

CONFLICT TRENDS

APRIL 1999 ISSUE 2



GENDER & CONFLICT • PEACEKEEPING IN THE DRC
PREVENTING FUTURE WARS • TRAINING TRENDS
CONFLICT WATCH & RENAISSANCE BAROMETER

 **ACCORD**
THE AFRICAN CENTRE FOR THE CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES

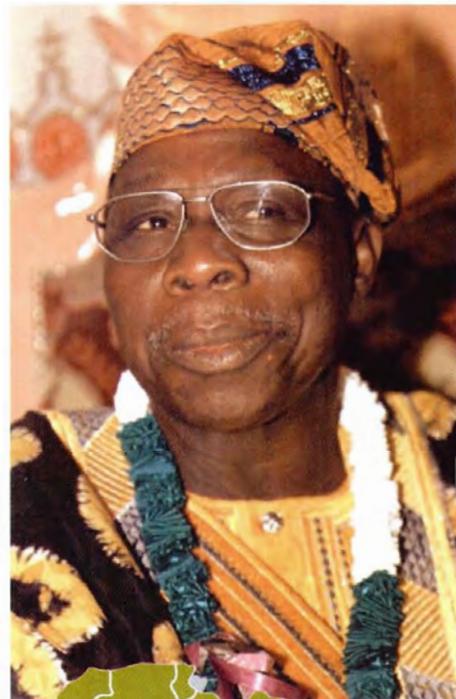


Conflict Trends has matured with the first full edition of 'Conflict Watch' and 'Renaissance Barometer' where we chart the developments across the continent for the last quarter. Drawn from thousands of source documents including established news sources, published research and our own sources, we hope that these analyses will serve to give one of the most comprehensive overviews of what is happening in the conflict and reconstruction fields for the continent. 'Conflict Watch' and 'Renaissance Barometer' are published on a quarterly basis, and are available free of charge at ACCORD ONLINE <http://www.accord.org.za>

Despite indications of positive steps towards a possible negotiated settlement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, signs elsewhere are less than heartening. Angola is hanging over the abyss of a return to all-out civil war; Zambia appears to be implicated in the conflict there; Congo-Brazzaville remains embroiled in conflict; Uganda has increasingly come under threat; Zimbabwe faces an uncertain future. The likelihood of a continent-spanning 'conflict complex' poses a great threat to regional stability and growth potential. Perhaps more than at any time in the past, the challenge to Africa's people, and her leaders in particular, is to find creative solutions to our problems.

At ACCORD we aim to play one small part in this constructive process, and as we continue to refine and develop Conflict Trends we hope that it will become a useful tool in promoting both understanding of our conflicts, and sparking ideas and movements towards their resolution.

- 1** UPDATE
- 2** RENAISSANCE BAROMETER
- 6** CONFLICT WATCH
- 12** VIEWPOINT
Conflict, Development & Peace in Africa: Gender Perspectives
- 16** Peacekeeping in the DRC:
A new role for the United Nations
- 18** The White Paper on South Africa's
Participation in Peace Missions
- 19** Exercise Blue Crane:
A Unifying Moment for SADC
- 20** Preventing Future Wars:
State of the Art Conflict
Early Warning Systems
- 24** Enculturating Conflict Resolution:
Finding Trends for Training in Africa
- 28** The Legacy of the Colonial State
- 30** MOUTHPIECE
- 36** BOOK REVIEWS



Editor
IAN HENDERSON-WILLE

Assistant Editor
HUSSEIN SOLOMON

Sub Editor
MARINA BANG

Contributors
NAPOLEON ABDULAI
SANAM NARAGHI ANDERLINI
CEDRIC DE CONING

LAKETCH DIRASSE
CELESTE FORTUIN
ALISON LAZARUS
JAMES MACKAKAIRE
PRAVINA MAKAN-LAKHA
FRANCOIS MISSER
DAVID NYHEIM

Design & Layout
ANGELA THOMAS

Reproduction
TECHNO DECYAN

Printing
UNIVERSAL PRINTING

Publishers
THE AFRICAN CENTRE FOR
THE CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLU-
TION OF DISPUTES (ACCORD)
Private Bag X018, Umhlanga
Rocks 4320, South Africa
Tel: +27 (31) 502 3908
Fax: +27 (31) 502 4160
Email: info@accord.org.za

Views expressed in this publication are the responsibility of the individual authors and not of The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). ACCORD is a non-governmental, non-aligned conflict resolution organisation based in Durban, South Africa. The organisation is constituted as an educational trust.

Photographic images © REUTERS PICTURES BRIEFING



UPDATE

BY HUSSEIN SOLOMON

The following is a list of important developments which occurred in March 1999, just before Conflict Trends went to press:

In Sierra Leone, the influential Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone (IRCSL) is mediating between incarcerated Revolutionary United Front (RUF) leader Foday Sankoh and the government of President Alhaji Tejan Kabbah. Already the mediation effort is bearing fruit. After President Kabbah allowed Sankoh to talk to his rebel commander, Sam Bockarie, the RUF leader called on his followers to observe a truce and free all hostages. These hostages include three Catholic missionaries.

Another positive development is that the ECOMOG-brokered Abuja Peace Accord between President Vieira and General Ansumane Mane in Guinea Bissau is holding. Not only are internal players sticking to the accord, but the external players as well. For instance, Senegal has withdrawn 1 700 of the 2 500-strong Senegalese Expeditionary Force in line with the Abuja Peace Accord.

Meanwhile Mozambican Foreign Minister Leonardo Simao told the Mozambican parliament that since the start of the demining process in December 1992 until February 1999, more than 53 624 anti-personnel mines had been destroyed, resulting in 7 718 kilometres of roads, 90 kilometres of railways tracks and 10 650 hectares of land being cleared of mines.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), President Laurent-Desire Kabila proposed a national debate with all political parties, including his rebel rivals. President Kabila said that the debate would cover three themes: the legitimacy of power, constitutional proposals and the liberalisation of political parties. He further suggested that the meeting should take place in Italy, and mediated by the Sant' Egidio Roman Catholic community.

Offsetting these positive developments have been situations such as in Congo-Brazzaville where between 200 000-300 000 people have been displaced in the Pool region following fierce fighting between government forces and 'Ninja' militia allied to former Prime Minister Bernard Kolelas.

In Nigeria, defeated presidential candidate Olu Falae has appealed against the recent presidential election in Nigeria, which witnessed General Olusegun Obasanjo polling 63% of the vote. In his petition, Falae claimed that the election was marred by bribery and fraud and that Obasanjo was unfit to rule because he was convicted of treason and was a member of the Ogboni secret society. Nigeria's election rules bar members of secret societies from running for president.

Meanwhile the judgement in the territorial dispute between Namibia and Botswana over the boundary of the Kasikili/Sedudu islands and the legal status of the islands, which are situated in the Caprivi Strip on the Chobe river, has been postponed. The International Court of Justice in The Hague, to which the case has been referred, has said it would announce the verdict of the case before the end of the year.

In Uganda, 16 Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) rebels were killed in an army ambush in the Rwenzori National Park (western Uganda) as they entered the country from the DRC. Ugandan army sources also noted that a further 50 ADF fighters have been killed in Kasese and Bundibugyo.

The conflict raging between Angolan government forces and Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebels has intensified. Latest reports indicate that the city of Kuito, has come under UNITA artillery fire. Kuito is the capital of Bie Province and lies in the central highlands, some 600 kilometres southeast of Luanda.



RENAISSANCE BAROMETER

BY HUSSEIN SOLOMON WITH JAMES MACKALAIRE

AFRICA GENERAL

The continent is abuzz with talk of an African Renaissance. What will these changes mean? How do we chart their progress. Conflict Trends gives you a quarterly update on the most significant events in civil society, government and business sectors for the continent, with a particular focus on the growth in Africa's ability to manage her conflicts.

The continent of Africa has been divided into five regions based on the OAU administrative regional division.

5 October 1998 The Union of African Parties for Democracy and Development (UAPDD) will be launched in Namibia next week, it was announced. The UAPDD, which is formed from non-Socialist parties across Africa, is intended to bring together African parties that share common values and beliefs in principles such as democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights, according to a news release issued by the event's organisers.

23 October 1998 African environment ministers have urged governments to sign and ratify the Kyoto Protocol so as to benefit from the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), whose aim is to promote sustainable development and reduce gas emissions.

31 October 1998 The 16-nation ECOWAS launched its traveller cheque today as a step towards the proposed single monetary zone.

4 November 1998 The first All Africa Human Rights Defenders Congress ends in Johannesburg today. The conference was attended by one hundred delegates from 44 African states and sought ways to enhance human rights conditions in Africa.

10 November 1998 The African Women Committee on Peace and Development began its inaugural session to consider its draft terms of reference and rules of procedure. 'As a consultative body to the chief executives of the OAU and ECA the Committee has access to the highest decision-making organs in the continent on matters of peace and development,' Cousovi Leonce Johnson, director of the OAU Department of Education, Science, Culture and Social Affairs, said at the ceremony. The committee is charged with the task of bringing women into the mainstream of efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts and at the same time to promote their full participation in sustainable development.

18 November 1998 The OAU and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) have signed an agreement in Ethiopia on technical cooperation and assistance to African governments and migrants.

20 November 1998 The International Panel of Eminent

Personalities to investigate the 1994 genocide in Rwanda has now become operational in Addis Ababa.

23 November 1998 More than 15 representatives from 10 African countries began a sub-regional workshop in Nouackchott devoted to the mobilisation and negotiation for external health resources.

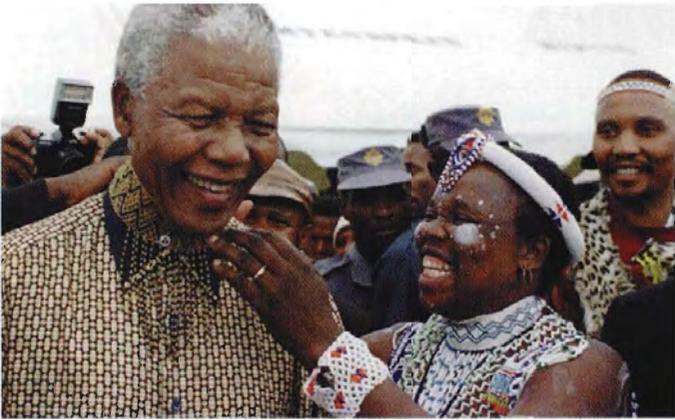
African private television operators and promoters held their inaugural assembly in Lome, Togo, during which they mapped out modalities for future television broadcasting. The meeting was attended by some twenty delegates from Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Djibouti and Togo.

24 November 1998 Women's rights activists in both Swaziland and South Africa will converge at border posts between the two countries to mark the International Day of 'No Violence Against Women'. Members of the non-profit Masisukumeni Women's Crisis Centre in South Africa, and the Swaziland Action Group Against Abuse will meet at the Mananga and Jeppes Reef borders to put up banners for the 16 Days of Activism that will follow. This campaign forms part of the United Nations Development Fund for Women's (UNIFEM) campaign in Southern Africa to raise public awareness and eliminate violence against women and children.

30 November 1998 The OAU is to receive a 860 000 ECU (about US\$1m) grant from the European Union (EU) in support of its mechanism for conflict prevention, management and resolution.

7 December 1998 African experts on crime prevention and criminal justice are deliberating in Kampala to chart a common position to be presented to the 10th UN Congress in Vienna, in April 2000. The three-day meeting in Kampala has been convened by the UN Centre for International Crime Prevention in cooperation with the UN African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

15 December 1998 A three-day OAU ministerial conference on refugees, returnees and displaced persons ended today in



Khartoum with a call on African countries to tackle the root causes of the problem.

25 January 1999 A six-day meeting organised by the UN Programme for the international control of drugs opened in Libreville, the Gabonese senior minister of Interior, Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou, announced. The workshop is being attended by coordinators of the Inter-Ministerial Committee of Central African States.

25 January 1999 A two-day conference on landmines will be held in Tunis, Tunisia, and Human rights Watch has called on North African countries to embrace the 1997 treaty banning antipersonnel mines. 133 countries have signed the treaty except Egypt, Libya and Morocco. The ban, which takes effect on 1 March 1999, is the fastest treaty to be signed in history. It comprehensively bans all mines within four years, requires destruction of mines already in the ground within ten years and urges assistance for victims of landmines.

28 January 1999 The third summit of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) opened in Togo with President Gnassingbe Eyadema, of Togo, calling member states to accelerate the pace of integration among the eight member states. The summit was attended by seven heads of government, including the director general of FAO, Jaques Diouf. The leaders deplored the conflicts tearing societies apart even though efforts are underway to consolidate political, economic, cultural and strategic organisations. Member states have collectively reduced inflation rates from 30% in 1994 to 3.8% in 1998.

29 January 1999 Leaders of the eight-nation UEMOA ended their third summit with a call for dialogue rather than military confrontation to resolve conflicts. The leaders further urged member states to hasten the construction of a common market with measures to ensure the respect of the rights and freedom of their nationals, in particular the right to settle, and the free movement of people, goods, capital and services. Various committees have been formed to look into the mechanics of the integration process.

3 February 1999 Senior officials of the telecommunications industry and world leaders in innovative technologies are expected to meet and share environmental achievements and challenges with delegates from UNEP's 58-member governing council currently meeting in Nairobi. Discussions will focus on how telecommunications technology might be used globally to address serious environmental and social problems and lessen some of the

effects of urbanization. Participants are from US-West, Bell-South, British-Telecom, Deutsche-Telecom, Telecom-Italia and Kenya Post and Telecommunications Corporation.

10 February 1999 A two day meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Council of Ministers opened in Lusaka to review progress over the implementation of SADC programmes. The SA foreign minister quizzed member states that had not ratified some of the SADC protocols and questioned the pace of implementation by some.

10 February 1999 NGOs participating in the African, Caribbean and Pacific-European Union (ACP-EU) conference have called for the inclusion of civil society if reconstruction and development is to be achieved. The three NGOs taking part in the discussions collectively call themselves the ACP Civil Society Forum. The ACP countries, supported by the ACP Civil Society Forum, have called for a total write off of debts incurred under previous ACP-EU agreements and for the establishment of the Free Trade Area to be given a 10-year transitional period.

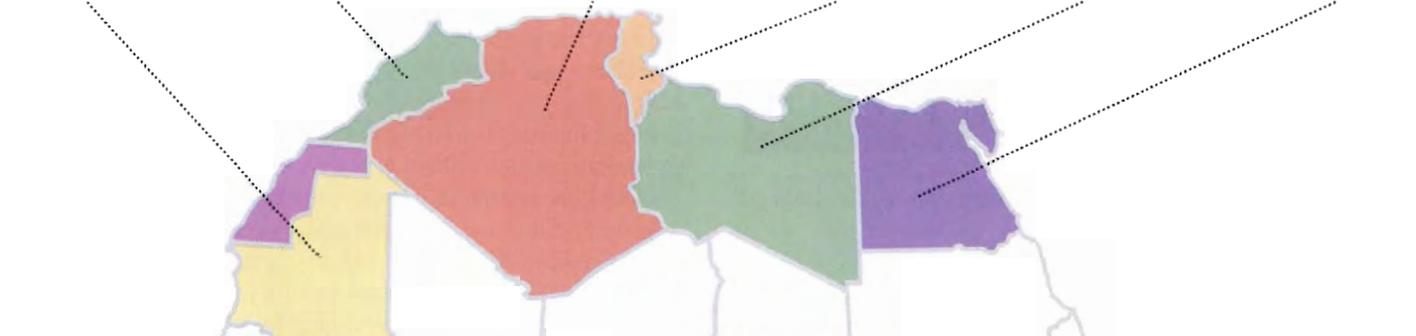
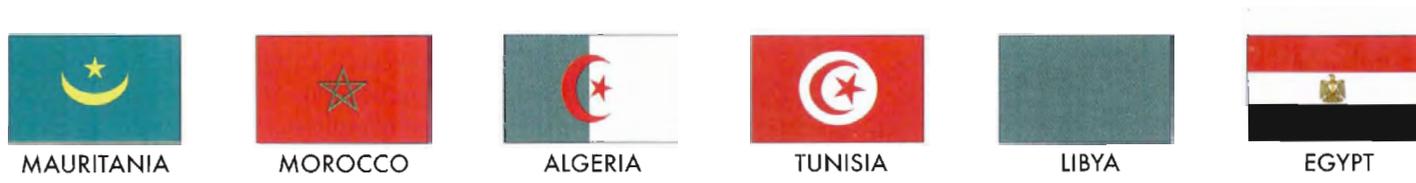
13 February 1999 A communiqué issued on Friday at the end of the SADC consultative conference (theme: opportunities and challenges of information technology as the region enters the new millennium) said the region could create new socio-economic development opportunities by broadening and improving equitable access to information and communication technology. The conference called on states to prepare for Y2K dangers in critical areas such as electricity, telecommunications, transport and finance. The SA foreign minister encouraged states to work to close the information gap.

15 February 1999 Agricultural scientists and officials from Kenya, Senegal, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Zambia are meeting in Kampala to discuss strategies for improving food security in the sub-region. Bio-fertilizers, if accepted by farmers, as has happened in Zimbabwe, could provide the private sector with an attractive product.

16 February 1999 In Bamako, Mali, the third session of the UEMOA Inter-Parliamentary Committee of the West African Economic and Monetary Union opened. UEMOA is fostering regional integration for Benin, Mali, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Niger, Senegal and Togo and will operate under a single parliament, to be established by 2 000 and cited in Bamako. The first meetings of UEMOA was in Bamako from 20-28 March and 20-29 July 1998.

21 February 1999 It was announced that representatives of 11 African countries and their development partners will meet in Washington USA to discuss initiatives for combating the problem of corruption in Africa. The conference, a follow-up to an earlier gathering in October, was organised by the US Department of State and the Global Coalition for Africa. Participant African countries are Benin, Botswana, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Moçambique, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda. Other participants are Canada, Denmark, France, The Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, The World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. All participants acknowledged political will and commitment as being the basis for successfully addressing the problem and the need to build anti-corruption alliances between state, civil society and the private sector.

NORTH AFRICA



ALGERIA

1 October 1998 Algerian President Liamine Zeroual rejected calls to stay in power for another two years and vowed to organise a 'fair and free' early election for his replacement in February 1999.

1 October 1998 Following a meeting on 30 September 1998 between the various Algerian political parties represented in the People's National Assembly (ANP), with the exception of the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD) and President Liamine Zeroual, an announcement has been made regarding the contents of the discussions. Talks centered mainly on the modalities for the forthcoming elections, but also covered the country's political and economic situation.

12 October 1998 31 prominent international Islamic figures call on the GIA (Armed Islamic Group) to stop its terrorist acts against citizens in Algeria. The call was made on the basis that Islam forbids any attack on peoples' lives, property and honour. These prominent Islamic figures include the leader of the Palestinian Hamas Movement, Shaykh Ahmod Yasin, the main leader of the (Egyptian) Muslim Brotherhood, Shaykh Mustafa Mashhur, the leader of the Moroccan group El-Adl wal Ihsane - Justice and Charity, Abdessalem Yassine, and the leader of the outlawed Tunisian Ennadha Movement Rached Ghannouchi.

13 December 1998 The fourth session of the joint Algeria-Moçambique commission ended Saturday night in Algiers, during which four cooperation accords were signed covering areas of: promotion and protection of investment, youth and sports, culture, scientific and technical cooperation, maritime affairs and fishing.

11 February 1999 Running for the presidency in Algeria for the April elections has heated up, with several former senior civil servants vying for the top job. Few candidates have officially filled in the required paperwork to formalise candidacy. Candidates can only be eligible if born before 1942 and if they have collected at least 75 000 signatures from 25 districts in the country or 600 signatures of elected individuals such as members of parliament, district and communal assemblies. Observers have predicted a tough electoral poll.



EGYPT

25 October 1998 The Al-Azhar Al Shariff in Egypt has decided to send a number of Da'awa workers (Muslim preachers) to Niger, after they complete a course in French at the Institute of Languages and Translation in Al-Azhar University in Cairo. These workers will preach the word of God and call people to Islam.

30 November 1998 A total of 158 companies have been privatised, accounting for more than one-third of the chosen companies for privatisation.



LIBYA

8 November 1998 Libya and Tunisia have signed an agreement in Tunis to interconnect their electricity supply networks. According to reports reaching Tripoli, a 225kv high voltage line will be installed to link certain Libyan and Tunisian power stations. Under the project, over 300MW is to be exchanged between the two countries. The agreement constitutes an important step in the planned inter-connected electrical grid in the Maghreb Arab Union, whose member states are Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania and Tunisia.

23 November 1998 Chad and Libya have officially opened two of their common border posts in Sarra (extreme south of Libya) and Ouniyanga (extreme north of Chad) to facilitate the free movement of their nationals.

4 February 1999 Libya and Malawi have signed a protocol to strengthen bilateral cooperation in agriculture, economic investment and housing sectors. A protocol allowing the establishment of a joint Libyan-Malawian bank in Blantyre was signed by the foreign ministers of both countries in Tripoli.



MAURITANIA

8 November 1998 UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan is in Nouackchott, consulting Mauritanian authorities on ways to bring about a peaceful

solution to the Western Sahara issue.

30 November 1998 President Taya announces that Mauritania's economic growth rate stands at 4% per annum.



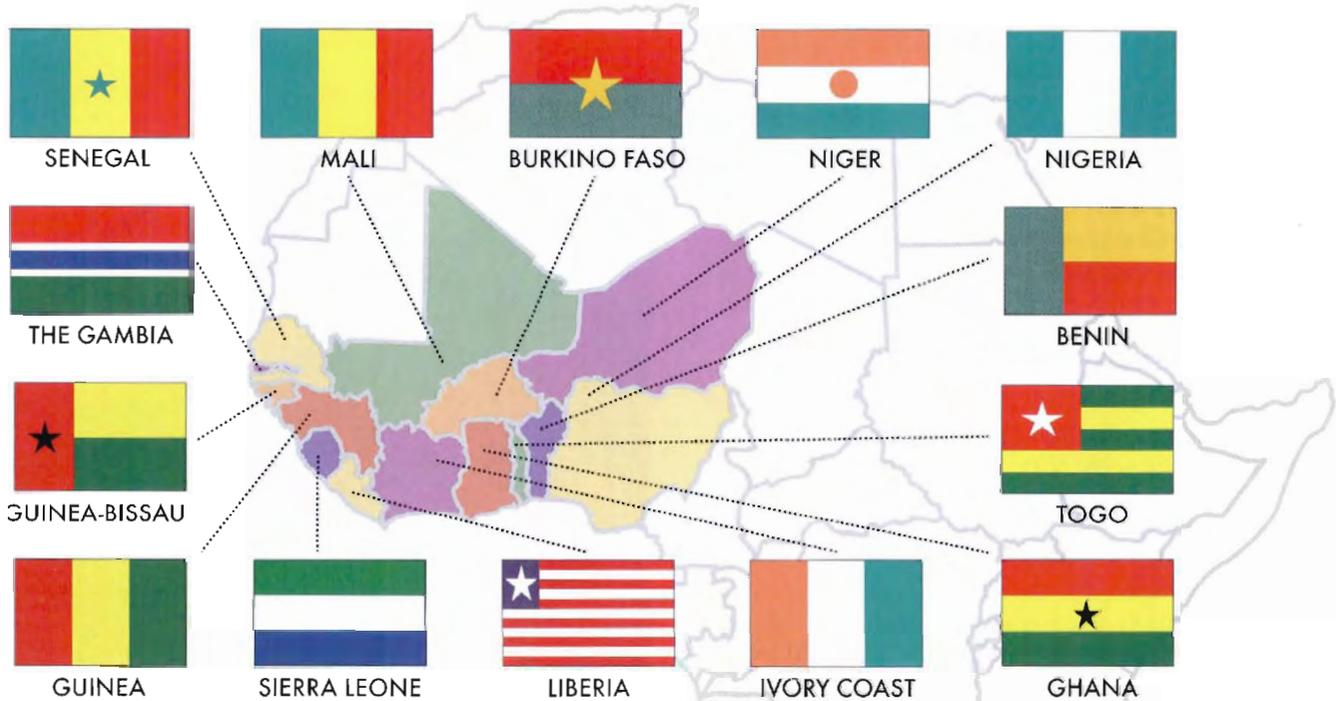
MOROCCO

28 November 1998 The Speaker of the Moroccan House of Representatives, Abdel-

ouahab Radi, reiterates his country's support for Libya and has called for joint action between the two states to reactivate the Arab Maghreb Union's institutions.

3 December 1998 Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji holds talks with visiting Moroccan Prime Minister Abderrahmane Yousseoufi in Beijing, focusing on closer commercial ties between the two states.

WEST AFRICA



BENIN

31 October 1998 China plans to invest 13.2bn F CFA (US \$29m) for the construction of a textile factory in Benin. The factory, which is expected to begin its activities by mid-December 2000, will generate about 1 000 new jobs.

9 February 1999 An Industrial Free Trade Zone created in Benin will start this year, the President of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Wassi Mouftaou, announced. The zone aims to attract local and foreign investors, stimulate the private sector and encourage technology transfer, and bring in value-added tax.

10 February 1999 Benin's Commerce, crafts and tourism Minister, Marie-Elise Gbedo, has been nominated co-president of the ACP-EU Council of Ministers, the executive arm of the group. The post rotates amongst member countries. The out-

going co-president was Minister for Planning and National Development of Kenya, George Saitoti. The EU's co-president is Germany's economic cooperation and development Wiczorek-Zeuk. Countries chosen to represent the different regions are: Tanzania for East Africa, Swaziland for Southern Africa, the Republic of Congo for Central Africa, Tonga for Pacific States and Saint Lucia for Caribbean States.



BURKINA FASO

1 November 1998 About 100 delegates from Africa, the Arab world and international and African organisations are taking part in the second Afro-Arab Business Week in Ouagadougou. The meeting organised by the Arab Bank for the Development of Africa, under the auspices of the OAU and the Arab League. Over the four-day conference

CONFLICT WATCH

BY HUSSEIN SOLOMON WITH JAMES MACKALAIRE

Conflict at a glance - an overview of developments in conflict spots on the continent over the last quarter. This is Conflict Watch. Winds of change are sweeping across the continent. And yet we must be aware of opportunities to work for transformation, to focus our resources. These are the facts...
The continent of Africa has been divided into five regions based on the OAU administrative regional division.

NORTH AFRICA



ALGERIA

1 October 1998 Security forces announce the killing of 15 'terrorists' in Western Algeria.

The RCD announce their reasons for boycotting the meeting between President Zeroual and other political parties represented in the People's National Assembly. The reasons enunciated for their boycott revolve around the need for greater consultation within the RCD and the fact that the RCD would not contest the election unless there is a democratic alliance.

3 October 1998 President Zeroual calls on the mobilization of the people who should stand by the troops of the People's National Army and other security services in order to effectively combat 'terrorist' groups.

12 October 1998 Air Algerie employees go on strike.

23 October 1998 Two communal guards are killed by an Armed Islamic Group (GIA) commando near the bridge over the Bouchaid river on national road number 43.

2 November 1998 Algeria formally protests against Burkina Faso's decision to give asylum to Ahmed Zaoui, whom it considers a leader of terrorist groups, after his deportation from Switzerland.

26 November 1998 Algerian authorities announce they have discovered two suspected mass graves on the outskirts of the capital, Algiers.

28 November 1998 Demain l'Algerie (a French-language newspaper) reports that terrorists yesterday killed three people and wounded three others in Chlef and Ain Soltan (250km west of Algiers).

La Nouvelle Republique (a French-language newspaper) announces that the corpses of six people kidnapped by the GIA have been discovered in M'sila (300km southeast of Algiers).

5 December 1998 Four people have been killed and 30 others wounded in a bomb explosion in the commune of Mascara, Algerian security forces announce in a statement. The same statement notes that a similar explosion took place in the commune of Khemis Meliana, in the Ain Defla district, where the death toll has risen to 15, while 25 other people were injured.



5 December 1998 A terrorist group kill three people in El Hassania Municipality, some 40km southeast of the capital of Ain Defla Province.

5 December 1998 One soldier is killed and another wounded by 'terrorists' in Oued Dar El Himeur, 8km southwest of Texanna Municipality in Jijel Province. Available information identified the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), led by Boutadjine and Hammam, as having carried out the attack on an army unit that was conducting a mission in the area.



EGYPT

1 October 1998 The struggle for the leadership of the Liberal Party between supporters of Tal'at al-Sadat and Rajab Hamidah turned to violence, with the two sides using gunfire and sulphuric acid in the fight. Three people suffered burns to various parts of their bodies.

