self-serving symbiosis between the supposedly objective media, whose only commitment is to fact and truth, and the opposition political parties. The latest instance of such symbiosis is the decision of the Pan Africanist Congress, in particular its Chief Whip in Parliament, Ms. Patricia de Lille, to pass on the names of 'five senior ANC leaders' allegedly involved in the arms deal kickbacks, to 'some journalists' for further investigation, instead of to the constitutionally mandated bodies created by a democratic dispensation investigating the alleged irregularities.

Quite simply, the liberal media, which during the apartheid regime pursued an agenda parallel to that of the so-called opposition in that abomination that the so-called Parliament was, playing its assigned role in the rivalry that existed between the entrenched Anglo-American capital and the emergent Afrikaner capital, continues to envision for itself the same role even though the objective circumstances have changed entirely.

THE WORLD

22 APR 2001

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# African ship out at sea with child slaves

JEAN-LUC APLOGAN  
COTONOU, APRIL 15

CONCERN mounted on Sunday over the welfare of scores of suspected child slaves said to be on board a ship which has been roaming the West African coast for more than two weeks.

The ship, whose whereabouts are unknown after it was turned back from Gabon and Cameroon, is thought to be carrying 180 children caught up in a lucrative trade in minors sold by poor families and forced to work abroad on plantations or as servants. It is expected to arrive in Benin later on Sunday.

Aid workers said they had received reports from police port authorities in Cameroon, the last to see the ship before it set out for Cotonou on Thursday, that some children on board were sick.

"We are very concerned. Reports from police authorities in Cameroon say there are many, many children on board and some of them are sick," Estelle Guluman of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Cotonou told Reuters.

"We don't know where the boat is, but conditions on board must be very bad. The ship was only expected to go to Gabon, so it didn't carry a lot of supplies. But instead of a four-day journey, it has been at sea for more

than two weeks." Guluman said government pledges to punish those guilty of trafficking children could backfire and put the children on board at even more risk.

"The captain knows full well that he will have to face the music when he gets back here, so he may have tried to offload the children in another Port," she said adding there were unconfirmed reports the ship might head for Lagos in Nigeria, where UNICEF staff were on standby.

Police authorities in Cotonou said they had alerted their counterparts in Togo, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Nigeria, in case the ship tried to dock in any of those West African countries. "This is a dramatic and

shocking situation," Information Minister Gaston Zossou told reporters on Saturday.

"We condemn this practice and we must take measures to punish and discourage those responsible," he said.

Port officials said the Nigerian-registered MV Etireno had been chartered by a Benin businessman and set sail for Gabon on March 30.

But after being turned back from Gabon and Cameroon's main port of Douala, the ship set out for Cotonou late on Thursday, and Port officials said it may take until late on Sunday to complete its round trip of more than 2,000 km (1,250 miles).

— Reuters



## AT A GLANCE

### Ms World format is stupid, must change: Morley

LONDON: DESCRIBING the Miss World beauty pageant in its current form as "stupid" and "awful", Julia Morley, widow of Eric Morley, creator of the beauty contest has indicated a drastic change to make it "more positive" and beneficial to contestants. "We've got a new concept for the show and we're discussing ways we can do something pretty positive towards the contestants' education, with scholarships," Morley, who heads the organisation, told *The Sunday Observer* in an interview published on Sunday. "The new Miss World will be more respectful to the contestants, and more positive," she said.

### Pentagon considers a new N-weapon for buried targets

WASHINGTON: THE Pentagon is studying whether to develop a nuclear bomb that would be capable of knocking out hardened or deeply buried targets without huge collateral damage, the Washington Post reported on Sunday. Citing administration and congressional sources, the newspaper said officials are looking at whether to build a low-yield nuclear weapon with an earth-penetrating nose cone as a way to hit underground leadership bunkers and command centers. Rising concern that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein could hide chemical and biological weapons in underground bunkers has heightened interest in such weapons, the Post said.

### Nepal joined twins stable during key recovery period

SINGAPORE: NEPALI twin sisters, joined at the head until surgeons in Singapore separated them in a marathon operation last week, are in a stable condi-



Russian President Vladimir Putin and his wife Lyudmila offer prayers during the Easter service at Christ the Savior Cathedral in Moscow on Sunday — AP/PTI

tion, a hospital spokeswoman said on Sunday. The twins, for whom the first week is critical, had earlier developed a slight fever but doctors said it was not abnormal given the complex surgery, which lasted more than 90 hours. "Their condition remains stable," the Singapore General Hospital spokeswoman said. Eleven-month-old Ganga and Jamuna Shrestha, who had two brains intertwined in one skull, were successfully separated on April 10 in an operation which was initially expected to last 36 hours.

### Iran's serial killer claims his twelfth victim: Newspaper

TEHRAN: AN apparent serial killer preying on prostitutes and women drug-addicts in northeast Iran has struck again, murdering a 12th victim and dumping her body in a ditch, Iran newspaper said on Sunday. A group of boys playing soccer on waste ground nearby found the 35-year-old woman strangled with an Islamic headscarf and wrapped in a black chador. Police in the city of Mashad said the woman, named only as Ozra, had a record of crimes "in the fields of immorality". Eleven other women, aged between 27 and 50, have been killed in the same way in the city since last July. All had convictions for drug addiction or prostitution.

## Grave of German premier Schroeder's father found

BERLIN: A GERMAN agency has located the grave of German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's father, 57 years after Fritz Schroeder died while a soldier during World War-II in Romania, the tabloid Bild am Sonntag reported on Sunday.

Fritz Schroeder died fighting in the Nazi army against partisans on April 10 or 11, 1944 and was buried along with other war dead in the Romanian village of Ceanu Mare, Bild said, citing a German agency which keeps track of war dead.

"I cut the umbilical cord myself," Schroeder's mother, Erika Vosseler, 87, told the newspaper in describing the simple home birth.

Schroeder's elder sister, Gunhild Schroeder, said she hoped to visit the grave near Romanian city of Cluj. "Now I'm going to ask my brother Gerhard whether he will accompany me on the visit to our father's grave," she said. "For mother, I fear the journey will just be too much of a strain."

— Reuters

**THE INSTITUTE OF CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS OF INDIA**  
I.P. Marg, P.B. No. 7100, New Delhi - 110002

April 11, 2001

**IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT**

On account of the elections to be held in some States on 10th May, 2001, the Foundation and Final Examinations to be held in May, 2001 only have been decided to be rescheduled. These examinations will now be held on the dates as given below. **The intermediate examination will be held on the dates as already notified and thus there will be no change in the dates of the Intermediate Examination.** The timing/session/sequence of papers and the venue of all the examination centres will remain unchanged.

**REVISED SCHEDULE OF FOUNDATION AND FINAL EXAMINATIONS**

**FOUNDATION EXAMINATION:** [Morning Session - 8.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m. - (IST)]  
6th, 7th, 8th and 9th May, 2001 (instead of earlier notified dates of 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th May 2001)

**FINAL EXAMINATION:** [Morning Session - 8.00 a.m. to 11.00 a.m. - (IST)]  
**GROUP - I:** 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th May, 2001 (there is no change in the dates of the examinations of Group-I and accordingly will be held on the dates as already notified and published earlier, i.e., on 2nd, 3rd 4th and 5th May, 2001)

**GROUP - II:** 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th May, 2001 (instead of earlier notified dates of 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th May, 2001).

**INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION** [Afternoon Session - 12.30 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. - (IST)] will be held as per dates notified and published earlier, i.e., Group - I - on 2nd, 3rd, and 4th May, 2001 and Group - II - on 5th, 8th and 9th May, 2001. **As such there is no change in the dates and timing of the Intermediate Examination.** The timing/session(s)/sequence of papers, centres of examinations and all other details/conditions mentioned in the notification dated 27th January, 2001 will remain unchanged. The venue of the examination centres as mentioned in the admit cards already issued to the candidates will also remain unchanged.

(Jagdamba Prasad)  
Additional Secretary (SG) (Exams)

INDIAN EXPRESS

15 APR 2001

HD-16  
15/9

# Warning bells for ANC

Africa

**T**HE RATHER unusual statement issued by Mr. Jacob Zuma, Deputy President of the African National Congress (and of the country), on April 3 continues to make ripples, raising more questions than answering them. Mr. Zuma discounted in that statement "rumours and unverified so-called intelligence reports" suggesting that he might stand for ANC President during the party's next national conference. He also went on to affirm his loyalty to the President, Mrs. Thabo Mbeki, expressing his admiration for Mr. Mbeki's leadership. "He (Mr. Mbeki) has a profound understanding of the movement, has provided excellent leadership to South Africa during its most trying times, and continues to do so. He has my unqualified support as the President of both the ANC and the country," Mr. Zuma said.

The 'rumoured' scenario which Mr. Zuma was discounting, which were it to materialise would be perfectly legitimate in terms of the ANC's own Constitution, is nowhere on the horizon. The ANC's next national conference, where such changes in the leadership as are seen necessary will be made, is due only towards the end of 2002. That Mr. Zuma nevertheless thought it necessary to refute such "rumours" is just one indication of the way the media in this country increasingly seems to be dictating the political agenda.

Naturally, the statement has provided additional grist to the mill of the very same "rumours" that Mr. Zuma sought to discount and refute. Mr. Zuma is now rather in the position of the protagonist in numerous versions of the pithy Indian folk tale who affirms his innocence even when it is not questioned but rather is challenged in an entirely unrelated context.

Openly waged struggles for leading position within the ANC are an integral part of the organisation's political culture. Unlike the Indian National Congress which superficially it resembles, including in being a home for the widest spectrum of political thinking from the Right to the Left, the ANC has never had a culture of seeking "consensus". Leadership positions are openly contested at local, provincial and national levels, with the results published. There is little of the kind of hypocrisy that disavows political ambitions even when desperately manoeuvring to seek high political office.

So, why did Mr. Zuma, Number Two both in the organisation and the Government, think it necessary to refute such "rumours"? After all, Mr. Mbeki was in the same position vis a vis Mr. Nelson Mandela, succeeding him as ANC President in December 1997 and as President of the country in June 1999. One can even argue that the media, in speculating or even in spreading such "rumours", is only performing its normal task. The difference, however, is the vicious hostility of much of the media towards Mr. Mbeki; and the not unjustified perception in the ANC that it is pursuing an agenda of de-legitimising, even criminalising not so much Mr. Mbeki, not even the ANC-led Government, but the liberation movement itself.