11 October 1998 The Higher State Security Court today renewed the remand of 34 'terrorist' suspects for another fifteen days. The suspects face charges of participating in terrorist operations and belonging to an illegal organisation that calls for



MAURITANIA



MOROCCO



ALGERIA



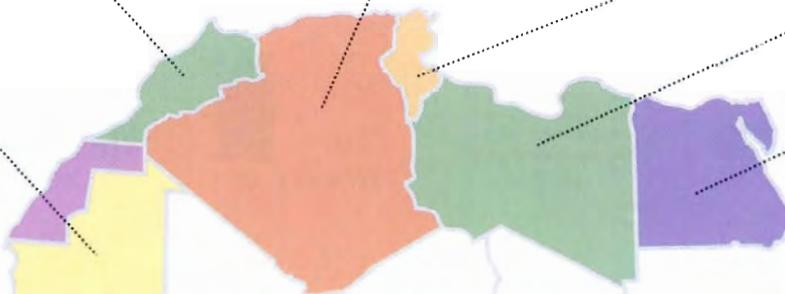
TUNISIA



LIBYA



EGYPT



CONFLICT WATCH

the thwarting of the rules of the constitution and the law, the assassination of public figures and leaders and the overthrowing of the government system.

3 December 1998 The Egyptian Organisation for Human Rights announces that it will freeze all its activities in the country following the detention of its Secretary-General, Hafez Abu Saada, who was accused of 'receiving foreign funds with the intention of damaging national interests'.



LIBYA

28 January 1999 Conflicting messages emanate from Libya and the UN over the finalisation of the Lockerbie case. Two Libyans suspected of complicity in the Pan-Am airliner bombing over Lockerbie are due to appear in court in a foreign country other than Libya, the US or the UK. Libyan officials claim they are awaiting responses from the USA and UK meanwhile the UN says its waiting for Libya to provide its responses over queries sent there through two UN emissaries - South African President Nelson Mandela and Saudi Arabian King Fahd.

16 February 1999 Five Bulgarian nurses working at the pediatrics wing of the university hospital in Benghazi in Libya have been arrested in connection with an investigation on infants that got infected with the HIV virus after being admitted to that wing in the hospital. A Libyan monthly magazine alerted government officials to the sudden dramatic increase of infected victims in the wing. The Libyan minister of health has been dismissed following the revelations.



MAURITANIA

29 November 1998 The radical opposition groups, the Action for Change (AC) and the Union of Democratic Forces-New Era (UFD/EN) have said that they will boycott the municipal elections scheduled to take place in Mauritania on 29 January 1999.

17 December 1998 Mauritania police disperse student demonstrations against US-British air strikes against Iraq.



MOROCCO

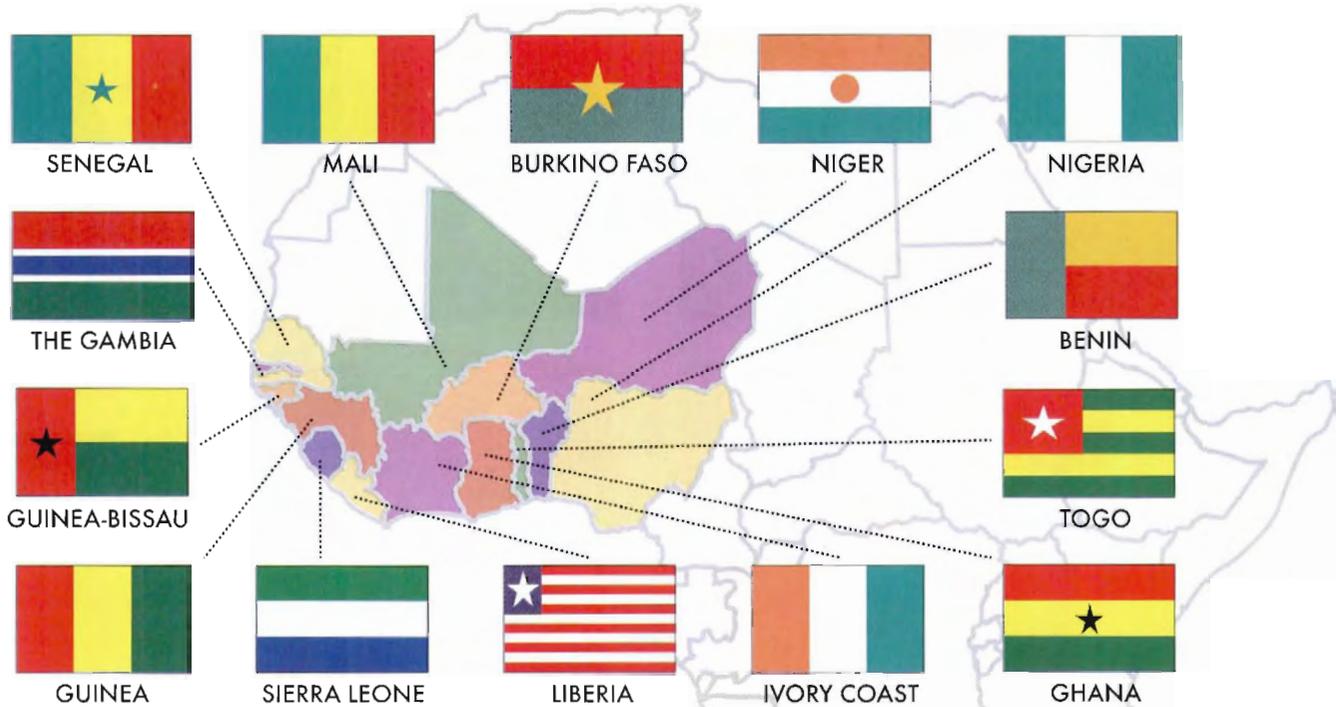
10 November 1998 UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan discusses the UN peace plan for the Western Sahara with Moroccan officials in Marrakesh.

WESTERN SAHARA

11 November 1998 The Polisario Front strongly denounces the 'repressive measures' taken by the Moroccan authorities against the Saharan civilian population on the eve of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's visit to Laayoune town in Western Sahara. The Polisario called upon the UN to take the necessary measures to protect Saharan civilians and guarantee a free and fair election.

1 December 1998 During his visit to Algeria, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan speaks of the proposals he has brought to advance peace in the Western Sahara. Annan said that while the Saharan side has accepted the proposals, Morocco has asked for further clarification and time for thought.

WEST AFRICA



GHANA

19 February 1999 The owner of Resolute Amansic Limited (RAL) reports that its van transporting gold bullion worth US \$1m has been ambushed by a gang of heavily armed robbers whilst enroute to Accra. 170kg of gold bullion was taken during a skirmish between the security escorts, West Coast Allied Services Ltd and the robbers. The robbery has been reported as being the first of its kind in Ghana. RAL is 90% Australian-owned, with the remaining 10% being Ghanaian-owned.



GUINEA

27 October 1998 The speaker of the National Unity and Progress Party (PUP) has been suspended by the ruling Assembly for alleging that there are gross human rights violations and persistent torture still continuing in Guinea.

27 October 1998 The Guinean opposition protests the decision of the President to send the army to intervene in Guinea-Bissau.

13 December 1998 Several people are injured at the election rally of President Lansana Conte in Conakry. Looting and the damaging of property by unemployed youths followed the rally.

15 December 1998 All opposition parties fear fraud in the second multiparty elections, and have complained of poor organisation and the fact that most of their supporters were unable to vote.

16 December 1998 The leader of the opposition Guinean Peoples' Rally, Alpha Conde, is arrested while trying to cross into the Ivory Coast. Conde had returned from exile to take part in the

presidential elections. His arrest occurred amid apprehension among the opposition of a first round victory by President Lansana Conte due to fraud, and they have vowed not to accept such a result.



GUINEA-BISSAU

19 October 1998 Fighting escalates between government troops and the military junta in Guinea-Bissau.

24 October 1998 Guinea-Bissau communications minister Joao Gomes Cardosa appeals for the deployment of a peacekeeping force from ECOWAS to implement the cease-fire accord signed between the government and mutineers. He also accuses the mutineers of not complying with the cease-fire and has rejected calls for the withdrawal of Senegalese and Guinean troops.

26 November 1998 The president of the National Peoples' Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, Malam Sanha, criticizes President Vieira for not engaging in dialogue with the rebels at the beginning of the crisis, and instead taking up arms and going against the constitution by welcoming a foreign force without the people's authorisation.

27 November 1998 President Vieira refuses a call by parliament that he should resign.



IVORY COAST

30 October 1998 Ivorian fishmongers went back to work after a five-day strike in protest

against domination of their trade by foreigners, especially Lebanese.

4 December 1998 Striking civil servants in the Ivory Coast have gone back to work after being assured that their grievances over poor conditions of service will be looked into and resolved. The strike was the first in the history of post-independence Ivory Coast and lasted 48 hours.

10 February 1999 Tension remains high along the borders of Liberia and the Ivory Coast with near clashes now and then between security personnel that patrol on both sides of the borders. The President of Liberia, Charles Taylor, and his forces used Cote d'Ivoire as their rear base when they invaded Liberia during the seven year civil war.



LIBERIA

1 October 1998 Roosevelt Johnson, Liberian opposition leader, has taken refuge in the American embassy in Monrovia to avoid being tried by Charles Taylor's government. Taylor's men have also ransacked the office of another candidate, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, and there have been complaints of intimidation from various religious leaders.

2 October 1998 Eleven people have been killed in a shootout at the military post stockade, when factions loyal to Roosevelt Johnson tried to free their comrades held by the military on charges of treason.

5 October 1998 Roosevelt Johnson is reported to be in protective custody in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, residents of Camp Johnson Road, where Johnson resided, have complained of harassment by government soldiers, who they say come at night, search their houses and demand money.

9 October 1998 The Liberian government has indicted 32 people on charges of treason. The 32, including Roosevelt Johnson, are accused of plotting to overthrow the government and engaging in a gun battle between 18-19 September 1998.

27 January 1999 The Liberian Government has denied allegations that Liberia is arming the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone, as claimed by the United States and United Kingdom governments. Liberian Information Minister, J. Milton Teahjay, said the United States and United Kingdom governments were trying to cover up revelations that two British companies had been supplying military hardware to the rebels fighting the Sierra Leonean government. Teahjay says Liberia is committed to the regional peace initiatives currently in place.

3 February 1999 President Charles Taylor vetoed a bill approved by parliament to grant autonomous status to the Liberia News Agency. The agreement provided for substantial support from a German Government Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ). GTZ has since pulled out after Liberia abrogated its part of the deal.



MALI

16 December 1998 Lawyers who were defending former Malian President, Moussa Traore, his wife and three former close aides for 'economic crimes' have withdrawn from the case, protesting that they were

faced with 'many violations of the rights of defence'.

23 December 1998 Bamako Court orders the resumption of the trial of former President Moussa Traore, despite the absence of his officially appointed lawyers.

9 February 1999 The association of Malian students is on its second day of a scheduled three-day strike in which they demand the reinstatement of students expelled for non performance and those imprisoned in 1998 following incidents of looting at secondary schools and teachers' houses.



NIGERIA

5 October 1998 The Voice of Nigeria alleges that Cameroon has contracted a Canadian company to explore for oil in the Bakassi Peninsula in defiance of an order by the world court at the Hague, since the Bakassi Peninsula falls within the disputed zone between Nigeria and Cameroon. Nigeria's Minister of Defence said the action by Cameroon authorities was a deliberate attempt to willfully disregard the judgement of the world court and to promote hostilities in the peninsula. The world court had enjoined both countries not to embark on new projects within the disputed area.

23 October 1998 Youths of Nigeria's rival Ijaw and Itsekiri communities have taken up arms in renewed violence that left at least six people dead and several houses burnt in Warri, in the mid-west state of Delta.

30 October 1998 Workers at the Central Bank of Nigeria have gone on a nation-wide sit-down to press for better remuneration. The workers are seeking a 500% salary increase, in line with the recent minimum wage of 5 200 Naira announced for federal employees (about US \$60).

24 November 1998 Lagos' anti-crime squad comes under severe criticism for alleged extortion, harassment and indiscriminate shooting and killing of innocent people under the guise of fighting crime.

3 February 1999 The Commander of the ECOMOG force in Sierra Leone, Brigadier General Maxwell Khobe, has warned against the withdrawal of the Nigerian contingent from operations in Sierra Leone. Rebels fighting to gain control of Sierra Leone have threatened to destabilise the entire region, including Nigeria. Khobe leads a 10 000 strong 16-nation ECOWAS force.



SENEGAL

3 October 1998 Casualties amongst Senegalese troops in Guinea-Bissau have been announced as 40 dead and 280 injured. A troop contingent of 2 000 troops were despatched to Guinea-Bissau to assist President Vieira, who was facing a mutiny.

23 October 1998 Another 1 000 Senegalese troops have been dispatched to Guinea-Bissau to reinforce the 2 000 troops already stationed there.

5 December 1998 The National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS), an affiliate of the ruling Socialist Party, has threatened to go on strike if the government fails to meet its demands. CNTS is pressing for tax reduction and an increase in workers' salaries, which have been frozen since 1993. The labour

union also wants a social scheme under which the interests of workers are taken into account during the liquidation of companies.



SIERRA LEONE

19 October 1998 Twenty-four military officers, including a woman, have been publicly executed in Sierra Leone in connection with the coup which ousted the elected government of President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

21 October 1998 One of Sierra Leone's rebel commanders, Sam Bockari, says he will revenge the execution of 24 soldiers by trying to oust President Kabbah again.

25 October 1998 Sierra Leonean rebel leader, Foday Sankoh, was sentenced to death for treason and murder following last year's coup which toppled President Kabbah.

27 October 1998 Eighty-three Sierra Leonean rebels were killed during a weekend battle with the West African intervention force, ECOMOG, in the eastern diamond district of Kono.

14 November 1998 Rebels attack the northern border area of Kamaporoto, killing 16 people and abducting at least 50 others.

25 November 1998 ECOMOG troops in Sierra Leone announce that they have killed more than 25 former junta rebels. Reports say the rebels were killed while trying to infiltrate ECOMOG positions at Koidu, near Kono in the eastern diamond-rich region.

28 January 1999 Fears continue to grow within ECOWAS as Nigerian leaders show a desire to pull out Nigerian troops from ECOMOG operations in Sierra Leone by May, when the new civilian government takes over.

30 January 1999 The Sierra Leonean finance minister, James Jonah, has referred to the conflict in his country as regional, and not an internal conflict. The minister's finger pointed at Liberia and Burkina Faso, as well as at Ukrainian mercenaries, who have allegedly been perpetuating the conflict by backing the Revolutionary United Front (RUF).



TOGO

13 November 1998 Opposition leader, Gilchrist Olympio, calls for President Eyadema's departure from office.

25 November 1998 Brussels decides to maintain its freeze on cooperation with Togo, citing irregularities noted by EU observers during Togo's June 1998 presidential election.

21 February 1999 The general election campaign kicked off officially with the ruling Togolese People's Rally (RPT) and allies being the only parties taking part. Opposition parties are boycotting the elections unless negotiations are initiated over the June 1998 presidential election results. The Government has refused postponement of the elections fearing the expiry of the constitutional mandate on 22 March.

CENTRAL AFRICA



ANGOLA

1 October 1998 Angolan Defence Minister, General Pedro Sebastio, has informed a Southern African Development Community (SADC) military meeting that began in Luanda two days ago, that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has hindered the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol, and has resumed military operations in just about every part of the country. In view of this, SADC heads of state meeting in Mauritius have declared Jonas Savimbi to be a war criminal. This position, according to General Sebastio, was based on the fact that UNITA's military wing is a destabilizing factor, not only in Angola, but in the whole region. For this reason, General Sebastio argued that UNITA deserves an active response not only from Angola but from other SADC countries as well.

2 October 1998 UNITA's parliamentary leader, Abel Chivukuvuku was today the target of an assassination attempt. He accused the (breakaway) UNITA renewalists for the attempt on his life, saying that it is not by being shot at that he will be persuaded to join the Renewal Committee.

3 October 1998 Twenty of Savimbi's soliders are killed by police at the headquarters of the Cuima communal area, Caala district, 74km south of the city of Huambo. A police source says

that the soliders died when a 500-strong contingent raided the town of Cuima.

6 October 1998 Angolan police kill seven UNITA soldiers in the Caluitsa settlement, 17km from the headquarters of Balombo District.

15 October 1998 Clashes between UNITA and government troops result in an least 125 casualties in two provinces. The People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) calls for the mobilization of the population.

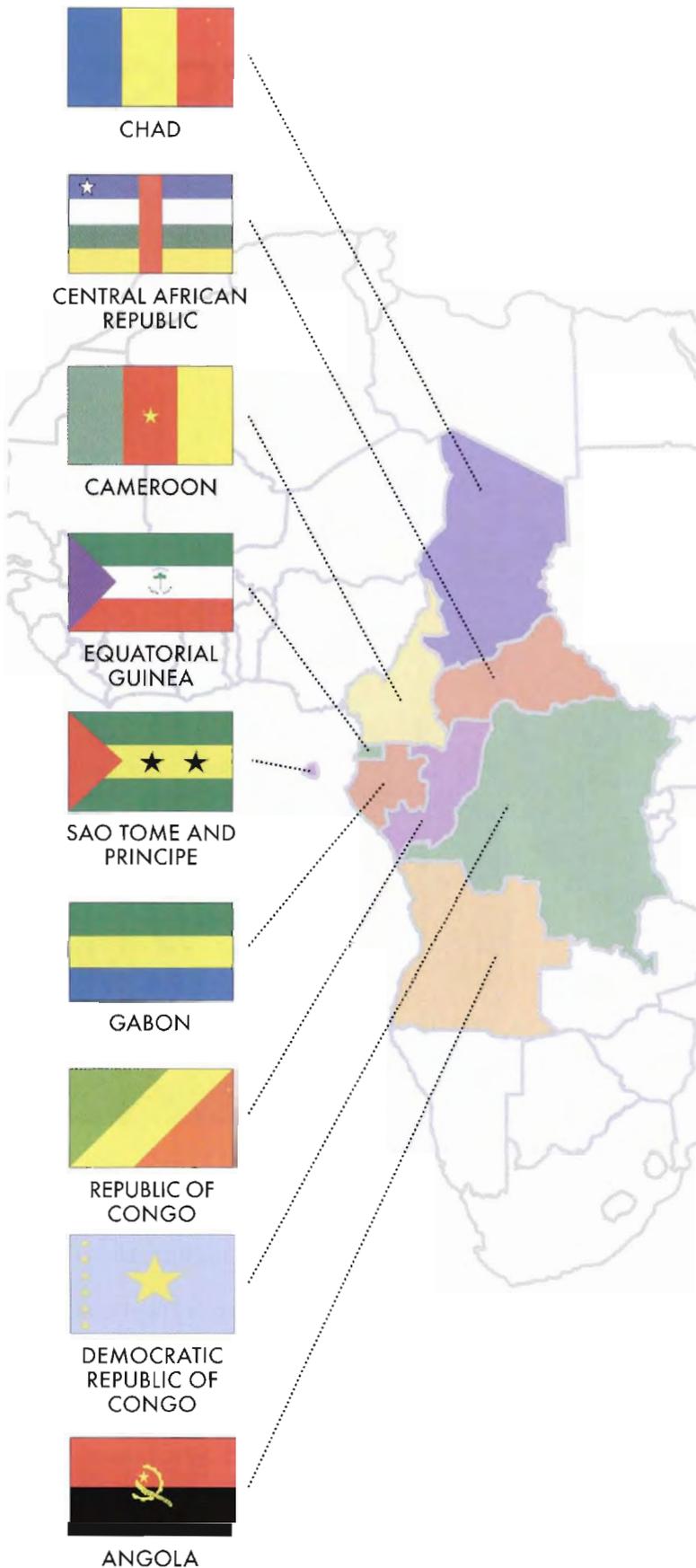
The UNITA Renewal (UNITA breakaway) cadre conference ends today with a call for those committed to war to be isolated.

7 November 1998 UNITA troops attack a diamond mine in Lunda Norte killing 24 people (1 South African, 2 Britons and 21 Angolans), wounding and abducting others and causing severe material damage. The mine belongs to Lucapa Mining Company.

8 November 1998 50 soldiers, presumably belonging to UNITA, attack a diamond mine in Lunda Sul province resulting in 5 dead, 18 wounded and 4 people kidnapped.

9 November 1998 Government forces announce that they have repelled attacks on the settlements of Puri and Cuivenga in Uige Province, killing 36 UNITA soldiers in the process.

12 November 1998 Lucas Bambi, deputy police commander of



Bie Province, announces at a press conference in Cuito that UNITA forces were massing more than 4 500 armed troops armed with long-range artillery in Bie Province.

16 November 1998 The military commander of the Angolan enclave of Cabinda, Lieutenant-General Luis Mendes, has denied claims that his forces are attacking bases of the Liberation Front of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC-FAC). FLEC-FAC claimed in a statement last week that the Angolan Armed Forces had launched a 'strong offensive' against its positions, as well as alleging that government troops were massacring civilians in the enclave.

17 November 1998 UN Special Representative Issa Diallo confirms that UN personnel have been held in Andulo and Bailundo, two UNITA-controlled areas.

18 November 1998 Press reports are citing that government troops have laid siege to Andulo and Bailundo.

20 November 1998 Brigadier Loy Victoria, the provincial military commander, announces that Angolan police forces and UNITA rebels have been engaged in 'heavy combat' around the town of Banga, Cuanza Norte, since 18th November 1998.

23 November 1998 Seven people have been killed and eleven others seriously wounded when two lorries ran into an ambush by UNITA soldiers during an attack along the road linking the Cubal municipality to that of Ganda, in the Angolan coastal province of Benguela.

26 November 1998 Jonas Savimbi's troops, who have seized the bridge over the Lucala River, some 300kms northeast of Luanda, threaten to destroy it if Angolan Armed Forces (FAA) army columns moving north from Malanje continue to advance. A World Food Programme (WFP) 30 vehicle convoy was attacked by unidentified gunmen in Huile Province.

1 December 1998 Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister, Venancio de Moura, receives UN Special Representative Issa Diallo for the first time, and confirms that the Lusaka Protocol's implementation has been deadlocked since June. He blamed UNITA for the peace impasse.

27 January 1999 A UN preliminary report on the second C-130 aircraft crash in Angola on 2 January says the cockpit voice and flight recorders were found to be missing from the wreckage. Interviews with eye witnesses have confirmed investigation findings by experts that the plane was on fire whilst in flight, and parts of the aircraft showed bullet holes. The bodies of the nine victims of the crash had been found charred beyond recognition and will require extensive examinations to establish identities.

28 January 1999 The Angolan government has threatened military action against several African states, which it accuses of supporting UNITA. Zambia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burkina Faso and Togo were fingered by Luanda and threatened with retaliatory military action.

20 February 1999 The Angolan Attorney-General, Domingos Culolo, announced that legal action was being initiated against 'terrorist' Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the President of UNITA. Luanda has blamed Savimbi for the resumption of the civil war and has thus stopped consultation with him on issues relating to peace negotiations, opting rather to deal with a breakaway UNITA group.

Conflict, Development & Peace in Africa:

GENDER PERSPECTIVES

BY LAKETCH DIRASSE

A woman's dilemma in Africa is best articulated by the words of one Somali woman,

The war in Somalia... is a war on the woman. Any woman between the ages of 18 and 40 is not safe from being forcibly removed to the army camps to be raped and violated. If her husband finds out, he kills her for the shame of it all; if they know that he has found out, they kill him too; if he goes into hiding instead and she won't tell where he is, they kill her.

Caught in conflict situations which exacerbate contradictions in normal societal relations and telescope social inequities, women account for up to 80% of Africa's displaced people. These complex emergencies resulting from armed conflicts, economic deterioration, environmental degradation, systematic human rights abuse and ethnic and religious strife mean that 30 African countries are currently producers or hosts of refugees and, in many cases, both.

THE GENDER-SPECIFIC IMPACT OF CRISES

Role overload

As refugees forced to flee their homes, women continue in their traditional roles in household food security. Women and children are particularly susceptible to diet inefficiencies and provide early warning of nutritional deficiencies in populations. Pregnant and lactating mothers are especially at risk, as are infants and small children, whose cognitive development can be severely impacted by an inadequate diet, since brain growth occurs in the first two years of life. The need for a gender-sensitive food distribution system is important when, in some cases, distribution through a male network creates problems and inequalities. Women are often absent from management committees where decisions about life in refugee camps are made.

Violence

Rape, as a crass and violent expression of dominance, is increasingly a feature of conflict situations. It is believed that almost all women who experienced Rwanda's genocide were raped, most repeatedly. A UNIFEM/AFWIC sponsored study in Rwanda in 1995 found that by January 1995, eight months after the genocide started, at least four pregnant women visited the Kigali maternity hospital daily, requesting abortions (illegal in



Rwanda). These women had been raped during the war. Two women had given birth prematurely and did not want to see their babies. One of these women had been raped and impregnated by the man who murdered her husband and four children.²

In crisis situations women's vulnerability to physical and sexual violence increases with the crumbling of traditional family support and protection mechanisms. Rapes occur as women flee the conflict and can continue on arrival in asylum countries or internal sanctuaries. Many women are forced into non-consensual relationships in asylum countries in order to receive protection and food security for their families. The UNHCR's project for women victims of violence in Somali refugee camps in Northern Kenya has shown that providing some level of social order and protection means a decrease in violence against women.

Health and wellbeing

The importance of the physical and psycho-social health of displaced and refugee women is underscored by their vital role as primary health care providers, food subsidisers, water collectors, fuel foragers, child-care providers and generators of additional income. Rape, female circumcision and forced prostitution can increase a woman's vulnerability to AIDS and women should be provided with health education and preventive care and counselling. Gynaecological care may not be seen as a basic need when a care and maintenance approach to health-care delivery programmes is employed.

Humanitarian relief and rehabilitation agencies consistently ignore the need for sanitary towels for menstruation. Uprooted women who are unable to effectively manage their menstruation experience stress and indignity. There is no effort to date to research and develop alternative sanitary materials that are cost effective, culturally acceptable and environmentally sound. While all displaced people experience trauma resulting from flight, dislocation, loss of loved ones and disruption of normal life, there are some gender-specific factors that predispose women to different mental health complications. These include the trauma of rape and other physical abuse, stress from increased responsibility and guilt resulting from an actual or perceived inability to care for their families.

Legal status

The UN Convention Regarding the Status of Refugees³ defines a refugee as a person who has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or because of political opinion, and who is outside his/her country of nationality. The Convention does not, therefore, recognise people fleeing generalised armed conflicts as refugees because the persecution is not specific to the individual.

The Organisation of Africa Unity's more progressive 1969 refugee treaty⁴ includes within its ambit those who have fled civil strife and other events that seriously disturb public order. This convention also establishes the right to receive asylum, declares the granting of asylum to be a peaceful and humanitarian act, and provides specific guarantees on the voluntary nature of repatriation. Yet for African women the broader provisions of the convention still fall short of providing needed protection. Despite the fact that women are often targeted deliberately during a conflict, no mention is made of gender and the convention does not address the issue of women fleeing sexual torture or discrimination. Also, a woman fleeing harsh treatment for having transgressed her society's mores will have great difficulty establishing a claim for asylum.

Although the most widely-affected victims of conflict in Africa, women struggle to build a semblance of stability in the lives of their families and are actively and courageously organising to promote tolerance and peace on their continent

THE FACTS



More than 15 African countries are currently mired in wars or severe civil strife



One third of the estimated world refugee population of 20 million are African⁵



30 African countries are hosts and/or producers of refugees



60 – 80% of Africa's displaced people are women

Beyond international conventions, the existence or absence of legislation and safeguards that protect women in the host country could also contribute to how abuses against refugee women are viewed. Internally displaced women also fall under the legal system of their own country, which may be discriminatory. In situations where protective legislation exists, the extremely high incidence of gender-specific violence and violations of displaced women's rights shows that enforcement mechanisms have not been successful. Legal literacy is an important empowerment tool for displaced women.

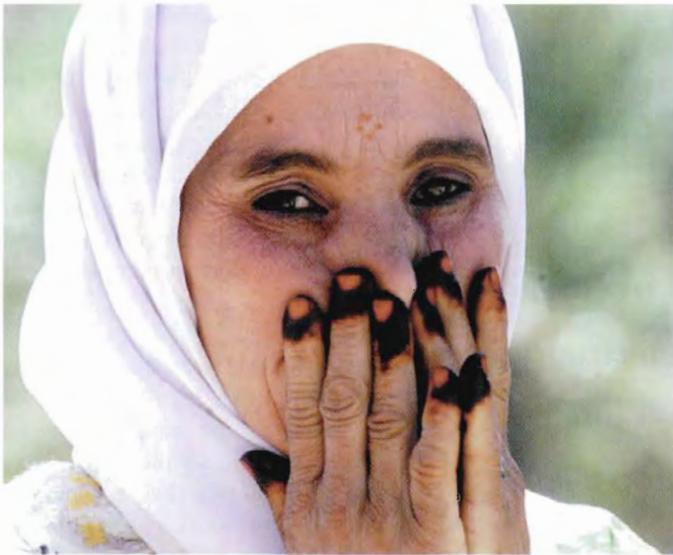
Survival and peace

Women take full charge of the survival of their children, the sick, injured and the elderly. The critical role women play to promote healing in their community in crisis situations is often unrecognised. Yet, recognising the skills displaced women do have, building on their initiatives and introducing them to new skills is the most cost-effective approach to reducing long-term care and maintenance programmes and enhancing self-reliance.