At one point in his statement Mr. Zuma



Mr. Thabo Mbeki and Mr. Jacob Zuma... targets of a media conspiracy?

said: "We have been aware of some elements in various guises, who have been trying to isolate the President by creating the impression that some of his trusted comrades are plotting against him and, in this way, remove them from him." Divide and destroy, the classic tactic of all warfare. Nowhere is this more evident than in the political warfare that has been going on in South Africa between a Government committed to, even if with vacillation and compromise and an occasional whiff or taint of corruption, to an agenda of transformation, and the still privileged and unstructured minority bent upon resisting transformation. The war has really become

and criminal incompetence. The three steps that have led to this elevation — or downfall in a hierarchy of angels — are his alleged soft stance towards Zimbabwe's President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, his attempt to intervene in the debate on the "causal links" between HIV and AIDS, and finally, his refusal to issue a proclamation that would have allowed Judge Willem Heath, projected by himself and the media as the only person in South Africa capable of combating corruption, to be associated with Parliament's inquiry into the multi-billion rands arms deal. These continue to be further refined, each week bringing in new revelations.

Any attempt on the part of the democratic Government to defend itself is met with the sneering comments that it is playing the race card — a game at which the political and media opposition is an expert. Mr. Zuma, initially projected as a political innocent, has in the past two years been dusted up and now projected as a far more "suave and diplomatic statesman" than Mr. Mbeki — the very description used for Mr. Mbeki during his term as Deputy President.

As always, such agendas can thrive only in an environment that allows them to thrive. This brings one to the question of the ANC's own culpability, its failure to ensure discipline among its members, to take action against corrupt elements. The dilemma is not unique, for it is faced by every revolutionary movement as it transforms itself into a ruling political party. What strikes this observer, however, is the fatal lowering of guard evident at all levels of the ANC since it became a party of Government, as if the fact of it leading the government has meant it has really defeated all its enemies. Unless it recovers its revolutionary passion and capacity for anger, unless it sets its own house in order, the prospects are it will continue to be beset by forces opposed to change, and increasingly be given to only ad hoc responses to such challenges.

**Unless the ANC sets its own house in order, it will continue to be beset by forces opposed to change.**  
**M. S. Prabhakara on the travails of South Africa's ruling party.**

dirty since Mr. Mbeki succeeded Mr. Mandela. For, a crucial element in the polemics of this is the contrast that is repeatedly pressed between a benevolent Nelson Mandela, embracing all, in particular the Whites, in his transparency, and a satanic and secretive Thabo Mbeki, the vengeful Africanist. Every lapse, every instance of real or alleged corruption and incompetence, by the democratic government has thus become a weapon in the armoury of its opponents. One would imagine, reading the Sunday papers, that the country is mired in corruption and criminal incompetence, that the democratic Government is no different from, indeed is even worse than, the apartheid regime.

In this agenda, Mr. Mbeki is accorded the top position in a hierarchy of corruption

THE HINDU

15 APR 2001

## Mugabe men storm 'white' firms

**HARARE, APRIL 7.** The Zimbabwean President, Mr. Robert Mugabe's supporters have begun a new offensive against the country's white community by invading business premises.

Four factories in Harare have been invaded this week by chanting mobs of Mugabe supporters claiming to be veterans of the war against white rule.

They still occupy more than 900 white-owned farms. Now they are widening their campaign to any business with the faintest connection, real or imagined, to a white person. Deziq Inc. was forced to suspend operations, threatening 120 jobs, after 30 men stormed its factory in the suburb of Southerton. Shouting "Forward with Comrade Mugabe", the gang burst into the office of Mr. Danisa Mandoa, the general manager, and demanded the reinstatement of 88 sacked workers.

"They kicked and punched me in my office. Then they dragged me through the factory," said Mr. Mandoa. Bleeding from the head after being hit with an iron bar, Mr. Mandoa was marched six miles to the headquarters of Mr. Mugabe's party. During the journey he was abused, kicked, punched, spat on and pelted with stones. He was taken to the ninth floor, where he was interrogated and accused of supporting the Opposition Movement for Democratic Change. "They were saying that Deziq was owned by the whites, that

I was sacking Zanu-PF supporters and hiring MDC people." In fact, a white family has only a 30 per cent stake in the textile company and 40 per cent of the shares are owned by the workforce.

Mr. Mandoa was held for more than three hours and allowed to leave only after being forced to address a baying mob and promising to reinstate the sacked workers. After receiving eight stitches for head wounds, he fled for South Africa on Friday and shut the factory. Mr. Mandoa said: "I fear for my life. That's why I'm getting out of here."

Lobels Bread Ltd. was the next target, when at least 80 men stormed its factory. Mr. Mark Prior, the white managing director, was harangued before the workforce, and the gang, which entered the premises with the help of the police, said all whites would be forced out of Zimbabwe and they would run the business from now on. Police searched the offices of the white managers and found some e-mails from the MDC. Mr. Ian Nel, a manager, was immediately arrested and held in cells overnight.

Mr. Mugabe has labelled whites "our enemies" and accused them of creating the MDC as a front for restoring colonial rule. By breaking the whites, he hopes to break the Opposition and secure victory in next year's presidential election. — ©Telegraph Group Limited, London, 2001

THE HINDU

26 APR 2001

# Congo President sacks Govt

Kinshasa, April 5

CONGO PRESIDENT Joseph Kabila dismissed his entire Government four months into his tenure, saying he wants to get control of what he called the ever-worsening situation in his war-stricken central African country.

Kabila, 29, was expected today in Germany to launch what he called an "explaining campaign" to his people and the world "in view of remedying the country's troubles."

Back home, Government operations were being restrict-

ed solely to providing basic day-to-day services, presidential spokesman Ngwej Katot said.

Kabila until now largely had left intact the civilian leadership he inherited from President Laurent Kabila, his father, assassinated under mysterious circumstances in January.

Laurent Kabila, a lifetime rebel who seized power in 1997, perpetuated his predecessors' decades of corrupt, oppressive rule in Congo. Laurent Kabila's four-year regime saw the country plunged into a civil war that has drawn in the armies of five other African nations in what

has been widely called Africa's first world war.

His son, Joseph, "is fully conscious of the economic and social situation that prevails in this country, and is concerned by it," the Government said in a statement late last night announcing the dismissals.

"Worsened by the unjust war of aggression, conditions are getting worse in the lives of our people," the statement said, referring to the 21/2-year-old war, launched by Ugandan and Rwandan-backed rebels fighting to oust the late President.

AP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

6 APR 2001



AFRICA - FP-61

# S. African troops for Congo soon

By M. S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, APRIL 1. A small contingent of South African troops will be leaving "as soon as possible" to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, according to the South African Defence Minister, Mr. Mosiuoa Lekota.

The decision comes in the wake of the disengagement of foreign troops in the DRC. The process recently, though the withdrawals have been limited and symbolic.

The first complement of South African troops, comprising six persons, all members of the South African Military Health Service, is expected to leave soon for the DRC. They will be joining the U.N. Mission Organisation in the DRC (MONUC, its French abbreviation), in place in the DRC since the Lusaka Accord of July-August 1999. Initially comprising less than 80 persons, MONUC at present comprises a modest 200 persons drawn from 37 countries.

MONUC is strictly speaking not a peace-keeping force, though Article III (11-a) of the Lusaka Accord specifically called for the deployment of an "appropriate peace-keeping

force": to be constituted and facilitated by the U.N. and in collaboration with the OAU".

However, the U.N. Security Council in its Resolution of February 24, 2000, limited the role of the projected 5,537 U.N. troops to "monitoring" and "verification" of the ceasefire rather than any "enforcement". The reluctance to take an activist role was understandable, given the realities of the situation on the ground when the resolution was adopted. Though the situation has somewhat changed with the recent political changes in the DRC, there is no indication of the U.N. taking on an activist peace-keeping, if necessary peace-enforcing, role in the DRC. The fact is, U.N. peace-keeping operations in Africa have a history of coming unstuck so that even participating countries are wary of what holds for their troops wearing the blue berets.

Caution and minimalism are still the watchwords in so far as the role and functions of the U.N. troops are concerned. This is even more so in respect of the deployment of South African troops. That it has taken South African authorities over a year for the decision to be part of the U.N. forces in the DRC to actually

send or "about to send" the troops tells its own story. From the beginning, South Africa has been extremely cautious in this regard, deferring any decision till every conceivable problem was sorted out. Such care and concern for the welfare of its troops was not evident when, in a matter of days and with virtually no preparation, South Africa sent its troops to sort out a domestic crisis in Lesotho in September 1998. But then, Lesotho is "home" while DRC is somewhere out in the "darkest Africa".

This mindset, going back to the bad old days before the advent of democracy, is yet to change.

Indeed, the opposition to "getting entangled in African problems", is sometimes openly expressed only by the principally white Opposition parties. Thus, the announcement in June last year that the planned deployment of 165 South African troops to join MONUC could cost Rand 6 millions a month was greeted with outrage by the Opposition parties, though the costs of such deployment have always been met finally by the U.N.

# Ugandan troops pull back from frontline in Congo

Africa HD-19

21/3

By M. S. Prabhakara

**CAPE TOWN, MARCH 20.** The process of disengagement of foreign troops in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has begun with troops from Rwanda pulling back 15 km from their forward positions. The President of Rwanda, Mr. Paul Kagame, who held discussions with his South African counterpart, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, in Pretoria on Saturday confirmed that Rwandan forces were "pulling back". Rwanda is believed to have about 20,000 army personnel in the DRC while Uganda has 10,000. Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia which have sent in their forces in support of the DRC Government are believed to have, respectively, 7,000, 2,000 and 12,000 troops. The agreement on the limited pullback involves all foreign troops.

Ugandan troops had begun their pullback even earlier. The Ugandan President, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, had announced, even

before the present pullback began, that his country would withdraw troops from the DRC even if there was no agreement on the issue. In a recent interview, Mr. Museveni said the "bilateral aims of Uganda", meaning its own security concerns insofar as they arise from the "Allied Democratic Forces", a rebel group believed to be close to the former President, Idi Amin, and operating in the west and north of the country bordering on the DRC and Sudan, had been taken care of with the recent victories against the ADF forces in the west.

As for the residual problems — "the Interahamwe, the Hutu of Burundi, Congo itself, Angola, etc." — Mr. Museveni said Uganda could contribute to their solution only if there was a consensus.

Though seemingly united about their "security concerns" and for a while allied on their intervention in the DRC, the strategic objectives of Uganda and Rwanda have always been differ-

ent. While the long term "security interests" of Rwanda envisage the creation of an autonomous and friendly enclave in eastern DRC, Uganda's concerns have been limited to the perceived threats from the rebel groups operating from the west and north.

The pullback falls well short of real withdrawal from the DRC territory where they have been deeply entrenched for long. Indeed, troops from Uganda and Rwanda have had their own pitched battles in and around Kisangani, deep inside the DRC territory.

Meanwhile, the process of "inter-Congolese dialogue" envisaged in the Lusaka Accord, which has never begun though it should have been completed by the end of November 1999, has been activated. The DRC President, Mr. Joseph Kabila, has invited Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana and facilitator of this process, for talks in Kinshasa.

THE HINDU

21 MAR 2001

# Museveni wins second term

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, MARCH 14. The Ugandan President, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, has won a second term, brushing aside the challenge from an erstwhile comrade.

According to the Electoral Commission, Mr. Museveni received 69.3 per cent of the valid votes cast. His principal rival and one-time comrade-in-arms, Dr. Kizza Besigye, trailed well behind with 27.3 per cent. The rest of the four candidates, barring Mr. Aggrey Awori with his political background in the Uganda People's Congress, secured less than one per cent of the vote. The voter turnout was a little over 70 per cent. In the presidential elections in May 1996, Mr. Museveni had secured 76 per cent of votes in a field which had two other candidates.

The victory of Mr. Museveni was expected. Politically, it vindicates his stand that the system of 'non-party politics' represented by the National Resistance Movement is best suited to Uganda at present. It also puts the NRM at an advantage in the elections to a new Parliament which have to be held before June this year. In the previous parliamentary elections held, as the Presidential elections, on a 'non-party' basis, most of the

276 elective seats were won by known NRM supporters, who of course, did not contest on any identifiable party ticket.

Rejecting the results which he characterised as 'rigged', Dr. Besigye has said that he would challenge the poll outcome in the courts. Though preliminary breakdown of the figures indicate that he out-pollled Mr. Museveni in many urban areas including Kampala district, Dr. Besigye described the whole electoral process as 'grossly fraudulent' yesterday evening by when it was clear that Mr. Museveni was heading for a victory.

Complaints about electoral fraud, violence and intimidation were rife even throughout the election campaign. There have also been allegations of an inflated electoral roll and of the active involvement of the armed forces in intimidation of the electorate. Indeed, even Mr. Museveni supporters complained of intimidation and of attacks on supporters. However, reports from Kampala suggest that the irregularities, violence and intimidation which are an all too common feature of passionately contested elections, were not of an exceptionally high or unusual order.

THE HINDU

15 MAR 2001

## **Museveni set to win another term'**

*Article*  
*SE-11*  
*14/3*  
REUTERS

KAMPALA, March 13. - Ugandan President Mr Yoweri Museveni's campaign team today said he was "heading for a big victory" in the presidential election although no official vote count has yet been released.

"Right now the results are showing the margin will be big," said Mr Basoga Nsadhu, spokesman for Mr Museveni's campaign. "We have received about 50 per cent of the results from the districts. It's very clear we are heading for a big victory. We are not looking at anything below 65 per cent," he added.

Unofficial tallies by the country's two leading newspapers showed Mr Museveni, who has ruled Uganda since 1986, ahead of his main challenger Mr Kizza Besigye.

THE STATESMAN

14 MAR 2001

## Fresh issues raised in South African drugs case

By M. S. Prabhakara

**CAPE TOWN, MARCH 8.** The Pretoria High Court has postponed its hearings in the court case brought against the South African Government challenging the Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act, 1997, by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association, to April 26.

This follows the admission by the High Court of a petition by the Treatment Action Campaign to be admitted to the proceedings as a 'friend of the court'.

The TAC, an organisation active in promoting the provision of cheap and effective

medication to victims of HIV/AIDS, if necessary by defying drugs patent laws, made the application to raise issues of how brand-name medicines are unaffordable to millions of people living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

In a statement Mr. Zakie Achmat, Chairperson of the Treatment Action Campaign, said: "For the first time the pharmaceutical industry will have to justify to South Africa and to the world why their drug prices are so high and why their patents should be so aggressively protected, when millions of people are dying and cheaper drugs exist."

The Pretoria High Court began its hearings in the case on Monday. The case has attracted worldwide attention, with civil society structures inside and outside South Africa strongly supporting the government's stand.

What is however is not very clear is why the South African government, which cites among others the examples of Brazil and India which have with greater or lesser success defied the patent laws, is not following the same path, instead of the path of litigation. One explanation could be that, as in so many other aspects of its economic (and

political) management, the Government deeply desires for an accommodation with the West, even while making the obligatory noises about the commonality of its interests with the underdeveloped/developing countries.

This dichotomy, if it is that, is evident in every aspect of the country's politics and economics and is one of the primary factors animating the 'creative tension' among the partners of the tripartite alliance, among the unions and the organised left on the one hand and the structures of the Government on the other.

THE HINDU

- 9 MAR 2001

148-14  
148-14  
148-14

## Presidential poll in Uganda put off

By M.S. Prabhakara

**CAPE TOWN, MARCH 7.** The Presidential election in Uganda, which was to have taken place today, has been deferred to March 12.

The Ugandan Electoral Commission took this decision after consulting representatives of all the six candidates in the fray, following complaints from various candidates about the electoral rolls. Specifically, the complaints related to the decision of the Electoral Commission, following the publication of the voters' register last month, to reduce the period allotted to the display of voters' registers from the statutory 21 days to just three days. There have been complaints about an inflated voters' register and the 'integrity' of the electoral rolls, and reports that foreigners from Rwanda and Congolese rebels have been involved in the election process.

The President, Mr. Yoweri Museveni, leads a field of six candidates for President. Though he has been in power since January 1986 when his National Resistance Army successfully marched into Kampala, this is only the second time that he is contesting the poll. There was no elected government in the first 10 years of his rule when the priority was national reconciliation, the adoption of a new constitution enacted in October 1995, and reconstruction of the war ravaged economy.

**THE HINDU**

- 8 MAR 2001

# South Africans protest MNCs' drugs policy

By M. S. Prabhakara 410-17 413

CAPE TOWN, MARCH 5. Thousands of people marched to the U.S. embassy in Pretoria and its consulates in Cape Town and Durban today, demanding the withdrawal of the court action by the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association of South Africa (PMASA) representing South African subsidiaries of about 40 multinational companies, most of them U.S.-based, challenging the Medicines and Related Substances Control Amendment Act, 1997.

The demonstrations on Monday coincided with the first day's hearing in the case brought by the PMASA against the Government before the Pretoria High Court. The protests were organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party, some structures of the African National Congress and the Treatment Action Campaign, which has been at the forefront of a movement to secure the provision of cheap and effective drugs, if necessary by defying patent laws, to victims of HIV/AIDS.

According to an SABC radio report, similar protests are taking place in London and several other world capitals.

The court action by the drug companies is also opposed by Oxfam and Doctors Without Borders (Medecins Sans Frontieres). A media release by these organisations said the court action by the pharmaceutical companies "is a warning to other developing countries that many within the pharmaceutical industry will use any tactic to defend their patents, whatever the cost in human suffering."

The legal action essentially seeks to stop the Government from taking any steps to make



A child prays at an AIDS orphanage in Bvumbwe, Malawi. Nearly every major pharmaceutical company in the world is suing the South African Government in a court case which started on Monday. — AP

cheaper generic drugs available to the people. This is precisely what the legislation amend-

ing the original Act was passed in October 1997 seeks to do. Without exception, every medicine manufactured by a South African subsidiary of a multinational pharmaceutical company and marketed under a trade name costs several times more than the same medicine manufactured, say by an Indian or Thailand subsidiary of the same multinational, and marketed under the same trade name in those countries.

The Act also provides for the substitution of patented drugs with generics; and for compulsory licensing where prices of drugs are inordinately high. It also seeks to introduce an element of price control through the mechanism of an exit price, something South African business accustomed to total absence of any price controls finds horrifying.

The pharmaceutical companies are challenging the validity of the legislation on the ground that it violates South Africa's membership obligations to the WTO, in particular the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). The Government has, however, maintained that this is not true, citing the provisions in TRIPS which allow Governments to take special measures to protect the health of citizens.

The latest issue of *ANC Today*, the weekly online journal of the ANC, points out that South Africa is not alone in taking recourse to parallel importation to address the problem of unreasonably high prices of products. It cites the practice of the E.U. within the member countries and also of the U.S. itself "which has adopted a version of this practice", allowing for the "re-importation" of U.S. goods.

THE HINDU

6 MAR 2001

# Zimbabwe's top judge agrees to leave office

HARARE, MARCH 3. Hours after being threatened with "war" by a notorious henchman of the President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's Chief Justice surrendered to government demands on Friday and agreed to relinquish office.

The decision marked the culmination of Mr. Mugabe's drive to seize control of the judiciary. Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay, 68, signed an agreement to go on leave immediately and to retire formally on July 1.

The way is now clear for the appointment of an acting Chief Justice, likely to be Judge President Godfrey Chidyausiku, a former Cabinet Minister loyal to the President.

After reading of his abrupt dismissal in the State press on Tuesday, Chief Justice Gubbay fought back by asserting his right to hold office until his fixed retirement date of April next year.

He nervously paced the corridor of the Supreme Court on Friday while his lawyers negotiated with Mr. Patrick Chinamasa, the Justice Minister.

The Chief Justice has been subjected to months of pressure and abuse since the Supreme Court, under his leadership, struck down the Government's "fast track" land seizures last year.

Mr. Chinamasa called him "disgraceful and despicable" in Parliament on Wednesday and Mr. Joseph Made, the Agriculture Minister, has publicly accused him of "bias against blacks".