Increasingly women at national and regional levels are mobilising to promote peace. The need to document these efforts and draw lessons for promoting women as agents of peace is apparent. There is also a need to build their capacities and link them to mainstream regional and international organisations working on peace and reconciliation issues.

UNIFEM'S/AFWIC'S ROLE

Protecting and empowering women in crisis situations and placing them at the centre of the search for solutions is the aim of the African Women in Crisis umbrella programme, which I manage under the the United Nations Development Fund for Women. UNIFEM/AFWIC is a regional programme which has



been involved since 1993 in initiatives that promote women in peace and reconciliation efforts in Africa.

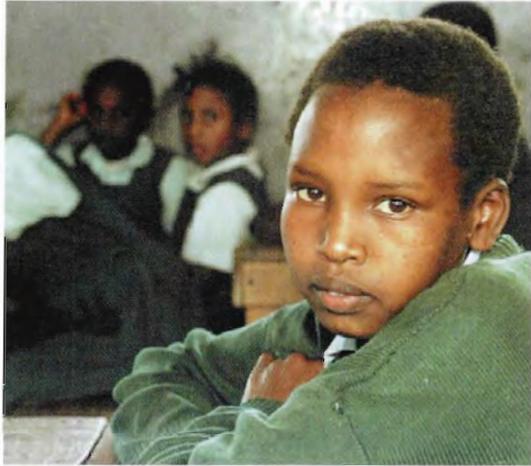
Realising the need for a well-coordinated approach to promoting women as agents of reconciliation and peace, AFWIC started a small peace project that has given significant visibility to the nascent African women's peace movements, and which aims to promote a gender-sensitive and gender-inclusive response to conflict resolution in Africa. It works through emerging African women's initiatives for reconciliation and peace in order to promote an exchange of ideas and experiences towards building a strong African women-led coalition for peace and development.

Last year UNIFEM launched a two-year countrywide campaign in Kenya to combat violence against women and girls in Africa. One of the major themes is psychological and physical violence faced by women and girls during times of conflict. These include sexual violence, domestic violence, psychological violence and harmful traditions and practices. UNIFEM has supported a number of significant catalytic actions in the area of peace and reconciliation on a national, regional and international level.

National initiatives have included reconciliation workshops in Kenya, a peace march in Somalia, peace dialogues in Sudan and organising for peace in Mozambique. An example of the success of these initiatives is the series of workshops held in Kenya which sought to bring together and reconcile women and youth from three ethnic groups, to motivate and educate youth to be less willing to be incited to violence, to alleviate the suffering of women and to discuss possible income-generating activities. Over 6 000 displaced families, initially reluctant to return to their homes, returned without fear.

Regional initiatives included a strategy workshop on conflict resolution and peace in Uganda which resulted in concrete strategies for the Fifth African Regional Conference on Women, as well as a peace and reconciliation mission to Rwanda and Burundi. Another regional initiative was the peace tent at the Fifth African Regional Preparatory Conference for Women in Dakar, which brought together women's peace movements from 12 African countries, as well as individual women peace activists.

Capacity-building at a regional level has included systematic work with women's peace movements to provide training,



TOWARDS A STRATEGY FOR ENGENDERING PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Women's resilience and resourcefulness under situations of crisis and displacement must be recognised and fully supported by African Governments and the International Community. UNIFEM/AFWIC have adopted a three-pronged strategy for their continued work. UNIFEM/AFWIC hopes to:

Create a documentary base for the promotion of the concept of women as agents of peace in Africa which will yield research-based materials for those engaged in developing a dynamic, gender-sensitive programme for peace education. This is intended to create an inventory of key conflict areas and issues identified by the majority of African women; to document and analyse traditional forms of conflict management and resolution, particularly the woman's role in mediation; and to document peace initiatives in Africa, particularly those involving women and their institutions.

Engage in advocacy and catalytic work to give visibility to nascent African women's peace movements and their peace initiatives; promote networking between such movements; and facilitate their involvement in dialogue on issues of peace, governance and development ethics.

Become involved in capacity-building activities to strengthen women's roles in the African peace process by training women in negotiation skills, conflict management and preventive diplomacy. Administrative and programmatic support is also crucial.

UNIFEM/AFWIC believes that such a coordinated strategy will fully equip African women to play their role in engendering conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building in Africa.

research/documentation and coalition-building activities. Training of trainers in conflict resolution and transformation – developed and implemented by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) – has involved women from Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Burundi. Regional efforts have also included research into women's role in traditional and modern forms of mediation and conflict resolution, as well as the Pan African Conference on Peace and Development held in Kigali in March. UNIFEM was a key sponsor of the event. Prior to the Pan-African conference UNIFEM brought together the African Women's Peace Network Organisations and facilitated the launching of the Federation of African Women Peace Networks. The goal of this entity is to contribute to the coordination, rationalisation and development of activities aimed at the participation of women in the field of prevention, management and resolution of conflicts and the consolidation of peace in Africa.

International efforts by UNIFEM include the sponsorship of participants to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, as well as two high-level inter-regional round table events at the conference entitled 'Building Bridges of Hope: Women Speak Out on Peace'. A peace torch, symbolising the daily struggles of women in Africa to promote peace, healing and sustainable livelihoods was commissioned just prior to Beijing and the torch has travelled to several countries. ♀

Laketch Dirasse is Regional Programme Advisor,
UNIFEM/Nairobi Regional Office for Eastern Africa

- 1 S.F. Martin, *Refugee Women*, Zed Books Ltd. London & New Jersey, 1992, p.24
- 2 Hagengimana, A. *Psycho-Social Trauma Management Consultancy Report to UNIFEM/AFWIC*
- 3 Economic and Social Council, Report of the Secretary General 'Peace: Refugee and Displaced Women and Children', E/CN.6/1991/4, 9 November, 1990, p.5
- 4 Organisation for African Unity, 10 September 1969, *Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa*. Adopted by Assembly of Heads of States and Government, 6th Ordinary Sessions, Addis Ababa, Article 1 (2). See also Economic and Social Council, cited in note 9, p.5
- 5 UNHCR, *The State of the World's Refugees: The Challenge for Protection*, New York, Penguin Books, 1993

Peacekeeping in the DRC: A new role for the United Nations

BY CEDRIC DE CONING

Although a cease-fire agreement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) still appears as elusive as it did four months ago, let's assume for a moment that, sooner or later, the parties to the conflict in the DRC will sign a cease-fire agreement. When that finally happens it will not be the end of the peace process - in many ways it would be only the beginning. The signing of a cease-fire will be the primer for one such beginning - a new peacekeeping mission to the DRC to monitor and supervise the implementation of the agreement.

Both the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) have already done some basic contingency planning for a peacekeeping mission in the DRC. The UN would have to wait for a Security Council decision authorizing such a mission, however, before it can appoint a Force Commander and invite troop contributions. Even if all of this happens fairly quickly, it would still take the UN at least three to five months before it would be able to deploy the bulk of its peacekeepers in the DRC.

The OAU is contemplating filling that gap with an observer mission of its own. The OAU has previously deployed such observer missions to Rwanda and Burundi, and it currently has a small mission in the Comoros. An OAU observer mission to the DRC will have to be much larger, more complex and more costly than the 64 member mission to Burundi or the 20 member mission to the Comoros, that it has undertaken to date. It should be possible, however, to deploy a limited OAU observer mission in a relatively short period. An OAU observer mission of this nature would provide the international community with a valuable presence on the ground until the UN mission is deployed.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki proposed a third possibility in December 1998, namely that all the foreign statutory forces in the DRC be transformed into a multinational peacekeeping force under international neutral command, after a cease-fire has been signed. The proposal seeks to address the perceived common wisdom that the international community, in the wake of the UN experience in Somalia and Rwanda, has lost the political will to deploy large-scale UN peacekeeping missions to Africa. It is also



an attempt to deal with the need to have a peacekeeping force on the ground as soon as possible after a cease-fire has been signed.

The South African proposal has had a lukewarm reception. Most people point out that it is improbable that the forces that have been involved in the hostilities on one side or the other would be able to be transformed into a unified and credible peacekeeping force. They point out that it is unlikely that such a force would be perceived as a neutral third party monitor in the peace process. Fifty years of UN peacekeeping, and the ECOMOG experience in Liberia and Sierra Leone, have shown that peacekeeping is often best done by people from outside the region, who are more easily accepted as truly detached and impartial.

Kofi Anan, the UN Secretary General, in a speech at Georgetown University on 23 February 1999, concluded that 'we must be prepared for a conclusion which many African leaders have already reached: that if a peacekeeping force is required in the Congo, the United Nations would probably have to be involved.' He went on to say that such a UN force should not be deployed unless it is given sufficient strength and firepower to carry out its assignment.

The UN deployed its first peacekeeping operation in Africa in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960. It was a less than exemplary mission that saw the UN, under pressure from cold war super-power rivalry, breaking all the rules of neutrality and impartiality. It will

also be remembered for the death of UN Secretary General Dag Hammerskjöld, who died in a plane crash at Ndola, Zambia, whilst trying to negotiate a cease-fire between Katangese rebels and UN forces. It will also be the first major UN peacekeeping operation in Africa since the Somalia debacle (UNOSOM:1992-1995). One would thus expect the UN Security Council to be reluctant to commit itself to a new large-scale peacekeeping mission in the DRC. However, the Secretary General's statement in Washington D.C. sends a different signal, and if he manages to find sufficient support from troop contributing countries, it may signal the return of UN peacekeeping to Africa.

It will not be an easy task. The conflict in the DRC involves a complex mix of ethnicity, politically alienated militias and foreign troops who are indistinguishable from the rebels they support. It is set in a vast geographical area, characterized by heavy jungle terrain with very little infrastructure to ease movement between the major cities and towns. Normally, a peacekeeping mission deployed to monitor a cease-fire would be interpositioned in a neutral or demilitarized zone (DMZ) between the two warring factions. In the DRC there is no clear cease-fire line. Instead, the two sides have clashed at a number of strategic access points. It is likely that the cease-fire would produce some kind of troop-standstill, where the parties agree to cease all hostile acts and to hold the ground they currently occupy. The task of the peacekeepers will be to monitor the agreement, and investigate any alleged breaches, probably through some kind of joint commission or similar mechanism.

The detail of such an agreement - for instance, a schedule of who is holding which positions at the time of the cease-fire - will be a nightmare to negotiate and verify. This may very well be the primary task of the OAU observer mission, i.e. to develop and verify a detailed cease-fire schedule which the UN peacekeeping mission can monitor and supervise, once deployed.

Both the OAU and the UN would have to deploy observers at various strategic points, cities and towns. As there are few roads, air support would be needed to move between these various OAU and UN positions. As it would be impossible for the peacekeepers to have a presence everywhere, the observers would have to be backed up by a number of reaction-type units that can investigate alleged breaches of the cease-fire, as they are reported. In addition, the UN mission would have, as a key task, the support and protection of humanitarian relief workers and supplies.

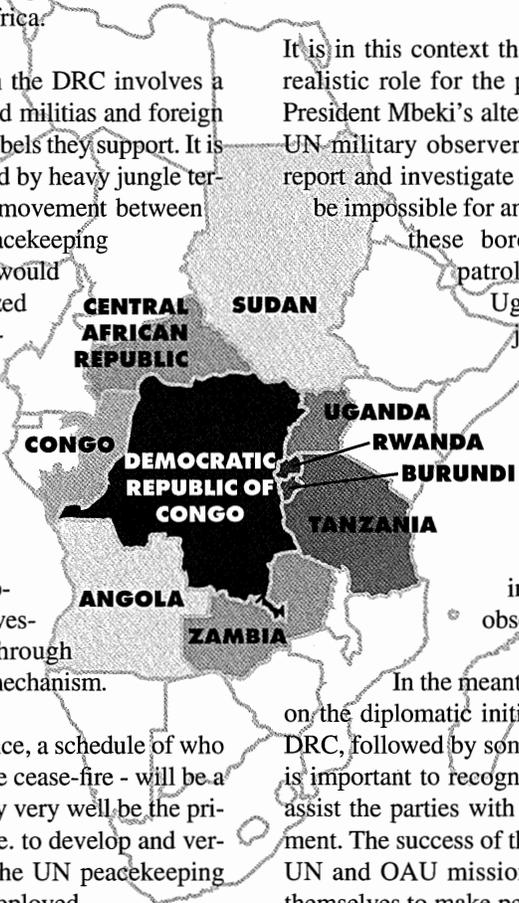
The withdrawal of all foreign troops will be a key element in any cease-fire agreement. In return for their withdrawal, the international community will have to undertake to monitor Rwanda and Uganda's western borders. These borders stretch for thousands of kilometers in heavy jungle terrain, and are mostly unmarked. The focused effort of the Rwandese and Ugandese armies failed to accomplish this task, hence their alternative strategy of creating a

buffer zone well inside the DRC, under their control, through their support to the anti-Kabila rebels in eastern DRC. The same strategy is followed by Israel in southern Lebanon and was used by apartheid South Africa in southern Angola. The DRC conflict is only relevant for the Hutu interhamwe and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and other anti-Museveni rebels, in so far as it aids their cause. It follows that a cease-fire in the DRC will have little or no impact on their intent to destabilize Rwanda and Uganda, and that cross-border incursions and attacks are thus likely to continue to occur.

It is in this context that the parties will have to accept a more realistic role for the peacekeepers, and this is where Deputy President Mbeki's alternative proposal could prove most useful. UN military observers can perhaps monitor the borders, and report and investigate any cross-border violations, but it would be impossible for any peacekeeping force to effectively patrol these borders. The borders would have to be patrolled by the regular forces of the DRC, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, either as a joint multinational force under neutral command, as suggested by Mbeki, or simply in their own national capacities, but under UN supervision. Some standing coordinating mechanism, for instance a Joint Monitoring Committee, would have to be established and cross-border and other violations should be investigated by the Committee and the UN observer team.

In the meantime, however, we should remain focussed on the diplomatic initiative to resolve the political crisis in the DRC, followed by some kind of all-party political conference. It is important to recognize that a peacekeeping mission can only assist the parties with the implementation of their peace agreement. The success of the cease-fire will not be determined by the UN and OAU missions, but by the willingness of the parties themselves to make peace. In fact, the greatest danger is that the parties may agree to a cease-fire, under immense international pressure, without having the political will to implement such an agreement on the ground. We have seen the outcome of that scenario in neighbouring Angola.

The key to peace and stability in the DRC is agreement on a long-term political process that will probably include some kind of interim governing structure, a constitution writing process and, at some point, an election. One aspect of this process may be a peacekeeping mission. It is important, however, for the conflicting parties to understand that a peacekeeping mission will, in itself, not bring peace to the DRC. At best, a peacekeeping mission can only provide the people of the DRC with a neutral monitoring mechanism for their own cease-fire agreement. The actual implementation of the cease-fire, and the political process that will follow, rests in the hands of the Congolese themselves. **A**



VIEWPOINT

The White Paper on South Africa's participation in Peace Missions

A unique beginning

BY CEDRIC DE CONING

After a drafting process that took place over 18 months and included several workshops with civil society, the South African Cabinet approved the 'White Paper on South African Participation in International Peace Missions' on 21 October 1998. It awaits ratification by Parliament, but the White Paper on Peace Missions has already become a groundbreaking policy achievement. It is unique in a number of ways. It is probably the first time in the world that a country has investigated, developed and adopted a comprehensive policy on participation in peace missions - before it has even participated in a peacekeeping mission. It is also the first comprehensive peacekeeping policy that adopts the peace mission approach, i.e. that reflects the modern holistic multi-disciplinary approach to peacekeeping. The White Paper is also unique in that a significant portion of the policy is devoted to civilian roles in peace missions.

The White Paper has been developed in the context of increasing domestic and international expectations that South Africa will play a leading role in conflict management and peacekeeping in Africa and beyond. The nature of conflict, and peacekeeping, has undergone considerable change in the past decade. The new conflict paradigm is one where civilians have become both the targets and the instruments of war. The growing impact of civilians on conflict, and indeed, of conflict on civilians, has resulted in modern conflicts becoming synonymous with massive humanitarian tragedies. These complex emergencies require a specific type of response, namely a political and humanitarian-driven response.

Modern peace missions now combine the classical military tasks with large-scale humanitarian and relief operations, human rights monitoring, civilian police monitoring, and electoral assistance. Peace Missions can include a range of specialised tasks peculiar to the specific needs of the conflict situation, such as de-mining, demobilisation, reintegration of ex-combatants and child soldiers,

repatriation of refugees and internally displaced persons and sanctions-monitoring.

The South African approach to conflict management and peacekeeping has been influenced and shaped by our own history, and has provided us with both the moral duty and the practical experience to make a unique contribution in many of these fields. These include conflict resolution, preventive diplomacy, de-mining, election monitoring and human rights monitoring. In the military sphere South Africa can offer highly sophisticated telecommunications, air support and medical and engineering capacity.

The White Paper provides for potential South African contributions in all these fields through the development of a suitable readiness system and a resource bank of competent civilians with the necessary experience and expertise. South Africa will also train and prepare a limited number of policemen and women for service as UN civilian police officers. UN police officers monitor the local police in a conflict situation to ensure that they maintain international human rights standards.

Perhaps, the most important contribution of the White Paper is the formalisation of the authorisation procedures that will be required, prior to South Africa embarking on any peace missions. The White Paper provides a checklist of the international and local mandates that need to be obtained, prior to deployment, and provides a clear set of principles that need to be considered when South African participation in an international peace mission is being considered. These principles include, but are not limited to: the appropriate UN, OAU or SADC mandate; South Africa's national interest; the level and size of our contribution; the resources that have been approved for the mission; and clear entry and exit criteria.

The significance of a detailed, public and transparent policy document on peace missions is self-evident in the wake of the

EXERCISE BLUE CRANE

A unifying moment for SADC

BY CEDRIC DE CONING

Exercise Blue Crane is a SADC peacekeeping exercise that will take place from 12 to 30 April 1999 at the SA Army Battle School in the Kalahari Desert, and in the Indian Ocean from the port of Durban. The 'Blue' symbolizes the United Nations (UN) and the 'Blue Crane' refers to South Africa's national bird. It follows a tradition started in Zimbabwe when the first SADC peacekeeping exercise in April 1997 was called Exercise Blue Hungwe. The exercise will be based on a multinational UN-led operation deployed in a classic interpositional role between two warring factions on a mythical island, called Naraland, in the Indian Ocean.

Exercise Blue Crane is a brigade level exercise (approximately 3 500-4 000 people will be involved) in which all 14 SADC countries will participate. It is the first time that SADC will stage a peacekeeping exercise of this size and scope. The exercise is the largest of its kind in Africa and one of the larger exercises in the world. It has been recognized and supported by the UN, the OAU and a number of countries outside SADC. Countries such as India, Canada, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, the United Kingdom, the USA, the Netherlands and France have all contributed financially, and/or by contributing supplies, ships, aircraft and personnel to the exercise.

Modern multifunctional peace missions represent an holistic approach to conflict management that sees military peacekeepers as just one component of a larger peace effort. Peace Missions combine political and diplomatic initiatives with humanitarian assistance, the protection and care of refugees and internally displaced persons, human rights monitoring and training, the monitoring and training of the local police by UN Police monitors and electoral assistance and monitoring. Exercise Blue Crane provides the SADC countries with an opportunity to train together, to exercise multinational command and control, and to integrate the military roles in peace missions with those of various civilian actors. It will simulate all the realities of modern multidisciplinary peace missions and involve a unique range of civilian actors including: UN civilian police; UN political, human rights and humanitarian staff; an OAU monitoring mission; a SADC Human Rights Observer Group; the International Committee of the Red Cross; and a number of African non-governmental organisations. To achieve the latter,

SADC, through the hosts - the South African National Defense Force (SANDF) - has tasked ACCORD to design, plan and coordinate all the civilian elements of the exercise. Accordingly ACCORD has invited the UNDPKO, UNHCR, OHCHR, OCHA, the WFP, the OAU, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and a number of African NGOs to participate in the Exercise.

Perhaps the real significance of the Exercise lies in the opportunity for SADC to participate in one joint peacekeeping exercise. The past 18 months have been a difficult period for SADC. The impasse that developed around the SADC Organ for Politics, Defense and Security and the differences of approach towards the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have threatened the natural cohesion that characterized SADC until this point.

Exercise Blue Hungwe creates an opportunity for SADC to stand together, united around the need to develop its joint capacity to participate in UN peacekeeping missions. Many SADC countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Malawi have a proud record of previous participation in UN peacekeeping operations. As the recent SADC interventions in the DRC and Lesotho have shown, SADC will be ill advised to ignore fifty years of UN peacekeeping experience. Although the United Nations system is not without problems of its own, as the failures in Somalia and Rwanda have shown, it has developed considerable experience and expertise and remains the most credible and internationally accepted vehicle for neutral third party intervention.

Apart from the benefit derived from jointly exercising the various units and commands, and thereby assessing SADC's capacity and readiness to contribute a joint sub-regional force for UN-style peacekeeping, the Exercise will also develop Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) that can be used by SADC, and others, in any future peacekeeping missions of this nature. SADC is considering the establishment of a stand-by brigade along the lines of the Danish SHIRBRIG model. Exercise Blue Crane will thus also contribute to the assessment of the feasibility of such an initiative. If such a proposal were accepted, SADC would develop and maintain a SADC brigade level capacity to participate in UN style peace missions, and lodge this capacity with the OAU and UN stand-by systems.



VIEWPOINT

Preventing Future Wars:

State of the Art Conflict Early Warning Systems

BY SANAM NARAGHI ANDERLINI AND DAVID NYHEIM

Where will the next war erupt? Can we do anything to prevent it? We know that wars don't happen overnight. No matter how poor or oppressed a society is, or how provocative and manipulative political leaders may be, communal violence does not erupt suddenly. Inevitably, it is the manifestation of accumulated aggression and hostility. But why does aggression accumulate, and how does benign ethnic rivalry or competition between two communities turn into hostile mistrust, and violence? What, if anything, can be done, by whom, at what stage - to prevent the outbreak of violence and to resolve the conflict peacefully?

These questions have given rise to the field of conflict early

warning, which is defined as 'the systematic collection and analysis of information coming from areas of crises for the purposes of: (a) anticipating the escalation of violent conflict; (b) development of strategic responses to these crises; and (c) the presentation of options to critical actors for the purposes of decision-making'.

Early warning systems have long been in use for floods, hurricanes, volcanoes and earthquakes. Systems also exist to assess potential refugee flows. Their goal is to warn the agencies responsible for assisting victims, and give them the time to plan for contingencies and provide adequate food, shelter and medication, thereby ensuring that a maximum number of people

CASE STUDY 1

Information-gathering and co-ordination THE FAILURE IN RWANDA

In 1994, Rwanda appeared to flare up in a three-month orgy of violence and massacre. An estimated one million people - Tutsis and moderate Hutus - were killed. Many of them on camera in front of the whole world. But events in Rwanda were anything but spontaneous. In the aftermath of the massacres, a multi-national commission set out to find out what happened, and why the international community and the UN had failed to respond. The results were stark. It appeared that long before the tragedy, NGOs, UN agencies and other observers in the country were aware and concerned about the impending violence. They'd watched and listened and reported on the heightening tension and extremist rhetoric. Grave warnings of a planned coup, an assault on UN forces, provocation to resume the civil war, and even detailed plans of genocidal killings in the capital, reached the UN secretariat in January 1994. The cable documenting this information was placed in a separate 'black file', designed to draw attention to its content and be circulated throughout the

secretariat. But senior officials questioned its validity and made no contingency plans to avert the crisis. Similar reports to the governments of France and Belgium were also ignored. It became evident that, within the UN, those who analysed the dynamics of social conflicts did not coordinate or share their findings with those who monitored human rights violations. At the time there were no links between information collection and analysis, and the development of strategic policy options. One of the most significant sources of early warning, the UN human rights monitoring system, was outside the secretariat's information gathering network, and effectively became isolated from the decision-making process. In the field, neither the UN nor the Organisation for African Unity (of which Rwanda is a member) had a comprehensive or structured capacity for information collection and analysis. UNAMIR, the peacekeeping force, ran an irregular intelligence operation. In New York, it was believed that the situation could be resolved diplomatically within the confines of the UN, and without recourse to the media or public spotlight. Even as the killings took place, the General Assembly was debating the accuracy of the term 'genocide' to describe the situation. Even the international media arrived too late - for they were gathered in South Africa, celebrating Nelson Mandela's election victory.

are taken care of. These systems come into play once a crisis has broken out. But conflict early warning is about forecasting the potential for a crisis; namely the escalation or eruption of inter-state and intra-state conflicts. The aim is to avert violence, and the primary focus is 'victim prevention'.

However, whereas other early warning systems can monitor and measure quite specific elements - level of rainfall, seismic changes etc. - conflict early warning systems need information about a wide range of social, economic and political factors which can contribute to communal hostilities. Secondly, there has to be objective and thorough analysis, but there is always a risk that those involved in collating the information give biased interpretations favouring their own agendas and interests. Thirdly, even if the information is objectively analysed and disseminated, without an appropriate strategy for response, and a willingness on the part of influential actors, the conflict will not be averted. Finally, therefore, there has to be commitment to act on the part of powerful local and international players. But in practice, each of these four criteria presents often insurmountable difficulties.

Rwanda (case study 1) proved that it was not necessarily the lack of information that hindered early action, but a combination of more complex factors:

1 We cannot rely on one system or organisation to generate warnings and take action. If there is more than one region in crisis, speculation and 'noise' may lead to more attention and resources being diverted in one direction, ignoring other regions. But if there are a series of different regional networks, every potential conflict could be monitored and addressed.

2 We must develop calibrated early warning systems - focusing on different levels of warning, over different periods of time. Ideally the aim is to warn, first against the build-up to mass violence, and second against its outbreak and 'inevitability'. But deciding the optimal timing for such a warning - one year, six months, or six weeks - can have significant implications for the governments and inter-governmental organisations involved.

3 There is a major coordination problem between information gatherers, analysts, decision-makers, and field workers. Among the international organisations, including the UN and NGOs, there is still some reluctance to share information, or act on information gathered by others. Governments and non-governmental groups cannot automatically trust every source, so unless the information comes from their own workers, or from recognised, reliable sources, little action will be taken. Inevitably also, priorities differ. While one is warning about an impending crisis in one region, another organisation is active in a different area, and will not or cannot respond immediately to the warnings. Even when there is a response, there may be conflicts of interest and little cooperation with field-based workers and community groups. Decision-makers and information analysts aim to maintain objectivity and cannot in most circumstances know what the most appropriate responses are. While their counterparts in the region and the local population are best placed to identify the necessary responses, clearly



their perspective is not entirely objective or even-handed. Consequently often the action taken is inadequate, of no benefit, or in the worst cases, actually serves to accentuate a crisis.

4 There is still too much reliance on the needs and deeds of international agencies and NGOs, and not enough support for local coping strategies. Early warning information disseminated among external actors and governments will not quell the tensions and conflicts which exist within a country. In other words, the sources of conflict, the perpetrators of violence, and their potential victims (i.e. citizens) have to be addressed and involved in peacemaking efforts. Without communication and the partnering of external and internal capabilities, an early warning system is of little consequence. In the aftermath of Rwanda, international attention - from the UN, NGOs, governments - came together in an effort to prevent a similar outbreak in Burundi (which has similar demographics to Rwanda). There was greater cooperation and information sharing among observers and agencies working in the region. In the US, the State Department held monthly briefings with NGOs and media representatives to air concerns about the region.

But from the beginning it was common knowledge among UN staff, aid workers, the media and governments, that a fair number of 'genocidaires', and extremist Hutu militias who mounted the 1994 genocide were living among the 1.2 million Rwandan Hutus in the refugee camps of Eastern Zaire. The vast majority of the people were of course, innocent. Yet for two years, as they tried to bring a semblance of normality to their lives, they lived under the rule of the militias and in fear of returning home.