In a country where 47 political murders were recorded last year, his safety has also been threatened. A chanting mob led by Joseph Chinotimba, the self-styled commander-in-chief of white farm invasions, was allowed to storm the Supreme Court last November and bring proceedings to a halt.

Police permitted Chinotimba to enter the court lobby on Friday and hold a lengthy telephone conversation with the Chief Justice.

Afterwards, the notorious rabble rouser, who is on bail awaiting trial for attempted murder, said: "I talked to Mr. Gubbay personally and I told him to vacate office today. We are big people. We war veterans will defend our country to the last breath."



The Zimbabwe war veteran and self-styled leader of the farm invasions, Mr. Joseph Chinotimba, talks to mediapersons after visiting Chief Justice Anthony Gubbay in his chambers in the Supreme Court in Harare on Friday. Mr. Chinotimba said he would "go to war" if Mr. Gubbay did not obey the Government's order to vacate his office. — AP

Asked what he would do if the Chief Justice insisted on holding office, Chinotimba replied: "Declare war." Accompanied by seven henchmen, all wearing dark glasses, he strode away, still issuing threats.

Chief Justice Gubbay, whose wife, Wilma, has Alzheimer's disease, was described by a friend as "emotionally unable to stand up to this kind of pressure". He is now shadowed by a bodyguard and is unable to trust the policemen assigned to protect him.

The deal was negotiated against the background of this merciless campaign of harassment, designed to remove the last obstacle to Mr. Mugabe's authoritarian rule.

He agreed to leave office and in return the government acknowledged "the importance of the independence of the judiciary". Mr. Chinamasa withdrew his attacks on the Chief Justice and promised that "no steps will be taken to unlawfully cause the suspension, removal or resignation of any of the judges of Zimbabwe". — ©Telegraph Group Limited, London, 2001.

THE HINDU

4 MAR 2001



## **Apartheid victims to get modest compensation**

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, FEB. 23. The victims of gross human rights violations during the apartheid regime in South Africa are finally to receive some modest financial reparation.

The Budget for 2000-01 presented by the Finance Minister, Mr. Trevor Manuel, to Parliament in Cape Town on Thursday allocated rand 500 million to the President's Fund for payment of reparations to victims of gross human rights violations identified by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Fund, which presently has rand 323 million, will thus have Rand 823 million in total for payment towards reparations. According to the Estimates of National Expenditure of the Justice Ministry, the line function ministry of the TRC, "such payments will amount to about rand 40,000 per recipient, depending on the number of people who qualify."

Referring to the "unfinished business" of the TRC's recommendations of reparations, Mr. Manuel said in his budget speech that these payments would be "once-off settlements", which would be concluded over the next two years. The process is expected to get going when the Amnesty Committee completes its deliberations and the TRC itself reconvenes to complete its final report — all in the course of the next few months. The allocation falls short of the TRC's recommendations in this regard — less than one third of the over rand 2.8 billion recommended by the TRC.

The TRC's report, published in October 1998, identified 22,000 victims of gross human rights violations. It recommended that these victims should be given annual individual reparation grants calculated for each beneficiary according to a formula it had worked out.

The annual payments over a period of six years were to be twice a year. "Based on the given policy and formula, and estimating 22,000 victims, the total cost of this policy will be rand 477,400,000 per annum, or rands 2,864,400,000 over six years. However, these funds of over rand 2.8 billion were to be mobilised not merely from the national fiscus but also from "international and local donations and earned interest on the funds". But little of this has been forthcoming. References to this "unfinished business" only provokes sullen indifference from South African big business which benefited immensely from apartheid.

Indeed, even a modest initiative by some sensitive whites to secure an acknowledgement that the white people did benefit from apartheid has provoked only hostility towards "weepy bleeding hearts".

THE HINDU

24 FEB 2001

10-17 24

## U.N. ON TEST IN CONGO Africa

ANOTHER LEADER OF Africa who promised a lot only to slip into a familiar dictatorship mode has fallen, dragging the region into uncertainty and provoking concerns at a time when the continent appears headed for better days. A small-time guerilla leader for three decades before he marched into his country's capital four years ago as the heroic victor over one of Africa's longest-serving dictators, Laurent Kabila had raised hopes of peace and some stability for the chronically unstable region. When he drove out Mobutu Sese Seko and renamed Zaire the Democratic Republic of Congo, there was general rejoicing that Central Africa was at last emerging out of the tunnel. There was even a hint that the debilitating ethnic violence of the past decade and more may be at an end as the entire continent, from Nigeria up north to South Africa, tended to project optimism. The prevalent hope was that the peace fallout from Mr. Nelson Mandela's South Africa would provide the needed spark. Not only did Kabila belie the hopes he had raised but through his own dictatorial ways and a hardline approach to tackling the rebellion that had engulfed more than half of his country he brought suicidal uncertainty to the region. If the United Nations fails to act immediately by sending in the promised international peace force as part of an earlier agreement, the region faces renewed anarchy. Memories of the Rwandan genocide in 1994 — accompanied by the shameful spectacle of the world body reduced to a state of total paralysis by the reluctance of the main member-nations — should serve to remind the international community of the responsibility and burden that it carries and the debt it owes to the innocent people of Central and Southern Africa.

Kabila's Congo is today in a perilous state after decades of the Mobutu dictatorship when the rich land was looted by the late President and his men. Caught in the rivalries of the Cold

War, the country — as much as the rest of the region — saw little development or progress for nearly three decades. And since 1997, when Mobutu's autocratic regime was overthrown, it has been wracked by a civil war which has its origin in the mindless ethnic war of 1994 and which has drawn in a string of neighbours. Kabila rode into Kinshasa, the Congolese capital, with the support of extremists of the Hutu tribe in neighbouring Rwanda and quickly turned against them. This was enough to shatter the bewildering ethnic mosaic of Central Africa. On either side of the civil war are ranged six countries and several other rebel movements: Rwanda and Uganda have their soldiers supporting the rebels while Zambia, Namibia and Angola, all ideological cousins of Cold War vintage, had lent military support to the Kabila regime.

The bloody fighting has continued despite the warring groups and their external supporters signing a ceasefire agreement nearly a year ago. A summit in Lusaka in neighbouring Zambia, supported by all the major players on the continent, sought peace-keepers from the United Nations. A contingent of 6,000 should by now have been in place. The delay in the deployment had been blamed partly on Kabila. The U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, has been quick to reaffirm the world body's commitment to Congo. His appeal for restraint to the warring parties and the neighbouring countries needs to be reinforced by effective measures to prevent an escalation of the fighting. Seven years ago in a bizarre act the U.N. pulled out — instead of reinforcing — its small contingent from Rwanda even as the mass killings were beginning. The world body has before it the report of an extraordinary enquiry into the failure to stop that genocide, critical of the Security Council, the U.S., France and senior officials of the U.N. — including Mr. Annan, then not heading it. Africa can ill-afford another such trauma.

THE HINDU

24 JAN 2001

# Kabila Jr set to take oath as President

Kinshasa, January 24

THE DEMOCRATIC Republic of Congo (DRC) is to swear in on Wednesday as President Joseph Kabila, the young and politically untested General who inherits the war-torn chaos of this huge African country a day after his murdered father and predecessor was laid to rest.

Kabila was hurriedly appointed as the country's leader after a bodyguard assigned to protect his father Laurent shot the former President dead on January 16.

Justice Minister Mwenze Kongolo said the young Kabila was put in charge because the DRC was "on the verge of calamity and chaos and we had to be responsible" in moving fast to fill the power vacuum.

A senior government source, who asked to remain anonymous, said Parliament would formally approve the appointment in order to give Joseph Kabila the judicial and political foundation to his leadership.

His oath will be taken before the Supreme Court.

The ceremony comes a day after hundreds of thousands of emotional supporters turned out for the burial of his father in a Kinshasa mausoleum close to the Congo River.

The burial of the former Marxist guerrilla came as the central



Interim President of Congo Joseph Kabila pays his respects at the coffin of his father, late President Laurent Kabila, at People's Palace in the capital city Kinshasa on Tuesday. Photo: AP

African country faces a regional war that has split it in half, and the possibility of dangerous divisions in the armed forces following the strongman's death.

Joseph Kabila descended into his father's vault to lay a single

flower on the coffin after a 21-gun salute and a fly-past.

The heads of state of Angola, Malawi, Namibia, Sudan, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and senior representatives of other nations also left flowers in the mausoleum,

outside the historic Palace of the Nation. Troops from the DRC's allies, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, meanwhile locked Kinshasa down, patrolling alongside DRC troops and police.

(Guardian News Service)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

25 JAN 2001

## LATE, UNLAMENTED

<sup>5/6</sup> <sup>2/21</sup> Kabila goes out the African way <sup>AKS</sup>

LAURENT Kabila's life didn't change much for Congo, it is unlikely that his death will have much of an impact either, except perhaps to give fresh hope to his enemies in the east, rallied around the Congolese Movement for Democracy and the Movement for the Liberation of Congo, backed by Rwanda and Uganda, which, in turn, will fuel a fresh round of fighting. This is nothing new for Congo. The manner of Kabila's death — he was either shot by a general in Kinshasa or by an aide aboard a plane taking him to Zimbabwe for treatment — indicates the kind of regime he was running and the people he had around him. If people expected a change in May 1997, when he deposed that notorious tyrant, Mobutu Sese Seko, they were soon disappointed. Like Mobutu, he did pretty much what he wanted, concentrating all legislative and executive powers in his person and appointing a 300 member Legislative and Constituent Assembly all on his own in July last year, while troops from Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia watched over his diamond mines in Katanga, taking their share of the spoils for services rendered. There were the usual charges of corruption and nepotism, which is not surprising, given Kabila's background — he was abandoned by Che Guevara in the Sixties when as a freewheeling revolutionary he paid more attention to his women and his liquor, than to the cause he ostensibly espoused. He was brought to power by Rwanda and Uganda, but refused to give them a cut in the deal — and there was no peace.