The events in Zaire (case study 2) renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo, revealed the complexity and difficulty of mounting effective early warning. The international community did make a concerted effort to give protection and security to the refugees. The events in the region were monitored and followed closely. But a combination of local political issues, significant practical problems - the terrain, access to the region, open borders and a lack of international political will to take early and concerted action - hampered their efforts. For example, for six to eight months prior to the collapse of Zaire, NGOs such as International Alert were calling for tighter border controls between Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda to stem the rebel attacks. Insufficient resources were put into securing the camps and protecting the innocent from falling prey to the threats and

coercion of the militias. Little international pressure was placed on the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan military elements, some of whom were known to be seeking revenge.

By the time Laurent Kabila and his alliance advanced, it was already too late to take action. Limited international military intervention into thick jungled terrain the size of western Europe would have been hopeless. So the lesson learnt was that no matter how much information gathering, analysis, and warning there is, without feasible and timely response options, the system is still failing.

When is early warning early enough? Beyond the frustration of knowing that a conflict was imminent and being powerless to prevent it, came a more profound realisation. The fact was, that in the DRC, the entire government intelligence system had been mobilising for this conflict for several months (case study 3). No doubt, the rebel units and their regional backers were doing the same. In other words, months earlier the 'inevitability' of this

CASE STUDY 2

Warnings heeded, but too late – THE ZAIRIAN REFUGEE CAMPS 1996

In September 1996, an internal uprising in Zaire, led by Laurent Kabila, with support from the Banyamulenge (Tutsi minority groups in Zaire), and the Rwandan army attacked and 'liberated' the camps. This time the warnings and fears of mass killings were heeded. The world listened to international aid workers and observers in the area calling for military intervention to protect the refugees. But by November 1996, television images portrayed rivers of people, with music and dance, making their way home to Rwanda. The NGO community was criticised for 'crying wolf', the Canadian government which had spearheaded a move to send in troops, was embarrassed internationally, as the Rwandan government was seen to welcome home its people. Only later, it became known that an estimated 220 000 people had fled into the Zairian jungle interior. By virtue of not returning home, they were assumed 'guilty' and, according to numerous reports, hunted down and killed. Stories of mass killings, machete attacks and systematic executions were denied by Kabila and the Rwandese. The international community demanded 'hard evidence', but no one was permitted into the vast area. No inspections were carried out, and no witnesses came forth willingly, until June 1997, when evidence - first-hand tales, and witnesses - began to filter through. Those who survived the ordeal of disease and death have emerged to tell their stories. Soldiers with orders to kill and burn bodies, and local villagers, forced to help in digging graves and carrying bodies, are speaking out. Revenge and retribution, the cycle of violence had continued on.

CASE STUDY 3

Rebellion in the DRC – July 1998

Since March 1998, evidence of disputes between Kabila and his erstwhile Banyamulenge supporters was mounting. Local observers were predicting an outbreak of renewed violence in the country. In July, before the latest conflict erupted, the FEWER-supported African Great Lakes Early Warning network in Nairobi organised a meeting of network members. Members from the DRC stated clearly that the eastern regions around Kivu were about to erupt again. In their view it was imperative to bring international attention to the region and pressure leaders into a political resolution. It took three days for local organisations to draft an analysis of the events and to outline response strategies. It was evident that as locals they had access to information and areas unavailable to western or external groups. Their plan was to mount a preliminary fact-finding mission to fully understand the issues and identify the groups involved. In parallel with this, their hope was to raise the profile of the region through the international media, to lobby for a meeting of regional power-brokers, and to prompt the international community to encourage (and pressure) local and regional actors into dialogue, rather than war. But just one week later, Kivu was under siege and in a state of chaos. Within no time, Angola, Zimbabwe, Uganda and Rwanda were involved in the conflict, and the entire DRC was under threat.

new conflict was understood by all sides. Local observers and FEWER's (Foundation for Early Warning and Early Response) members were spurred into action by knowing what would occur, but as the organisational structure is still in development, preventive action by members could not be supported effectively.

For FEWER, a number of lessons emerged: early warning itself is not a problem; locals do have the knowledge and capacity to give objective and accurate analyses; they also have the ability to develop response strategies, especially action to be undertaken by local and regional groups; local networks still do not have strong connections with regional and international policy structures and decision-makers; there is still a gap in linking short-term action with longer-term preventive structures; finally, the motivations of international or regional actors (who could take preventive action but choose not to) must be understood.

It could be argued that since 1994, conflict early warning systems have come a long way. There is greater cooperation between sectors, there is more collaboration on reporting formats and dissemination. Local and regional organisations are becoming more integrated into international structures, and their capacity to monitor and assess situations is increasing. But although we are moving in the right direction, there is still some way to go. ▲

continued from page 18 THE WHITE PAPER ON SOUTH AFRICA'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE MISSIONS

Lesotho intervention. If the South African Cabinet had approved this White Paper one or two months earlier than it did, the process that led to the authorisation of the intervention in Lesotho would have been very different.

However, the White Paper is only a policy document at this point. It urgently needs to be ratified by Parliament, and the various mechanisms provided for in the policy need to be established as a matter of urgency. Of these the first priority is the overall intergovernmental coordinating mechanism, a Peace Missions Coordination Centre, that needs to be established in the Department of Foreign Affairs. Once this mechanism is in place other processes and systems such as the readiness systems and the civilian resource bank can be developed.

Even once these mechanisms are in place, the White Paper will remain untested if South Africa does not take the plunge and start to participate in international peace missions. This does not necessarily have to be as part of a large-scale peacekeeping mission that will involve hundreds of troops, policemen and women and civilians. In fact, South Africa will be well advised to develop its capacity over time by participating simultaneously in a number of ongoing and potential new peace missions in the form of a small number of individual military and police observers and civilian experts. South Africa should also consider first cutting its teeth by participating in one of the on-going 'classic' UN peacekeeping missions such as the missions in Lebanon or Cyprus.

Closer to home, once a cease-fire is signed in the DRC, some kind of peacekeeping mission will be established to monitor its application, and South Africa will be hard pressed to escape its

duty to contribute to such an effort. The demands are numerous and far outstrip South Africa's capacity. By adopting the White Paper on Peace Missions, however, South Africa has taken a huge step towards meeting its obligations in a professional and constructive manner. What remains is for the mechanisms envisaged in the policy to be established, for South Africa to prepare itself for participation through training and capacity building, and then for South Africa to start participating in peace missions - at first deploying individuals and small units in existing peace-keeping missions.

One of the most significant training and capacity building events in this regard is indeed being hosted by South Africa in April '99. Exercise Blue Crane is a brigade-level multinational UN-led peacekeeping exercise that involves all the SADC countries and a large number of other international actors. South Africa is hosting the Exercise at the SA Army Battle School in the Kalahari Desert from 12 to 30 April 1999. The Exercise is the largest of its kind in Africa and one of the larger exercises in the world. It will simulate all the realities of modern multi-disciplinary peace missions and involve a unique range of civilian actors including UN civilian police, UN political, human rights and humanitarian staff, an OAU monitoring mission, a SADC Human Rights Observer Group, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a number of African non-governmental organisations.

The ratification of the White Paper on South African Participation in International Peace Missions and Exercise Blue Crane will place South Africa at the forefront of modern peace missions policy development and training. All that remains is for South Africa to now actually participate in a UN, OAU or SADC peace mission. ▲

continued from page 19 EXERCISE BLUE CRANE

Exercise Blue Crane will give every participant, whether a corporal from Mozambique or a UN civilian affairs officer from Zambia, the opportunity to get as close to a real peacekeeping situation as is possible. It will give the various military contingents the opportunity to work together under joint command, to test their interoperability and to practice their common SOPs. It will also create an opportunity for SADC's police forces to work together as UN police officers, and to thus develop the capacity to contribute to UN missions across the globe. The Exercise will also create an opportunity for the various civilian actors, the police and the military to develop and test coordination mechanisms such as a Joint Civil-Military Operations Centre (CMOC). The latter is a fairly new concept and was developed under different circumstances in the NATO missions in former Yugoslavia. Exercise Blue Crane will thus provide the UN and international community with an ideal laboratory to test its application in a UN-style peace mission.

The physical legacy of the Exercise will be a set of SADC SOPs for future UN style peacekeeping missions that have been jointly developed in the run up to the Exercise by the various SADC countries. The SOPs will be tested in the course of the Exercise to

evaluate their operationality, and will then be available for SADC and others after the necessary adjustments have been made. Exercise Blue Crane will also be followed-up with a Lessons Learned Seminar in July 1999. At this meeting the various SADC and international participating countries will come together to analyse and formulate the lessons that can be drawn from the exercise experience for future use when similar exercises are planned or, where relevant, for actual future UN peace missions.

After the dust has settled, after the silence and solitude of the Kalahari Desert is restored, Exercise Blue Crane will hopefully have achieved three things. The first is to re-emphasize that UN style peacekeeping, i.e. neutral and impartial third-party peace missions, is the most appropriate form of international intervention. The second is to have reminded SADC of the benefit that can be derived from standing together as a cohesive sub-regional unit. And finally, very real peacekeeping capacity will have been developed in all the SADC countries, and this will make a marked contribution to SADC's ability to participate in UN-style peace missions in future. ▲

Enculturating Conflict Resolution

Finding trends for

TRAINING IN AFRICA

BY ALISON LAZARUS

In a series of three conversations with scholars in African History and Culture, ACCORD explores the dialogue to gain insights into non-western cultural forms of Conflict Resolution and asks how this can shape our training interventions on the African continent.



African Renaissance has many articulators. One of them is Prof. Pitika Ntuli of the Fine Arts Department at the University of Durban-Westville. His emphasis on South-South dialogue suggests the need to place at the centre of African Renaissance the examination of the philosophical and cultural systems of thought and action of non-European society. The purpose is to evaluate this system so that people of the south can better understand each other and their difference, harness this difference in a dynamic way evaluating what we can still use, what needs to change and what alternatives or synergy can be created.

In this conversation, Pitika Ntuli considers what culture and conflict are, looks at the need to develop receptivity and offers illustrations on the nature of power, difference and diversity.

DEFINING CULTURE

Pitika Ntuli argues that the philosophical basis for any project to resuscitate Africa should be the values contained in the project of The African Renaissance. Thus to transform conflicts in Africa we would need to understand and even recover and theorise what constitutes being a human within the African worldview. In tracing this world view through cultural practices he explains that culture must be understood in its broadest sense as a way of life, as a process of identity construction and production.

It is generally stated that culture comes from collare, which means to cultivate, which had to do with a means of earning a living until it was pulled in through the very Platonic and western logocentrism, meaning the c

ultivation of the mind. The idea is that we construct from and develop the behavior patterns that are inculcated into us. Peoples' customs and traditions fit at the bedrock of that kind of culture. The basic issue, then, is to understand first what is the human being in an African setting.

Answering this question, Ntuli points to the integral role of the group or community in the recognition of self-identity. Further he emphasizes the extended sense of identity with and through nature operating in non-European societies. His examples from cultural history serve to illustrate the long-standing existence of an African impetus for the centrality of human rights and environmental rights. Thus, any strategy for conflict transformation must take into account this extended sense of identity, the sense of identity linked to community (clan and tribe) and nature (land).

In Africa and India a human being 'exists because I belong and I belong therefore I exists.' It is a 'be-ing with somebody', so being with somebody else structures us. In a more practical way, our cultures insist that when the child is born, for instance, the umbilical cord is buried into the ground and a tree is planted. In other words, making a link between human being and plant life.

These interrelationships then underpin our subconscious mind and they underpin the culture in which we live. It is therefore not difficult to see that the maintenance of peace and conflict resolution has got a springboard in the African philosophy that stresses harmonious relationships.

Offering the example of *Lobola* and polygamy, Ntuli resurrects the practices from an economic reductionist reading, and proposes we re-look at how their original motivation reflects itself in a web of interconnected practices in the family, community and politics on the continent today.

Lobola is translated by many as 'bride price'. Immediately you say 'bride price', you bring in an economic point of view. However, in a principle of law, it is simply a token of

saying my family and your family undertake that we are going to develop a harmonious relationship between the two of us, and that lobola is an act of ceremony. If these two people quarrel it is not their quarrel rather the quarrel is for all of us to be involved in. So the individual as part and parcel of the broader community is recognized as part of the community. The structure of lobola is for conflict resolution.

The polygamous life offers another example - people go to one clan, marry someone and go to another clan marry someone. So everybody is related to each other. It is more than the usually sexualized version that the western world puts around it.

It becomes the marrying of clans and once those clans are actually married, then the relationships between these means you cannot attack the family where your children have got that kind of lineage. Then amathongo, (the shades) or ancestors would then psychologically turn against you. So you can see how the rights of networks can be used for harmonious living. These can be picked up to be teased for use in new contexts.

Look at Sobhuza II of Swaziland. He married his children to Zwelithini, to Mandela and a number of key people some of them who are not even either chiefs or kings but big political people in order to create regionalism. Swaziland is a very small country, but it has a relationship to Sotho, Tswana, Ndebele and all of the other people through this kind of marriage. When somebody wants to attack the Zulu kingdom, the children of the Zulu and everybody that is in it already knows that kind of information and will pass this on in order to warn them through a network of blood relationship.

The above examples raises the concern of how to respond to the selective interpretation of these practices and the distortion of these forms reflected in the tendency towards nepotism and family empires in Africa today. Ntuli argues that:

We have to redefine mentorship within the context of community and within the values of that kind of culture. Only by taking the concepts that people themselves are actually looking at, can we make a contribution to a global economy of other cultures.

There exists a need therefore to arrest the naked individualism of African leaders and their particularly self-serving interpreta-

tion and use of cultural practices and redefine the values central to new leadership and mentorship.

WHAT IS CONFLICT?

African culture embraces an extended sense of the nature of conflict as it does the nature of identity. It does not see conflict as dysfunctional rather it is a chance to generate some change, it is an opportunity to act. As Ntuli explains:

Conflict at the basic level is disharmony. We started by saying that the entire African life is predicated on the seeking of balance, harmony, interdependence, interrelationships and connections. Anything that actually disturbs this kind of a balance, therefore, causes conflict.

In Zulu culture, when you say ubuthaka, you summon the spirits of your own ancestors in times of conflict. The person who causes disharmony becomes umthakathi, meaning a person who has caused disharmony between people and their ancestors. Conflict, then, is when two views or beliefs system or interpretations of world views clash. So any act of conflict resolution is not about individuals but about reconciliation of world views.



All African societies have got what people call a trickster God. That trickster God is a repository of disorder to invoke the idea of order. A child or a toddler will come over here and push this telephone and throw it down. When you pick up this telephone to fix it, you will notice that there is something that is completely out of place down there where the phone has landed. An idea of order is actually invoked. So any chaos that is created is a time for a regeneration. So when Africa is caught up into the whole mess, then it's time for it to start to struggle for its own renaissance. In Indian thought this chaos is referred to as 'divine discontent'.

CREATING RECEPTIVITY FOR RESOLUTION

The challenge, it would seem, is to find ways for people to understand the creative possibilities that come with conflict. In a sense this means that we need to create a receptivity in people for dealing with conflict rather than being overwhelmed by conflict. Cultural practices designed to enable individuals to make coherent their conflict, and their response to it, offer us pointers on the role of the mediator.

If someone is disturbed and is not actually harmonized, what do you do? In African culture, you go to the sangoma and the sangoma drums. The act of playing these drums is to play a monotonous tune that becomes pure sound. It is through this level of a pure sound that the subconscious is now being engaged. And there will be shouting like mantras.

Abagulayo bayeza kusasa, Bayeza kusa, bayeza

This song goes on and on and the person starts dancing and moving. And when the person starts dancing and moving he starts shouting words. And these words are disjointed. They form the string of your wish. The sangoma collects all of these words and forms sentences with a positive senses and feeds them back while your mind can still receive them. By the time you stop, your subconscious mind has been re-armed. You cannot resolve conflict until you have created that receptivity.

Ntuli suggests that in the art and culture of people there is the potential for creating receptivity and for maintaining peace. Further, his comments suggest that receptivity is very much a thing of the heart as well as the head. Thus processes for conflict resolution cannot remain only at the cognitive level but must also extend to the emotional, sub-conscious level, exploring other faculties of knowing. More importantly, conflict resolution is a communal process.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURE, STRUCTURE AND THE NATURE OF POWER

Cultural history offers structures for conflict resolution. The task is to sift out what can be maintained that is helpful and what can be synergised for modern society.

Ntuli recalls the role of festivals and carnivals in traditional society, explaining that these created a disciplined space for criticism of those with power and provided a way for those in power to be held accountable. What is significant about such practices is the manner and motivation for the criticism. It was constructive.

In Kwa-Zulu Natal there were festivals even when Shaka was at his most aggressive. One day was declared a day on which anybody could criticize the king without any reprisal. It is at that moment that the king knows the truth about himself and the state of the nation. Up until this time he is unsure because if you are in power people tell you what you want to hear and as the person in power you are not sure what they think of you.

On any other day if a member was facing attack and ran very quickly and sat at the side of the king, he was protected. If anyone attacked him or the king, the attacker and his family were no longer considered human beings. This acts as a deterrent in the process.

The sense of being less than human and the ostracisation from community was sufficient in the past to deter acts of violence as a means to deal with conflict. The challenge is what to do when leaders and citizens redefine power as the omnipotence to act with violence. Ntuli proffers cultural practices such as the masque, the carnival and the festival as possibilities for synergy into new structures for dealing with conflict.

In places where feelings were high, the mask of the carnival or festival helps. Now that is the time when behind the mask, you can speak the truth and nobody knows. The basis of secret societies is not simply to speak out against others but to empower people to change.

So, for example, when you had women's secret societies women would sit down and say, 'We know that there are other women here who are spoiling this man and letting this man run around with other women. We know of the people who do this, in fact they are undermining the process of us as women and we need to take steps.'

If you were one of those people actually around there under threat of action by the collective, you may say: 'What should that person do?' Then collectively people say what you might do. Then the women will go over and talk to their husbands about whatever was suggested. So the network now has already been created.

The illustration serves to underscore the point that in training in conflict resolution a key aspect to teach is that joint solutions can be found, that behaviour change occurs in the context of support and under pressure from the collective, and that joint ownership of a conflict is integral to conflict resolution. Ntuli offers a further image for the role and influence of actors in conflict resolution which is a corrective to the overemphasis on the politics and power of the individual leader, mediator or agent in western thought.

There is a saying that 'a group of trees breaks the angry wind.' What this actually means is that the tree that towers above the rest is broken. Everybody else is actually covered by the network of trees, are interconnected, inter-dependent, interrelated.

There is place for structure. But the structures in themselves have got to be informed by the concept of ubuntu. Ubuntu comprises ubu meaning 'of life force', and ntu meaning 'energy, spirit, force, the power to cause things to happen and to change.' If you put mu in front of ntu it become muntu - a possessor of a power to cause things to change and to happen. Once you accept that muntu means that, then the question 'Who creates harmony?' and the question of resolution of conflict by individuals is answered by definition: 'you have the ability'.

If your ntu is more powerful than mine, my weak ntu has got the power to lower the level of yours to create an

equilibrium. Yours has got the power to uplift mine. Your ntu without my ntu is absolutely nothing. They need each other in a relationship to exist.

Ultimately, in the western world, symbols stand for something else. In the African world view, symbols are the thing. If you fail to understand this basic issue, you end up with just simply patch work and no resolution of any conflict.

This culturally embedded and philosophical understanding of power is instructional for political understanding of the concept of power. It challenges the view that conflict resolution cannot take place in any meaningful way for the one with less leverage in the context of unequal power relations. The concept of power as relational ie emerging in the relationship between people, groups or parties, is mindful of the human agency that exists in the oppressed or less powerful and is highly liberatory at the level of communal citizen action for change and conflict management or conflict transformation. It also explains why the dominant power is mindful that its repressive nature cannot survive on outright force and material power alone and requires to constantly legitimise itself. Not to do so is to render its own power less effective.

Ntuli offers yet another illustration from art and culture to explain the African view on the nature of power. The illustration suggests that in order to resolve conflicts we have to learn how to teach and accept vulnerability as a valuable aspect in the process as conceived within an African worldview:

The film Xala, provides another example. It ends with this character who wants to take a third wife. He has in the past betrayed his own people, his own language, his culture and a range of things. In the ultimate they told him that for him to be a human being again, he needed to appear at such a place and time. When he came, all the people basically challenged him. The character stood there and among the crowd was his brother who he had not seen since he was little. The people said he had to remain naked in front of all if he wanted to be whole again. To be naked was considered most shameful. People started to say 'qwa' and spit at him. The fact that he could stand through all that kind of dirt, and allow himself to be vulnerable was the important point. Once you create a vulnerability in a person and the person accepts their own vulnerability, is the moment when they are most strong.

This view tends to contrast with traditional 'real politik' approaches to international relations in western thought which emphasise the point that you don't show your vulnerability, you keep interests hidden and you mislead as to your bottom line because the other side will use that to pin you down and exact as much as possible in a win-lose approach. African culture suggests that identifying one's vulnerability and honouring the other side's vulnerability actually opens the way for the generation of the solution. Ntuli urges African leaders

to rediscover and exercise power according to culturally inspired concepts:

If this concept of the nature of true power is inculcated into the people who are central to real conflict, then those people will be able to meet. Let me give you another concrete example. In Zulu, when you are fighting somebody in a stick fight, once you say maluju that means 'I am vulnerable.' Once you hit me when I am vulnerable, you become vulnerable to death. Even if I was just about to strike, I have to summon my absolute restraint to stop. To stop at the moment that you are already angry is a triumph. To rise up and take control over yourself is born out of the vulnerability of someone who cannot defend himself.

At the moment of the other's vulnerability, you recognize your own power. But that power becomes a second order because it is not power, but authority. You have been authorized by that person to be powerful, to restrain yourself from hurting him.

So you see we are appealing here to our leadership with the wealth of endless possibilities offered by African culture.

To understand and to act with such power is to act positively, powerfully. Conflict becomes an opportunity for transformation of the situation and the self. The lesson for training in conflict resolution lies in the possibilities and examples offered by African culture, its re-discovery and re-interpretation in current contexts. Clearly such a project is linked to recovery and the rewriting of cultural history, and the use of the media to inspire and teach such concepts through narrative and nuance.

The world needs to enjoy dancing in the circle, as Ntuli explains:

When people in traditional African society dance, they dance in a circle. There is someone who moves into the middle and takes up the dance. And when they dance they are aware of the people who are on the periphery. The people on the periphery are doing exactly what you are doing. You are not unique yet you are different because the spot light is actually on you. Kusinwa kudedelwane: you dance and let dance. The moment you realize that you are not unique is the beginning of wisdom. That is the first layer of tolerance. Let us accept that our differences are non-antagonistic. Once you accept the non-antagonistic nature of those differences, then it becomes a matter of the technique of resolving them.

Clearly for Ntuli and those training in conflict resolution in Africa we have a wonderful opportunity to incorporate these learnings. Perhaps if we fail to do so we shall never discover a truly African approach to conflict resolution. ▀

Overcoming the achilles heel of the african renaissance - THE LEGACY OF THE COLONIAL STATE

BY HUSSEIN SOLOMON

As the dawn of a new millennium approaches the African continent lies fecund with the promise of a better tomorrow, so aptly captured in the words of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni as an 'African Awakening'. South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki further echoes this referring to an 'African Renaissance'.

What this article posits is that many of the problems currently being faced by Africa have their origins in the form the state undertook in the colonial era. It is also argued that, as a result of this, a real African renaissance can only come about if we challenge this legacy of the colonial state.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

From the Bantu in Southern Africa to the Berbers of North Africa, from the kingdoms of Songhai in West Africa to Kilwa in East Africa, pre-colonial Africa had a proud tradition of participatory democracy. Government rested on consensus, rather than coercion. Rules existed to remove bad leaders from office and the emphasis of politics was on 'building social cohesion'.

The nineteenth century witnessed the so-called 'scramble for Africa' which saw large swathes of African territory being carved up by and for European powers. This witnessed tribes and clans divided across arbitrary colonial borders. In this way, many unviable African states were born. In order for the colonial power to extract economic largesse from their newly acquired territory, they needed to install a repressive state apparatus. In this way Tiebile Drame argues that: 'the colonial state was above all a military state. Colonisation was often imposed by force of arms, or through intimidation based on the threat of force. The colonial order established by conquest was typically

a military order which coerced the colonised peoples into a state of submission'.

In this context, it should come as no surprise that the culture of impunity which men in uniform enjoyed in post-independence Africa had its origins during this period. For instance, in 1962 Lieutenant Idi Amin of the King's African Rifles commanded a platoon that killed a number of Turkana prisoners in northwest Kenya. Sir Walter Coutts, the British Governor of Uganda, vetoed

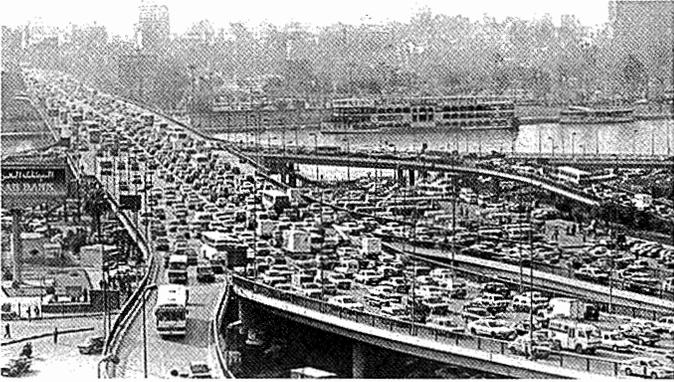
any criminal proceedings against him. Should anyone, therefore, be surprised that Lieutenant Idi Amin was later transformed into the 'Butcher of Uganda' during his reign of terror in that East African country.

In this way, too, any activity outside the control of the colonial state was regarded as a threat to the status quo and therefore had to be crushed. Democratic African institutions of governance were either destroyed or 'bastardised' to serve the whims of the colonialist. The institution of

African chieftainship, for instance, was transformed into one of 'indirect rule'. Chiefs could no longer be removed from office by their people and were no longer accountable to them. Instead, the chief was accountable to London or Paris local representatives and his position was held at the whim of the colonial power. As a result, chiefs grew more despotic and the gulf between government and citizen, state and human security, started to widen.

Colonialism's destruction of indigenous democratic values and institutions did not stop at the institution of chieftainship, however. In Botswana, the *kgotla* was a community-driven judicial organ that had the right to overthrow the chief, but was used by the colonial administration to challenge the authority of recalcitrant chiefs.

**Is Africa doomed to
instability, or can a real
Renaissance occur, or is
the continent moving in
both directions at once?**



Activities which brought several people together also became the subject of coercive colonial regulation. In Kenya, a pre-colonial form of civil society, the *mwethya*, a voluntary collective of communal labour, could not convene without the permission of the village chief who, in turn, was to secure permission from the colonial authority. In addition, colonial authorities enacted draconian legislation that gave colonial officials wide powers of arrest and detention. In this way, law, which was supposed to be one of the most profound achievements of modern 'civilised' society regulating state-society relations in a way which secures the interest of both the weak and the powerful, became a symbol reflecting the tensions between human and state security.



This repressive, tyrannical legacy was then bequeathed to the independent African State, as the new elite internalised the behaviour of their predecessor. In this way, the fate and trajectory of the independent African state was, to a large degree, predetermined by its colonial predecessor. Thus in the words of Makau wa Mutua: 'The mere 'changing of the guard' and the transfer of politics from Paris to Dakar and from London to Nairobi, it is asserted, were not transformative, rather they were a continuation of the politics of subjugation...utilising a battery of repressive laws whose origins lie in the colonial State, the [African] leadership criminalizes dissent and all independent political activity and quashes all attempts to create a civil society or an independent non-governmental sector.'

In this context, it is hardly surprising that independently minded journalists such as Mark Chavunduka and Ray Choto in Zimbabwe are charged under the Law and Order Maintenance Act, '...a notorious piece of legislation promulgated in the 1960s to stem growing African nationalism. Ironically many of the present leaders in Zimbabwe were direct victims of the Act'.

But the colonial state was not simply a repressive state, it was also a state extracting from the labours of the majority for the benefit of the few. This legacy also permeates the contemporary African State. In a recent survey conducted to assess the

most corrupt countries in the developing world, Cameroon and Nigeria occupy the first and second spots respectively.

In summary then, the twin legacies bequeathed by the colonial state to its post-independence successor were state repression coupled with the politics of exclusion, and the myth of a self-sustaining, independent nation-state. These twin legacies have been Africa's bane. State repression has generated armed insurgencies. The politics of exclusion has witnessed the gulf between state (elite) security and human security widen considerably in the post-independence period. Increasingly, this gulf is reflected in ethnic secession, religious fundamentalism and other forms of

identity, which directly challenge concepts of citizenship and a common African identity. This, coupled with the fact that the current African State is a weak and unsustainable clone of its European counterpart, results in its inability to deliver to its citizens the very basic material conditions for their survival. This results in state collapse as popular anger replaces patriotism. State collapse does not have to be something as dramatic as this, of course. Often it results from people simply shifting their loyalties from the president and the state to the chief and the tribe. Biafra, Katanga and Somalia's warring feudal lords clearly illustrate the dangers for peace and security in such a scenario.

TOWARDS AN AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

What is clear from the above is that this legacy of the colonial state needs to be overcome if an African Renaissance is to be realised. This involves reconstructing the very edifice of the African State and imbuing it with its precolonial democratic and participatory ethos. This would entail that good governance and a culture of human rights become the organising principles of the new African State. It means that the politics of exclusion be eschewed in favour of participation. One way this can be accomplished is by forging dynamic partnerships between state and non-state actors. It also means that the notion of sovereignty be transformed from a juridical concept to one denoting responsibility towards one's citizens. It also means that given the transnational nature of many threats facing the African State, and its inability to deal with them, sovereignty needs to be encompassed by sub-regional organisations such as the Southern African Development Community, the Economic Community of West African States and the Maghreb Union.

It is true that this is a tall order, and would take time to implement. It is also true, though, that our failure in challenging the twin legacies of the colonial state will result in the idea of African Renaissance being just another mirage in Africa's desert of poverty, war and human suffering. ▀

MOUTHPIECE

Each quarter Mouthpiece will focus on a particular aspect of ACCORD's work. Emphasis will be placed on analysing developments in the conflict resolution field on the continent and looking at how ACCORD's programmes are striving to meet Africa's complex and ever-changing challenges

A RAY OF HOPE. NIGERIA ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRATIC REBIRTH?

BY NAPOLEON ABDULAI

Mismanagement of elections in Africa has led to crises resulting in the deaths of thousands of Africans since the end of the Cold War in 1991. The systematic killing of civilians, especially innocent women and children, in oil-rich Algeria and Angola since the beginning of this decade are prime examples. The annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential election in Nigeria by a cabal of military generals very nearly sunk Nigeria into a bitter civil war. For more than five years the country teetered on a knife-edge under a brutal military dictatorship - then through a mix of fortuitous events, strong leadership and local pressure, the country has been granted the possibility of stable civilian rule. Nigeria may have been rescued from the brink of chaos.

On May 29 this year the most important event in recent Nigerian history will take place in Abuja, the federal capital. On this day, the 90 000 armed forces of Nigeria led by the head of state, General Abdulsalam Abubakar, will hand over power to Olusegun Obasanjo, the winner of the February 27 presidential election. This event will be an historic one. A year ago it was unthinkable, today it is inevitable. It is perhaps a hopeful sign that Africa's capacity, if tapped and managed in a professional manner, can facilitate an end to the domination of politics by the military and also to the misapplication of economic policies which have reduced the continent's people to starvation, illiteracy and, in the case of 12 million, refugee status. May 29, significantly, also marks the 32nd anniversary of the beginning of the Nigerian civil war, otherwise known as the Biafran War, in which up to 2 million people have been killed. There is hope.

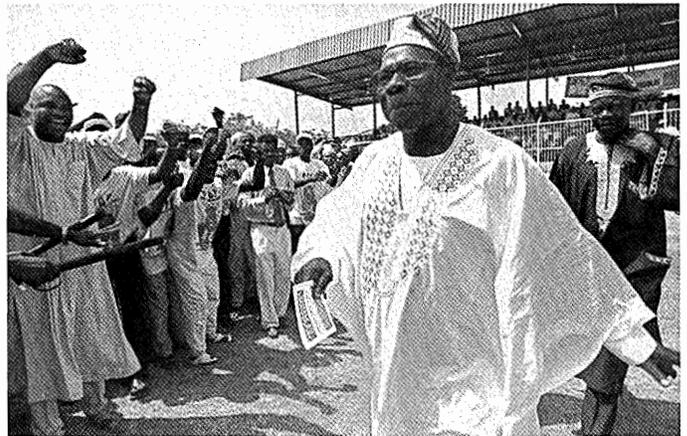
A PERMANENT TRANSITION?

The military have ruled Nigeria for all but 10 years since independence in October 1960. The armed forces initially struck

in January 1966, removing the first postcolonial civilian administration of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, then Prime Minister. In October 1979, General Obasanjo, who had become Head of State in 1976, following the murder of the popular military ruler General Murtala Mohammed, held elections and handed over power to Alhaji Shehu Shagari. After only three years in power Shagari was removed from office on 31 December 1983, by General Muhammadu Buhari, who in turn was removed in August 1985 by General Ibrahim Badamosi Babaginda.

Despite promises to return Nigeria to civilian rule, Babaginda ruled until October 1993, when he was forced from power by popular forces and the military. Ernest Sheneke became the interim president, but he was soon displaced by the late General Sani Abacha, who installed one of the most vicious regimes West Africa has seen. Abacha attained world notoriety for the execution of poet, playwright and environmental activist Ken Saro Wiwa and the 'Ogoni Nine'.

This year's hand-over brings Nigeria's transformation full-circle, in the sense that it was Obasanjo who was the first military leader to hand over power to a civilian government. In a dramatic role reversal he now returns as an elected leader to assume power from the armed forces.



TRAINING ELECTION MONITORS/OBSERVERS

ACCORD has for some time been active in the training of election monitors and observers. The need to develop a strong domestic monitoring group that would facilitate the transformation of the Nigerian elections into a democratic and transparent process that would meet the needs of a highly sceptical public was identified by ACCORD as far back as July 1998. With this historic background, ACCORD consulted her partners and USAID officials in Lagos about developing a three-day program

for training of trainers in election monitoring. Our program was also shared with the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute (NDI).

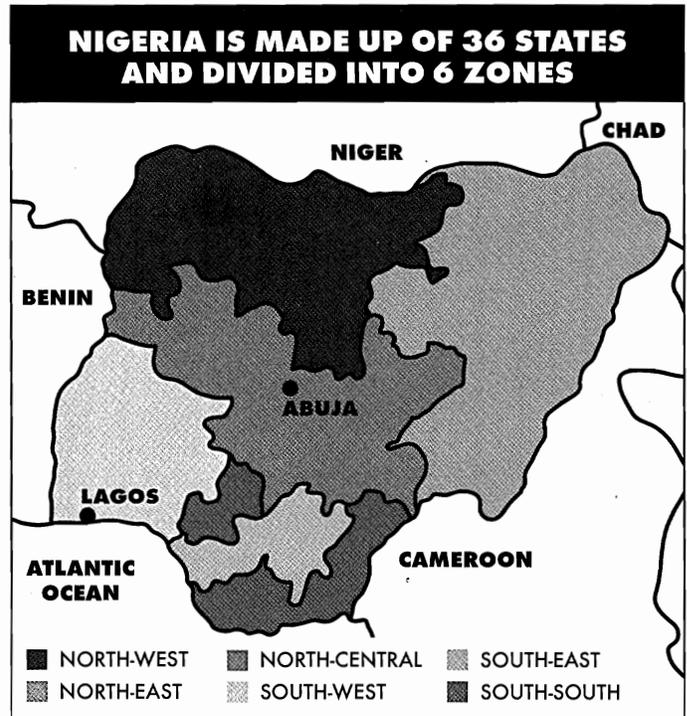
From November 1998 to February this year, a comprehensive training programme was then run in Nigeria, training trainers of election monitors and observers. The project was made possible by collaboration with four Nigerian NGO partners of ACCORD: the African Strategic and Peace Research Group (Afstrag) in Lagos, the Centre for Advance Social Science (CASS) in Port Harcourt, The Center for Crisis Evaluation, Management and Training in Abuja, and the Justice, Development & Peace Commission (JDPC) of Ijebu-Ode.

The aim of the training was not only to equip trainers with the skills to teach others how to monitor elections, but to build capacity for post-elections conflict management in the country. The objectives included:

- 1** To expose participants to recent concepts, principles and tools regarding democratic, transparent, free and fair elections. Emphasis was given to the role of community-based groups, political parties, women-movements and the international community.
- 2** To offer an assessment of the political, social and economic environment within which elections are likely to be conducted, in order to expose the complexity of problems underlying contemporary elections in Nigeria and the rest Africa.
- 3** To train participants in conflict management skills. Building of capacity in conflict management is seen to be crucial to the political transformation of Nigeria, and was central to the training.

Each of the partners played a crucial role in the project. ACCORD provided the link with the funding agency, and stood guarantor of the programme in addition to coordinating the strategic planning, providing training materials and assisting in the development of new materials and providing resource persons. Afstrag coordinated logistics and acted as an in-country channel for funds, and was also responsible for training in the

COUNTRY PROFILE	
Population	120m (45% under 14 ys old)
Literacy	57%
Land	924,000 km
Debt	US \$30 billion
Unemployment	28%
Oil provides:	30% of G.D.P.
	95% of foreign exchange
Political Parties	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) Alliance for Democracy (AD) All Peoples Party (PP)
Independence from UK in	1960
Source: Development World Book 1998	



Southwest. The Center in Abuja was mandated to cover the three northern zones and CASS covered the oil producing South-South and Southeast zones. The partners mobilized resource persons from Nigerian universities for the training.

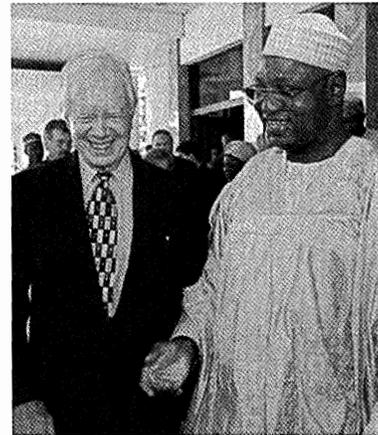
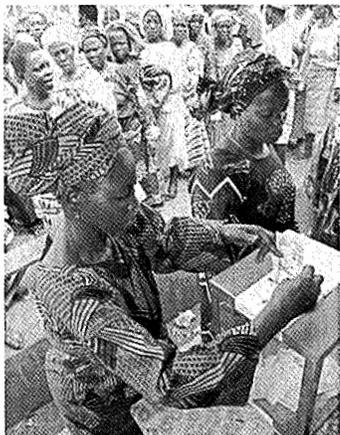
In November the project began, with the JDPC and ACCORD training the first intake. Subsequently training sessions were conducted across the country. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) accredited the trainees and did an excellent job of monitoring the elections. Their reports will serve to guide future elections in Nigeria. Incidentally, they also have the potential to serve as a resource base for future work in conflict transformation. In this light there is an urgent need to develop a database of observers for future elections and conflict resolution work.

OAU MONITORING GROUP

Following on from the training work, ACCORD was nominated to serve on the OAU's monitoring group for the senate and presidential elections. On March 2, a five person delegation from the 78 strong OAU team, including ACCORD's Napoleon Abdulai, met the Head of State, General Abubakar, in Aso Rock. He accepted the shortcomings of the elections, and praised the rest of the continent for the keen interest and solidarity demonstrated.

For ACCORD and her Nigerian partners this cooperative project laid a foundation for mutual cooperation at new levels. A solid base has been put in place for the future and as a result opportunities have opened for projects in civil-military relations, early warning and capacity-building utilising ACCORD's External Institutional Support Programme.

ACCORD'S MOUTHPIECE



ACTIVITIES NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1998

- ✗ Training of trainers in Ijebu-Ode
- ✗ Training of Observers in Ibadan
- ✗ Training of Labour leaders from across the country in Ijebu-Ode
- ✗ Training of Observers in Ijebu Ode
- ✗ Provision of training materials for Kaduna JDPC
- ✗ Developing of a Training Manual for Election Monitoring/Observation
- ✗ Printing of civil education posters in Pidgin English and English, the first of its kind in the transition to the elections
- ✗ Meeting Justice Akpata (Rt.), Chairman of the Independent National Elections Commission (INEC) in Abuja



WORKSHOPS HELD BETWEEN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1999

- ✗ Port Harcourt, in the South-South zone
- ✗ Ibadan, in Oyo state for the South West zone
- ✗ Kaduna, in Kaduna state for 3 northern zones
- ✗ Yola, in Adamawa state for 3 northern zones
- ✗ Kaduna, in Kaduna state for Kaduna state
- ✗ Abuja, Federal capital
- ✗ Ilorin
- ✗ Enugu, in Enugu State (for South-Eastern zone)
- ✗ Several local trainings by trainers in South-western, South-South, and Southeast zones

This is the time for those in Africa and beyond who are interested in constructive management of the Nigerian situation to help Nigeria to build her capacity to sustain civil rule. West Africa has two recent examples where civilian rulers were not sufficiently supported, allowing the military - in Sierra Leone

(1997) and Niger (1996) - to intervene, destroying hopes for democracy and crushing progress towards development. A positive transformation of the Nigerian military and the consolidation of civil society, not only in the urban centers but more importantly in the rural areas, is needed. The revamping of the civil service to improve the quality of service delivery in areas such as education, health and transport and electricity cannot be over-emphasized. A process of reconciliation, perhaps in the vein of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), may help heal the crisis of individual and group identity, which is the centre-piece of Nigeria's crisis.



Training of observers and monitors and monitoring elections is relatively easy, compared to the challenge of consolidating a fragile democracy. Without the assistance of Africa and the international community a return to serious violent conflict could become inevitable. Africa cannot afford such a crisis. ▀

CAN AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN HELP TO PREVENT CONFLICTS?

BY FRANCOIS MISSER

Over this decade, private sector companies, and more specially mercenary outfits with corporate fronts, have been actively involved in African conflicts. Yet, businessmen can also do something about the prevention and resolution of conflicts, when governments have failed to achieve such objectives. That, at least, is the assumption that prompted the Geneva-Based NGO *Synergies Africa* led by Senegalese Hassan Ba to organise a conference last December in Pretoria, titled 'Growth and Stability in Eastern and Southern Africa: the role of the private sector'. Coorganised by ACCORD and the Eastern and Southern Africa Business Organisation (ESABO), the event was sponsored by the Swiss government, the OAU, the US-AID, the UNDP and the World Bank, who are evidently convinced that this issue is critical.

Indeed, according David Van Schoor from South Africa's department of foreign affairs, Africa's private sector is not feeding through its perceptions about the kind of future the continent should have. 'The private sector's brains, knowledge and perspectives should be spread throughout society in competition with the military and with the political elites', he said.

Now, before trying to influence government policies on security issues, the first challenge for the private sector in many countries is to build up its autonomy in front of the state. In Burundi or Rwanda, entrepreneurs are still too dependent on the government, which is often their main client. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Kabila government has dashed all hopes for an independent existence of the private sector: last year, the entire leadership of the national business association, the Federation des Entreprises Congolaises, was dismissed by presidential decree. By contrast, the business communities of Madagascar and Zimbabwe were able to carry out bold militant actions in front of rigid administrations. Last November the 'Groupement des Entreprises de Madagascar' (GEM), launched a boycott of VAT contributions in protest against the government's refusal to open dialogue with the business community over the priorities of the 1999 budget. 'Should the Malagasy government persist in its attitude, stay aways and temporary closures of plants could follow suit,' warned the GEM chairman Thierry Rajaona. Meanwhile, the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI), supported stayaways organised by the Zimbabwe Confederation of Trade Unions against President Mugabe's economic policies and Zimbabwe's military involvement in the DRC conflict, stressed Eddie Cross on behalf of CZI.

Participants were invited to join the Johannesburg-based 'African Business Round Table' (ABR) chaired by Cameroon's James Onobiono, which could offer a permanent structure for intervention in the prevention and the resolution of conflicts. The ABR undeniably has some potential, with members as

prominent as the South African Standard Corporate & Merchant Bank, the US-based Merrill Lynch, the Equator Bank, Anglo-American and Coca-Cola.

Since regional integration was identified as one of the key instruments to create interdependent links which would make the escalation of conflicts more difficult, SADC and COMESA were urged to incorporate the private sector in their decision-making processes. In order to break the cycle of violence and help build a new generation of leaders, the private sector should invest in the education sector and the promotion of good governance, according to the final report. The proposals were very general since the concept is still in its infancy. Concrete measures have still to be worked out within the framework of a 'plan of action'. Yet, a network was born in Pretoria. Whether or not it will succeed is another story.

A RURAL INITIATIVE

BY CELESTE FORTUIN

In 1992 ACCORD established a rural office in the town of Worcester, outside Cape Town, South Africa. The aim was to introduce conflict resolution as a viable alternative in rural areas, which at that time were characterised by political violence, intolerance and high levels of crime. The core function of this office was to introduce a culture of conflict resolution and establish peace-building activities within these communities.

Our Worcester office is situated in the Boland, a region of the Western Cape. Its areas of operation includes the Southern Cape, Overberg, Koue Bokkeveldt, Karoo and Klein Karoo, the West Coast, as well as rural areas in the Northern Cape. Severe poverty, high rates of unemployment, poor flow of information between urban and rural areas, and limited or no resources for education and training, characterise these areas. This often gives rise to conflict situations, which negate development of the rural areas. The main objective of the Rural Office is to address these characteristics within the context of rural development.

Since 1992 more than 1 350 participants have been trained in conflict resolution skills. Of these participants, 52% were male, and 48% female. Through our work within organisations and structures, it became apparent that positions of power within civil society are dominated by men, a reality which, has reduced opportunities for women to be exposed to conflict resolution training. To honour the positive and central role that women play in peace-making, the Rural Office introduced a programme specifically for rural women in 1995.

Through the Rural Women's Programme, we have established treasured relationships with women's organisations in the rural

areas. This programme includes conflict resolution training and facilitation services. These organisations include the Montaque Agtergeblewe Vroueliga (Montaque Disadvantaged Womens' League), which consists of women farm labourers, housewives and domestic workers, and the Masikhule Women's Programme in Zwelethemba Township, which is administered entirely by women. Women from the Masikhule Women's Programme have become active role-players in policy formulation regarding the position of women in the rural areas. The Rural Office is currently assisting them with the establishment of a bakery that will be run by women, providing them with employment as well as an income. Through their skills in negotiations they have been able to interact successfully with role-players such as the local council, as well as funders for this project.

The Rural Office also has a successful youth programme, which through the years has organised not only national, but also international workshops. Approximately 450 youth have been trained since 1995. Various Students Representative Council (SRC) structures in the Western Cape



have been trained in conflict resolution skills, and the SRCs assisted with their yearly elections. Since 1997 a pilot peer-mediator programme has been implemented in high schools in and around Cape Town. Through this programme conflict resolution training workshops are held with teachers, learners and their parents, in

order to establish a culture of tolerance and conflict resolution mechanisms at school and at home. Also, learners have come to the realisation that they have the ability to deal with conflict in a constructive and creative manner. In 1998, trainers from the Rural Office also formed part of training teams to Burundi and the Fiji Islands.

Political violence has generally decreased in the rural areas since 1993, a glaring exception being the bomb blast on Christmas Eve, 1996. Following this sad event, a trauma centre was established to attend to the victims and families of the blast. The Rural Office was asked by the Local Town Council to assist with the establishment of this centre by coordinating the proceedings and bringing together key role players. It is hoped that this centre will become a permanent institution to help survivors of other incidents of violence cope with their ordeals.

Working in the rural areas is a challenge. Although these areas were seriously neglected in the past, growth and development is an exciting process for communities from these areas, although many barriers still have to be overcome. The main objective of the Rural Office is to empower rural people and organisations with conflict resolution skills in order to transform individuals, organisations, and society as a whole. Conflict resolution skills enhance the ability of rural organisations and communities to interact during the formulation of policies that are of importance

to women, youth and other members of rural communities. These skills also enable them to negotiate successfully with government and other institutions towards the advancement of the rural areas. The programmes of the Rural Office aim at encouraging the participation of rural people within policy-making and other influential structures, in order to establish and support sustainable democracy within South Africa.

WOMEN IN SPORT

BY ALISON LAZARUS

During the course of 1998, ACCORD took its Conflict Resolution Training into the sports sector at the request of WASSA, an initiative set up to empower sports women and housed within the office of the Minister of Sport, Mr. Steve Tshwete. When one challenges sportswomen to take up leadership, however, it becomes clear that women have a huge task ahead of them.

Dialogue is key to the process of building a vibrant sports leadership, a keen active body of sportswomen, active and enthusiastic female spectators, a national sports ministry that is gender-sensitive and a media sensitive to the achievements of women in sport. ACCORD believes that learning principled negotiation is a necessary tool for all change agents and decision makers. Further, we uphold that conflict transformation is a multi-faceted, multi-sectoral process and sport an under-utilized arena and opportunity for conflict transformation. ACCORD thus designed a gender-sensitive course to address the numerous conflicts women in sport experience, focussing on the development of communication skills, women's leadership, and relationship and organisation-building.

Participants in the training identified some conflicts women face in sport:

- 1 Traditionally men still place women 'in the kitchen'
- 2 Educated women sometimes take advantage of those who are less-educated in terms of employment and this creates conflict
- 3 Women are ignored when decisions are made and this leads men to incorrectly decide for women
- 4 Rural men do not allow their women to participate in sports
- 5 It is only rarely that women are employed in top positions
- 6 There is still high nepotism within sports and employment goes to friends
- 7 It is also rare for women to get scholarships to further their potential
- 8 There is high sexual harassment of women when they look for jobs
- 9 Disabled sports women are still not recognized
- 10 There is still high discrimination in sports, eg Banyana

which is not recognized while Bafana Bafana attracts major sponsorship from business institutions.

Given these issues and conflicts, what was the effect of ACCORD's educational intervention?



Ntambi Ravele
National Chairperson of WASS

'Since we approached ACCORD to train our leadership, life has not been the same. Today WASSA leadership represent their views without fear, understand meeting procedures much better, are more competent at goal setting and teamwork, manage conflict, better understand values conflict, can handle differences and negotiate more confidently.'



Denise Jones
Elected member of WASSA who served at provincial and national level (Currently studying for her PHd in Gender and Sport)

'I believe that the course on basic conflict resolution, as offered by ACCORD, has enormous potential for highlighting the need to create more public awareness and sensitivity around the issues such as sexual harassment and sex discrimination in South African Sports practices... I found the section on conflict resolution extremely useful. This course is certainly relevant to sportswomen and men, and... could become a worthwhile addition to sports coaching manuals.'

TRANSFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE

BY PRAVINA MAKAN-LAKHA

After the democratic elections in 1994 one of the most important tasks for our new Government was to build a public service capable of meeting the challenges of improving the delivery of public services to the citizens of South Africa. On the eve of our second democratic elections the message is once again clear: there is a need for transformation in the public sector and this is manifested in the call for good governance.

The Public Sector Conflict Management Programme at ACCORD was designed against this background, with the overall objective of transforming the public service into a dynamic, needs-based, proactive instrument capable of playing an integral and strategic part in entrenching good governance. This was to

be achieved by increasing the capacity of the public service to prevent, manage and resolve conflict, and to provide institutional mechanisms to deal with recurring conflict.

A comprehensive intervention has now taken place in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, in particular within the Department of Health both at Metropolitan level and Provincial level. At a Metropolitan level the North and South central local councils have just completed a comprehensive conflict prevention, resolution and management training with elements of change management for 126 persons drawn from all levels and departments of the council. Participants ranged from the Medical officer of Health, through Deputy Directors to clerks and maintenance workers. The programme has been extremely well received and its possible expansion is under discussion with the department.



At a provincial level a comprehensive programme will be delivered, with the first phase scheduled to begin in May and run until August 1999. The participants of these sets of trainings are the Medical Superintendents, Hospital Secretaries and Matrons of all provincial institutions. This excludes those institutions that have already gone through the training.

The programme delivers trainings in four courses: Basic and Advanced Conflict Resolution; Facilitation and Participatory Decision Making. A lessons-learnt seminar will take place after the trainings, which will provide a platform for participants to dialogue with both trainers and fellow trainees on their experiences in implementing the skills learned through the programme.

The provision of an institutional mechanism to deal with conciliatory decision-making, conflict resolution and ongoing training is be part of the objectives of the programme, both at Provincial and Metropolitan areas. Research and development activities are currently being conducted. **A**

SPIDR AWARDS' ACCORD

The United States based international professional organisation for academia and practitioners in Dispute Resolution (The Society for Professionals in Dispute Resolution - SPIDR), conferred on ACCORD the 1998 Presidential Award. This award is presented to an individual or organisation in recognition of their outstanding contribution to the field of Dispute Resolution.

BOOK REVIEWS

CIVIL WARS, CIVIL PEACE: AN INTRODUCTION TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION

KUMAR RUPESINGHE WITH SANAM NARAGHI
ANDERLINI (1998), PLUTO PRESS, LONDON, 179PP

As the dawn of a new millennium approaches, serious questions need to be raised regarding the nature of 'civilised' humanity and human beings' capacity to harm each other in ways as systematic as they are vile. This raises a deeper, existential question: 'Does man's capacity to hate have no limits and will the conflagration ignited by such hatred not threaten the very existence of the human species?'

The birth of the bloody twentieth century began with the slaughter of innocents on the plains of Armenia and in the orgy of blood-letting that followed Nazi Germany's Auschwitz and Daschau to the Soviet Gulags to Pol Pot's Cambodia - humanity sunk to new levels of depravity. As this century draws to a close the killing fields of Rwanda and the cries of widows and orphans in the Democratic Republic of the Congo bear sad testimony to humanity's propensity to self-destruction.

But this raises further questions. How does war occur within communities at peace within themselves and with each other? How do the forces of barbarism with their concomitant culture of violence so quickly overturn civilised norms? Under what conditions does violence replace reason in the discourse between individuals, communities and states? In looking at strategies to diffuse conflict and to build the edifice for sustainable peace, the authors of this book go a long way to answering these questions.

Between the pages of this highly informative book, the authors explore the different dimensions of violent internal conflict: from definitions and categories of armed conflict to root causes and effects of such conflicts. Moreover, obstacles to the peaceful resolution of such conflicts are also identified and explained.

But this publication is not yet another academic treatise - rather it can be effectively utilised as a guide for action. This is especially true of the latter chapters that discuss the importance of an early warning system to identify potential crises, and strategies for war termination which include making the perpetrators of war more accountable to the international community.

A crucial point raised by the book is the participation of non-state actors and citizen groups in the processes of conflict transformation. One reason for their focus is obviously the growing power of

non-governmental organisations (NGOs). For instance, the authors estimate that in 1996 '... an estimated 3 000 development NGOs from OECD countries controlled and dispersed up to US \$ 5.7bn per year in assistance to developing countries. They work in partnership with an estimated 10 000-20 000 'southern' NGOs, which in turn assist up to 100 million people per year' (p109).

But NGOs also possess other unique characteristics that, according to the authors, place them in a strong position to ensure sustainable peace. These are:

- 1 NGOs do not have wider political affiliations to any state parties
- 2 They take advantage of their relative anonymity to work more discreetly and as a result are not under pressure to secure a 'quick-fix' solution to the conflict
- 3 As they do not have the eyes of the world focused on them, they can be more flexible in their approach
- 4 Often such organisations have a long-term commitment to peace-making efforts
- 5 'They are better able to gain access to rebel or insurgency movements by virtue of living among them and, once in contact, can build relationships based on mutual trust and understanding' (pp110-111).

The trick, the authors note, is to harness the advantages NGOs enjoy in conjunction with the United Nations and other intergovernmental organisations. This is also imperative to ensure the success of any intervention: that third parties are not working against each other. A coordinated approach also ensures a holistic approach to peace-making and peace-building.

If there is any criticism to be levelled against the book, it is that the authors introduce certain important ideas and then leave them hanging, pursuing another track. Thus on page 2 the idea of human security is introduced with no attempt to analyse it further. For instance, how does human security relate to state security? Are these two concepts in natural opposition to each other, or can a bridge be built between the concerns of the state and its citizens through good governance?

Likewise, on page 11 the authors note that one of the major causes of internal conflict is poverty. Once again, however, this is not fully developed. For instance, the nexus between security and development and its implications for policy makers at national, regional and international levels are not explored. Consider the following: if poverty is one of the factors leading to war, then obviously a country's national security policy can no longer be developed solely by the people in uniform. Other government departments from Finance to Trade and Industry to Agriculture also need to be involved. In this way, too, the shift from military to human security is practically realised.

However, such criticism may be unduly harsh as the book simply aims to be an introductory reader to conflict resolution. In this, it succeeds magnificently and I have no qualms in recommending the book to policy-maker, academic or student.