The United Nations has made feeble attempts to get a grip on the situation in Congo, but after its experience in Somalia, it is understandably very careful about what it does in Africa. The UN maintains a small force that is ridiculously ill-equipped to confront the numbers on the opposite side. A peace agreement, incorporating a ceasefire, was signed in Lusaka in July 1999 by Kabila and all foreign intervening powers, but not by the rebels, the people concerned. In any case, full-scale fighting broke out again in November and has continued unabated ever since. Kabila could neither unite the country, nor induce his opponents to enter into a reasonable powersharing agreement with him. One doesn't know if this is at all possible in Congo which remains a hostage to warlordism and Kabila couldn't even be the kind of credible strongman that Mobutu was. He will not be missed.

THE STATESMAN

22 JAN 2000

# First account of Kabila's murder

KINSHASA (DRC), JAN. 21. In the first official account of the murder of the Congo President, Laurent Kabila, the Justice Minister, Mr. Mwenze Kongolo, said on Saturday that Kabila had been talking to one of his economic advisors when the assassin came into the room. "The guard came in and it was natural for Kabila to listen to what he had to say," Mr. Mwenze told a news conference in Kinshasa, explaining why the President had leaned forward as the gunman opened fire.

"One of the bullets went right behind the ear and came right behind the ribs. I think that's the one that killed him," Mr. Mwenze told a news conference. "Two other bullets went in the stomach but were not fatal."

Meanwhile, Kabila's body was brought to Kinshasa on Sunday. The slain leader's 31-year-old son, Mr. Joseph Kabila, already named as interim head of state, will be sworn in as the new President of Africa's third largest country after the funeral on Tuesday. Wailing women were

among the thousands of mourners who paid tribute to Kabila in his home city of Lubumbashi, to which the body was flown on Saturday from the Zimbabwean capital, Harare.

The coffin arrived aboard a plane at Kinshasa's N'Djili airport shortly before 12.30 p.m. local time. The body is expected to lie in state in Kinshasa's People's Palace before being buried on Tuesday. Thousands of mourners lined the route from the airport, many wearing T-shirts bearing Kabila's image. Mr. Joseph Kabila had arrived earlier, dressed in a black suit, to await the arrival of his father's body. Preparations were under way for a state funeral, to be followed by the swearing-in of Mr. Joseph Kabila.

In Lubumbashi on Saturday, Kabila's white flag-draped casket was carried on a gun carriage to the regional Parliament building. Armed soldiers ran alongside the convoy of decorated military vehicles as it wound its way through the city. "It was like ev-

eryone in town was there. The man represented their only hope. He had been the first leader from this part (of the country) since independence leader Patrice Lumumba," said an African diplomat who was at the scene. Western journalists were turned back after police mounted roadblocks on all roads leading to Lubumbashi.

State television has shown the younger Kabila meeting foreign diplomats during the past few days, but he has made no public comments. In one of his first acts, however, Mr. Kabila ordered the payment of salaries for civil servants and soldiers. The head of the U.N. Mission in Congo said on Saturday after meeting Mr. Kabila that he had shown willingness to work for peace.

Mr. Mwenze pledged on Saturday that the Government would resume negotiations to end the civil war after the President's funeral. "As soon as we have finished the burial of the President, we will start negotiating again," he said. — AP, Reuters

THE HINDU

22 JAN 2001

22 JAN 2001

## Kabila's son new Congo President

DEUTSCHE PRESS AGENTUR

NAIROBI, Jan. 19. — Hours after the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo finally confirmed that President Laurent Kabila was dead, his son formally took over as new head of state today.

Mr Joseph Kabila, 31, who received foreign diplomats in the capital Kinshasa last evening, is also new chief of the armed forces.

Kabila, who was reported to have been shot by a bodyguard in Kinshasa, was officially declared dead yesterday. The declaration ended two days of confusion about his fate.

Anti-government rebels said they opposed Mr Joseph Kabila's succession as new leader of the central African country.

Kinshasa was quiet today, with radio reports saying there was no plundering in the centre of the city of more than 5 million people as security remained extremely tight.

Government officials expected Mr Kabila's body would be transported from the Zimbabwean capital Harare tomorrow and taken to his hometown of Lubumbashi in Katanga province.

THE STATESMAN

20 JAN 2001

# Rebels reject Kabila junior

FROM MATTHEW TOSTEVIN

Kinshasa, Jan. 19 (Reuters): Anti-government rebels in the Democratic Republic of Congo today rejected Joseph Kabila as interim head of state after the killing of his father, President Laurent Kabila, and accused him of new acts of war.

The rebel reaction heightened gloom in the region over the future of Africa's third biggest country, racked by a war involving several foreign armies struggling over its huge mineral wealth.

The rebels alleged that government forces had bombed their positions in defiance of a much-broken ceasefire agreement.

Kin-Kiey Mulumba, spokesman for the main Rwandan-backed rebel movement, the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), said government planes had dropped six bombs near the northern town of Basankusu yesterday. "We strongly condemn this bombing. It's the most negative signal we could receive from Kinshasa," he said.

"We see nothing has changed in Kinshasa. He (Joseph) is just like his father," Mulumba said by

telephone from Brussels.

There was no independent confirmation of the bombing raid on Basankusu and no casualties were reported, but one regional security source commented: "This is business as usual. The war is just going to carry on as before."

The capital Kinshasa was calm after the belated confirmation by the government last night that Laurent Kabila had indeed died after being shot by one of his soldiers on Tuesday.

But news of his assassination was met with despair by residents in rebel-held eastern Congo who feared his death may prolong a foreign occupation which has brought them only misery.

The town of Bukavu on the southern tip of Lake Kivu is under the occupation of Rwandan forces, which back the rebels who took up arms against Kabila in August 1998. Most Congolese deeply resent the occupying army and say the local economy has collapsed under Rwandan rule. South African President Thabo Mbeki joined a chorus of calls for the new leader to embrace a peace accord agreed in 1999.

THE TELEGRAPH

20 JAN 2001

# Kabila's death complicates Congo scene

By M.S. Prabhakara

**CAPE TOWN, JAN. 19.** The death of the Congolese President, Mr. Laurent Kabila, soon after he was shot by one of his bodyguards in the Presidential palace in Kinshasa on Tuesday, is now official.

The Information Minister and DRC government spokesperson, Mr. Dominique Sakombi, announced the death on state radio and television yesterday evening. "The Democratic Republic of

the Congo" usually died on Wednesday, while undergoing emergency treatment in Harare.

According to other reports, he died on the plane while being transported to Harare. The Foreign Office in Pretoria confirmed the death yesterday evening, following the official briefing to diplomats in Kinshasa informing them of the development, earlier.

The body is being flown back to Kinshasa, with a stop in Lubumbashi, capital of Mr. Kabila's home province of Katanga, on Saturday. The DRC government had announced 30 days of national mourning.

The assassination is bound to make the resolution of the conflict in the DRC so much more difficult.

The Lusaka Accord, signed on

August 31, 1999, has not even begun to be implemented. There is no clarity when, or indeed if, a U.N. peacekeeping mission supposed to have been deployed end of 1999, will ever be in place.

Apart from DRC itself, five other countries are now actively engaged in the conflict, two (Uganda and Rwanda) in support of contending rebel factions and three (Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe) in support and at the invitation of the Government of the DRC. It also raises questions over the possible involvement of 'outside forces'.

Though both Uganda and Rwanda have denied any involvement, there has been no retraction of a statement by the DRC Defence Minister on Wednesday, while he was on a visit to Tripoli,

Libya: "This attack, which took place less than 24 hours ago, was organised by Uganda, Rwanda and Congo Brazzaville".

The Presidents of Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia, DRC's allies in its war against Rwanda and Uganda which are backing different rebel factions and have their ground forces in the DRC, are meeting in Luanda today. Zimbabwe's Information Minister, Prof. Jonathan Moyo, today said that Zimbabwe's forces would continue to assist the DRC 'until aggressors withdraw from the DRC'.

The role of Angola, which has the most vital stakes in ensuring continuity in the DRC, will be crucial. One of the rebel factions led by Jean Pierre Bemba, based in Gbadolite, is known to be close to



Congolese soldiers loyal to Mr. Laurent Kabila passing by his poster in the centre of Kinshasa in this August 1998 file picture.

the Angolan rebel movement UNITA, which has been carrying its own war against the Government in Kinshasa to maintain in Luanda for over two decades.

These considerations probably influenced the decision of the Government in Kinshasa to maintain that Mr. Kabila was alive when he was probably dead.



# Kabila's death an open secret now: Congo Opp

Kinshasa, January 18

THE SITUATION in the Democratic Republic of Congo capital Kinshasa, was described as uncertain two nights after the assassination attempt on the country's President, Laurent Kabila, reports said early today.

However, the Congo government moved fast to fill the power vacuum and anointed Kabila junior as his successor. An announcement was expected on Thursday on the fate of President Laurent Kabila, who was reportedly killed by a personal aide.

General Joseph Kabila met diplomats, diplomatic sources said on Thursday. A brief meeting took place on Wednesday after Joseph Kabila was named at an emergency cabinet session to take charge.

They added that ambassadors led by the doyen of the diplomatic corps, Sissa Le Bernard of Central African Republic, exchanged words with General Kabila, the former Army chief, who is barely in his thirties. Several foreign governments and a junior DRC government minister have said that Kabila died after he was shot on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the leader of the DRC Peaceful Opposition, Etienne Tshisekedi, said here on Thursday that Kabila's death in a coup attempt this week is "an open secret." In the DRC, outlying radio stations have all reported the death of Kabila, Tshisekedi, a for-

streets of the Kinshasa were being patrolled by military vehicles as most of the city's five million people remained in their homes while confusing reports and rumours circulated about the fate of Kabila.

Following the attack Tuesday on Kabila by one of his bodyguards,

sources in Belgium, the former colonial ruler of the Congo, as well as in France, Britain and Zimbabwe, said the Congolese President was dead.

But the Congo Government said Kabila had been severely wounded and was flown out of the country for treatment. Congolese officials, however, did not say where Kabila had been

## LIFE OF ADVENTURE, DEATH IN MYSTERY

1941: Born in Kalemie, Belgian Congo

1960: Belgian Congo gains independence as Zaire.

1964: Takes part in failed, Marxist-inspired Stanleyville uprising

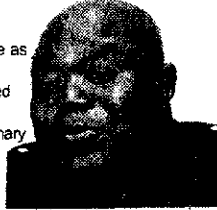
1966-90: Founds the People's Revolutionary Party, supported by Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Lives "in the bush", allegedly

profiting from gold, diamond trade

1996: Leader of Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Zaire

1997: Overthrows dictator Mobutu, proclaims himself President of the Democratic Republic of Congo

2001: January 16, reportedly shot dead by a bodyguard



mer prime minister of Zaire, told a press conference. "The truth is there, it's a sort of an open secret, everybody knows it," he said. The leaders currently in power in Kinshasa, who claimed Kabila had been wounded but was still alive, will announce his death "when, for domestic reasons, they are able to," he said.

The British Broadcasting Corporation reported that the

taken.

Official Zimbabwe media had reported that Kabila had died of wounds on a flight to Harare. Ziana, the state-owned news agency, quoted unnamed government officials as saying Kabila arrived dead early on Wednesday in Harare. "Kabila's body was flown to Zimbabwe and it arrived early this morning," an official was quoted as saying. (AFP)

THE HINDUSTAN TRIBES

19 JAN 2001

DRC / PRESIDENT'S FATE STILL UNCLEAR

# Kabila's son in command

By M. S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN (SOUTH AFRICA), JAN. 18. Major General Joseph Kabila, eldest son of Mr. Laurent Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has been "given" the leadership of the Government and the military high command in the country.

This was announced in a broadcast over national TV and radio by Mr. Dominique Sakombi, Information Minister and spokesperson of the DRC Government.

Mr. Sakombi's brief statement said, "For reasons of appropriate medical care, and in the light of the urgency", Mr. Laurent Kabila had been "transferred out of the country" following "a regrettable attack" that had taken place in the presidential palace in Kinshasa on Jan. 16 in which "the President of the Republic, the Head of State, the Head of the Public Salvation Government and the Supreme Commander of the Congolese armed forces" had been injured.

"Thus, awaiting his recovery and to ensure the continuity of the state, and to maintain the safety of property and people during this period of war and aggression, of which our homeland is the victim, the Public Salvation Government, which met in an extraordinary session today, has decided to give the leadership of the Government and the military high command to Major-General Joseph Kabila."

The statement ended with the wishes of the Government for Mr. Kabila's "speedy recovery and rapid return among us." There is still no clarity on the fate of President Kabila. The Government of Zimbabwe deferred the release of its promised statement today on the "condition" of Mr. Kabila, based on the medical report by doctors "who have been attending to President Kabila". Such a statement was promised yesterday by Prof. Jonathan Moyo, Zimbabwe's Minister for Information, in the



A man said to be Mr. Joseph Kabila is seen in this TV image taken from an undated footage in the DRC on Wednesday. — AP

course of his contradiction of an earlier statement by his colleague in the Defence Ministry that Mr. Kabila had been assassinated. Reports from Harare said the statement had been delayed pending consultations with the DRC Government.

While there has been no official confirmation from Kinshasa that Mr. Kabila has died, reports from western (and South African) sources suggest that Mr. Kabila, severely wounded in the shooting, died on the plane while being transported to Harare, or while being treated for his injuries in hospital. Meanwhile, the Zimbabwe President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, who had gone to Cameroon to attend the Franco-African Summit, is cutting short his visit and returning to Harare.

THE HINDU

19 JAN 1997

# Kabila's fate still uncertain

AP & AFP

KINSHASA, Jan. 17. — The fate of the Congolese President, Laurent Kabila, is still uncertain.

While Kabila's US spokesman said yesterday Kabila had died after being shot, government sources claimed the President was "alive and OK".

"He's died," said Mr John Aycoth, lobbyist and public relations consultant who acts as Kabila's spokesman in the USA.

Mr Aycoth said over phone from Durham, North Carolina, that he had spoken to top Congolese officials in Kinshasa who had confirmed Kabila's death. He said the government would make an announcement early today, but the news conference didn't take place at the time he said it would.

CNN today said a Congolese government statement read out on state television had confirmed Kabila's death, adds

Reuters from London. However, Congolese television monitored in London didn't confirm the death.

The British foreign office minister, Mr Peter Hain, said today he had confirmation that Kabila is dead. "Our ambassador has just confirmed that Kabila is dead."

A late night meeting of ministers has been called in Kinshasa, an official statement issued by Kabila's office said today. "All the ministers, delegate ministers and vice ministers are called to report to the Organisation of African Unity offices" in the capital, the communique said.

There has been no official word from the government about whether the President had been shot. Tanks and trucks filled with soldiers patrolled empty streets while helicopters cruised the air overhead. State radio played scheduled programmes.

The Congolese government,

however, refused to elaborate publicly on the President's condition. "President Kabila is alive and everything is OK," said the Congolese army chief, Gen Francois Olonga.

A member of Kabila's security entourage said on condition of anonymity that the bodyguard had shot the President yesterday, but that Kabila was alive and being treated.

French and Belgian foreign ministry officials quoted local sources as saying that Kabila might have died of injuries following the half-hour firefight at the presidential palace. Belgium is Congo's former colonial ruler and retains close ties with the nation, formerly known as Zaire.

"From three sources I have that Kabila has most likely been shot to death," said the Belgian foreign affairs minister, Mr Louis Michel, in Brussels. Earlier, his spokesman, Koen Vervaeke, said: "He has probably been shot by one of his

guards." Intelligence officers in Rwanda, which supports the Congo rebels, also said they had unconfirmed reports that Kabila had been killed.

The conflicting reports came hours after witnesses described gunfire around the Kabila's home. It was unclear who was responsible for the shooting.

A presidential helicopter landed at Kinshasa's main hospital, a government official who witnessed the event said. There were unconfirmed reports that it was carrying the President's son, Joseph Kabila, who had apparently been injured. The younger Kabila is the head of Congo's military.

Presidential aide Mr Eddy Kapend went on national television shortly after the gunfire ended to appeal for calm, but he made no mention of the incident. Mr Kapend ordered that all airports and borders be closed, appealing to the armed forces and civil society leaders to help

maintain order.

Later, the Congolese interior minister, Mr Gaetan Kakudji, announced a curfew from an 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. He said the curfew had been ordered by Kabila himself.

Amid the confusion of the shooting, Kinshasa residents hurried home and many streets were quickly deserted. Truckloads of armed soldiers patrolled the streets in the capital. Large numbers of troops in armored vehicles and on foot blocked off roads near Kabila's hilltop residence, not far from downtown Kinshasa.

Kabila has been fighting a civil war since August 1998, when rebel forces backed by his former allies, Rwanda and Uganda, turned against him.

In the war's early stages, the rebels reached the outskirts of Kinshasa before being turned back by Kabila's army, which is now supported by Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Speaking from Brussels, Mr

Kin-Kiey Mulumba, a spokesman for one of the main rebel groups, insisted that Kabila was dead. The shooting proved that the Congolese people wanted a change, he said, denying that rebels had anything to do with it.

Kabila came to power in May 1997 following a rebellion against former dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko.

Kabila came to power in May 1997 following a rebellion against former dictator, Mobutu Sese Seko. The rebellion was backed by Uganda and Rwanda.

The world community initially welcomed Kabila, who many hoped would be a vast improvement over Mobutu's decades-long rule.

But Kabila quickly alienated himself, inviting close friends and relatives into the government and obstructing a UN probe into reports that his rebel army had slaughtered thousands of Hutu refugees.

THE STATESMAN

18 JAN 2001

# Kabila's fate still remains unclear

By M.S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JAN. 17. The uncertainty about the fate of the Democratic Republic of Congo President, Mr. Laurent Kabila, continues.

Contradicting earlier reports, two of them from officials of the Foreign Ministries in Brussels and Pretoria, that Mr. Kabila had been assassinated yesterday, reports from Kinshasa continue to speak of an "attempt" to assassinate Mr. Kabila. According to one of these reports, Mr. Kabila was wounded in this attempt and flown "outside the country" for treatment of his injuries. The report also identified the assailant as one "Lieutenant Rashid", one of the security guards of Mr. Kabila, who has been killed. An official of the Department of Information in Zimbabwe denied other reports that Mr. Kabila had "died of his wounds" in the plane that was carrying him to Harare.

Officials in Kinshasa have also denied earlier reports that Mr. Joseph Kabila, Mr. Kabila's son, had died in the incident yesterday. They maintain that Mr. Joseph Kabila is now "in charge" of the country, and will be soon addressing the nation.

It is not also clear if the assassination is part of an externally inspired coup or part of a palace

coup. The event is bound to further worsen what has for long been a volatile situation. There are reports that some of the rebel forces operating with the support of Uganda and Rwanda are planning to 'march' to Kinshasa.

The assassination brings to an end a remarkable political career which goes back to the volatile days that followed the toppling of Patrice Lumumba, followed by his torture and murder — an act authorised and planned by the CIA and executed by its henchmen in Congo. The denouement of that process took place on January 17, 1961.

Mr. Kabila was a member of the youth wing of one of the political parties allied with Patrice Lumumba's Movement National Congolais (MNC), the political party that led the independence movement. He was among the leaders of four Lumumbaist rebellions (Peirre Mulele was another) that broke forth in 1963-64, leading the rebellion in Northern Katanga. Following the collapse of these attempts, he moved to Eastern Zaire, on the border of Tanzania, from where he formed the People's Revolutionary Party, an avowedly Marxist organisation, and continued the resistance to the regime.

It was during this phase that he



came into contact with Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, during Che's seven-month sojourn (April-November 1965) in the Eastern Congo, attempting to implement his theory and practice of guerilla warfare in this part of Africa. Che's interaction with Mr. Kabila was marked by high hopes and disappointment, both recounted with passionate objectivity in his Dairies of the Revolutionary War in the Congo, which have been recently published. The following passage towards the end of the Dairies, summing up the situation in the Congo and of Mr. Kabila's potential and weakness, made in January 1966, tells as much about

its author as about his subject:

"The only man who has genuine qualities of a mass leader is, in my view, Kabila. The purest of revolutionaries cannot lead a revolution unless he has certain qualities of a leader, but a man who has qualities of a leader cannot, simply for that reason, carry a revolution forward. It is essential to have revolutionary seriousness, an ideology that can guide action, a spirit of sacrifice that accompanies one's actions. Up to now, Kabila has not shown that he possess any of these qualities. He is young and it is possible he will change. But I will make so bold as to say, in this text that will see the light of day only after many years have passed, that I have very great doubts about his ability to overcome his defects in the environment in which he operates..."

Notwithstanding this judgment which in its totality is not as negative as is often made out, Mr. Kabila made a dramatic return to the centre stage after over 30 years of obscurity when he led the forces of Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire and, after a swift campaign, captured power in May 1997. The events since then are too well known and are indeed the stuff of history in the making — just like his assassination.

THE HINDU

18 JAN 2001

## A RENAISSANCE IN AFRICA <sup>110-12</sup>

THERE ARE EARLY signals that the continent of Africa may have begun the long climb out of the despair of the last few decades. A coup crushed in the Ivory Coast in a notoriously trigger-happy continent, a peaceful democratic transition in Ghana when no one expected the incumbent to hand over power considering the circumstances in which he seized it and a degree of democratic political stability in Nigeria, the regional giant, must all augur well for Africa. Ghana in particular had long been a lost cause, first under the despot Nkrumah and then under the autocratic Mr. Jerry Rawlings, the former air force pilot who seized power 20 years ago. His decision to accept defeat in a democratic election declared by independent observers as fair and free and to hand over power to an Opposition at the end of a mandated two-term Presidency can prove to be a turning point for a region which can beneficially begin to exploit its untapped natural wealth. Together with the positive developments in the other regions of the sprawling continent, there are more than clear hints that this century may at last belong to Africa.

This is a harbouring of hope that would have appeared impossible and impractical even five years ago. During the last decade of the 20th century everything appeared gloomy for the neglected and long exploited continent, with the shameful ethnic massacres in Central Africa highlighting the depths of despair to which human relations had sunk. The Congo and Angola, the ideological playing fields of the Cold War, were descending into civil war, in Sierra Leone anti-Government forces were scoring astounding victories in the battlefields and in Zimbabwe a long-serving President was

ready to whip up racial hatred in order to remain in power. Mr. Robert Mugabe's land-seizure campaign mercifully won little support from other African leaders who saw through his game while they also underscored the justness of the demand that the white usurpers return the land to the original, mostly black owners. To compound the continent's man-made tragedies was the outbreak of the killer disease AIDS. The signs were hopeless.

"What is happening in Africa is a tragedy, a real tragedy," lamented Mr. Kofi Annan, U.N. Secretary-General, while appealing to the international community to help stop the continent from proceeding further on its suicidal journey. Ironically, and inexplicably, the African tragedy was unfolding during the continent's hour of glory: return of multiracial democracy to South Africa. But the expectations roused by that revolutionary triumph were not fulfilled. The flowering of democracy and majority rule after the cruel years of apartheid and the helmsmanship of the Nobel laureate, Mr. Nelson Mandela, failed to pull the continent out of its hopelessness. Mr. Mandela's reluctance to take a leadership role perhaps put paid to hopes that the end of the Cold War might also end the exploitation of Africa and that its agonies may be behind it. His successor, Mr. Thabo Mbeki's proactive approach to the continent's myriad problems and the general shift away from violence and toward democracy in the whole continent suggest that the third millennium may have begun on a hopeful note for Africa. The key to success lies in enlightened cooperation among the countries of the continent which is continuing to pay a heavy price for its colonial past.

THE HINDU

12 JAN 2002

# Mugabe rivals thrown to lions

JAN RATH  
THE TIMES LONDON

HARARE, Jan. 11. — Zimbabwean authorities' capacity for imaginative cruelty was demonstrated again this week when police dumped 13 Opposition campaigners in their charge in the middle of a game reserve.

Mr Morgan Tsvangirai, president of the Opposition Movement for Democratic Change, said the 13, under arrest since last week in the remote south-eastern Lowveld, were bundled into police vehicles on Tuesday and driven deep into the Gonarezhou National Park.

The name means 'Land of elephants' in the local Shangaan language and the reserve is one of the most hostile of the

country's wildlife parks. Its elephants are notoriously aggressive to humans; it has a large number of lions and other dangerous predators; and it lies in one of the hottest and most arid areas in the country.

As police drove into the park, they dropped their prisoners in pairs and several miles apart, ordering them at gunpoint to walk into the bush, Mr Tsvangirai said. They were told: "You like to campaign, now start campaigning to the lions and wild animals," he told a press conference where most of the group were present. "They were meant to be fed to the lions. By the grace of God they survived."

They managed to link up with each other by blowing whistles.

They had been walking for about 12 miles when a passing vehicle stopped and drove them to safety. No comment was available from police, but Mr Tsvangirai said he would pursue the matter.

The 13 were campaigning for the party in a by-election in the nearby Bikita constituency, and the incident was the latest in a pattern of intimidation imposed by President Mugabe's ruling Zanu Party and supported by authorities.

Reports from the constituency describe government pick-up trucks, loaded with ruling party thugs carrying pickaxe handles and firebombs, speeding along the rutted roads of the impoverished tribal area in search of MDC supporters.

THE STATESMAN

12 JAN 2001

# Changing expressions

**P**rince Metternich, Austrian chancellor in mid-19th century, and no friend of Italy's, once said that Italy was nothing more than a geographical expression. Despite Metternich's sarcasm and in spite of being the cockpit of Europe, Italy was unified in the 1860s. About 3,000 kilometres away from Italy and almost a century later, Metternich's description was borrowed by Obafemi Awolowo, a towering leader of western Nigeria. In 1947, Awolowo said that Nigeria was not a nation, but only a geographical expression.

There are innumerable instances in history when such "geographical expressions" have emerged into viable political entities. Some of them have even become nation-states through social engineering. Now, four decades after independence, Nigeria, Africa's most populous country with 120 million people, suitably illustrates the scope as well as the limits of such social engineering.

The country was formed by a stroke of the bureaucratic pen in 1914 when the British colonial administration added to the colonies in and around the Niger Delta the protectorate of the north to create what now bears the name of Nigeria. The event was so contrived that it engendered a debate about the choice of an appropriate label for the new political entity. In the end the view that it should be named after the river "Niger" prevailed.

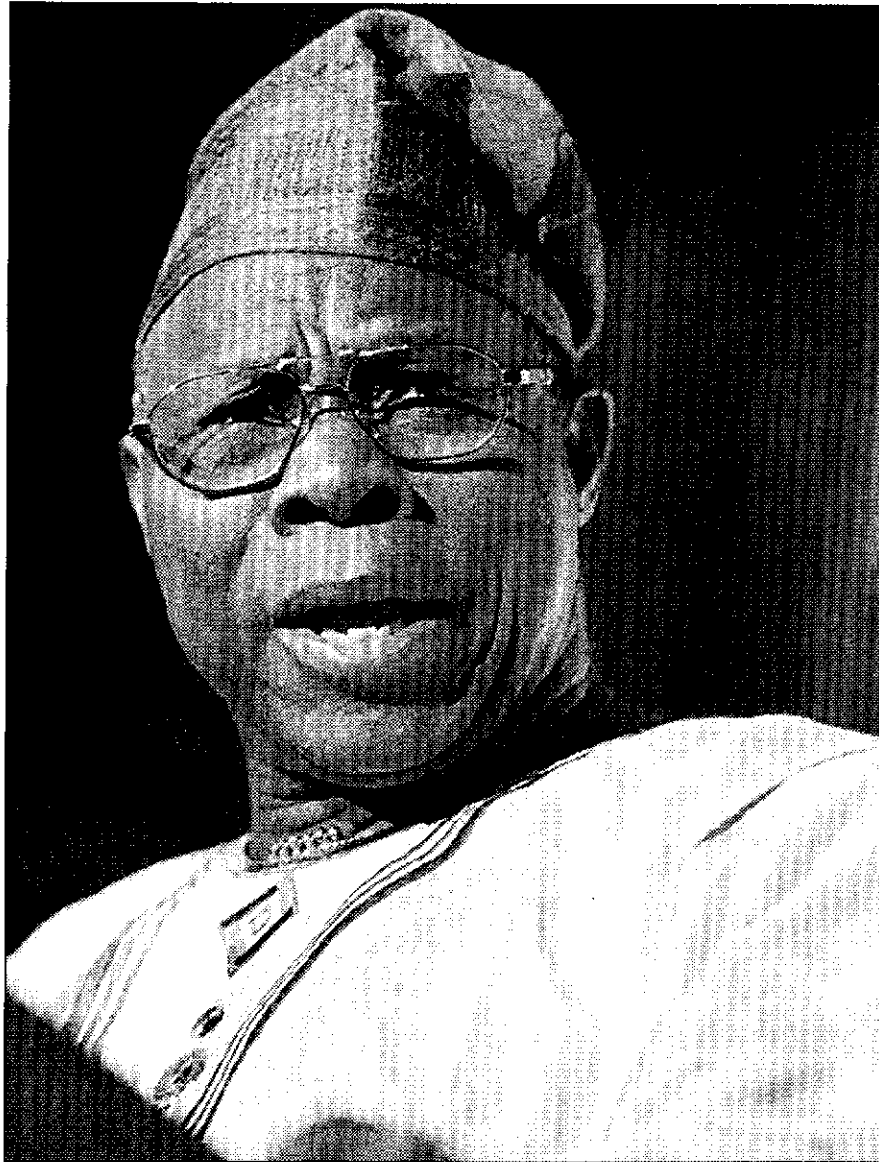
At the time of its independence in 1960, the country had three provinces: Northern, Western and Eastern. The one in the north was predominantly Muslim, while the Western and Eastern provinces in the south were inhabited by the Yoruba and the Ibo ethnic groups respectively. The Ibos were predominantly Christian, whereas the Yoruba's loyalty was divided between Christianity and Islam.

Following Ibo attempts to secede and form the independent state of Biafra, which also led to the Biafra civil war, several more constituent states were formed. In 1976 the number of states increased to 19, in 1987 to 21, and in 1991 to 30. At present, even though the country has 36 states, there are demands for new ones, for example, by the Ogoni of Rivers State, whose leader, the well known writer Ken Saro-Wiwa, was executed by the military regime some years ago.

**O**verriding the multiplicity of states, some broad configurations can be identified. Muslims dominate 19 of the 36 states, all in the north. Today, the largely Muslim combination, the AREWA Consultative Forum is campaigning against what they call "the marginalization of the north". This body is opposed by AFENIFIRE, a Yoruba socio-cultural platform, fighting the current president. Olusegun Obasanjo. The third group has been christened as Ohaneze, a representative body of the Ibo, voicing their grievances, real or imagined.

The current inter-ethnic conflagration in the country started when Muslims pressed for the introduction of the *shariah* in the northern states which led to violent protests from Christians. The *shariah* has for long governed the community in matters of inheritance and marriage. But recently, a Muslim dominated state in the north, Zamfara, opted for the extended use of the *shariah*. Eight other Muslim domi-

**A clash of interests among religious and ethnic groups is behind the volatile and unpredictable political situation in Nigeria, writes Ansu Datta**



Obasanjo: engineering skills

nated states followed the lead, including Kano, Nigeria's most populous northern state.

The application of the *shariah* has generated some confusion. It is not clear whether the legal system will be applied to non-Muslims. In Kano, for instance, the *shariah* code took effect from November 26, 2000. But a tour of the Kano city revealed that alcohol, prohibited by the *shariah*, was openly consumed in the ghetto of southerners. Some already believe that the subjection of one section of the people to *shariah* while the others get to enjoy "un-Islamic" pleasures will be

harmful to the stability of the society.

Yet it is wrong to label the Nigerian crisis simply as a Christian-Muslim conflict. Had it been so, one would have expected a Christian united front in the south pitted against the Muslims, mainly of the north, spearheaded by the Hausa and the Fulani, considered the most militant of the Islamic communities. This has not happened. Also, the north is not entirely Islamic. For instance, the Tiv, an ethnic group that has been conventionally allied with the north, is mainly Christian. Also, there is a deep chasm between the almost entirely Christian Ibo in the southeast and the Yoruba in

southwest. In fact, a sizable section of the Yoruba, especially in northern Yorubaland, professes Islam.

The tension between Yoruba identity and Muslim distinctiveness was brought to the fore in 1993 on the occasion of the election of Moshood Abiola as president of Nigeria. A Muslim Yoruba, Abiola was proudly flaunted as one of them by the Yoruba, both Christian and Muslim. On the other hand, Muslim Nigerians belonging to other ethnic groups, the majority of whom are Hausa-Fulani, did not quite identify with him.

**R**udolph Okonkwo, a contemporary observer, calls Nigeria a country where "the best is impossible and the worst never happens". Of course, in history one has to wait eternally for the best to happen to any country since one can't be sure of the future. But the worst for Nigeria almost happened in the late Sixties with the Biafran war, when millions of lives were lost and the country teetered on the brink of disaster.

Recent happenings and even a cursory look at some of the views expressed on Nigerian chat sites on the internet make it abundantly clear that thoughtless, even reckless, brinkmanship is on the rise again. Irreconcilable sectarian claims, supported by otherwise respected personalities, are also not uncommon.

Ibo leaders have been stressing the need for a confederal set-up for the country in which constituent units will enjoy much greater power. Many prominent Yoruba (among them Wole Soyinka, the Nobel laureate) have been advancing the idea of a sovereign constitutional conference that will have the task of re-negotiating a new constitution.

Some even speak of liberating themselves from the "internal colonialism" supposedly imposed by the Hausa-Fulani on the southerners, especially the Yoruba. Last year, an aggressive Yoruba outfit is said to have organized bloody riots against Hausa-Fulani residents of Lagos. The recent pronouncement of the 19 Northern governors threatening vengeance killing of southerners, if such blood bath is repeated, shows how close the country is to another disaster.

Yet an astute observer will not miss the positive forces in Nigerian society. Four decades of independence have created an upper crust of people — consisting of retired army officers, former heads of state, top bureaucrats, and successful businessmen and entrepreneurs — who have a stake in the stability of the country.

**F**urthermore, the constitutional system of the country makes it difficult for anyone to win the presidential race with support from a single region. Obasanjo's victory as president in 1999 illustrates this point. Although a Yoruba and a Christian from the south, much of Obasanjo's backing originally came from the Muslim north.

Acceptability of leaders like Obasanjo provides some evidence that social engineering in Nigeria through the present constitutional set-up has so far attained some success. But volatility, not predictability, is Nigeria's forte. Who can foretell what will happen in the next presidential election due in a couple of years' time, or even before?

**Acceptability of leaders like Obasanjo provides some evidence that social engineering in Nigeria through the present constitutional set-up has so far attained some success. But it is still difficult to foretell what will happen in the next presidential elections**

# Mbeki sees African renaissance

HD-17  
9/1

By M. S. Prabhakara

CAPE TOWN, JAN. 8. The President of the African National Congress, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, has called on the party's rank and file to ensure that the new structures of the local government "serve the people and do not allow for any corrupt practice".

Other priorities spelt out by Mr. Mbeki during a rally in Kimberly on Sunday, marking the 89th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, are strengthening of the party and its structures at the grassroots level, and ensuring that these are in regular contact with the masses. He also called for the strengthening of the tripartite alliance, adding, however, a significant caveat that "this must continue to be a principled alliance".

The ANC traces its origins to the South African Native National Congress which was formed at a conference in Bloemfontein on Jan. 8, 1912. The organisation renamed itself as the African National Congress in 1923.

As always, Mr. Mbeki's address was informed by his deep and passionate commitment to "African renaissance". At about a dozen points in his address he referred to this idea, or his related idea of the 21st century marking the commencement of the "African Century".

"Africa's time has come", Mr. Mbeki said and called for the rebuilding of Africa's economies which had been over the centuries ravaged by slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The priorities set in Mr Mbeki's address, actually the text of a statement issued in the name of the ANC's National Executive Committee, the party's highest policy-making body every year on the occasion of the anniversary of its founding, quite simply locate some of the persistent organisational weaknesses which were dealt with more extensively during the ANC's National General Council meeting in Port Elizabeth in July last year.

Mr. Mbeki's address was especially critical of "opportunists and careerists within our ranks" and sternly warned against "corruption and a culture of personal enrichment" within the ANC.

These remarks have to be seen in the immediate context of the recently concluded local government elections in which the Democratic Alliance, forged by the Democratic Party and the New National Party, characterised by the ANC and perceived by the majority of the people, as the party of white privilege, made significant gains. The ANC won control over 72 per cent of the municipalities, including the three



metropolitan councils in Gauteng, but failed to wrest control of Cape Town or the majority of the municipalities in the Western Cape from the DA.

The ANC has reason to be concerned, even though Mr. Mbeki tried to sound positive about the electoral outcome. He noted in particular two matters for worry: the low turnout of the young voters; and two, "our failure, once again, to draw larger numbers of people from the national minorities towards our movement".

This is a persistent weakness whose consequence, the ANC's failure to make significant gains, let alone win, in Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, has been a constant in the outcome of every electoral exercise nationally and at the local level since the advent of democracy.

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# Ghana gains

**The victory of Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor in the December 28 Presidential poll is the first time Ghana has seen a peaceful and non-controversial political transition.**  
**M. S. PRABHAKARA reports.**



**Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor... historic victory.**

**T**HE VICTORY of Mr. John Agyekum Kufuor, of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), in the December 28 Presidential poll run-off, defeating Professor John Evans Atta Mills, the country's Vice-President and candidate of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), marks the end of nearly two decades of dominance of Ghana's politics by the President, Mr. Jerry John Rawlings. This is the first time that Ghana has had a peaceful and non-controversial political transition, with one democratically-elected Government being voted out to make way for another led by a leader of the Opposition.

The run-off became necessary since none of the seven candidates in the first round of the poll on December 7 obtained the required 50 per cent plus one valid votes nationally. Mr. Kufuor also led in that round, obtaining 48.2 per cent of the votes as against the 44.5 per cent obtained by Mr. Atta Mills. He cleared the hurdle in the run-off, obtaining 56.90 per cent

of the valid votes as against the 43.10 per cent secured by Mr. Atta Mills. Mr. Kufuor also obtained a clear majority in six of the ten Regions (Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra and Western), apart from making huge gains in Northern Region, a known NDC stronghold, where he very nearly edged out Mr. Atta Mills obtaining 48.90 per cent of the vote. This was in sharp contrast to the NPP's poor performance in the first round when its share of the presidential vote, despite a higher national turnout, was just about half of what it was in the run-off, with Mr. Kufuor winning only in one of the 23 parliamentary constituencies, and only three NPP candidates being returned to Parliament.

Having served two terms as President, Mr. Rawlings could not

under Ghana's Constitution seek a third term, and so was not a candidate. Nevertheless, the poll outcome has to be seen as also a verdict on the two decades of the Rawlings era. To the extent that his Vice-President and the NDC, a party he had created whose origins go back to the Provisional National Defence Council in whose name he had launched his "second revolution" of December 31, 1981, lost, the verdict went against Mr. Rawlings.

However, as so often is the case, the defeat may also turn out to be his moment of triumph. For, even if questions may be raised about his political legacy, his economic legacy is now a virtually unchallenged national agenda. Mr. Rawlings who promised revolutionary changes and for a while even appeared to defy all established precedents, changed tack less than two years into power. This is acknowledged in the very first sentence of Ghana-Vision 2020, a document prepared by the National Development Planning Commission: "Since 1983, the Government of Ghana, with the support of the international donor community, has been implementing its Economic Recovery Programme and its accompanying structural adjustment programmes". While the two-volume document says that that these "necessarily short term policies" are not designed to ensure long term prosperity, the supposedly more comprehensive "Vision" is anchored in the same perspective.

Despite all the campaign rhetoric of "a change with a difference", there is little that Mr. Kufuor can do except continue on the same path. Such indeed is the unchallenged assertiveness of the new economic orthodoxy of the market, though in Ghana as elsewhere these policies have spread economic ruin. The pathetic state of the national currency, Cedi, whose value vis-a-vis the U.S. dollar went down in the course of just the last one year from about 3,500 to 7,000, is only the most visible indication of what these policies have done.

Mr. Kufuor, to go by his pronouncements since his election, is unlikely to question, much less repudiate, this part of his legacy. However, having cut his political teeth under the late Dr. Kofi Busia, the political foe of Kwame Nkrumah and the architect of the so-called Second Republic (1969-72), he may be less outspoken than his predecessor on matters about which the West, the U.S. in particular, is especially sensitive. But then, Mr. Rawlings's words never broke any bones.



**Mr. Jerry Rawlings casts his vote... end of an era?**

THE END