DISARMAMENT AND DEFENCE INDUSTRIAL ADJUSTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY PETER BATCHELOR AND SUSAN WILLETT,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, SOUTH AFRICA, 250PP

The South African defence industry, built up during the apartheid years and during the UN embargoes on sales of arms to South Africa, became one of the most important sectors of the country's industrial base and a significant exporter. Since the end of apartheid, the end of the cold war and the elections of 1994, South Africa has cut its military expenditure drastically and is seeking to use the resources released to restructure and revitalise the country's industrial base and to support reconstruction, development and redistribution. The new government has a unique opportunity to develop innovative policies on defence and security matters, the arms industry and arms exports. This analysis of the South African experience provides a valuable contribution to the international debate on the economic effects of military expenditure and defence industrialization and on the relationship between disarmament and development in developing countries.

Peter Batchelor and Susan Willett have extensive first-hand experience of the developing public debate and defence and security policy in the new South Africa. They examine the experience of the South African arms industry - the largest in any developing country - consequent to the process of disarmament undertaken in the country since 1989, drastic defence cuts and the transformed regional environment. They show the structural distortions introduced in the apartheid economy by the investment in a local arms industry and consider how far a 'peace dividend' has been achieved. One of their conclusions is that the reallocation of defence resources to civilian purposes as a result of defence cuts does not occur automatically. The South African experience provides a clear example of the need to construct a link between disarmament and development through explicit government policies.

Peter Batchelor is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Conflict Resolution at the University of Cape Town, and coordinator of the Centre's Project on Peace and Security. He has a Ph.D in Economics from Cambridge University and has written widely on military expenditure, the arms industry and arms trade issues in South and Southern Africa. He is a consultant to South Africa's Departments of Defence and Trade and Industry and is one of the drafters of the South African Government's White Paper on the Defence Industry. Susan Willett is a Senior Research Fellow and Associate Professor at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute,

and is working on the Military Restructuring Project, which analyses all aspects of military adjustment in the post-cold war era.

TO WALK WITHOUT FEAR. THE GLOBAL MOVEMENT TO BAN LANDMINES

EDITED BY MAXWELL A. CAMERON, BRAIN TOMLIN
AND BOB LAWSON (1998), OXFORD UNIVERSITY
PRESS, SOUTH AFRICA, 416PP

To Walk Without Fear is a comprehensive and authoritative account of the global movement to ban landmines. It brings together leading academics, senior policy makers, and prominent leaders of NGOs to examine and draw lessons from the 'Ottawa Process', which culminated in December 1997 when over 120 states signed a convention to ban the use, sales, and production of landmines.

An essay by Nobel Laureate Jody Williams and Steven Goose, of International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), describes how a global coalition of NGOs led the World towards a ban on landmines, while a chapter by the Canadian diplomats who orchestrated the 'Ottawa Process' takes the reader behind the scenes into the diplomatic arm-wrestling that resulted in Canada's leadership role.

International specialists offer assessments of the military use of mines and their humanitarian consequences, the role of the Red Cross, landmine victims, national ban campaigns (including Noel Stott of the South African Campaign to Ban Landmines), the problems of mine clearance, and interpretations of the legal text of the treaty. Academic specialists analyse the policy process and negotiations, explore the political economy of mines, and identify the implications of the treaty for the development of international humanitarian norms, democratization, and civil society. Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, draws lessons from the Ottawa Process for other policy issues.

The book provides a rich source of new information and analyses. It will be both timely and of enduring value to policy makers interested in drawing lessons from the Ottawa Process, to non-governmental organisations interested in replicating its results in other areas, to academic specialists and students interested in foreign policy and international affairs, and to the general public seeking an accessible and readable account of one of the most significant global movements in recent years.

Maxwell A. Cameron and Brain Tomlin are both at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University, Canada, and Bob Lawson is Senior Policy Advisor, Landmines Unit, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Canada. **A**

continued from page 5 RENAISSANCE BAROMETER

participants reflected on several themes, such as the revival of Afro-Arab cooperation in a globalised economy 'and the future prospects of the Afro-Arab economic partnership.'

18 November 1998 Burkina Faso's incumbent president Blaise Compaore was re-elected president with 87,53% of the votes. Two other candidates, Ram Ouedrago and Frederic Guirma, won only 6,61 and 5,96% respectively.



GHANA

11 October 1998 Ghana and Nigeria have reaffirmed their commitment to peace and development both internally and in the West African sub-region. This included a call for economic integration and a need to control crime.

25 October 1998 John Agyekum Kufuor, a lawyer and economist was re-elected presidential candidate of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to contest the 2000 elections. Kufuor has pledged to work with the defeated candidates who he said had 'outstanding talents' to ensure victory in 2000.

31 October 1998 The Electricity Company of Ghana (ECG) signed an agreement with the Swedish company Asea Brown Boveri (ABB) for the installation and commissioning of a Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition system in Accra. This will be installed within the next 21 months. The system will help detect faults early and enable power to be restored in less time.

3 November 1998 President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana has asked the West African Health Community to collaborate across borders to help fight disease and epidemics in the subregion.

27 November 1998 The Volta River Authority and ECG signed a supply contract worth US \$7.7m to build a new power station in Accra. The contracts are with international companies ABB, Transformatori of Italy, Grompton Greaves of India, Samsung of Korea and Norelec Energie of France.

10 February 1999 The Private Newspaper Publishers' Association of Ghana has condemned rampant violation of human rights in Africa and called for human rights education in schools. They denounced an increased in imprisonment, torture, arrest and detention of people and cited the recent murder in December of a Burkinabe journalist, Norbet Zongo. The association urged African governments to respect and uphold the African Charter on human rights adopted in 1991 by the OAU.

10 February 1999 Ghana is to get 32.4m Euro under two agreements signed with the European Union in Accra. The aim of the funding is to consolidate gains made under the structural adjustment programme on: social and road sectors and public financial management and the medium term health strategy.



GUINEA BISSAU

22 October 1998 President Joao Bernardo Vieira of Guinea Bissau has extended an offer to hold face-to-face talks with mutiny leader General Ansumane Mane. Moçambique has promised to act as facilitator in the dialogue between the two sides.

26 October 1998 General Ansumane Mane has agreed to meet with President Vieira. He has also said that he would extend the cease-fire current.

29 October 1998 President Vieira of Guinea Bissau and General Mane, the rebel leader, meet for direct peace talks. The talks were brokered by President Yahya Jammeh of The Gambia.

2 November 1998 A cease-fire accord has been endorsed by the warring parties of Guinea Bissau. Both parties have agreed to lay down their arms while the Senegal and Guinea armies are to be withdrawn and replaced by ECOWAS troops along the border with Senegal. A Government of National Unity is to be formed with general and presidential elections taking place in March 1999, to be supervised by ECOWAS and the international community. The international airport is also to be re-opened and humanitarian aid will be allowed to refugees and internally displaced people.

13 November 1998 The Guinea Bissau government and the military junta sat together at the Joint Executive Commission formed as a result of the peace accord at Abuja.

18 November 1998 President Vieira meets with Guinea Bissau political parties with a view to incorporating them into the Government of National Unity.

15 December 1998 An agreement has been reached on the composition of the Government of National Unity. President Vieira and General Mane have signed a further accord allocating ministries to the two sides. There has been a pledge to form a cabinet within the shortest possible period and Vieira has called for the speedy deployment of ECOMOG in Guinea Bissau.

4 February 1999 Calm has been restored in Guinea Bissau following the signing of a cease-fire agreement between government and rebel leaders. The agreement was initiated by current ECOWAS chairman, Togo President Gnassingbe Eyadema. Eyadema's troops were supported by forces from Senegal and Guinea Conakry. 300 peacekeepers are also expected from Benin and Niger.

22 February 1999 Francisco Fadul has been elected Prime Minister of Guinea Bissau's Government of National Unity. He was a member of the Junta but he has promised to be neutral, as signified by his comments, 'I will be a Prime Minister of a country and a party.' Fadul describes the need for re-organising various sectors of government as a priority. President Joao Bernardo Vieira presided over the swearing in ceremony of the new government in the presence of the rebel general Ansumane Mane.



IVORY COAST

2 October 1998 The African Regional Satellite Telecommunication Organization (RASCUM) plans to put in more rural telephone booths by 2005 as 'there cannot be rural development without basic infrastructure.' Thirty-nine African telecommunications companies, who all have share in RASCUM, plan to raise 700bn CFA Francs. RASCUM was established by the OAU in the 1960s but was privatised in 1997.

9 October 1998 The ruling Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI) and its leading opponent, the Popular Front Party

(FPI) have agreed to start holding discussions on the country's political future. President Henri Konan Bedie is said to be putting reason and national unity as priorities in finally agreeing to meet with the FPI.

10 February 1999 Ivory Coast has almost won the battle against leprosy, as signified by the reduction of infections from 120 000 in 1960 to today's figures of under 2 000, making it possible to believe the disease will stop being a public health problem by the year 2000.

19 February 1999 Ivorian anti-crime police seized fake currency worth US \$4bn and 40kg of gold dust from Liberian and Nigerian traffickers who are using the country as a transit for their activities. In October, police arrested 17 Nigerian members of the crime gang '419' for money laundering. Police have responded positively to tip offs from the public and are encouraging people to come forward with information regarding crime.



LIBERIA

10 November 1998 Some 225 Liberian refugees have returned home from Guinea under the UNHCR voluntary repatriation programme. Returnees from the Ivory Coast, some 200 Liberians, were expected later in the week.

12 February 1999 Liberia has recorded increased staple food output during the 1998 farming season. This constitutes an increase of 25% over the 1997 output and 70% over the pre-civil war average (1986-1990), a FAO report has revealed. The report further indicated that from 1994 to 1996, imports covered around 90% of the country's cereal consumption requirements but improved output of rice and other crops from 1996 reduced dependence on imports to 57% in 1998.



MALI

11 November 1998 Switzerland and Mali sign three agreements under which the country will obtain 5 761bn CFA Francs (US \$10.5m) to back its decentralisation programme. The funds will also be used to strengthen the health sector and to improve drinking water supply for the most vulnerable population groups.

23 November 1998 The 30th Assembly of the International Union of Francophone Journalists (UIJPLF) opened in Bamako today, chaired by Malian president Alpha Oumar Konare. About 300 journalists attend the three day meeting. Participants are to discuss 'relations between the print and audio-visual media and public authorities,' according to the organisers.

4 February 1999 Mariatou Koita of Mali, aged 23, brings charges against 52 year old Hawa Greou for circumcising her when she was 8 years old. Koita has assisted authorities and campaigners to bring 50 (the victims are believed to be more) other cases of female genital mutilation (FGM) to bear on Greou. Greou is being tried in a French court where the French justice system is being pitted against this long-time African custom. This case shall set the scene for the next millennium on issues of female genital mutilation.



NIGERIA

4 October 1998 Voter registration begins in Nigeria to prepare for a series of polls leading to the handover of power by the current military leader, General Abdusalami Abubakar on 29th May 1999. The federal electoral commission estimates that the country has 60 million eligible voters. Meanwhile, some 26 political associations seeking reigstration as political parties have embarked on campaigns to mobilise their supporters for voter registration.

5 October 1998 Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) Deputy National Chairman, Chief Afolabi, urges former Nigerian military leader, General Olusegun Obasanjo, to make himself available to lead the country. General Obasanjo, who took office as a military leader in 1976, handed over to elected civilian president Alhaji Shehu Shagari in 1979. He is the only one of Nigeria's many military leaders who kept his promise to hand over to an elected civilian regime.

10 October 1998 The Commonwealth announces the lifting of sanctions against Nigeria.

11 October 1998 The Federal Government of Nigeria has invited US President Bill Clinton, French President Chirac, and British Prime Minister Tony Blair to the swearing in of the next civilian president of Nigeria in May 1999.

14 October 1998 Virtually all existing European Union sanctions against Nigeria are soon to be lifted. This was announced by Mr. Ramon da Miguel of the EU.

25 October 1998 The Federal Ministry of Information and Culture organised a one-day workshop in Lagos, to examine laws and policies that govern media practice in the country. The workshop aimed to propose legislation that will guarantee press freedom, protect the rights of all citizens and improve respectability for the profession of journalism.

31 October 1998 Concerned about illegal proliferation of small arms, West African leaders at the 21st ECOWAS Summit have adopted a three-year moratorium on the importation, exportation and manufacture of such weapons in the sub-region.

3 November 1998 Nigeria's former military ruler, General Olusegun Obasanjo, declares his intention to run for the presidency under the People's Democratic Party.

18 November 1998 Dr. Chukwu Emeke Ezife, a former governor in Anambra State, eastern Nigeria, has declared that he will be running for the presidency.

24 November 1998 Nigeria and the Cameroon exchanged 211 prisoners reportedly captured during clashes between the two countries in 1994 in the disputed Bakassi Peninsula.

25 November 1998 A government committee has announced that public discussions of Nigeria's draft 1995 constitution are to begin on 30th November and end on 4th December.

3 December 1998 Nigerian military ruler, General Abdusalami Abubakar has told the armed forces they must give up power in May 1999. In the first step on a six-month path to restoring civilian rule, local elections will take place on 5 December 1998. In the elections, some 7 000 candidates from the nine government-registered political parties are vying for seats in the 776 local councils in the 36-state federation.

5 December 1998 Polling stations open today for local

elections. The exercise was witnessed by more than 2 000 international observers, including teams from the Commonwealth, the United States and representatives of electoral bodies from six African countries.

7 December 1998 With more than 50% of results from local council polls in Nigeria now in, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) of former military leader General Olusegun Obasanjo has captured more than 300 declared chairmanship seats out of the total of 776 in the 36-state federation.

8 December 1998 Three Nigerian political parties performed well in the weekend local elections, enabling them to compete in state and national elections next year, which will return the country to civilian rule. The PDP, the Alliance for Democracy (AD) and the All People's Party (APP) polled strongly in a big voter turnout.

15 December 1998 The performance of the Nigerian Stock Exchange was impressive this past week, with 113 million shares worth 452.2m Naira traded in almost 2 000 deals.

30 January 1999 The European Union and Nigeria have signed a US \$4m accord to support the Nigerian Independent Electoral Commission that is in charge of polls under the transition programme. The grant provides computers, vehicles, civil education and training. Some of the money will be used to hire local poll observers as well as support 100 EU monitors.

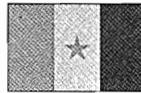
13 February 1999 Two political parties hold conventions in the two northern cities of Jos and Kaduna. Out of the many names presented for the presidential nominations, two seem to stand out, former head of state Olusegun Obasanjo for the PDP and ex-finance minister Olu Falae of the AD.

22 February 1999 The PDP has scored more than 50% success in the federal legislative elections. Votes counted from 30 of the 36 states and the Federal capital Abuja, show PDP winning 57% of the 84 counted senate seats. The AD and the APP, which have entered into a political marriage, have between them 36 senate seats from a total of 109 senatorial seats being contested. A few notables won seats from their states but former Nigerian UN representative, Joe Garba, lost whilst Lola Abiola-Edewor, daughter of the late Abiola, won a seat in the house of representatives.

20 February 1999 Voting for the national lawmakers was marked by low voter turn out, although it was peaceful. But Shehu Musa, a member of the Independent National Electoral Commission monitoring the polls declined to explain the reason for the apathy. Speculation has it that voters tend to have focused their interest on the coming Presidential elections, failing to give importance to the equally crucial national assembly electoral process.

21 February 1999 Counting of ballots commenced in earnest after Nigerians voted on Saturday for the 469 member National Assembly.

27 February 1999 Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party polled a total number of 18 738 154 votes, against 11 110 287 votes for his opponent, Chief Oluyemisi Falae of the APP. Obasanjo's votes constitute 62.78% of the total votes cast while chief Falae's votes represent 37.22%.



SENEGAL

24 January 1999 13 000 MPs, local, municipal and regional councilors voted 45 of the 60 senators into Senegal's first Senate House. The Senate is the country's newest law making chamber. Out of the remaining 15, 12 will be hand picked by the state president and three will be voted for by Senegalese nationals living abroad. Senegal used to run its affairs with just one chamber, the National Assembly.

1 February 1999 Senegal is withdrawing its troops supporting the embattled government in Guinea Bissau to pave way for the deployment of a 600 strong ECOMOG peacekeeping force comprising troops from Niger, Benin, Togo and Gambia. A peace accord brokered by ECOWAS was signed in Abuja, Nigeria, on 1 November 1998.

4 February 1999 The Senegalese National Assembly voted into law a bill addressing the need for the law to protect vulnerable groups, often the main targets of violence. The breakthrough was attributed to the President's support for the bill as well as years of lobbying Senegalese leaders to accept the criminality of female genital mutilation.

4 February 1999 Senegal has become the first state to ratify the UN statute establishing the International Criminal Court, adopted in Rome in 1998. The instrument was received before a meeting of the preparatory committee that will deliberate on modalities for the court's functioning after ratification by 60-UN member states. The court will try cases of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.



SIERRA LEONE

4 February 1999 The Addis Ababa-based African Women Committee on Peace and Development (AWCPD) has strongly advocated for the involvement of women in the search for peaceful solutions to the armed conflict in Sierra Leone. Peace building initiatives that do not involve half of the society are unsustainable, the committee argued.



CENTRAL AFRICA



CHAD



CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC



CAMEROON



EQUATORIAL GUINEA



SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE



GABON



REPUBLIC OF CONGO



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO



ANGOLA



ANGOLA

10 October 1998 The Angolan Education Ministry has plans to introduce five national languages in its adult education system next year. In an interview with the national news agency Angop, the director of adult education, Francisco Domingos, said that in the first phase, Kimbundo, Kikongo, Kuanyama, and Chokwe vernaculars will be given priority. He said that three church groups which have been teaching more than 5 000 registered adults since 1997 will assist the Ministry of Education in this project. The Ministry of Education has also trained nearly 500 trainers of adult education teachers.



CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

22 November 1998 Voters in the Central African Republic started casting their ballots at 2 500 polling stations in Bangui and in the 69 districts, to elect 109 members of parliament. The 1.4 million registered voters out of a population of 3.3 million will choose from 849 candidates presented by 29 political parties and 118 independent candidates.

23 November 1998 Election officials in the first round of parliamentary elections note that there was a good voter turn-out of 75% in Bangui and that it was higher in the countryside.

13 December 1998 President Ange-Félix Patasse's Movement for the Liberation of Central African People (MPLC) won 26 seats at the end of the first round on 22 November 1998. Opposition parties won 17 seats in the new 109-member National Assembly. Independent candidates captured three seats. For the second round, the MPLC won the support of two

small parties to get the 55 seats required for it to have a majority in the house and to form the next government.

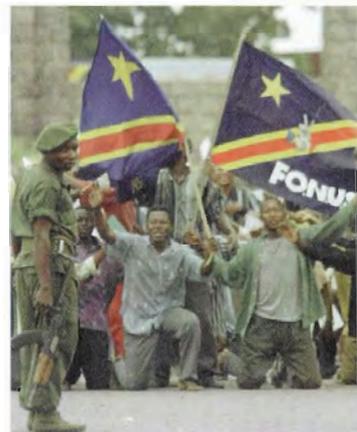


REPUBLIC OF CONGO

30 October 1998 A committee has been set up to restore peace and security in the Pool region (50km south of Brazzaville), which has been ravaged by a spate of violence in the last two months. The committee, which was formed by the Ecumenical Council of Churches of the Congo, comprises 47 members including religious leaders, parliamentarians, senior army officials and other dignitaries. Its mission is to establish dialogue with armed groups in the Pool region, encourage the withdrawal of police who harass civilians, and to try to obtain the release of people detained illegally. The committee also plans to provide health care and donate food to the poor. The army has been charged with the operational logistics of the project, while the government will provide 38m CFA to fund its administration.

9 February 1999 The UN Population Fund has granted funding of about 105m Francs to the consortium of Congolese non-government organisations and associations to be used

on projects targeting adolescent and youths in the post-conflict period. The money will also be used to strengthen the training, technical, managerial and coordination capacities of NGOs on reproductive health among youths. The project targets mainly Brazzaville, Dolisie, Nkayi and Pointe-Noire and is to be executed in 12 months.



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

24 October 1998 The DRC's Information Minister, Didier Mumenge, has said the country's conflicts can be resolved through dialogue with the rebels.

28 November 1998 President Kabila announces that elections in the DRC could be held in April 1999.

EAST AFRICA



BURUNDI

12 October 1998 The third round of the Burundian peace negotiations begins today in Arusha (northern Tanzania) and is scheduled to run for three weeks.

27 November 1998 496 Burundian refugees in Tanzania have voluntarily returned home to Muyinga Province in northeastern Burundi.

28 November 1998 The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has granted US \$12m to finance reconstruction, reforestation and marsh development activities, the Minister for Reintegration and Resettle-ment of Displaced and Repatriated persons, Pascal Nkurunziza, has said.

24 January 1999 Leaders of the East and Central African countries have voted to lift the trade embargo imposed on Burundi three years ago following a coup d'etat that brought Major Pierre Buyoya to power on 25 July 1996. The summit that lifted the trade embargo was attended by presidents of Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Rwanda, Prime Minister of Ethiopia and the Secretary General of the OAU, Salim Ahmed Salim.

16 February 1999 The World Food Programme (WFP) is engaged in a massive food distribution programme in the regions of Ngozi, Murumvya and Karyzi in Burundi in order to protect seeds that the villagers have and can use for planting. The programme targets 164 000 families incorporating a total of 800 000 people.



ERITREA

10 November 1998 Sudan and Eritrea sign a memorandum of understanding in the Qatari capital, Doha, to normalize relations between the two countries.

4 February 1999 Eritrean President Afwerki reaffirms options for a peaceful resolution of the Ethiopian-Eritrean border dispute during a meeting with special envoy Mohamed Sahnoun. The press statement said Eritrean authorities had reaffirmed their commitment to the OAU framework proposal.



ETHIOPIA

21 October 1998 Prime Minister Meles Zenawi has held talks with his Japanese counterpart, Keizo Obuchi, on a number of bilateral issues.

16 November 1998 The Somali regional government (eastern Ethiopia), which has been assessing the performance of the police force in the region in the last 20 days, has concluded its work by dismissing the police commissioner and his deputy in charge of administration and finance.

28 January 1999 Winding up his personal initiative to the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict, Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi advised Ethiopian Premier Meles Zenawi of Eritrea's readiness to resolve the conflict peacefully. After meeting the Ethiopian leader, Moi travelled to Asmara where he met Eritrean President, Isaias Afwerki to discuss the dispute.



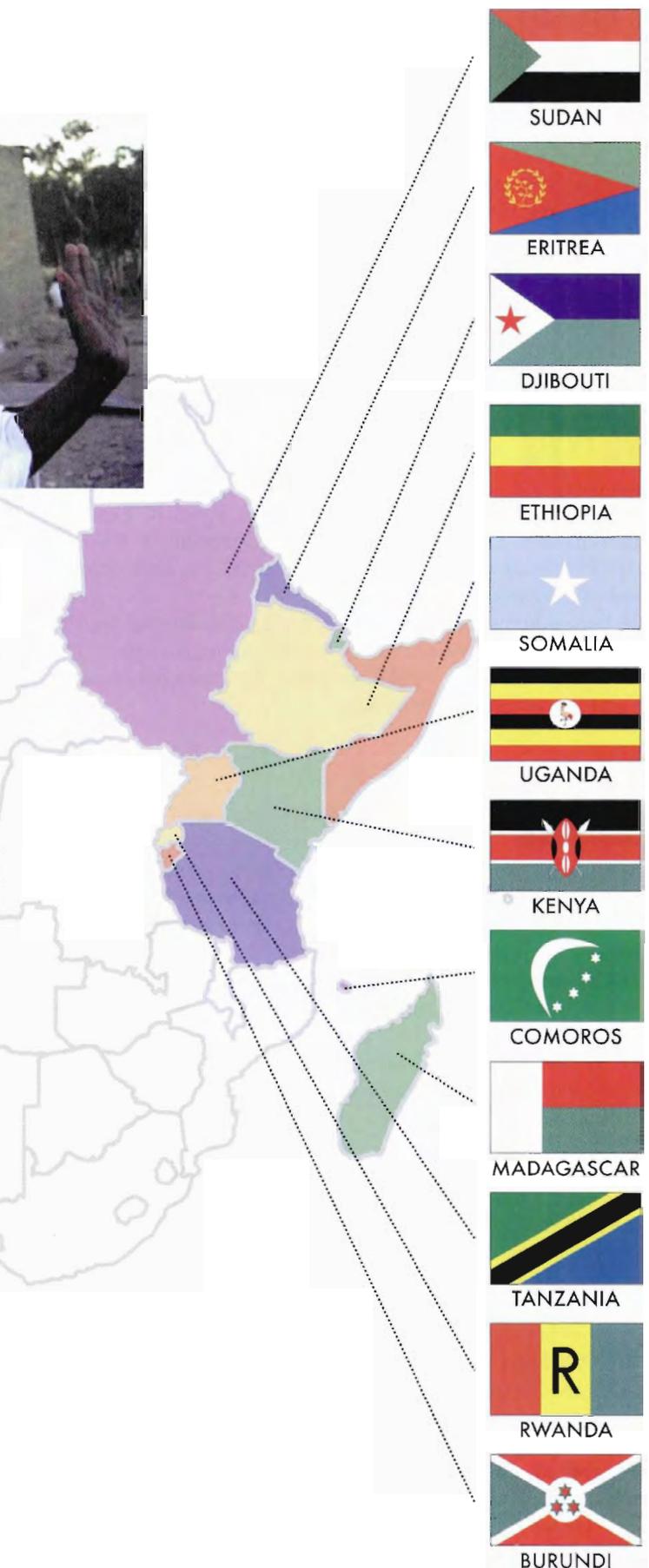
KENYA

29 November 1998 History will judge present leaders harshly if one constitutional reform process does not accommodate the views of all Kenyans, Local Authorities Minister, Professor Sam Ongeru, says. He challenged leaders in the country to conduct civic education in their areas before commissioners who will be appointed to collate views on how Kenyans want to be governed in their respective areas.

1 December 1998 Talks between Ethiopian and Kenyan delegates ended this morning at the Masinga Dam resort club in Machakos District, central Kenya, with delegates resolving to increase border entry points to maintain effective policing of the common border.

3 December 1998 Kenyan Home Affairs Minister Shariff Nasir said that presidential powers in the country must be dramatically reduced to minimize the risk of their abuse.

7 December 1998 Kenya's centralised form of government has hampered equitable regional distribution of resources, Minister Shariff Nassir says. Mr. Nassir said the anomalies could be corrected only through a decentralised form of government.



SUDAN



ERITREA



DJIBOUTI



ETHIOPIA



SOMALIA



UGANDA



KENYA



COMOROS



MADAGASCAR



TANZANIA



RWANDA



BURUNDI

8 December 1998 The Central Bank of Kenya's Deputy Governor, Dr. Nzioki Kibua, says many banks are not responsive to the needs of their customers. Dr. Kibua said the fact that coffee, tea and horticulture farmers were calling for the formation of sectoral banks was an indication that mainstream banks were not addressing the needs of such customers. Dr. Kibua challenged banks to address these concerns.

27 January 1999 Non-governmental organisations attending the second round of talks in Nairobi on a global treaty to reduce and eliminate environmental emissions and discharges of POPs, have rejected arguments that production and use of highly toxic chemicals can be safely managed and controlled.



RWANDA

2 October 1998 The UN Tribunal sentences genocide perpetrator, Jean-Paul Akayezu, to life imprisonment.

18 November 1998 The International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda (IPEP), which was established by the OAU, has now become operational in Addis Ababa.

20 November 1998 A cabinet meeting today adopted legislation setting up a national commission for human rights. The cabinet also adopted legislation setting up a national commission for unity and reconciliation.



SUDAN

18 October 1998 UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has welcomed the Sudanese opposition's peace moves on the Eritrea-Ethiopia conflict. Sudan's former Prime Minister, Sadiq al-Mahdi, is mediating in the Eritrean-Ethiopian conflict and proposes to reach a peaceful settlement.

26 October 1998 Ethiopian Airlines resumed regular flights to Sudan, signifying an improvement in relations between Addis Ababa and Khartoum.

11 November 1998 Doctors in Khartoum have started the application of a new drug that they say has an unprecedented capacity for healing diabetics' wounds. For three months now, clinics in Khartoum have been using the drug *Leishmanol*, developed by a local bio-chemist, Dr. Mohammed el Amir Sanhour. Medical practitioners in these establishments say the drug has reduced to 6% the need to amputate the limbs of diabetic patients with wounds.

26 November 1998 External Relations Minister, Dr. Mustafa Uthman Ismail has said that moves are afoot to normalize relations between Sudan and Eritrea.

20 February 1999 Two joint foreign affairs committees from Chad and Sudan met and signed a protocol of cooperation on economic, political health and culture. The two sides 'reaffirmed their determination to continue consultation on regional and international political issues of mutual concern.' They agreed to work closely 'for the security and stability of the region' and increase the flow of trade exchange and transit trade with the establishment of joint customs posts on the common border. The

committees called upon societies in conflict to give dialogue a chance and settle problems peacefully.



TANZANIA

23 October 1998 Tanzania became the 18th signatory of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which was adopted in June 1998 at the 48th session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. Tanzania's ambassador to Ethiopia, Charles Kileo, described the Charter as 'an important instrument for ensuring the fundamental rights of the African child for survival, protection and development.'

9 November 1998 Zanzibar, the isles part of Tanzania, has inaugurated its first university built by the Geneva-based Iman Charitable Association, founded by Saudi Arabian nationals.

25 November 1998 Stakeholders in Tanzania's maritime industry meet in Arusha to discuss the country's port privatisation programme which is scheduled to start in the middle of next year. The meeting brings together officials of the Tanzanian Harbour Authority, the World Bank, the Parastatal Reform Commission, and the Ministry of Transport and shipping experts.



UGANDA

2 October 1998 The Minister of State for Regional Affairs, Mr. Amama Mbabazi, says Uganda still wants direct talks between DRC President Laurent Kabila and the rebels fighting him.

9 October 1998 Uganda's Minister of State for Higher Education, Abel Rwendeira, says that by privatising higher education the government has broadened access to many deserving students who would have been left out of the system. In addition, Rwendeira said efforts were being made to eliminate gender biases in university admissions by crediting women with 1.5 extra points, a measure that has boosted female enrolment from 20% to 35%.

11 October 1998 East African defence chiefs have briefed President Museveni on the progress made so far in the implementation of the memorandum of understanding for defence and security between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

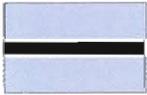
15 October 1998 The UN Development Programme (UNDP) is to provide US \$3m to the Ugandan National Bureau of Standards to strengthen their technical capabilities in standardization, quality assurance, metrology and testing.

25 November 1998 The Ugandan government plans to spend between Ush 10bn (US \$7.4m) and Ush 44bn (US \$34m) per annum over the next five years on modernising its agricultural sector, as part of efforts to fight poverty in the countryside.

29 November 1998 The Irish government has committed Ush 5.5bn to aid the government's primary education reform programme in the three districts of Kabarole, Bundibugyo and Kasese.

15 December 1998 The 7th Conference of the Society for Women and AIDS in Africa has given the excellence award to President Museveni in recognition of his political commitment in the fight against AIDS, which has led to a reduction of HIV infection from double to single digit figures.

SOUTHERN AFRICA



BOTSWANA

14 November 1998 Addressing the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) special national council in Sebele, President Festus Mogae urged fellow democrats to guard against the creation and cultivation of personality cults that have been obstacles to the development of democracy in Africa.



LESOTHO

14 October 1998 The political parties of Lesotho have agreed to put in place structures to facilitate the forthcoming elections. This team will include people from the various political parties, the government and parliamentarians. The teams will be in place by the end of the month.

27 November 1998 The Lesotho High Court has ruled that the rebel soldiers be charged within eight days or be released. The Court further added that if they were being charged, they should be granted access to their lawyers immediately.



MALAWI

25 November 1998 Malawi's second institution of higher learning, Mzuze University, will open its doors to student-teachers next week, the university's vice-chancellor Terence Davis, said.

27 November 1998 The Malawi parliament passes the Constitution Amendment Bill, paving the way for the May, 1999 presidential and parliamentary elections.



MOÇAMBIQUE

11 October 1998 It has been announced that during Portuguese Prime Minister Antonio Guterres' six-day official visit to Moçambique, three accords were signed between the two countries. These covered the renovation of the Cuamba-Lichinga railway, the rescheduling of Moçambique's debt to Portugal and financial cooperation.

12 October 1998 Politicians, religious leaders, representatives of social organisations and various other personalities are to meet next week in a workshop to launch a public debate on draft amendments to the Mozambican constitution.

15 October 1998 Mozambican Prime Minister Pascoal Mocumbi underlined the 'urgent necessity' of establishing partnerships between the public and private sectors to implement integrated transportation networks for Southern Africa. Mocumbi's appeal came at the opening of a three-day meeting between the 14-member Southern African Development Community and the European Union. Officials and specialists from the two bodies will debate the means of implementing a regional protocol on transportation, considered essential for the economic integration of the zone.

23 October 1998 Moçambique's first association of people who have tested positive to HIV, was formally established in Maputo. According to its chairman, Salvador Mazive, the association named *Kindlimuca* (Awake) seeks to establish counselling offices in every municipality in the country, to work on AIDS prevention, to demystify AIDS in Moçambique, to end discrimination and stigmatisation of HIV-positive people, and to create a national network of people living with HIV/AIDS.

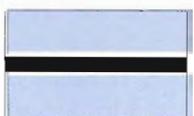
23 October 1998 The Commonwealth Development



ZAMBIA



NAMIBIA



BOTSWANA



SOUTH AFRICA



LESOTHO



SWAZILAND



ZIMBABWE



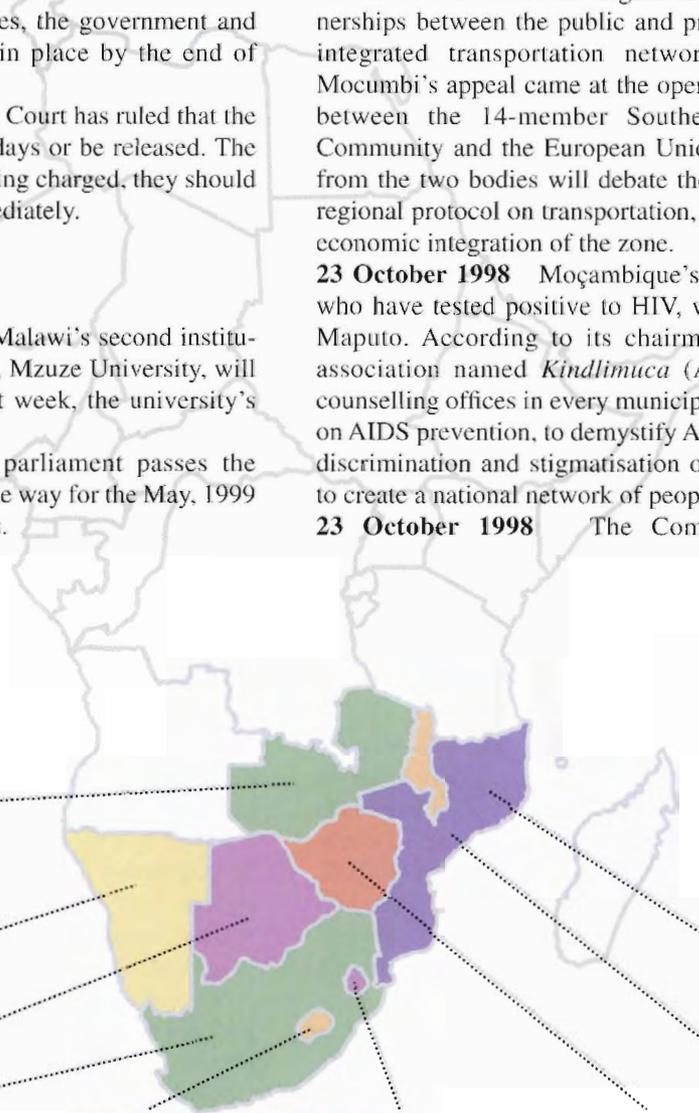
MAURITIUS



MALAWI



MOÇAMBIQUE



Corporation announced that it has signed agreements to invest US \$55m in the US \$1.34bn Mozal aluminium smelter project in Moçambique - the country's largest ever private sector investment.

11 November 1998 Police units from Maputo, the neighbouring city of Matola and the southern province of Inhambane, have launched a joint operation resulting in the arrests of 67 suspected thieves, the seizure of a number of weapons and the recovery of stolen property.

16 November 1998 Four hundred landmines have been detonated in controlled explosions in Moçambique, clearing the way for the construction of the Maputo Development Corridor toll road to go ahead unhindered.

23 November 1998 A meeting of the central committee of Moçambique's ruling FRELIMO party took place in Matola. The meeting assessed the performance of the government in the implementation of its five-year programme since the party won the 1994 elections.

25 November 1998 Five wells drilled in Tamane, in the southern Mozambican province of Inhambane, have proved that between 23 million and 50 million cubic feet of natural gas can be extracted from the reserve per day for the next fifty years.

27 November 1998 A mission from the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry ends a five-day visit to Maputo with the signing of a cooperation agreement with the Mozambican Chamber of Commerce.

27 November 1998 At least 150 Zimbabwean and South African farmers are to start operating in three districts of the central Mozambican province of Manica, according to the provincial governor, Felicio Zacarias.



NAMIBIA

26 October 1998 The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has commended the Namibian government for handing over Rwandan genocide suspect, Dr. Andre Rwamakube, to the tribunal.



SOUTH AFRICA

9 October 1998 South African flags at all government buildings flew at half-mast in remembrance for all those who died of AIDS, while thousands of businesses around the country followed suit. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki launched the Partnership Against AIDS.

30 October 1998 South Africa and Egypt have entered into three new trade and investment protection agreements aimed at promoting bilateral trade between them, South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs announced.

2 November 1998 Deputy President Thabo Mbeki arrived in Saudi Arabia on a three-day trip aimed at increasing trade between the two nations.

10 November 1998 Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said the government would come down harshly on all forms of corruption, including bribery and abuse of public trust.

18 November 1998 Over 72 000 public servants will be made available by the government to help with voter registration



for the 1999 general election. Voter registration is planned for 27-29 November 1998.

20 November 1998 South African Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad holds talks in Moscow with Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov. It was agreed that political consultations between the two foreign ministries should be strengthened and bilateral cooperation in the areas of trade and investment, science and technology, minerals and energy should be accelerated.

23 November 1998 South African Airways (SAA) launches its inaugural Johannesburg-Lagos flight next week with a Boeing 767 jet, in a move expected to end current difficulties faced by passengers on this important route.

24 November 1998 The foreign minister of Ukraine, Borys Tarasyuk, and his South African counterpart, Alfred Nzo, have signed three agreements on culture, science and technology and trade, in an effort to foster closer bilateral ties between the two countries.

24 November 1998 President Nelson Mandela formally crowns Venda paramount chief at the Mphephu Royal complex during a ceremony near Thohoyandou. The coronation will mark the first occasion that Venda's paramount chief or king is crowned by a secular leader from outside the Venda nation.

25 November 1998 Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has arrived in Sweden after completing of his visit to the Russian Federation, the Department of Foreign Affairs said. It said Mbeki's visit to Stockholm was part of the ongoing process of developing close working relations between Sweden and South Africa. Attention will be given to the African Renaissance and how Sweden's 'Partnership Africa Policy' can support it. Bilateral political and economic relations as well as regional and international issues will be discussed during his visit.

4 December 1998 Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad is leading the South African delegation to the Meeting of the South Africa-India Joint Commission in Pretoria. The



Commission is to give attention to various issues of bilateral and multilateral cooperation and it will review progress, address outstanding matters and set the pattern for bilateral relations into the next millennium.

7 December 1998 South Africa's first-ever tourism summit, convened by Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister Pallo Jordan takes place in Midrand today. Government, business and community representatives will discuss strategies for unlocking the huge potential of the country's tourism industry.

8 December 1998 India and South Africa are expected to explore possibilities of joint venture and tie-ups in the field of telecommunications during the 11-day visit of South African Communication Minister Jay Naidoo, beginning today in New Delhi.

14 December 1998 South Africa signed a UN Convention against Drug Trafficking in New York, joining 148 other member states of the UN.

10 February 1999 The South African Telemedical Resources (TMR) officially opened on Tuesday the country first telemedicine site to encompass several areas of medical disciplines in order to improve primary healthcare. Tygerburg Hospital has been linked to Groote Schuur Hospital to provide radiology and pathology expertise, with links to Frere provincial hospital in East London for pathology and haematology cases. Telemedical technology will improve medical services at distant rural hospitals and clinics and help reduce diagnostic time and costs, and improve treatment of patients. The pilot project aims to extend its services throughout South Africa and the region over time.

19 February 1999 The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rev. Njongonkulu Ndungane, has called the Government to improve stability in the country considering the need for a peaceful environment during the coming elections. He urged political parties to agree to a code of conduct to reduce the chances for people exploiting the current tense and volatile political situation. The Archbishop assured the Independent

Electoral Commission of the Church's readiness to offer mediation, peace monitoring and any other practical skills, where necessary.



SWAZILAND

12 October 1998 Swaziland and Malaysia signed two agreements today on trade and economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation. The signing ceremony was performed in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, following talks between delegations from the two countries which were also attended by His Majesty King Mswati III and the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahatir bin Mohamed.



ZAMBIA

27 November 1998 Zambia and Zimbabwe have pledged to step up efforts to fight cross-border criminal acts, including drug trafficking. This was contained in a communique issued in Lusaka at the end of the 15th session of the joint permanent commission on defence and security.

28 November 1998 President Chiluba announced that he will launch a new presidential housing initiative next January to enable more Zambians to benefit from the housing programme.

3 December 1998 A new political party, the United Party for National Development (UPND) has been set up in Zambia. The party's main objectives are listed as: economic and social development; harmonization of tribal, racial and gender relations in the country; promotion of democratic practices and values; and to adherence to good democratic governance.

11 February 1999 For the first time in Lusaka's 60 years history a woman, Patricia Nawa, was elected as the city's 17th mayor. Nawa was elected on a Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) ticket. Nawa acknowledged the, environmental hazards caused by Lusaka's dirt-laden streets and having been the deputy mayor since 1992, she knows the magnitude of the task before her.

18 February 1999 President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia has announced that he might call for a summit on the DRC conflict towards the end of March. Chiluba has engaged in extensive shuttle diplomacy in trying to find a solution to the crisis.



ZIMBABWE

3 October 1998 Zimbabwean sugar production, mostly in the lowveld, is estimated to rise by around 25 000 tonnes to nearly 600 000 tonnes, Zimbabwe Sugar Sales said.

10 October 1998 Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and his Zimbabwean counterpart, Robert Mugabe, officially inaugurated the electricity transmission line that carries power to Zimbabwe from the Cahora Bassa dam in the western Mozambican province of Tete. The Zimbabwe Electrical Supply Authority (ZESA) is purchasing 400 megawatts. The power flows along a 420kv transmission line from Cahora Bassa to Binduru, near Harare. 🇿🇼

continued from page 11 CONFLICT WATCH



CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

19 February 1999 The UN Security Council has made known its intention to pull out its MINURCA mission when its mandates expires at the end of February. The mission's continued stay in Bangui was to depend on the fulfilment of agreements reached in pursuit of peace and stability.



CHAD

26 November 1998 Former Chadian President President Goukouni Oueddei, who is currently in exile, has appealed for general mobilization against President Idriss Deby's regime. In a communique released from Algiers, Mr. Goukouni says the civil war has intensified in the Tibetsi Massif, in northern Chad, and the time has come to save Chad.



REPUBLIC OF CONGO

1 October 1998 Congo-Brazzaville is going through a period of heightened tension following last weekend's brutal massacre of ten people by armed men in the Pool Region, near the capital. Media speculation suggests that it could be politically motivated since opposition politician Bernard Kolelas, who is currently in exile, is known to be very influential in the region.

25 January 1999 Artillery shelling of positions held by 'Ninja' militiamen of former Premier Bernard Kolelas has helped government troops to flush out rebels from the Bacongo and Makelekele areas.

4 February 1999 Central African Republic (CAR) President Ange-Felix Patasse has offered to mediate the crisis gripping Congo-Brazzaville. Patasse has offered to meet both sides. President Sassou Nguesso has accepted the offer. The rebellion is mostly in regions of the Pool, Bouenza, Lekoumou, and Du Niari. Fighting is between government forces, militiamen loyal to the ousted president and 'ninja' militiamen loyal to former premier Bernard Kolelas. Over 415 people have been killed in the southern part of the country and over 200 000 people have fled to the north and taken refuge.

18 February 1999 A senior Army officer, Col. Vincent Paul Toundia, Commander of the Dolisie Military zone in Congo's third largest city has been killed by militiamen loyal to former President Pascal Lissouba.

20 February 1999 The Congolese Armed forces and their Angolan allies have shelled two areas of South Brazzaville, it was reported. Congolese soldiers sealed off routes to Bacongo and Makelekele to prevent infiltration by 'ninja' militiamen supporting former premier Bernard Kolelas.



DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

1 October 1998 The Catholic Freedom and Justice Committee in Kisangani says in a report that the city's population has been subjected to serious human rights abuses since early August. Summary executions, abductions and torture

of civilians have been committed by government and rebel forces, civil authorities and members of the population itself, the report says.

1 October 1998 Reports have emerged that former Rwandan Armed Forces' senior officers, under Major-General Augustin Bizimungu, who were staying in Congo-Brazzaville, have now crossed into the DRC to support Kabila.

5 October 1998 Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) sources claim they are making military inroads in moving towards Kindu, as well as towards Buta (north of Kisangani).

10 October 1998 The DRC's Minister of Justice, Mwenze Nkongolo, has accused Uganda and Rwanda of collaborating with Burundi to displace Tutsis and install them in the Itombwe high plateau in areas surrounding Mwenga in the Uvira region in the eastern DRC.

10 October 1998 Major Baloko Tanga, spokesman for the Defence Ministry in the DRC, has announced that the Congolese army and its allies from Angola, Chad, Namibia and Zimbabwe are preparing to re-take the towns of Buta, Isiro, Kisangani and Bunia from the rebels.

13 October 1998 Mr. Alex Mwamba, a DRC rebel leader, says that 40% of the country is now under rebel control.

20 October 1998 Professor Wamba dia Wamba, a rebel official, says that with Kindu firmly in rebel hands, the RCD is turning to Katanga and Kasai provinces, both rich in mineral wealth.

26 October 1998 DRC Foreign Minister, Jean Charles Okoto flatly dismisses any possibility of dialogue with the rebels.

11 November 1998 The Chadian embassy in Kinshasa denies claims by rebels that four hundred of its troops have been captured by rebels.

18 November 1998 President Kabila accuses South Africa of being partial to the 'invaders', seen widely to refer to Rwanda and Uganda.

26 November 1998 Chiefs of Defence Staff of the Angolan, Namibian, Zimbabwean and Congolese armed forces hold a meeting in Kinshasa today to discuss the implementation of the counter offensive launched in the east of the country.

1 December 1998 The DRC embassy in Dar es Salaam has officially protested to Tanzanian authorities regarding the shipment of 90 tanks and other military equipment from the port of Dar es Salaam to Uganda.

16 December 1998 The ambassador of the DRC in Kenya, Gabriel Kyungu wa Ku-Mwanza, has said that Kinshasa will only sign a ceasefire which clearly provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops backing rebels who are fighting the government of President Laurent Kabila.

2 February 1999 President Laurent Kabila has lifted the ban imposed on political parties when he came to power in 1997. The requirement for dissolved political parties to seek new approval from the interior minister has, however, sparked controversy within political circles in the DRC.

10 February 1999 The US has urged all parties involved in the DRC conflict to work towards a peaceful settlement that addresses the underlying causes of the dispute. State Department spokesman James Rubin commended Zambian President Frederick Chiluba's efforts to resolve the conflict. Rubin further reiterated the US's full support for the DRC's

territorial integrity and sovereignty, but mentioned that security concerns of the DRC's neighbours had to be addressed by the talks. The committee addressing neighbouring states' security worries includes Zambia, Kenya, Botswana, Mauritius, UN, OAU and SADC.



EQUATORIAL GUINEA

18 November 1998 The leader of the Equatorial Guinean opposition in exile, Severo Moto, has today taken legal action against President Tedoro Obiang Nguemo, accusing him of leading a group that commits acts of state terrorism.



GABON

27 January 1999 The Gabonese government has called on all refugees resident inside its borders and benefiting from humanitarian treatment, to avoid

getting involved in activities contrary to their status, since their stay was conditional to good behaviour whilst in Gabon. Gabon has about 100 Congolese refugees from Congo Brazaville.



SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

10 November 1998 In the Sao Tomé Principe general elections, with the votes of only twenty polling stations still to be counted, the MLSTP-PSD (Sao Tomé Principe Liberation Movement-Social Democratic Party) is set to win an overall majority. According to the latest unofficial figure, the party led by Manuel Pinto da Costa will have 31 out of 55 seats, Carlos Neve's ADI (Independent Democratic Action) will win 16 seats, and Alda Bandeira's PCD (Democratic Convergence Party) eight seats.

13 November 1998 Having won an absolute majority, the MLSTP-PSD stresses that the twin priorities for the new government are to improve living conditions and to rescue the economy.

CONFLICT WATCH

EAST AFRICA



BURUNDI

11 October 1998 Burundian news agency ABP alleges that 'terrorist' groups allied to the National Council for the Defence of Democracy (CNDD) and those allied to the Party for the Liberation of Hutu people (Palipehutu) are given refuge by Tanzania and are armed by Tanzania.

2 November 1998 Six people have been killed in Burundi over the weekend by assailants believed to be Hutu rebels who attacked a settlement for the displaced on the Maramaya Hill. The attack came a week after rebels killed 36 people and wounded 26 others at Nyomaboko, in the neighbouring commune of Kanyosho.

1 December 1998 An unknown number of civilians were killed by rebels in Mutambu and Kabezi communes in Bujumbura Rural Province, western Burundi.

1 December 1998 Dr. Joseph Uhakana estimates that one-fifth of urban dwellers in Burundi are HIV-positive. In addition, a further 45 000 children are AIDS orphans as a result of the death of their parents due to AIDS.

16 February 1999 Burundi MPs taking part in the Arusha peace initiative have asked their Ugandan counterparts to help bring to the negotiating table the armed wing of the FDD because progress has been slow due to the absence of some parties. The architect of the peace negotiations, former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, has not wanted the armed FDD group to attend, fearing the likely departure of Leonard Nyangoma (Nyangoma was fired from the leadership FDD in 1998 by his own armed wing, led by John Bosco Ndyayikengurukiyi). Nyangoma still considers himself leader of the FDD. Eighteen

political parties from Burundi are participating in the negotiations in Arusha.



COMOROS

10 November 1998 Less than 24 hours after a call for unity was made by the new interim President of the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros, Tajiddine Ben Said Massonde, Anjouanese secessionists reiterated that their island's independence was irreversible. The island of Anjouan unilaterally declared itself independent in August 1997.

20 February 1999 Referererring to the Anijouan crisis in the Comoros, the former premier accused the French of being 'highly responsible for the escalation of the crisis.' The former premier was commenting over the French suggestion that the Comoros should accept the rebel demand for each of the islands to be granted independence and become separate states. 'This suggestion was unacceptable and the matter was to be addressed only by all Comoros nationals, whatever their island of origin, including Anjouan islanders,' he said.



DJIBOUTI

18 November 1998 France announced plans to cut its military deployment in Djibouti from 3 200 to 2 500. France has withdrawn its troops from the Central African Republic but maintains military bases in Senegal, Ivory Coast and Gabon.

18 November 1998 A report quoting Djibouti's foreign

ministry announces that Djibouti has severed diplomatic ties with Eritrea after Asmara accused it of backing Ethiopia's war effort.



ERITREA

21 October 1998 Eritrean radio announces that a further 2 200 Eritreans have been expelled from Ethiopia, bringing the total number of Eritreans expelled from Ethiopia to 30 000.

10 November 1998 The Eritrean foreign ministry declares that the OAU Ouagadougou meeting between the 7th and 8th of November to resolve the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea has failed because of Ethiopia's precondition for an unconditional Eritrean withdrawal.

5 February 1999 Eritrea denies bombing the Ethiopian border town of Adigrat. Eritrea claims Ethiopia was making these false allegations to create cause for it to launch a full scale war against Eritrea, since it has deployed over 55 000 troops along a new front in Tsonora (Central-Ethiopian border).

6 February 1999 Eritrea has accused Ethiopia of having launched a large scale attack against Eritrea on the Mereb-Selit front early in the morning.

10 February 1999 It has been reported that Ethiopia has bombed the La-ilai Deder and Adi Qwala villages in western Eritrea, killing 13 and wounding 28.

Eritrean Ambassador to Ethiopia, Girma Aserom, has been given 24 hours to leave Addis Ababa. Ethiopia's action marks a new turn in the unfolding confrontation between the two neighbours. Asmara claims Aserom has been under constant harassment by Ethiopian security and prevented from fulfilling his duties in the past nine months.

13 February 1999 Eritrea has dismissed claims by Ethiopia that 7 000 Eritrean soldiers have been killed during recent clashes along the border. Eritrea claims 22 Ethiopian soldiers had voluntarily surrendered to Eritrean military authorities, bringing to 147 the number of Ethiopian troops under Eritrean control.

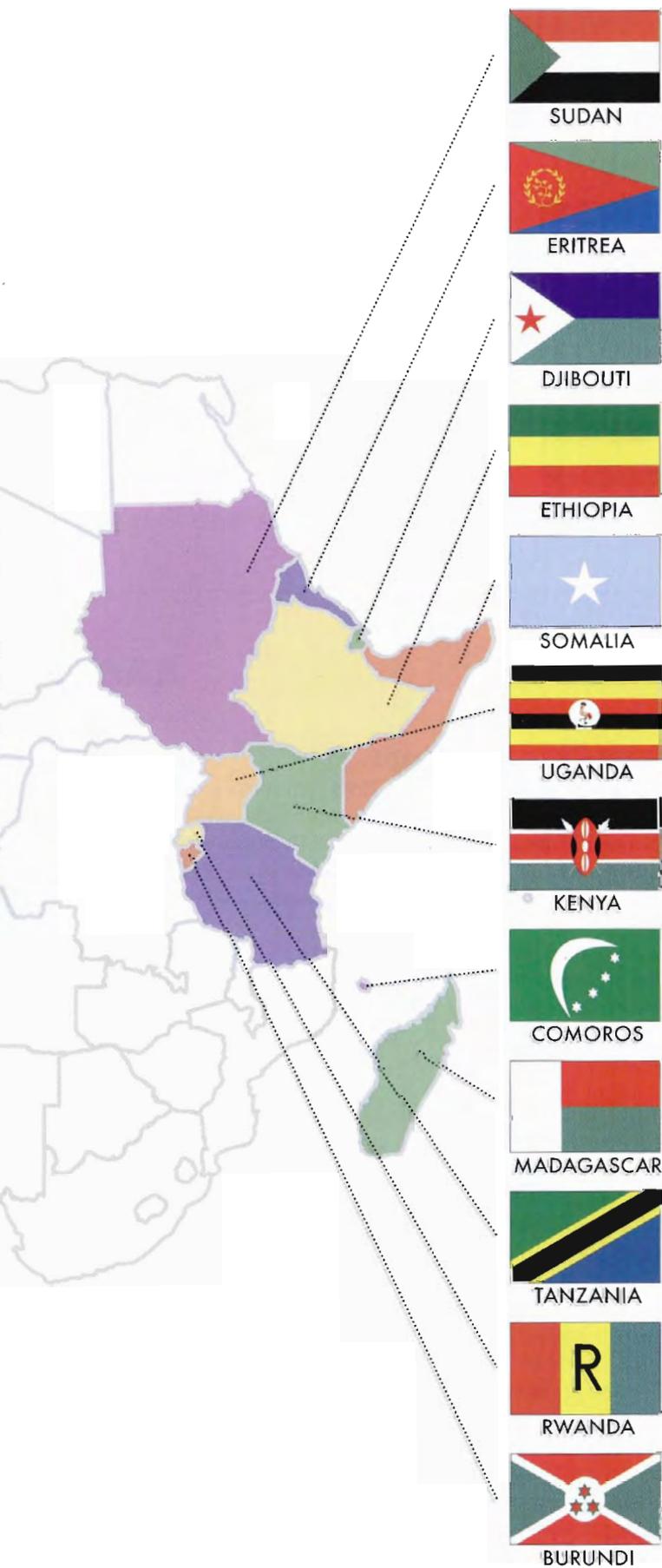
14 February 1999 Eritrea has announced that Ethiopia has been shelling the Burie front (71km west of the port of Assab) for a second day running. On Sunday Ethiopia used helicopters and Antonov bombers to dislodge Eritrean forces deployed there.

16 February 1999 Eritrea has filed a suite against Ethiopia for undiplomatic behaviour towards their resident Ambassador to the OAU, and for breaking into and occupying the ambassador's residence. Eritrea has further indicated that embassy staff in the residence were arrested by Ethiopian security and their whereabouts is unknown.



ETHIOPIA

24 October 1998 Ethiopia says 500 more of its citizens have been expelled from Eritrea, bringing to 28 366 the number expelled since the border dispute between the two countries surfaced six months ago.



9 November 1998 At a news conference held after his return home from the OAU meeting in Ouagadougou to mediate between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Ethiopian Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin says that the meeting proposed that the Eritrean forces must withdraw to the positions occupied before 12th May 1998 and then an OAU peacekeeping force should be deployed in the area. Seyoum said that 'the Ethiopian government accepted the proposal and the clarifications as a solution to the problem and informed the OAU heads of state delegation accordingly.' He added that the Eritrean side had rejected the proposal, and 'thus, the OAU's efforts have failed.'

16 November 1998 Ethiopian radio announces that a further 600 Ethiopians have been forced to leave Eritrea and have returned to Ethiopia.

A further 2 000 Ethiopians have been forcibly expelled from Assab (southeastern Eritrea) by the Eritrean government and repatriated to Ethiopia.

18 November 1998 Ethiopia has formally submitted an appeal to the Common Market for East and Southern Africa to boycott Eritrean ports as transit points, following the seizure of Ethiopian goods by Eritrea at the Eritrean ports of Assab and Massawa. This is in violation of international conventions.

6 February 1999 Ethiopia accuses Eritrea of having launched a full scale attack on Ethiopian troops on the Dadme front. A spokesperson, Salome Tadesse, further claims that Eritrean war planes had last Friday bombed Adigrat near the border post of Zalaambessa.

8 February 1999 Ethiopia confirms that it is engaged in armed combat with Eritrean troops on two fronts: Tsorona, 35km northwest of Zalaambessa, and Badme. Salome Tadesse, an Ethiopian spokesperson, claims Ethiopian forces have captured key military positions during the day's fighting.

Three days after fighting started, Ethiopia claims to have destroyed an Eritrean radar station in the town of Adi Quala 45km out of Asmara. Ethiopian media reported extensively on Ethiopian military successes in the conflict. Opposition and allied parties, religious and civic leaders showed their support for the government of premier Meles Zenawi. The religious communities in Ethiopia have asked their counterparts in Eritrea to persuade their leaders to accept international peace efforts.

10 February 1999 Ethiopia is reported to have bombed the La-ilai Deder and Adi Qwala villages in western Eritrea, killing 13 and wounding 28.

11 February 1999 The UN Security Council (UNSC) has called on Ethiopia and Eritrea to stop fighting and resort to diplomatic efforts to resolve their dispute. The Secretary General's Special Envoy, Mohamed Sahnoun, just returned from a diplomatic mission in that region, has spoken of a colossal military build up by both countries. The UNSC has stressed the observance of safety for civilians and respect for human rights and international humanitarian law.

13 February 1999 Ethiopia has reported killing 7 000 Eritrean forces and destroying two tanks, three BM-21 rocket launchers, ammunition dumps, and fortified warehouses. A government spokesperson says 4 000 Eritrean Troops have been killed on the Badme front and 3 000 on the Tsorona front. Eritrea has not confirmed the Ethiopian claims.



KENYA

2 October 1998 A protest rally has been held in Mombasa by Muslims to protest alleged harassment by the government.

3 October 1998 A rally has been convened to drum up support for a motion of no-confidence in the government. Ugenya MP, James Orengo is the mover of the motion.

4 October 1998 Kenyan police issue a statistical report showing that over the past decade, crimes such as murder, rape and car-hijacking have steadily increased.

5 October 1998 Teachers embark on a strike to force the government to implement the suspended 150-200% salary increases, or to come up with acceptable alternatives. The government claims that it lacks the money to continue paying teachers the salary increases that it had endorsed.

17 October 1998 The ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU) has survived a vote of no-confidence tabled by Ugenya legislator James Orengo. KANU managed to garner 137 votes against 67.

3 February 1999 Three Kenyan MPs, James Orengo (FORD-Kenya), Njehu Gatabaki (Social Democratic Party), David Mwenje (Democratic Party) and a leading conservationist of the Green Belt Movement, John Makanga, have been arrested and charged with incitement to violence. Clashes between riotous university students and police over the controversial allocation of Nairobi's Kakura forest to a housing scheme culminated in the arrests of the four leaders.

19 February 1999 Kenya's former Minister of Finance, Simeon Nyachae, has resigned after a cabinet reshuffle. Nyachae claims his transfer had been prompted by his crusade against corruption and other vices gripping Kenya. He believes his efforts have made some powerful personalities uncomfortable, making his stay in government inadvisable. Other leaders have applauded the Minister's decision, and accused the Government of employing double standards.

20 February 1999 Twelve people were killed, among them seven policemen, following a fierce gun-battle with armed bandits in the Duji's area of North Eastern province, 15km from Garisa Provincial headquarters.



RWANDA

27 October 1998 Twenty-five detainees have started a hunger strike at the Rwandan Tribunal, joining a genocide convict who has refused food for a week.

26 November 1998 The Rwandan head of state, Pasteur Bizimungu, this morning left Kigali for Paris where he will participate in the Franco-African summit. Yesterday, the president held a news conference during which he said that while at the summit he would urge the international community to impose sanctions against Laurent Kabila's DRC.



SOMALIA

15 October 1998 A spokesman for the Islamic court forces based in areas controlled by the

United Somali Congress-Somali National Alliance (USC-SNA) says that mercenary forces launched an unprovoked attack on positions of the Islamic court forces at the former Afgooye checkpoint in south Mogadishu. The spokesman further says that the mercenaries suffered heavy losses and were repulsed by the Islamic forces.

7 November 1998 Bitter fighting took place in Kismaayo, southern Somalia, between the Somali National Front (SNF) and the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM).

14 December 1998 Rival Somali armed factions have been locked in a fierce battle for control of the southern port city of Kismaiyu. Reports indicate that at least 22 people were killed and

35 wounded in the fighting, with both sides using mortars, heavy artillery, machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades. Forces of Mohammed Saeed, popularly known as 'Morgan' of the Majertein clan, who control the city, fell under attack from heavily armed units of the rival Marehan clan, led by General Ahmed Warsame. At least 1 000 men on both sides were involved in the fighting.

3 February 1999 The United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP) has warned that hunger is threatening thousands of people's lives in southern Somalia, unless large quantities of seeds and tools are supplied urgently, it was announced in Dakar, Senegal by Burk Oberie, UNWFP's country director for Somalia. Oberie cited drought, floods and insecurity as having devastated Somalia's southern agricultural region. 25 000 Somalis living in the Bay and Bakool regions have migrated to the western riverine areas in search of water and other forms of assistance.



SUDAN

2 October 1998 Sudan has imposed a blanket ban on relief flights to the south of the country.

The ban came shortly after rebels of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) launched their biggest offensive in eighteen months, attacking an area around the government-held town of Tarit on 16th September.

The official spokesman for the Sudanese armed forces, Lieutenant-General Abd al-Rahman Sir al-Khatim, has underlined that Sudan's armed forces are in full control of the situation in southern Sudan, and that the Ugandan battalion that led the aggression on Sudan had been 'completely destroyed'.

Sudanese President Lieutenant-General Umar Hasan al-Bashir announced that his armed forces have so far destroyed fifteen tanks, seized a large number of different weapons, and inflicted



heavy losses in terms of loss of lives and military equipment on the invading Ugandans and Eritreans, and the remnants of the rebels in the ongoing battles in southern Sudan.

3 October 1998 Sudanese opposition radio claims that the SPLA scored an important victory by destroying a military convoy during September's month-long battle.

9 October 1998 A spokesman for the Sudanese armed forces said that the USA had a direct role in the recent attacks in southern Sudan. He says that US intelligence have been directing the military operations from the Ugandan capital, Kampala.

2 November 1998 President Bashir declares a state of emergency in Darfur and North Kordofan states, in the country's extreme west, in a move that is intended to counter the increasing armed robberies in the two regions.

22 November 1998 Sudanese army and security officers end a three-day campaign to disarm guards of leaders of southern rebel movements, who signed a peace accord with the government and are now living in Khartoum. The guards were allowed to keep arms to protect the leaders of six factions who signed the peace agreement with the government in April 1997, after breaking away from Colonel John Garang's SPLA. However, the arms were misused by the guards, who clashed on several occasions, prompting complaints from the security forces and the press.

23 December 1998 The UN warns that famine could threaten millions of people in southern Sudan again in 1999, unless the government in Khartoum and rebels agree to extend an existing partial ceasefire in the country's civil war.



TANZANIA

18 November 1998 The numbers of refugees fleeing into Tanzania from the war-torn DRC is growing rapidly, according to the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

31 January 1999 Commonwealth Secretary General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, has urged the Tanzanian ruling party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the opposition Civic United Front (CUF) to resolve their political difficulties arising from the disputed 1995 general election results in Zanzibar. CUF claim their candidate was denied election through manipulation of the results. In 1997 the Commonwealth Secretariat tried to mediate and failed. Commonwealth Special Envoy, Moses Anufu, has been back to the island several times to try to diffuse the situation, to no avail.

10 February 1999 The Tanzanian Minister of State Planning and Parastatal sector told the ICPD meeting in The Hague that the refugee problem and the debt burden have hampered implementation of the 1994 Cairo initiative. The Minister, Nassoro Wamchilowa Malocho, said Tanzania's resources were stretched just catering for her own population, let alone more refugees, who are causing enormous environmental damage in the Kagera and Kigoma areas. Tanzania needs international assistance for it to realise its vision 2025 initiative, Malocho said.



UGANDA

11 October 1998 222 civilians have been rescued and 18 Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) rebel camps destroyed in the Ruwenzori mountains (southwestern Uganda), Second Division Commander, Colonel Nakibus Lakara has said.

21 October 1998 The West Nile Bank Front (WBNF) has beheaded the Imam of Mocha Mosque, Sheikh Salim Maga. Mocha Mosque is in Aringa county, Arua district, northwestern Uganda. Sheikh Maga, 70, was beheaded because his son, a former rebel, surrendered to the Ugandan People's Defence Forces (UPDF) recently.

22 October 1998 President Museveni admits that Uganda has more than two battalions of soldiers ready outside the DRC.

He also announced that Uganda was beefing up air-defences against Sudan.

25 November 1998 Speculation in the media is that Uganda has spent up to Ush 55 000 000 000 (US \$40m) on its three-month-old military intervention in the Congo.

President Museveni has held a strategy meeting of the UPDF High Command in an attempt to generate new ideas for the war in the DRC, as well as to map out a new strategy for fighting the 12 year insurgency in parts of northern Uganda.

27 November 1998 Uganda has imported 90 tanks from the Ukraine to bolster its armed forces, that have been fighting on several fronts.

Heavily-armed gunmen, suspected to be rebels of the LRA, raided Soroti government prisons, killing two inmates. The attackers also seriously injured three others before abducting another 65, including 11 prisoners convicted of capital offences. LRA rebels have ambushed two buses at Awii-Anaka, along Karuma-Pakwach Road. Seven people were killed and a large number injured in the conflict.

28 November 1998 The Ministry of Defence has hired Israeli military experts to train the UPDF in the latest military advancements. The five Israelis, including the commander, Colonel Goran, started training the Presidential Protection Unit personnel at Singo Military Training wing in Mubende and Kasenyi in Entebbe.

26 January 1999 A Zambian-based Ugandan opposition leader has urged President Yoweri Museveni to lift the ban on party politics, and allow the citizens to choose their leaders through the ballot box. Dan Okello Ogwang, leader of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), says Museveni's military regime has no justifiable reason to remain in office. Ogwang called on all those fighting the government to stop, so as to remove insecurity as an argument that Museveni can use to perpetuate his stay in office. Museveni came to power in 1986 after his National Resistance Army waged a 5 year war that toppled General Tito Okello, who had deposed Apollo Milton Obote in 1979.

SOUTHERN AFRICA



BOTSWANA

25 January 1999 Two Namibian journalists have been arrested in Botswana, after they tried to interview Namibians who fled into that country following the discovery of a secessionist plot in the Caprivi-Strip. The Southern African Students Union described the arrests as a lack of recognition and appreciation of international laws regarding human rights, particularly for journalists. The Union has also challenged the arrests of two journalists in Zimbabwe and called on the country to show evidence countering the reported story.

5 February 1999 The long standing conflict between Namibia and Botswana over ownership of the disputed Kasikili-Sedudu

island has finally been scheduled for hearing before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) between 15 February and 5 March. The two countries have appointed respective agents to present their pleas to the court. The two had skirmishes over ownership of the island, until they agreed to submit the dispute to the ICJ for a final and binding ruling.

11 February 1999 Botswana announces it has granted political asylum to 15 leading secessionist members of the Caprivi-Strip Liberation Movement seeking secession for the Caprivi-Strip, an area sandwiched between Zambia, Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Namibia. 2 423 people have illegally crossed into Botswana amid efforts by the Namibian Defence Force (NDF) to stop the mass exodus.



LESOTHO

1 October 1998 The Lesotho government has cancelled the Kingdom's 32nd independence anniversary celebration due to the political turmoil that has crippled the country.

2 October 1998 The various political parties of Lesotho have agreed to hold elections in 15 to 18 months time, but opposition political parties have expressed anger at South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for announcing that Prime Minister Pakhalitha Mosisili's government should remain in power.

The Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) has revealed that 18 soldiers were killed and nine injured in the recent disturbances which have beset the mountain kingdom.

11 October 1998 Prime Minister Pakhalitha Mosisili's administration has stopped the broadcast of a speech King Letsie III to the nation. The Royal Palace says that it cannot understand why the King's address was stopped, as the message was one of reconciliation.

15 October 1998 The LDF confirms the arrest of 30 mutineers.

17 October 1998 The opposition parties have expressed concern for the lives of the arrested mutineers, due to the fact that they are being taken to undisclosed places at night for interrogation. They have been denied the right to private consultation with their lawyers and have not been charged after 48 hours in custody.

16 November 1998 The opposition alliance has boycotted the first electoral structure meeting in protest against the arrests of rebel soldiers. They say that they will not attend until they have resolved outstanding security matters with the government and the soldiers are released.



MALAWI

5 February 1999 A South African woman, Fannie Soko Phiri (Big Mummy), married to a

Malawian businessman was gunned down in full view of patrons at a bottle store, allegedly by her unhappy associates in a drug trafficking cartel in Malawi. Phiri allegedly peddled marijuana to US, South African and European markets. A UN Development Framework report released end of 1998 indicated that marijuana is grown on at least 156 000 hectares of land in Malawi.

5 February 1999 The ruling United Democratic Party (UDP) faces a serious challenge from opposition parties over its plans to increase, for the May 18 elections, the number of constituencies in southern Malawi, where it enjoys strong support, from the 177 recognised by the constitution, to 270. Opposition parties have called the move a legal rigging of the elections, since the move will make it a foregone conclusion that the UDP will have a majority in parliament. Donors funding the elections have registered their concerns and are investigating.



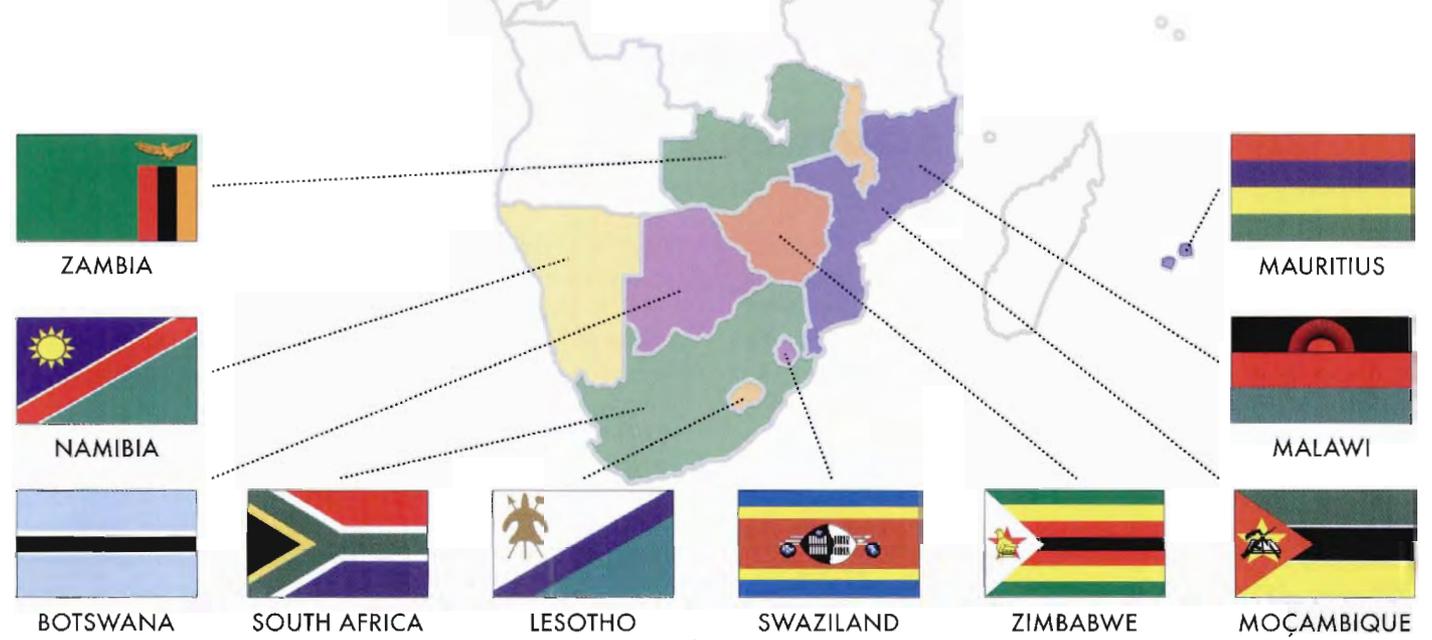
MOÇAMBIQUE

10 October 1998 Four arms caches have been dismantled in Sofala Province's Gorongosa mountains, in an operation involving the Rapid Intervention Police and specialists from the Defence Armed Forces of Moçambique's Engineering Corps.

23 November 1998 The Mozambican police last week uncovered 48 heavy artillery shells, according to police sources. The weapons were uncovered during a recent police operation aimed at dismantling organised crime groups.

27 January 1999 In the Cabo Delgado province a journalist, Fernando Quinova, has been detained for 23 days by police for reporting police brutality.

3 February 1999 A policeman working for the Moçambican presidential guard, Rui Armando, has been arrested on charges of supplying guns to armed robbers. The criminals were arrested when the police, on follow up operations, caught up



with the gang that had committed a crime in the Maputo suburb of Ferroviario. The robbers identified Armando during an identification parade.



NAMIBIA

12 October 1998 The Namibian Defence Force dismisses newspaper reports that a contingent of artillery from South Africa, destined for the army base in Grootfontein, was in transit to the DRC. The weapons consist of 150 Samil troop carriers and 24 G-2 artillery guns.

4 November 1998 The Namibian Constitution's First Amendment Bill, which will enable President Sam Nujoma to run for a third term of office, has been approved by Parliament. The Bill was approved by all 50 members from the ruling South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) who were present, while 15 members of the opposition parties voted against it.

27 November 1998 Namibia's former High Commissioner to Britain, Ben Ulunga, has been suspended from the SWAPO Central Committee after objecting to plans to allow President Sam Nujoma to seek a third term in office.

2 February 1999 One more Namibian soldier, corporal Paulus Nghifewa, 45, has been killed in action in the eastern DRC. The death of the soldier raises the total number of Namibian soldiers killed since deployment in 1998 to 11.

3 February 1999 Well over 2 400 Namibians from the Caprivi-Strip crossed and settled in northern parts of Botswana in 1998, after military authorities in Namibia swept into the Strip following revelations of a plot by people from the strip to secede from Namibia. The Caprivi-Strip is a narrow piece of land sandwiched between Zambia and Angola in the north, Zimbabwe in the east and Botswana in the south. The UNHCR office in Pretoria has put out humanitarian appeals for donations, meanwhile efforts are being made to encourage voluntary return by the people.



SOUTH AFRICA

2 October 1998 The South African Air Force (SAAF) has said it will investigate allegations that South African fighter planes were violating Mozambican air space.

9 October 1998 The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) says Lesotho will be required to pay South Africa for its military intervention to help stave off a mutiny and an attempted coup.

11 October 1998 Plans are underway to establish a new political party to represent the interests of Afrikaners before the 1999 elections so as to ensure 'effective opposition to the African National Congress (ANC)'.

3 November 1998 As the first of 800 South African troops began withdrawing from their peacekeeping duties in Lesotho this week, the SANDF has admitted that it made serious errors when it entered the fray in the mountain kingdom two months ago.

11 November 1998 In his address to the National Council of



Provinces in Cape Town. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki says that South Africa remains a deeply divided nation where most whites remain in the top income bracket while many black households live below the poverty line.

16 November 1998 DRC Foreign Minister Jean-Charles Okoto has accused South Africa of harbouring rebels fighting to overthrow his government, suggesting they enjoy preferential treatment in South Africa.

18 November 1998 South Africa's cabinet approves a R30bn arms acquisition programme. Four marine helicopters are to be imported from Britain, 40 light utility helicopters from Italy, 28 light fighter aircraft from Sweden, and 24 fighter trainer aircraft from British Aerospace. Corvette ships and submarines are also to be supplied by a German consortium.

24 January 1999 The assassination of UDM leader Sifiso Nkabinde in Richmond, KwaZulu Natal, has caused revenge killings that left 11 people dead. The dead and injured are mostly ANC supporters. Nkabinde was a senior ANC leader before defecting to the UDM in 1997, after he was expelled from the ruling party on allegations of being a police informer.

27 January 1999 The resignation from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of its chairperson, Justice Kriegler, has been received with scepticism as people fear it might disrupt preparations for the coming general elections. Kriegler resigned citing differences over the documentation necessary to register to vote and inadequate funding for the commission.

3 February 1999 The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) has called on the SA government to play an active role in ending Zimbabwe's human rights abuses. The commission observes that developments in Zimbabwe have the potential to undermine socio-economic developments in the SADC region. The commission insists that cooperation between the two countries be based on international human rights standards.

6 February 1999 In an opening address to parliament, President Mandela has lashed out at vigilante bombings in Cape Town and warned the perpetrators that the law is going to catch up with them and put them in jail for a long time.

11 February 1999 The South African Institute of Race

Relations says criminals in the country kill as many policeman in one week as their British counterparts do in one year. The research shows that in 1998 223 policeman were killed, bringing the total since 1983 to 2 309. This averages out to 3 policeman murdered every week for 15 years. Executive Director of the institute, John Kane-Berman, says most policeman were killed off duty and that the situation has not changed with the advent of an ANC government.



SWAZILAND

15 October 1998 A Swaziland police spokeswoman has dismissed allegations by political activists that raids on their houses were meant to intimidate opposition political groups prior to the 16 October elections. Forty people have been arrested in Mbabane and Manzini since the security operation began last week.

More than 300 candidates will tomorrow contest 55 of 65 seats in the Swazi House of Assembly, in a general election in which there are no parties. The other 10 members will be appointed by King Mswati III on his return from an investment tour in the Far East. The House of Assembly will elect 10 senators, and the other 20 will be appointed by the King, who will also choose the Prime Minister. The *Times of Swaziland* has advised citizens to ignore calls by the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU) to boycott or disrupt Friday's elections.

20 November 1998 Swazi security forces are out in force in the capital, Mbabane, following a bomb explosion which destroyed the offices of the Deputy Prime Minister, Arthur Khoza. Three weeks ago a blast destroyed a bridge at Matsapha, east of the capital, only hours after the king had passed by.



ZAMBIA

18 October 1998 Fourteen political parties have been deregistered for failing to meet the 'required standards for political parties', according to Michael Carter, National Secretary of the ruling Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD).

18 November 1998 Ten parliamentary members (MPs) from Barotseland, the Western Province of Zambia, have condemned the idea of their region's break-away from Zambia to form one country with the Caprivi-Strip of northeastern Namibia. The MPs from the ruling MMD disassociated themselves from earlier remarks made by Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika, president of the opposition Agenda for Zambia (AZ), which has been advocating for a free and independent Barotseland.

30 November 1998 It is estimated that Zambia now hosts some 167 000 refugees; the majority originate from Angola, while others are from countries such as the DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia.

7 December 1998 The Zambian Government has targeted illegal immigrants and refugees as being among the causes of the high crime wave in Zambia. Information and Broadcasting Minister, Newstead Zamba, says that from now on the issuing of national registration cards will be tightened and closer liaison with the UNHCR would be instituted to ensure refugees are kept



in designated areas.

28 January 1999 The Inter African Network for Human Rights and Development (AFRONET) has advised the government of Zambia to take Angola's latest military threats seriously. AFRONET suspects that there are senior government officials involved in gun running for Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement. AFRONET's executive Director Nganda Mwanajiti has welcomed the government's appeal to the UN and OAU to investigate the matter. Mwanajiti further suggests that other international bodies be involved in the inquiry. Chiluba has written to his counterpart in Angola for more clarity on the issue.

2 February 1999 Over 160 000 Angolan refugees settled in the western and north-western regions have been trying to weaken Zambian efforts to control them through registration, the Zambian Home Affairs Minister, Katele Kalumba has told reporters.

12 February 1999 Zambian President Frederick Chiluba has invited the UN and the OAU to carry out independent investigations into allegations by Angola that Zambia is providing logistical and military support to UNITA. Zambia has invited evidence of Angola's allegations and Luanda has accepted. The OAU and the UN both exonerated Zambia from Luanda's allegations in 1998.



ZIMBABWE

9 November 1998 The Zimbabwe Teachers Association has said recent increases in commodity and transport costs have forced the association to demand a 40% salary increase across the board.

11 November 1998 Industry and commerce is at a standstill in Bulawayo, as the majority of workers stay at home protesting against the 67% increase in fuel prices. The stay-away was called by the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) over the weekend, when its general council decided to embark on a stay-away every Wednesday until government reversed the fuel increase.

18 November 1998 The ZCTU has held another mass job

stay-away, demanding the government offer workers a 20% wage hike.

The ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front's (ZANU-PF) Secretary for Information and Publicity, Nathan Shamyarira, has castigated the ZCTU for taking the road of confrontation by going on strike. Shamyarira says the government is now going to take drastic measures against those propagating violence, looting and destruction of property.

18 November 1998 The Zimbabwean government has ordered the confiscation of 841 white-owned farms. The IMF is reportedly to have reacted immediately to the decision by cancelling a US \$55m loan.

21 November 1998 The ZCTU's Secretary-General, Morgan Tsvangirai, has issued demands for fundamental political and economic changes in President Mugabe's government. Tsvangirai says the union wants a new constitution within the next year, a weakening of Mugabe's powers over parliament, a decrease of his 54-member cabinet to 15 and full disclosure of what Zimbabwe's role in the war in the DRC is costing.

30 November 1998 Zimbabwe's trade unions will go to the courts today to challenge a government ban on strikes announced at the end of last week. The ban, referring specifically to strikes designed to exert political pressure, was imposed in an attempt to break the series of weekly one-day stoppages by

the ZCTU.

4 February 1999 The UK-based international centre against censorship, Article 19, says it will back two Zimbabwean journalists who have appealed against charges of disseminating false news. Editor Mark Chavunduka of the *Sunday Times Standard* and reporter Ray Choto were arrested by the military and the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) authorities in Zimbabwe, after publishing a story alleging that 23 soldiers had been arrested for plotting to overthrow Robert Mugabe's government. Article 19 has promised information on comparative law that will support and challenge the chapters the two are being charged under. In 1998, Article 19 published a report which documented ways in which the Zimbabwe government's virtual monopoly of the mass media allows it to censor information about growing popular opposition.

9 February 1999 The Zimbabwe government has detained three journalists working for the *Zimbabwe Mirror*. The three included one Mozambican journalist, Goncalves Fernando, and two Zimbabweans, Grace Kwinje and Farai Mungazi. Alex Vines of Human Rights Watch indicated the arrests had resulted from an article written by Kwinje in October 1998 about Zimbabwean soldiers' involvement in the DRC. Dr Ibbo Mandaza, the owner of the *Mirror*, has complained that the arrests are intended to intimidate the media. 



WE HAVE MOVED

ACCORD
PRIVATE BAG X018
UMHLANGA ROCKS 4320
KWAZULU-NATAL
SOUTH AFRICA

ACCORD HOUSE
2ND FLOOR
2 GOLF COURSE DRIVE
MOUNT EDGECOMBE
KWAZULU-NATAL
SOUTH AFRICA

TEL +27 (31) 502 3908 FAX +27 (31) 502 4160

EMAIL: info@accord.org.za

WEBSITE: <http://www.accord.org.za>



The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) is a civil society initiative focused on developing uniquely African solutions to the challenges posed by conflict in our region.

We work across the continent, training current and future leaders in conflict management, researching and analysing conflict trends, developing policy options for the resolution of conflicts, and mediating between conflicting parties.

Find out more about ACCORD by visiting our website at <http://www.accord.org.za>



 **ACCORD**
THE AFRICAN CENTRE FOR THE CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES