

Africa Research Bulletin

Political,
Social and
Cultural Series

Volume 37 Number 2

February 1st–29th 2000

Published March 30th 2000

ZIMBABWE

Crushing Poll Defeat

President Robert Mugabe suffered a humiliating defeat in a referendum designed to increase his powers; the assault on his stewardship is later stepped-up by a disenchanted ZANU-PF, which senses that the end may be on the way for the embattled leader.

Voters delivered **President Robert Mugabe** his first electoral defeat in 20 years by rejecting a revised constitution that would have safeguarded his autocratic and increasingly unpopular rule, results showed on February 15th.

The vote of no confidence in Mr. Mugabe's government emboldened the opposition. The Movement for the Democratic Change (MDC), the main opposition group, called for the government to resign the *International Herald Tribune* revealed.

Zimbabwe



(Gemini)

"In a normal democracy, if a government loses a referendum, it loses its power to rule and is no longer legitimate," said **Morgan Tsvangirai**, the opposition group's leader. "But this is not a democracy."

In a state television address, Mr. Mugabe said he would respect the result of the February 13th referendum, which was also seen as a crucial test for this embattled government before general elections in April.

"The government accepts the results and respects the will of the people," he said, and he added that day-to-day affairs of state would continue under the existing constitution.

"Let us all, winners and losers, accept the referendum verdict and start planning our way to the future," Mr. Mugabe said, speaking in an uncharacteristically conciliatory tone.

He said the vote was part of his government's programme to consolidate democracy in Zimbabwe.

Election officials announced final results on February 15th. Fifty-five percent of voters rejected Mr. Mugabe's proposed changes, while 45% voted in favour.

The referendum result clearly showed a split electorate—the 54.7% no vote came mainly from urban areas, while 45.3% of the mainly rural population said yes. In Harare and Bulawayo, Mr. Mugabe suffered a crushing 75% rejection.

The constitutional changes would have allowed Mr. Mugabe to retain most of his powers, rule for two more five-year terms and permit the government to seize land owned by white descendants of British settlers without paying compensation.

The vote was an indication of Mr. Muga-

In this issue ...

Senegal

Time for Change? 13863

Sudan

Riek Machar Resigns 13867

DR Congo

UN Operations 13872

Nigeria

Kaduna Explodes 13875

Sierra Leone

Truth and
Reconciliation 13879

Sport

CAN 2000 13889

Contents

Continental Alignments 13858

Internal Developments 13860

National Security 13869

Military 13882

Overseas Relations 13886

Social and Cultural 13888

Rates 13868

Index 13890

Constitutional Referendum Final Results

Province	Votes Cast	Yes Votes	No Votes
Harare	310,190	78,149	227,171
Bulawayo	120,054	27,737	90,442
Manicaland	109,688	38,993	67,797
Mashonaland Central		75,790	32,877
Mashonaland West		75,251	53,328
Masvingo		61,927	49,658
Matabelaland North		26,913	31,224
Masvingo South		33,606	31,759
Midlands		92,187	70,572

Total voting in support of draft constitution:
587,210

Total voting against the document: 679,754
(55%)

(R. Harare 15/2: BBC Mon.)

be's waning popularity as Zimbabwe faces its worst economic crisis since independence from British colonial rule in 1980.

"This is a 'no' to corruption, unemployment and suffering," said **Eddit Monteiro**, an opposition leader. "It says enough is enough, it's time for democratic change. We want elections tomorrow."

Mr. Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (**ZANU-PF**) party has dominated past elections, winning landslide victories in every poll since independence. It holds all but three seats in the 150-member Parliament.

But Mr. Mugabe, 75, has faced growing criticism at home and from Western nations for his authoritarian rule. Economic hardships worsened sharply after he sent 11,000 troops to support President **Laurent Kabila**, the embattled Congolese president.

The International Monetary Fund (**IMF**) froze aid to Zimbabwe in 1999, citing unexplained military expenses in the Democratic Republic of Congo while government spending on health, education and social services declined.

The registrar-general, **Tobaiwa Mudede**, told a news conference that with results in from all of Zimbabwe's 120 constituencies, the opposition's "no" campaign had won 697,754 votes, or 55% , against 578,210 for the "yes" vote.

Only about 1.3m people voted, but the figure—representing slightly over 20% of the 5m eligible voters—was in line with the average turnout in recent elections.

The Home Affairs minister, **Dumiso Dabengwa**, told state media that the loss was a temporary setback.

The draft constitution, which left Mr.

Mugabe's sweeping executive powers untouched, had clauses allowing the administration to forcibly acquire mostly white-owned commercial farms to re-settle black peasants.

Opponents said this threw property rights and foreign investment into question, while the draft did not meet public calls for extensive reforms to overcome an economic crisis largely laid down to government mismanagement. They said it was also designed to cement Mr. Mugabe's hold on power.

Opposition supporters celebrated on the streets of Harare, marching, singing and shouting slogans that they were ready to take on Mugabe's ruling ZANU-PF movement in the April elections. Some carried placards proclaiming "No to Mugabe. No to ZANU-PF." (*International Herald Tribune* 16/12)

Watershed For Mugabe

The *Zimbabwe Independent* newspaper online felt the decisive defeat represented a watershed in the career of the country's authoritarian leader. Mugabe's drubbing shook the foundations of the political establishment, which had confidently assumed the draft would be nodded through.

Analysts said the referendum's outcome augured well for the country's nascent democracy, adding that the constitutional commission, comprising ministers and ruling party MP's, lawyers, church leaders, and academics, had produced a flawed document. But what angered most people was the way in which their submissions were tailored to enable Mugabe to serve out two more terms (. . .)

Professor **Welshman Ncube**, spokesman for the National Constitutional Assembly (**NCA**) which marshalled the "No" vote, said the civic group's victory was an unequivocal rebuke to Mugabe and the system he has established.

"The 'No' vote essentially means that people have taken control of their destiny," Ncube said.

"They would no longer allow self-serving politicians and their hangers-on to impose their will on them," he said. (. . .)

Analysts said while the "No" vote exposed Zanu PF's shortcomings, it did not necessarily mean that the opposition would upstage the ruling party during the forthcoming elections because the situation was fluid. What the referendum did, commentators said, was to show that Mugabe was not invincible and that gave his opponents a huge psychological victory.

Zimbabwe Morgan Tsvangirai

The leader of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (**MDC**) was given an unexpected opening by President Mugabe's defeat in the referendum. The *Daily Telegraph* (London), however feels that his first real test will be his ability to press the political advantage.

He will need to maintain a semblance of unity in the querulous ranks of the opposition and control his hot-headed supporters on the streets to avoid giving Mr. Mugabe an excuse to invoke security powers.

As secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Mr. Tsvangirai, 48, draws his strength from his 700,000 union members. He may yet follow in the proud African tradition of trade union leaders who become presidents.

Mr. Tsvangirai led the union federation for more than a decade, but he emerged as a political force only in December 1997, when he called a general strike to protest against sharp tax increases. Two months later riots over food prices left at least eight people dead.

Unlike other Zimbabwean leaders who have emerged from time to time in the past two decades, Mr. Tsvangirai has muscle on the streets.

Plain-speaking to the point of brusqueness, he was born of peasant stock and was the first of nine children. He left school after GCE O Levels to help support his siblings.

He joined the ruling Zanu-PF and became political commissioner at the mine where he worked. But as he climbed the trade union ladder he abandoned his political role and eventually led the congress away from the one-party embrace of Zanu-PF.

In 1989 he was imprisoned for six weeks on charges of being a South African spy. In 1997 he was beaten up and nearly thrown out of the window of his office by unknown assailants presumed to be government thugs.

He is supported by Zimbabwe's business community, which sees him as the last hope for the country. Some industrialists readily paid workers taking part in one-day strikes called by the congress.

The government misses no opportunity to denounce him as a "puppet" of white businessmen.

(*Daily Telegraph* 16/2)

"Nobody should rush to make conclusions because the rural electorate did not vote in large numbers as compared to the urban voters," Ncube said.

"There are a lot of people who did not vote and that could change the outcome if they turn out in April," he said. However, all analysts agreed that the events of the previous week saw a sea change in Zimbabwean politics and things would never be quite the same again. (*Zimbabwe Independent* online 18/2)

A

B

C

The *South African Times* was of the opinion that perhaps the only surprise about the result of the February 12th referendum in Zimbabwe was that anyone was surprised at all; the signs of discontent were there all the time.

The people of Zimbabwe have now taken the first step towards liberating themselves from two decades of tyranny, and their rejection of Robert Mugabe's draft constitution indicates which way the wind might blow in April's parliamentary elections. (. . .)

But with their huge boycott of the referendum, and the overall rejection of the draft constitution by those who took the trouble to vote, Zimbabweans made it plain that they will no longer tolerate despotism and ineptitude.

That is why it will always be necessary, when sending aid to that country, to make clear the distinction between rescuing Zimbabwe from economic ruination and propping up a failed and corrupt political elite. (*South African Times* 23/2)

Tsvangirai's Task

The *Financial Times* (London) agreed that it was too soon to celebrate victory. Only when Zimbabwe successfully breaks its political mould, in which parties have been based on ethnic allegiances rather than alternative politics, will democracy take root.

The run up to parliamentary elections, due to take place in April, provides that opportunity. It may prove a much tougher challenge, however, than winning the referendum.

Mr. Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the Movement for Democratic Change, had plenty of ammunition with which to attack Mr. Mugabe. The economy is in crisis, the government is defaulting on payments to creditors, and its military intervention in Congo has proved to be costly and unpopular.

But in the election campaign the opposition leader has to come up with answers. Putting the economy right will be a painful process, and the land issue will not go away, for it remains at the heart of the country's politics. Mr. Mugabe's crude approach should not conceal the fact that the current allocation is inequitable, and a new properly funded and managed land redistribution programme must get underway.

Nor should the resilience of the ruling Zanu-PF party be underestimated. Many disillusioned supporters declined to vote but have not left the party, which holds all but three seats in the 150-seat parliament. This

stay-away is as much of an indictment of Mr. Mugabe as the number who voted No.

If Mr. Tsvangirai is to win the election, he must win them over, and bridge ethnic divides. His job will be much easier if Mr. Mugabe insists on staying in office until his term expires in 2002. If the 75-year-old president were wise, he would identify his successor as a matter of urgency. He has already stayed on much too long. (*Financial Times* 16/2)

ZANU-PF Piles On Pressure

In a television interview to mark his 76th birthday on February 21st, President Mugabe hinted that he had decided not to run for re-election when his term expires, said *The Guardian* (London). He said, "I do not want to wait to retire until I am back on all fours, in my second childhood," "I want to have the energy to write my memoirs and do many things, so there will come a time when it will be appropriate to retire."

He did not state definitively that he will not run for re-election, but this is the closest he has come to doing so. He has been in power since 1980 and, under the Lancaster House constitution, can run four an unlimited number of terms.

Mr. Mugabe declared his retirement plans at a meeting of the 220-member central committee of his Zanu-PF party on February 18th. The emergency meeting was to plan strategy for the parliamentary election, due in mid-April, after the failure of the government's constitutional referendum.

Mr. Mugabe attacked the party leadership for letting him down and being "caught flat-footed" in the referendum campaign. But he was taken aback when several members stood up and criticised him for the referendum's rejection and the party's unpopularity, according to sources present.

Widespread corruption and economic mismanagement by Mr. Mugabe's cabinet had caused inflation of 60%, unemployment of 50% and fuel shortages, said **Dzikamay Mavaire**, an MP from Masvingo province, who called on him to resign from the presidency of both the country and the party.

Mr. Mavaire was suspended from party leadership posts two years ago for urging Mr. Mugabe to step down. But this time he was backed by other party leaders, including **Irene Zindi** and **Charles Ndlovu**. They blamed Mr. Mugabe for damaging the party, calling on him to step down and appoint a new cabinet free from the taint of corruption charges.

Mr. Mugabe "wriggled", said one source, but refused to say when he would step down. He said a cabinet would be chosen

after the new parliament was elected in April, though he had not yet set a poll date.

Mr. Mugabe wrested to keep control of his party by condemning primary elections—in which many of his candidates have been opposed—as a "source of unhealthy ructions". He said "decisive primary election" would no longer determine candidates.

There had been false reports that the president would resign as party head last December, and then again on his birthday. But the increasing challenge he faces from within his party appears to have convinced him not to run again.

Meanwhile, the government on February 23rd went on the offensive against the small independent press. Charges of criminal defamation were pressed against **Clive Wilson**, publisher of the Sunday newspaper the *Standard*, its editor, **Andrew Moyse**, and a reporter, **Chengetai Ziyauya**.

The three were charged with publishing a false report that the draft constitution had been printed in September 1999, long before the public hearing on it was completed.

In 1999, two *Standard* employees were illegally detained and, according to convincing evidence, tortured. (*The Guardian* 24/2)

Mugabe Takes On Energy Ministry

According to *PANA* on February 28th, President Mugabe has taken direct control of the troubled Energy Ministry after the minister resigned over a fuel crisis which has paralysed the transport industry and much of business in Zimbabwe. **Enos Chikowore** resigned on February 26th, admitting he had failed to solve the country's crippling three months old fuel shortage. The shortages were partly caused by corruption at a state-owned oil company and Zimbabwe's lack of foreign currency to import the commodity in sufficient quantities. (*See Economic Series p. 14209*)

"I have accepted his (Chikowore's) resignation and the ministry will for now work in our (president's) office. We will continue to work on the fuel situation and try to rectify the problem," Mugabe said on February 27th.

He said he would put together a team of experts to find a permanent solution to the fuel crisis, which has forced some businesses to close down.

"My view is that we should not just address the problem in an ad hoc way. What we must ensure is that we have adequate fuel for a long period and on a permanent basis. We are now handling that situation and putting together a solid committee that is alert and quick in moving," he added. (*PANA* 28/2) **MDC launched p. 13833C**

Continental Alignments

CONFERENCES

COMMONWEALTH-FRANCOPHONE

Managing Pluralism

The Commonwealth and the International Organisation of La Francophonie (OIF) organised a three-day conference in Yaounde (Cameroon) on the theme of “Democracy in Pluralistic Societies”.

The event brought together more than 30 experts from the organiser's member countries, with resource persons drawn principally from sub-Saharan Africa. Lectures were given on the characteristics of pluralistic societies, methods of governance, institutional structures and the creation of civil societies.

Opening the conference, **Chief Emeka Anyaoku**, the Commonwealth's outgoing Secretary-General, noted that both La francophonie and the Commonwealth were aware of how marginalisation and exclusion in African societies had become a consequence of divisive pluralism. Anyaoku prescribed an ‘open-door policy’, where there is a willingness to welcome all that is true, good, and useful, no matter where it comes from, for the benefit of all.

While Chief Anyaoku noted that the management of ethnic, cultural and religious differences rests on democracy, he also added that democracy required the active and positive participation of a nation's entire political forces.

He noted that since the end of the Cold War, conflicts were still brought about by the emergence of democracy and the quest for a respect of the fundamental freedoms in pluralistic societies. He said: “For some years now, we have witnessed civil war, secessions, the partitioning of countries, ethnic conflicts and inter-tribal wars.” He reiterated that the management of such conflicts rests on mutual understanding through a democracy of appeasement.

This conference is a follow up to the UNESCO Symposium on ways of manag-

ing diversity and encouraging constructive pluralism.

According to the experts, Africa urgently needs to meet the challenges of democracy and undertake the reorganisation of the continent's economics and politics, if it wants to compete with the economies of the world.

Agreed resolutions were to be presented at the forthcoming Bamako conference (in October), first to the ministers of foreign affairs and then to the Commonwealth and La Francophonie heads of states, for adoption and implementation.

The resolutions include financial support from state governments for major national political parties to prevent political parties from being susceptible to manipulation from individuals and interest groups, and to give all parties equal opportunities. It was also agreed that the composition of security services and law and order bodies should reflect society's diversity and that the military and police forces should receive effective “pluralism sensitive” training.

African governments were also urged to draw up educational curricula that recognise and respect diversity and promote inclusiveness.

The legislatures in African counties were called on to pass legislation that rose above ethnic, religious and cultural differences.

Africa Analysis commented that although the strong Cameroonian participation at Yaounde meant that the closed-door discussions were less free and frank than might have been hoped, there were some interesting public utterances. Chief Anyaoku invited the OIF to join hands in combatting military rule. But although the OIF issued a formal condemnation of the military coup in **Cote d'Ivoire**, it is still unwilling to go as far as Anyaoku.

Still, **President Paul Biya** uttered what could be seen as a low-key *mea culpa* for the hiccoughs along Cameroon's rocky road to democracy away from what he accepted had been “authoritarian rule”, and committed himself to the principles of democracy and human rights embodied in the Commonwealth's Harare Declaration

of 1991 (four years before Cameroon's admission).

Indeed, the mere fact that the Yaounde colloquium took place at all, reflects OIF secretary-general **Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's** efforts to bring his group more into line with the Commonwealth as a political organisation, and less as a purely language-based body.

But the human rights watchdog decided on at the Hanoi summit in 1997, may still take some time to see the light of day, concluded *Africa Analysis*. There is little enthusiasm for it in Paris, and less in some francophone countries, which already take fright when human rights are mentioned. (WA 21-27/2, AA 25/2) **Durban Summit p. 13775, Francophonie summit in Moncton pp. 13678, 13707**

IN BRIEF

AMU: **Tunisian** President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali has appealed to his colleagues to strengthen the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) in a message to commemorate the 11th anniversary of the union, comprising **Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Libya and Mauritania**.

Set up under the Marrakech Treaty, the union's activities have stood still for five years mainly due to a dispute between Rabat and Algiers over **Western Sahara**, a former Spanish colony controlled by Morocco after **Spain** left in 1974. It is also claimed by the **Polisario Front**, supported by **Algeria**.

In his message, Ben Ali reaffirmed his “absolute resolve” to continue joint efforts with the leaders of members countries to promote the Maghreb project which, according to him, is “a strategic choice and an historical aspiration” by the peoples of the sub-region.

He added that he was “convinced that the current difficulties, no matter how serious, will be resolved, thanks to the political will which we all have.” (PANA 18/2)

CEEAC: Six heads of state from central Africa attended a summit in **Equatorial Guinea** on February 24th to vote on the adoption of a regional peace and security body.

The summit, an extraordinary meeting of the Economic Community of Central African States (CEEAC), was called to ratify the adoption of a peace and security council in Central Africa (COPAX) and a pact for mutual assistance.

Attending were presidents **Teodoro Obiang Nguema** of Equatorial Guinea, **Miguel Trovada** of Sao Tome and Principe, **Ange-Felix Patasse** of the Central African Republic, **Denis Sassou-Nguesso** of Congo, **Omar Bongo** of Gabon and **Paul Biya** of Cameroon.

The rest of the CEEAC's 11 members sent ministers, except for **Rwanda**, which was not represented. (AFP 24/2)

SADC: Member states of the Southern African

Development Community (SADC) are to introduce in January 2001 a centralized immigration data base similar to the European Schengen system.

The date was set at the end of a two-day Unvisa conference held in Ezulwini, 17km outside Mbabane, the Swazi capital. Participants at the meeting stressed the need to train immigration, customs and health personnel and other stakeholders who will be involved in processing the Unvisa system. There is also a need to have an updated computerized system linking all entry points in the SADC region for exchanging information, including machine-readable passport devices.

According to a final communique, the participants recommended the setting up of a special SADC desk at entry points in member countries and a monitoring committee on Unvisa to follow up on its implementation.

No fee would be levied for issuing the Unvisa. (PANA 10/12)

POLITICAL RELATIONS

KENYA-HORN

Border Alert

Violent clashes seal section of Somali border and Ethiopian bandits raid.

The *East African Standard* (Kenya) reported on February 18th that the Kenyan government had stepped up security along the Kenya-Somali border following intensified clan fighting in Doble, Somalia. Northeastern Provincial Commissioner Maurice in Liboi town (eastern Kenya). He said the government had sealed its border from Diis in Wajir to Hulugho with heavily-armed security personnel to closely monitor events in Somalia.

Doble was the scene of a violent clash mid-month between militia of Awlyahan and Muhammad Zuberi sub clans of the bigger Ogaden clans. The fighting over control of the town claimed the lives of over 30 militiamen.

Over the weekend of February 12–13th 21 Awlyahan and six Muhammad Zuberi militiamen were killed in renewed fighting in Doble town and tension was reportedly high.

The fighting subsided but the Awlyahan regrouping for a counter offensive while the Muhammad Zuberi were strengthening their grip on the town.

Meanwhile The *Daily Nation* reported on February 26th that 80 people—45 of them

Kenyans, including five police reservists—were killed when heavily armed Merrile bandits from Ethiopia descended on Turkana homesteads in the Kokuro area in Marsabit District on February 23rd. Security forces killed 35 of the raiders.

The Turkana district commissioner Peter Mooke said the border area was calm, saying no hostilities had been reported in the previous 48 hours.

The minister in charge of security, Mr. Marsden Madoka, confirmed the incident. He promised that security would be enhanced.

Hostility between the Turkana and the Merille started last October when armed Turkanas attacked Merrile herdsman grazing in Kenya and stole more than 400 head of cattle. (BBC News Africa website 3/2, D Nat 26/2, *East African Standard* website 18/2: BBC Mon.) **High security at Somalia border p. 13789**

MOZAMBIQUE

Regional Flood Disaster

The flooding in southern Africa, which has left thousands dead and destroyed half-a-million homes, is the worst in living memory. While Mozambique has borne the brunt of the disaster, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana have all been badly hit. South Africa provided the backbone of the rescue efforts as the international community was sluggish in reacting. Fears of disease mount.

Rivers across the region burst their banks during the week of February 21st as Cyclone Eline swept in, bringing new rains to lands already waterlogged by more than two weeks of storms.

On March 3rd, the Mozambican government made an urgent appeal for body bags to wrap up the dead, expected to be in the thousands once the flood waters recede from the devastated region of southern Mozambique.

President **Joaquim Chissano** has been vocal in his criticism of the speed of the

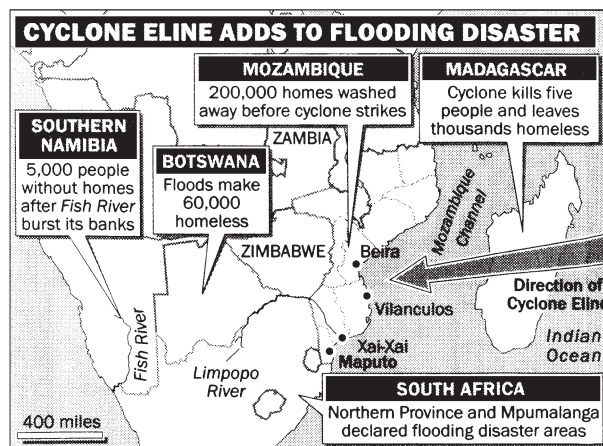
Western response. Helicopters from neighbouring South Africa provided the backbone of the rescue efforts in the first phase with crews labouring tirelessly to pull people from the water, trees and roofs. Foreign Minister **Leonardo Simao** was also critical: "The aid was slow to come. We had our first floods on February 6th. Our first appeal for international aid was on February 10th. Only now is aid coming in its visible form. If the response had been quicker, I believe that more lives could have been saved", *The Observer* (UK) reported him as saying in its March 5th issue.

At the end of February a few South African helicopters were continuing to pluck hundreds of people from flooded towns and villages in Gaza province along the Limpopo River, less than an hour's flight from the capital, Maputo. But there was growing concern about the fate of entire towns near the badly flooded Save river further north, and the United Nations (UN) predicted that a new wave of floods would hit the region within days.

At least 50,000 people were unaccounted for in towns and villages along the Save river valley. The towns of Massangena and Zinavane were already flooded before further floods on February 26th–27th.

Save the Children was working with 10,000 survivors at the mouth of Save river. Jean-Jacques Graisse, the World Food Programme (WFP) director of operations, warned that the situation for thousands of people was worsening, saying they "increasingly run the risk of illness and starvation if humanitarian assistance is not immediately expanded".

On March 3rd, Maputo was paralysed by a city-wide power-cut as international aid



(TT 22/2)

agencies struggled to erect the semblance of a relief operation to help the one million people affected by the floods. Aid officials feared that the massive international effort that has finally got underway would be too late to save many of the thousands still clinging to trees. The WFP predicts that the country will be dependent on food aid for six months. But it could take years for Mozambique to recover completely, officials said.

Situation Elsewhere in the Region

South Africa is now bracing for a massive influx of refugees from both Zimbabwe and Mozambique as it continues to mop up after its own flood damage.

Police said families had been forced to keep corpses in their homes for several days because access routes to mortuaries and hospitals had been cut off by the floodwaters. The government has donated 15m rand (\$2.4m) to the region for flood relief.

Meanwhile, Botswana's President Festus Mogae appealed for international aid during a visit to the North-East District, lashed by the remnants of the cyclone. More than 10,000 houses had collapsed in February and 34,000 were in desperate need of help.

In Zimbabwe, it was estimated at the end of February that 250,000 had been left homeless across the country. Government critics say relief efforts have been severely hampered because a third of the army and much of its equipment is currently deployed in the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo. The disaster, which is

bound to put pressure on embattled President Robert Mugabe, spells further misery for a population already faced with record rates of unemployment and inflation.

Most of the 24 serviceable air force helicopters are on military duty in the DR Congo. *The Times* (UK) pointed out that President Mugabe and his aides had spent three days at the end of the month touring flood-stricken regions in two helicopters, apparently oblivious of the desperate need for more air transport in rescue operations both at home and in Mozambique. (BBC Online 29/2, TT 1/3)

Bad Neighbours?

Although there has been much criticism of the West's slowness to react, *The Times* (UK) pointed out that the question no-one was asking was where was African solidarity to be found?

What is to be made of the Organisation of African Unity's contribution, a mere £20,000? Why, for example, should **Chief Anyaoku**, the **Commonwealth** Secretary-General, appeal—from Lagos—for Britain to send helicopters when **Nigeria** has not committed even one of its dozen Super-pumas? The aircraft of many African countries are, it is true, unsuitable, unair-worthy, without pilots trained in search-and-rescue, or too busy employed in other people's wars, but when every helicopter counts, those that do exist—in **Kenya**, which has a dozen Pumas, in **Zambia**, which has 12 Mi8s, and elsewhere—should have been put on offer without waiting to be asked.

There are exceptions to this callous indifference. Tiny, poor Malawi has sent Mozambique two of the only three helicopters it possesses. Botswana, despite its own disastrous floods, is sending Mozambique and Zimbabwe \$4.8m worth of fuel to keep mercy missions flying. They rebuke, by example, the selfishness of African nations in the face of their neighbours' needs. Even South Africa has been haggling over who will pay for its rescue-effort. Western governments should write the cheque—and try to hire as many of South Africa's large military and commercial helicopter fleet as they can, *The Times* concludes. (TT 1/3)

IN BRIEF

Guinea-Liberia: Liberia has re-opened its border with neighbouring Guinea. A foreign ministry statement issued in Monrovia on February 10th said the decision was "a result of improved security conditions" along the border with Guinea. (PANA 10, 22/2)

Sudan-Uganda: Ugandan President **Yoweri Museveni** on February 1st threw cold water over a rapprochement deal he signed with Nairobi in December with his Sudanese counterpart **Omar al-Bashir** (p. 13822).

Museveni told a news conference he had no faith in the agreement and described himself as a "doubting Thomas waiting to be convinced".

"We are still in the agreement, but we are not satisfied with the implementation." Mr. Museveni said that Sudan had not returned all the kidnapped children nor disarmed, disbanded and relocated all bandits operating against Uganda from Sudan, as they had promised under the agreement. (AFP 1/2)

Internal Developments

GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS

GUINEA

Major Reshuffle

President Lansana Conte dismissed several ministers at the end of January.

These included **Ibrahima Kassory Fofana**, Finance Minister, and **Facinet Fofana**, Mines and Geology Minister,

reported *Marches Tropicaux*. Their dismissal followed the announcement of disappointing economic results for 1999. Fofana was replaced by **Cheikh Amadou Camara**, director of the office of the Prime Minister **Lamine Sidime** and the second by his own main adviser, **Ibrahima Soumah**.

The Communications Minister and government spokesman **Alpha Ibrahima Mongo Diallo**, was replaced by Guinea's ambassador to China, **Mamadi Conde**, and the Minister of Tourism and the Environment, **Kozo Zoumanigui** by **Mrs Kouba Diakite**. She had held the Youth and Sport port-

folio and was replaced by **Abdel Kader Sangare**, previously adviser to the Ministry of the Administration of the Territory and Decentralisation. Finally, the Minister of Trade, Industry and Finance, **Madikaba Camara** hands his portfolio to **Mrs Hadja Mariama Deo Balde**, President Conte's adviser. (*Marches Tropicaux* 4/2) **Presidential term to be extended?** p. 13581A

GUINEA BISSAU

New Government Formed

The first cabinet of Prime Minister Caetano N'Tchama includes members of the ruling PRS, opposition elements and independents; however the PAIGC, the former ruling party is not involved.

Caetano N'Tchama was invested as

A

B

C

Prime Minister on February 19th in Bissau, *AFP* revealed. Third-in-command in the Social Renewal Party (PRS) that won the elections. Caetano N'Tchama, 38, is a jurist by training. He was Minister of Administration in the outgoing government of national unity after heading the higher inspectorate on corruption. During the ceremony the new President, Kumba Yala, said that the new government "will mark a difference that will be felt both by Bissau-Guineans but also by our neighbours, Senegal, Guinea-Conakry and the Gambia, with whom it will struggle to install a climate of stability". He spoke of a climate "of tolerance and reconciliation but warned, "I will not tolerate corruption and negligence and I will be very firm against these evils which have become a gangrene in our society".

Mr. N'Tchama said he would promote health, restructure the education system and relaunch the economic sector. On February 19th he announced the composition of his "enlarged" government which brings together PRS deputies and opposition ones. It has 13 ministers and 9 secretaries of state and includes members of former opposition parties who supported President Kumba Yala in the second round of the presidential poll as well as independents.

The former ruling party, the African party of the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) preferred to keep its distance and will remain in opposition.

The position of deputy prime minister with responsibility for Economic and Social Reconstruction was created and went to **Faustino Fadut Imbali**, who came third in the presidential elections with 8.2%.

The Portuguese paper *Público* reported that the second-in-command of the military junta which ousted President **Joao Bernardo, Nino Vieira, Col. Verissimo Correia Seabra**—right-hand man to military leader Brig Ansumane Mane—was appointed as Defence Minister in the new government. Correia Seabra, who is armed forces chief of general staff, is the main link between the military junta and the new regime.

Helder Vaz Lopes, Bafata leader, is State Minister and for Economy and Regional Development.

Antonio Artur Sanha, secretary-general of the PRS is Internal Administration Minister. **Yaia Djalo**, independent, is the minister for Foreign Affairs and the Communities. **Purna Bia** (PRS) is Finance Minister. **Antonieta Rosa Gomes**, leader of the Guinean Civic Forum and also a presidential candidate, is Justice Minister. **Joao**

Jose Silva Monteiro, independent, is Minister for Education, Science and Technology. **Antonio Bamba** (Bafata) is Health Minister.

Iancuba Indjai, independent, is Minister for Solidarity, the reintegration of former fighters and the fight against poverty.

The full government list was published on the *PANA* website on February 22nd as follows:

Head of State: President Kumba Yala

Prime Minister: Caetano N'Tchama

Deputy PM in charge of Economic and Social Reconstruction: Faustino Fadut Imbali

Ministers

Defence and Freedom Fighters: Lt-Col. Verissimo Correia Seabra

Internal Administration: Antonio Artur Sanha

Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation: Yaia Djalo

Finance: Purna Bia

Economy: Helder Vaz Lopes

Justice: Antonieta Rosa Gomes

Education, Science and Technology: Joao

Jose Silva Monteiro

Social Infrastructure: Carlito Barai

Agriculture and Forestry: Alamara Niasse

Natural Resources and the Environment: Francisco Jose Fernando Junior

Administration and Labour: Dauda Sow

Secretaries of State

In charge of Fisheries: Augusto Paquena

In the President's Office and in charge of Parliamentary Affairs: Pedro da Costa

Planning and Budget: Flerentino Mendes

Pereira

International Cooperation and Regional Integration: Rui Barai

Employment: Filomena Mascarenhas Tipote

Youth and Sport: Joaquim Balde

Transportation and Communication: Fernando Jorge Monteiro Silva Vaz

Commerce: Boubacar Rachid Djalo

Tourism: Antonio Cherif Embalo

(*AFP* 19/2, *Público* website 19/2, *PANA* 22/2; *BBC Mon.*) **Kumba Yala wins p. 13828B**

MALAWI

President Dissolves Cabinet

Bakili Muluzi dismissed his cabinet amid allegations of corruption among government leaders; but the new team was hardly more welcome as it is too costly to maintain a large entourage.

President Bakili Muluzi dismissed his nine-month-old cabinet on February 27th in a surprise development that analysts attributed to pressure from donors and his ruling United Democratic Front (UDF) party, following rampant reports of grand corruption in high places, claimed *PANA*.

No details about the dismissal were given but a state house source, privy to the move told *PANA* that Muluzi had caved in to pressure, demanding that he deal with corrupt leaders. Speaking on condition of anonymity, the source observed that the last straw was the current probe by the Anti-Corruption Bureau into the role former Finance Minister **Cassim Chilumpha**, played in the suspicious awarding of a pre-shipment contract to a **British** firm, *Intertek Testing Services* instead of the **Swiss** *Societe Generale de Surveillance* (SGS) as recommended by an assessment committee.

Muluzi held an emergency meeting on February 24th to discuss the controversy rocking his government. The source said the heated meeting turned acrimonious, with one camp advising the president that his retention of Chilumpha in the cabinet did not augur well with his promise not to shield any of his ministers caught in corruption.

The other camp, however, was of the view that citizens should be content with Chilumpha's denial of any wrong-doing in the pre-shipment affair.

On March 2nd, *PANA* reported that the new 33-member cabinet appointed by Muluzi was heavily criticised for being "too big, non-representative and regionalistic".

In the new cabinet, 21 ministers are from the south, a stronghold of the ruling UDF, as opposed to nine from the stronghold of the opposition Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in the centre and only three from the north, where the **Alliance for Democracy** enjoys more support.

According to the political secretary for the opposition alliance of MCP and Alliance for Democracy, **Heatherwick Ntaba**, Muluzi had clearly ignored the regional tensions brought into the political scene by the last elections.

"The president has shown that he is regionalistic. Does he want to say the south has the majority of wisdom?" he quipped. Ntaba said the cabinet was also too big for an economy of Malawi's size as ministerial positions went with hefty salaries, perks and allowances.

The executive director of the Association for Progressive Women, **Reen Kachere**, agreed with Ntaba's criticisms, saying Muluzi was not sensitive to the needs of the country. She had appealed to Muluzi to consider increasing the number of women ministers from four but her pleas fell on deaf ears when the new list was announced. She said the president had

therefore shown disregard to women. The four women in the old cabinet, two of them deputy ministers, were however, retained.

A human rights activist **Shyley Kondowe**, who heads the Lilongwe-based Malawi Institute for Democratic and Economic Affairs described the new cabinet as a joke.

“We were expecting Muluzi to consider the status of the economy and reduce the cabinet and try to focus on what the country really needs economically,” he said. (PANA 27/2, 2/3) **Political intimidation?** p. 13830C

MALI

Prime Minister Resigns

A new government is announced as potential presidential candidates start to emerge when it is learned that President Konare will not be seeking a fresh mandate.

BBC Online reported on February 14th that the Prime Minister, **Ibrahim Boubacar Keita** had resigned. Local radio said **President Alpha Oumar Konare** had accepted the resignation and paid tribute to Mr. Keita's six-year term of office. Mr. Keita is considered to be a possible successor to President Konare when his tenure expires in 2002.

The Malian media had been calling for Mr. Keita's resignation for several months on the grounds that he hadn't done enough to revitalise the economy. Boubacar Keita was replaced on February 15th by **Mande Sidibe**, 60, economic adviser to President Konare. Mr. Sidibe held senior positions in the IMF for ten years. His main goal will be to re-launch the Malian economy mainly through better management of public companies and resources.

The presidency announced the formation of a new government on February 21st. The team includes fifteen newcomers while six ministers keep their posts, including Foreign Minister **Modibo Sidibe**. Women, seven in all compared with six in the previous team, occupy an important place in the new government, reported AFP.

General Tiecoura Doumbia, President Konare's chief of staff, has been appointed to a key post. Minister of Security and Civil Protection while the Armed Forces Ministry goes to **Soumeylou Boubeye Maiga**, former chief of state security. The new government also contains six members of the Alliance for Democracy for

Mali (**ADEMA**) the ruling party, alongside several members of the moderate opposition grouped within the Convention for the Republic and for Democracy. There is no representative of **PARENA**, ADEMA's main ally within the presidential tendency. In a communique PARENA said it had declined the offer to enter the government “because it was not possible to reach agreement on its place” in the team. “We remain, however, committed members of the majority”, PARENA explained.

The details of the new government as published by PANA are as follows:

Head of State: President Alpha Oumar Konare

Prime Minister, Minister of Integration: Mande Sidibe

Ministers

Rural Development: Ahmed El Madani Diallo

National Supplies, Land Use and Town Planning: Soumalia Cisse

Foreign Affairs; Malians living abroad: Modibo Sidibe

Armed Forces and Former Fighters: Soumeylou Boubeye Maiga

Social Development, Solidarity and Elderly: Mrs Diakite Fatoumata Ndiaye

Education: Moustapha Dicko

Security and Civilian Protection: General Tiecoura Doumbia

Youth and Sports: Adama Kone

Communication: Mrs Ascofare Ouleymatou Tamboura

Women's Advancement, Children and the Family: Mrs Diarra Afoussatou Thiero

Industry, Trade and Transports: Mrs Toure Alima Traore

Territorial Administration and Local Communities: Ousmane Sy

Justice, Keeper of the Seals: Abdoulaye Poudiougou

Health: Mrs Traore Fatoumata Nafo

Economy and Finance: Bakary Kone

Handicrafts and Tourism: Mrs Zakyatou Ouelett Halatine

State-Administered Estates and Land Issues: Mrs Bouare Fily Sissoko

Mining, Energy and Water: Aboubacary Coulibaly

Employment and Vocational Training: Maman Moussa Sissoko

Culture: Pascal Daba Coulibaly

(BBC Online 14/2, AFP 21/2, PANA 22/2)

Limbering Up

General Amadou Toumani Toure, former head of state of Mali during the transition to a democratic regime after the fall of **President Moussa Traore** in 1991, is “preparing himself” for the 2002 presidential election according to the *Nouvel Horizon* daily paper.

Quoting “sources close” to the former head of state the daily said that support groups for him are being set up and that he is the darling both of aid donors and of the

Americans. Gen. Toure enjoys great popularity in Mali. (AFP 16/2) **New political party** p. 13761B]

RWANDA

Prime Minister Resigns

Pierre-Celestin Rwigema resigned on February 28th due to what he termed as “diverse impediments to the accomplishment of his functions”. Rwigema, a Hutu, who has been Prime Minister for the past five years, has recently been subjected to a vast campaign by state-owned media organs over alleged corruption. He had occupied the post since another Hutu, Faustin Twagiramungu, had stepped down.

On two occasions towards the end of 1999, Rwigema had to defend himself in parliament in a motion regarding the alleged embezzlement of a \$500,000 donation from the UNDP for the first education project after the 1994 civil war in Rwanda.

Announcing his resignation in Kigali, he regretted the lack of respect by the state-owned media, which had resorted to “dragging officials into the mud”.

“I am going for a rest and my gesture is a new way of cultivating new manners,” he told reporters. (PANA 28/2) **Ministerial reshuffle** p. 13826C

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

TANZANIA

Amour Denied Third Term

The Zanzibar president will not be allowed to seek a fresh mandate in the 2000 elections; a new Chief Justice is appointed.

The Tanzanian newspaper *The Guardian* website on February 28th reported that lobbyists for unrestricted presidency in **Zanzibar** may be disappointed, but the general public hailed the ruling party's decision on the issue. Sitting in Dodoma on February 26th–27th, the National Executive Committee of the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), resolved to put a dampener on the quest for a constitutional amendment that would allow Zanzibar **President Salmin Amour** to see a third term in office.

Currently the constitutions of Zanzibar and the Union governments restrict presidential terms a person can hold to two of five years each.

In an unusual reaction, even leaders of opposition political parties took off their hats to CCM, appreciating the party's rejection of the proposal to amend the Zanzibar constitution.

The NEC decision, announced in Dodoma on February 26th, brought to an end a major issue that had for some months dominated public discussions in the country and news despatches from Zanzibar. "It is a victory to the people of Zanzibar and the mainland," **John Cheyo**, leader of the opposition United Democratic Party (UDP) described the conclusion made by CCM. Speaking to *The Guardian* in Dar es Salaam, on February 27th Cheyo said: "At last the ruling party has been able to call a spade a spade".

The UDP leader who represents Magu constituency, Zanzibar in Parliament said he was particularly pleased with the CCM decision because it would keep Salmin out of the running for the presidency.

Cheyo said Tanzanians must draw a lesson from this experience as they go down the road to the next elections. The people of Zanzibar and those on the mainland, he said, should never give any party absolute majority in parliament. Giving a party absolute majority means empowering them to meddle with the constitution, he said.

In a statement to the press on February 26th, CCM Secretary General **Philip Mangula** said the issue of the two presidential terms limit for Zanzibar and the mainland emanated from a special resolution of the NEC passed in May 1984 and ratified at the party's general conference in August 1985. The issue of extending presidential terms is debatable, he said, since CCM has got powers to change its policies in consideration of the political and social climate as it may change in the country. (*The Guardian website 28/2: BBC Mon.*)

Chief Justice

President Benjamin Mkapa appointed **Justice Barnabas Samatta**, 59, as Tanzania's new chief justice, replacing **Francis Nyalai** who retired at the end of January. The appointment was effective from February 3rd. Samatta has served the judiciary in several capacities as a State Attorney, Director of Public Prosecution and as a High Court judge. He served in Zimbabwe's fledgling judiciary following the country's independence from Britain in 1980. He returned home to be appointed

Principal Judge of the High Court and later as Justice of the Tanzania Court of Appeal. (*PANA 28/1*) **Treason trial p. 13833A**

UGANDA

Referendum Funding Sought

Political parties and pressure groups are concerned that the government has not allowed equal opportunities in the campaign for the crucial Referendum 2000.

The New Vision reported that the Multiparty National Referendum Committee, a group advocating the return of political pluralism, had issued new demands including a six-month delay in holding the referendum on political systems scheduled for June. The committee chairman, **Nelson Ocheger**, announced the move at a press conference held at their Baumann House office, on February 9th.

Ocheger said the referendum should be held six months after all the sides have received their full funding. He said that so far the Electoral Commission had not released any money to his group. It had only provided them with facilities and utilities.

Meanwhile, as *The East African* reported, donors who had threatened to impose economic sanctions on Uganda over the conduct of the referendum, had met to decide on their next course of action. They too have urged more funding to the multipartyists. More than 10 heads of mission and ambassadors, who formed the Referendum 2000 Group in December 1999 to monitor the process, met officials in early February to discuss the issue of funding.

The British High Commissioner to Uganda, **Mr. Michael Cook**, who chairs the donor group, told *The EastAfrican* that they "felt uneasy" that the Movement Secretariat had easy access to state funds while the opposition had inadequate funds.

The Danish ambassador to Uganda, **Mr. Flemming Bjork Pederson**, added that if the referendum were seriously flawed it would affect the relationship between Uganda and European Union member states. "We may consider economic sanctions against Uganda," Mr. Pederson said.

The donor group pledged to fund the referendum scheduled for June 2000 to the tune of between \$3 and \$4m. The referendum is to decide whether Uganda should revert to a multiparty state or continue being governed under a "no-party" Movement system.

Mr. Cook said: "We are not happy that the important exercise of civic education we are supporting has not yet helped the people who are going to vote. It is disappointing that people are not yet aware what the referendum is about. The referendum question and symbols should have already been formulated to enable the sides to campaign for a definite answer."

Donors are concerned that with only four months to go before the crucial polls, the government has not made satisfactory progress toward meeting a set of benchmarks they demanded in 1999 to ensure a fair process. The demands included enacting the Political Organisations Bill and the Other Political Systems Bill, the framing of the referendum question and the approval of campaign symbols.

The Political Organisations Bill sets guidelines for political parties, whose activities have been restricted since President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement took power in 1986. The Other Political Systems Bill, which was passed by parliament in December 1999, defines alternatives to the movement and multiparty political systems, but it is yet to be assented to by the president.

The Multiparty National Referendum Committee insists that it will not withdraw from the vote even if the funds are not provided, or the postponement is not granted. (*The New Vision 10/2, East African 14/2*) **Donor's move on referendum Vol. 36, No. 12, p. 13792B**

ELECTIONS

SENEGAL

Time For Change?

President Abdou Diouf came first in the presidential election, but he did not secure a large enough majority to prevent a run-off poll on March 19th, where the outcome is less certain.

Voters turned out in large numbers on February 27th for the presidential election with trouble reported only in the southern Casamance province. **President Abdou Diouf**, 64, seeking to extend his 19 year tenure as president of the country, voted shortly before midday in the centre of Dakar. Since independence, says *Le Monde*, there has been no change of who is in power nor a second round in a presidential election. In this context the February 27th poll was a test case as the oppo-

Senegal Presidential Candidates

Abdou Diouf, 64, outgoing President of the Republic and leader of the ruling Socialist party (PS). President since Senghor's resignation in 1980. Supported by the **Patriotic Convergence** coalition of one of the country's oldest independence parties and three parties created by PDS dissidents.

Abdoulaye Wade, 73, veteran politician who has twice served in government and stood in every presidential poll since first standing against Senghor in 1978. Supported both by the PDS and by **Changeover 2000** coalition grouping six left-wing parties. The "pape du sopi"—father of change (in Wolof)—still pulls enthusiastic crowds but has lost the monopoly on change. He only returned to the political scene in Senegal in January after a long stay in France.

Djibo Ka, 52, of Union for Democratic Renewal (URD). A heavyweight dissident from the PS whose new party has managed to make itself into the second opposition party within a very short period. Although a long-time PS member who held positions of power both within the party and the government, he has become its most vehement critic. His friends call him a "brilliant politician", and his critics an "ambitious opportunist".

Moustapha Niasse, of the Forces for Progress Alliance, another PS dissident who defected in 1999. This former Foreign Minister has an international stature and hefty financial means. Without denying his past he has become very critical and states that "Senegal has become no more than a facade of democracy". It was his party, founded only five months ago, that was the first to reveal the existence of the "Israeli cards". In an interview with the weekly *Jeune Afrique*, he said he would vote for Diouf's opponent if it came to a second round.

Iba Der Thiam, 63, former Education Minister, leader of the **Patriotic and Democratic Convention**. He has stood for president once before and is the best known of the four outsiders.

Cheikh Abdoulaye Dieye, 62, one of the two Muslim leaders to stand, representing the **Front for Socialism and Democracy**. The *Gambian Daily* said his supporters were essentially "women and elderly persons".

Ousseynou Fall, 53, of the Senegalese Republican Party (PSR) and member of the Baye Fall Caliph, a militia group responsible for security during the Mouride Brotherhood events. The brotherhood have not officially backed him however.

Mademba Sock, 49, the only independent candidate, known for his struggle against the privatisation of the *Senegalese Power Distribution and Production Company*, a trade unionist dismissed from the company and charged with economic sabotage before he was acquitted in court.

Mariam Ly of the National Renewal Party (PNR), the first Senegalese woman to have announced her intention to stand, withdrew the day before the deadline. She explained her decision by her refusal to go along with "the lack of transparency of an electoral process already marked by the existence of two different electoral cards and the electoral register being contested", her opponents said her withdrawal was in fact dictated by her inability to raise the CFA6m deposit.

(*Gambia News* 31/1, *Le Monde* 18/2, *AFP* 22, 25/2, *Jeune Afrique*, Feb)

sition, which had criticised the so-called "Senegalese model" of democracy where there are no coup d'états but no change in who holds the reins of power either, chose to carry out its campaign on the basis of transparency and regularity.

In the event, preliminary results emerging on February 29th showed the likelihood of a second round. PS elections official Khalifa Sall said: "The probability of a second round shows that democracy is getting stronger". Thinking of the likely alliances for the second round, he added, "We are willing to hold discussions with everyone who can contribute to the re-election of President Diouf".

In advance of the poll, the opposition candidates, grouped together in a Front for Fair and Transparent Elections, had decried an alleged attempt to prepare "an electoral coup aimed at getting Abdou

Diouf elected at the first round" but decided not to boycott the poll. They even agreed to vote with the famous "Israeli voting cards" (p. 13831) which were behind the accusations of manipulation of the electoral register. Their acquiescence resulted from the Interior Ministry's acceptance of an audit of the electoral register which was duly carried out by a special commission. But **Abdoulaye Wade**, leader of the opposition Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS), still felt that the dossier was "bad" while **Moustapha Niasse** felt it had been falsified. The downside of the whole argument about transparency and ballot papers was that the debate about ideas was severely curtailed. It was in fact on the theme of change that the variations between the eight candidates emerged.

Paradoxically, even Abdou Diouf, who has

been in power for thirty years, first of all as Prime Minister under President Senghor and then as head of state, was also proposing change to the 2.6m registered votes. He appeared on a poster alongside a picture of two children under the words: "Together let's change Senegal". The kind of change proposed by Mr. Diouf was one in which "achievements are preserved" and the stability reigning in the country under his leadership is kept. He also vaunted the economic results—creation of 47,000 jobs a year, inflation brought down to less than 3% and the growth of over 5% in 1999. To counter these statistics, the opposition drew its own balance sheet up—the one where unemployment and poverty figure and where, according to the **UNDP** (United Nations Development Programme), 30% of the Senegalese population live on less than \$1 a day. In an interview with *Le Monde* President Diouf said he still had "the physical, intellectual and moral resources necessary to lead the country" but that "nothing is won in advance". He argued that a change in who ran the country was not an automatic result of democracy but that what was important was that elections were held regularly and in a transparent way.

Credible Alternatives

Another factor making the race a close one is that the Socialist Party has been weakened by the defection of two of its "barons" who were standing as candidates themselves: **Djibo Ka** was the first to close the door on the PS just before the 1998 general elections. The party he created has managed to make itself into the second opposition party. His past as a former Interior Minister might well put certain voters off but the leader of the Democratic Renewal Party is a fighting man who wants to put an end to the era of the party-state. As for Moustapha Niasse, although his eruption into the opposition camp is a very recent one, his criticism of the regime has been extremely harsh. "Senegal is in fact a kingdom. It must become a republic again". He was the Minister of Foreign Affairs for a long time and, without reneging on his past, says he wants to return to the ideal that the PS embodied and he is presenting himself cleverly as a pious and poised man.

Abdoulaye Wade, Mr. Diouf's perennial adversary, thus saw his hegemony at the head of the opposition threatened. Nevertheless he remains for many Senegalese people "the prophet of *sopi*" (change). A young and enthusiastic crowd followed him the length of the "blue marches" that he organised for his election campaign.

Ghana Vice-President Seeks Support

Ghanaian radio on February 19th reported that Vice-president Prof. **John Atta Mills** had formally announced his intention of seeking the nomination for the National Democratic Congress (NDC) presidential candidate in the 2000 general election. He made the declaration at a meeting with cadres in Tamale (650kms from Accra).

Prof. Mills said he would seek the nomination at the party's coming congress. He said this is in response to the great confidence the majority of members and supporters of the party have in him, including President Rawlings.

The vice-president said he and the NDC would work hard to seek the mandate of the entire people of Ghana. He said he would seek the support of the rank and file of the party by going to the constituencies and wards and visiting the homes of members.

Prof. Mills said, as an individual, he detests corruption, laziness and cheating, and upholds the principle of accountability. He said he had set a goal of increased productivity and the upliftment of the lot of the ordinary Ghanaian. He expressed a strong belief in national unity and cohesion.

Prof. Mills thanked President Rawlings for selecting him as running mate in the 1996 election and declaring his confidence in him as his successor. He also thanked the first lady, **Nana Konadu Agyman-Rawlings**, for her support and encouragement; and his wife Naadu Mills, for understanding. The vice-president commended the country's security personnel for the great sacrifices they are making to maintain peace and stability. He assured Ghanaians that he would not let the nation down.

Born on July 21st 1944, Mills is an academic. He was educated at the University of Ghana in Accra, the London School of Economics and Political Science and the School of Oriental African studies, University of London. He is also a Fulbright Scholar. He is a tax expert who has many publications to his credit.

Meanwhile, the electoral commission announced on February 23rd that the electoral register would be reviewed from April 15th–24th.

(R. Accra 19/2 BBC Mon., PANA 20/2, AFP 23/2)

Even at the age of 73, the leader of the foremost opposition party still incarnates the hope of a better tomorrow for many of those who are excluded from growth. For this election, Abdoulaye Wade, the liberal, is also benefiting from the support of the Changeover 2000 (*Alternance 2000*) coalition which groups the most representative parties of the left. And though the PDS leader has twice agreed to enter governments formed by the PS, he is still deeply mistrustful. On February 25th he said "a new attempt by Abdou Diouf to confiscate power" could not be ruled out.

The National Election Observatory (Onel) described the February 27th presidential election as "free and transparent". Speaking to journalists a few hours after polling had ended, Onel's chairman, **Louis Pereira de Carvalho**, said the casting of ballots had taken place "under the best of conditions". Carvalho claimed that none of the 9,000 Onel agents who supervised and monitored the election throughout the country had complained about the lack of transparency.

On February 29th, PANA reported that the PS predicted an easy win for its candidate, Abdou Diouf in the second round of voting on March 19th. The provisional results of the first round of the ballot suggested to the PS that the party was headed for a clear victory.

Diouf garnered 42 to 43% of the total number of votes cast compared to his closest rival Abdoulaye Wade, who scored 30-31%, Moustapha Niasse between 16-17%, and Djibo Ka received 7%. (*Le Monde* 27, 28, 29/2, 1/3, PANA 28, 29/2)

Genuine Political Race

In its commentary of the Senegalese election, the *International Herald Tribune* noted that the voting in the presidential poll had one critical difference that set it apart from past votes and that offered a snapshot of the evolution of democracy in sub-Saharan Africa: No one knew who would win.

The race offered Senegalese the choice among four credible candidates. President Abdou Diouf, seeking a fourth consecutive term, could become what was once the rarity of rarities in Africa: a sitting leader who loses power, not in a coup, but through the ballot box.

He would not be the first. But because he is the head of the party that has governed Senegal since its independence from France in 1960, his loss would be significant on a continent that has become increasingly impatient with democracies that offer no real choices.

"The outcome of the election in Senegal is extremely important for all Africa," says

Chris Fomunyoh, who follows Africa for the National Democratic Institute, an American organisation that promotes democracy and monitors elections. "Given the political history of Africa, events in the one country have had contagious effects elsewhere."

But elections in Senegal, which international observers say have become fairer over the years, have often been followed by violence. The risks that would happen again have grown as the opposition warned that it would automatically consider a first-round victory by Mr. Diouf as proof that the voting was rigged (...).

Although the choice of four credible candidates represented progress, concludes the *Herald Tribune*, political analysts said the candidates were simply interested in acquiring power. None, they said focused on issues during the campaign or presented a particular vision for Senegal's future.

"The opposition talks of the need to alter-nate power," said Abdourahmane Camara, director of publication for *Walfadjri*, an independent newspaper that is often critical of Mr. Diouf. "But the opposition has not presented a political alternative in terms of ideas or ideology. We're hoping that as our democracy deepens, we will have real political alternatives in the next election." (*International Herald Tribune* 28/2) **Opposition decries "vote-rigging" p. 13831C**

ZAMBIA

Election Petition

A Movement for Multiparty Democracy candidate was elected unopposed in a by-election. Former President Kenneth Kaunda has said that his party, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), would petition the courts to nullify the results of the Mfuwe constituency in which Charity Mwansa of the ruling MMD was declared member of parliament. Mwansa was declared member of parliament on February 3rd after she filled in her nomination papers for the by-election and went through unopposed. Mwansa was the only candidate who submitted her nomination papers. UNIP's candidate Tyson Nguruwe failed to file in his papers due to bad roads.

Addressing a press conference on February 6th in Lusaka, Kaunda explained that it was impossible for UNIP to file the nomination papers after the Electoral Commission shifted the nomination centre from Northern Mpika district to Nabwalya which he said was inaccessible by road and could only be reached by helicopter.

Kaunda said the Electoral Commission had allowed to shift the nomination centre to Nabwayla before it was officially gazetted. The nominations took place on February 3rd and according to the gazette produced at the press conference, Nabwalya was only gazetted on February 4th.

"The Electoral Commission abused the authority to manipulate the electoral process to favour the MMD and make it impossible for any other candidate to be nominated.

"I ask all people in the country to support us. Charity is not a bonafide representative of the people. She has been imposed on the people in connivance with the electoral commission and the MMD," Kaunda said. (PANA 6/2) **Tourism Minister dismissed p. 13834C**

PARTIES AND POLICIES

BENIN

Party Congress

The PSD holds its first congress; the opposition seeks proof of allegations about a threatened coup; opposition leader Moucharaf Gbadamassi dies.

Benin radio on January 31st reported that the first ordinary congress of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) had taken place at the Sports Complex of the Kouhounou Stade de l'Amitie. Over 700 delegates attended.

At the end of the congress, a new 19-member national executive committee was elected. The chairman is **Bruno Amousou**, and **Felix Adimi** maintains his post as first vice-chairman. **Emmanuel Golou** is the new secretary-general, while **Patrice Ganhinto** is the general treasurer.

Meanwhile, *AFP* claimed that ten opposition parties had asked **President Mathieu Kerekou** to produce proof of his recent allegations about the threat of a coup d'état in Benin. The Collective said in a declaration published on February 10th that he should provide proof or apologise. The Collective unites the two main opposition parties, the Renaissance of Benin (RB) led by former president **Nicephore Soglo** and the Democratic Renewal Party (PRD) led by the President of the national Assembly **Adrien Houngbedji**. They felt that President Kerekou had "deliberately chosen the path of misinformation, psychosis and intoxication as a new weapon to vilify and stifle the opposition".

Finally, the chairman of the PRD parliamentary group, **Moucharaf Gbadamassi**, 62, died of a heart attack on February 5th, reported *PANA*. He was also PRD vice-chairman. (R. Cotonou 31/1: *BBC Mon.*, *AFP* 10/2, *PANA* 5/2) **New party created, Vol. 36, No. 10, p. 13725C**

CAMEROON

PM Visits South West

The regime pleads with the secessionist South West province to strive for unity.

Prime Minister **Mafany Musonge** met secessionist leaders from the anglophone South West province during the weekend of February 6th. The meeting contrasts with the government's hardline stance adopted over the last six months. In October 1999, three militants from the Southern Cameroon National Council (SCNC) were given life sentences and six others 20 year terms (**Vol. 36, No. 11 p. 13774C**). On December 30th, SCNC members took over a radio station to call on English-speaking Cameroonians to declare independence, and some independence demonstrations took place in January. At the beginning of February, the ruling Cameroon People's Democratic Rally (RDPC) launched an anti-secessionist campaign with a communique calling on the public to "disassociate themselves from Cameroon's enemies".

The February 5th and 6th meetings were aimed at calming the situation. The secessionist leaders denied having been behind the radio appeal, but they expressed their satisfaction at being considered "by the head of government as opinion leaders".

Mr. Muronge made a third visit to the area on February 27th, where once again he exhorted the elite and traditional rulers of the Anglo-phone region to work for Cameroon's unity. Local leaders said their two major demands—regional autonomy and the building of roads—needed to be met so that the province could fully enjoy the benefits of their agricultural and petroleum resources. (*Marches Tropicaux* 11/2, *RFrance Internationale* 28/2: *BBC Mon.*) **Sep-aratist protests p. 13829B**

COTE D'IVOIRE

Political Campaigning Begins

The political atmosphere heats up as parties prepare for elections later in 2000; a referendum commission is appointed; the PDCI-RDI congress

Cote d'Ivoire Presidential Candidates

Former Prime Minister **Alassane Dramane Ouattara**—Republic Assembly (RDR)

Veteran Opposition figure and Socialist Leader **Laurent Gbagbo**—Ivorian Popular Front (FPI)

Francis Wodie—Ivorian Workers Party (PIT)

Overthrown President **Henri Konan Bedie**

Former UNESCO official, **Nicolas Dioulo** whose candidacy "is above parties".

(*AFP* 17/2)

is postponed; the former Interior Minister is arrested.

According to *AFP*, the ruling military junta, the National Committee for Public Salvation, CNSP, asked political parties to avoid "premature political campaigning" for the presidential, parliamentary and municipal elections planned to be held by October. In a statement sent to *AFP*, the CNSP explains its warning by the excesses witnessed over recent days. Most of the major political formations had held meetings in Abidjan and in the provinces.

In the statement, the CNSP president, General Robert Guei, reiterates "his deep attachment to a free democracy" and to the commitment he has taken to allow political parties to continue to animate political life in the Cote d'Ivoire". He asked Ivorians however, to "avoid all tendentious interpretations of the deliberations of the sub-commissions" which are working on re-writing the constitution, an electoral code and a freedom charter. These sub-commissions are to hand their results to the "consultative constitutional and electoral commission" whose conclusions will then be examined and eventually amended by the government before the referendum. The work of the sub-commissions has given rise to lively debate amongst delegates but also in the national press, particularly in so far as the presidential eligibility conditions are concerned". (*AFP* 23/2)

Referendum Commission

The transitional government has set up a commission to supervise the April constitutional referendum (COSUR), reported *AFP*. It will have the job of supervising the revision of the electoral register, the printing and distribution of voting cards, the campaign, the vote itself and the counting of votes. It is also responsible for the centralisation of results and proclaiming them.

COSUR has 16 members including a president nominated by the junta chief, a rep-

representative of each of the seven main parties, three representative from the following ministries: Interior, Economy and Finance, Budget. It also includes representatives from NGOs such as the League of Human Rights (LIDHO). General Guei chose **Honore Guie**, professor of law and president of the studies and research on democracy and economic and social development group (GERDDES) as president of COSUR. (AFP 17/2)

Meanwhile, the former Minister of State for the Interior and Decentralisation, **Col. (rtd) Emile Constant Bombet** was arrested on February 15th, and detained at Gallieni Military Camp. This arrest followed Mr. Bombet's organisation of meetings aimed at jeopardising state security and the need to investigate his subversive activities, said Ivorian TV.

On the other hand, the arrest is in connection with the many indications of his involvement in some of the economic crimes committed against the state, notably the embezzlement of EU funds, and the government budget allocation for the organisation of the 1995 presidential and legislative elections and the 1996 municipal elections. The amount of money embezzled is CFA francs 8bn. (*Fraternite Matin* 29/2, *TV Abidjan* 16/2; *BBC Mon.*) **Transit** government p. 13823B

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Opposition Boycott

The three main opposition parties will not be taking part in municipal elections due some time in the first half of 2000.

The Popular Union (UP), the Convergence for Social Democracy (CPDS) and the Progressive Democratic Alliance (ADP) announced their boycott on February 17th.

"We will not take part in the forthcoming municipal elections because the government does not wish to negotiate with the opposition in order to arrive at the conditions required for electoral transparency", declared **Mr. Andres Moises Mba Ada**, UP president, speaking on *Spanish Radio Exterior*.

Also on Spanish radio, **Mr. Placido Mico**, general secretary of the CPDS, said: "The way things are at present, we will not be taking part in the poll". He went on: "Everyone needs to be represented in these elections; we need international observers, equal access to the public media, freedom of expression and movement throughout the country, as well as an end to intimidation and arbitrary arrests before we agree to take part".

Meanwhile **Mr. Victorino Bolekia**, ADP president and mayor of Malabo, said that his party would boycott the polls because "it is another electoral parody and we do not accept it".

At the March 1999 legislative elections, the UP and the CPDS (which won five seats—four for the UP and one for the CPDS) claimed they had been rigged and refused to take up their parliamentary seats in protest.

In 1995, the opposition strongly protested the validity of the victory won by the Equatorial Guinea Democratic Party (PDGE, in power) in the municipal elections. The PDGE won 18 of the country's 27 municipalities compared to the opposition's nine, which included the capital, Malabo.

Meanwhile, the former Foreign Minister, **Santiago Eneme Ovono** left the country "in a hurry" in mid-January. He is currently in Madrid, Spain, where he has requested political asylum, reported the *El Pais* website. (AFP 17/2, *El Pais* website 4/2; *BBC Mon.*) **Opposition condemns arrests** p. 13829C

SOUTH AFRICA

Unity Talks

Political parties enter into talks to form their election strategies.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was prepared to sit down with the African National Congress (ANC) to resume the unity talks abandoned before the 1994 general election, party leader Bishop **Stanley Mogoba** said on February 9th.

There were moves ahead of the 1994 polls to form a "patriotic front" between the two liberation movements, but they came to nothing, and each fought the election under its own banner. Former president **Nelson Mandela** told journalists on February 8th that he regretted having failed to unite various organisations in the liberation movement, including the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Mogoba said the PAC had never excluded the possibility of working with the ANC, but had not found enough common ground in 1994. He said the PAC was engaged in talks with Azapo, the Socialist Party of Azania, and "all of them." The talks with Azapo were going very well.

The PAC suffered a massive drop in support in the 1999 poll, and its representation in Parliament fell from five to three seats.

Meanwhile, New National Party (NNP)

leader **Marthinus van Schalkwyk** on February 9th declined to predict whether the coalition between his party and the Democratic Party (DP) in the Western Cape would last beyond the coming local government elections.

The elections are scheduled for November 1st, and the NNP and DP have not yet reached agreement on how to avoid a damaging face-off at the polls.

Van Schalkwyk said the NNP had proposed an alliance for the local elections between at least itself, the DP and the United Democratic Movement, on the grounds that under new voting rules, opposition parties would have to put up candidates in every ward, even those that they could not win, to maximise the proportional representation vote. The DP had poured cold water on this plan. (*Southscan* 11/2) **Electoral pact p. 13832A**

SUDAN

Riek Machar Resigns

A prominent southern leader leaves his post as speculation mounts over the future of Dr. Hasan al-Turabi; the Parties and Political Organisations Act is passed.

Riek Machar, an assistant to **President Omar al Bashir**, has resigned from his post in protest of what he termed as violations to a peace accord he and several other former southern rebel leaders had signed with the Khartoum government in April 1997 (*Vol. 34, No. 4, p. 12659A*). The main southern fighting group, Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) of **Col. John Garang**, had refused to enter the deal.

In a resignation letter submitted to the president on December 31st 1999, Machar said he was resigning his offices as Assistant President and Chairman of the Co-ordination Council of Southern Sudan because "the government has continued to violate the terms of the Khartoum Peace accord."

"Those violations were culminated in the recent appointment of governors for the Southern Sudanese states without referring to the Co-ordination Council as stipulated by the peace accord," added Dr. Machar in his letter published on February 5th by the *Arrai el A'am* newspaper (Public Opinion).

Machar said the government had failed to implement what he called "the political and security terms of the accord." He said the government was responsible for the fighting in the southern Sudanese Unity

State between the paramilitary Southern Sudan Defence Force, which he and other southerners had formed to defend the area, and other splinter groups.

"The government has been waging a fierce war against the Southern Sudan Defence Force in the Unity State since September 1997," he said.

Machar accused the government of intentionally devising and sponsoring a policy of divide and rule among the troops of the South Sudan Defence Force "with a view to undermining them." He said he was also resigning his office as chairman of the Democratic Salvation Front he and several other southern politicians had formed in 1998 to operate as an independent political party.

The *Al-Ra'y al-Amm* website on February 6th claimed that Machar was on his way to join John Garang's SPLA. Southern Sudanese sources in Cairo (Egypt) believed that by joining Garang, Machar was sacrificing his supporters and allies in Khartoum and areas under government control, and also his ties to the group that signed the southern Sudan agreement led by Transport Minister **Dr. Lam Akol**. (PANA 5/2, *Al-Ra'y al-Amm* 6/2: BBC Mon.)

Political Demise?

According to *Al-Khartoum*, a Cairo-based Sudanese newspaper, political sources are speculating that the secretary-general of the ruling National Congress (NC), **Dr. Hasan al-Turabi**, will be removed from all his political positions. The sources said that following the dissolution of the National Assembly and the suspension of the activities of the Islamic popular conference the next step would be the dissolution of the NC.

The Sudanese *Al-Shari al-Siyasi* newspaper, reported the sources as saying on February 14th that the crisis between the Sudanese president, Omar al-Bashir and Turabi was still raging and would not augur well for the Islamist movement since the crisis could lead to killings or assassinations within its ranks.

The sources said an idea in the presidential palace, which seemed to be favoured, called on President Bashir to issue a decree dissolving the NC in accordance with the emergency law and the extraordinary powers. The step is aimed at freezing Turabi's powers, which have been posing a threat to the government since the congress was turned into a forum for anti-government activities, such as statements by Turabi and

his deputy, **Ali al-Hajj**, at the secretariat-general of the congress.

The sources said taking such a decision would relieve the government of a lot of pressure from Turabi's supporters, who operate freely against the government without being confronted by the emergency law, which was announced in December 1999 (p. 13810). The decision could also create a conducive atmosphere for a comprehensive political formula for the solution of the conflict under the leadership of a president who could rise above narrow partisan thinking and enjoy a broad national perspective.

Meanwhile, the State Minister at the Justice Ministry **Amin Banani**, affirmed that the Political Association Act had been officially annulled and replaced by the Parties and Political Organisations Act. In a statement to the *Sudanese News Agency (Suna)* on February 22nd, Banani said the new act allowed political forces greater freedoms to practice their activities, and it copes with the requirements of the national accord as well as the **Egyptian-Libyan** initiative (p. 13845). (*Al-Khartoum* 16/2, *Suna* 22/2: BBC Mon.) **New cabinet appointed p. 13827A**

IN BRIEF

Angola: President dos Santos on January 29th appointed **Manuel Antonio Africano** as the Minister of Geology and Mines, and **Albertina Julia Hamukuya** as the Minister of Health, in place of Adelino Manacas da Silva. (*TV Luanda* 29/1: BBC Mon.)

Botswana: President Festus Mogae's decision to grant Vice-President **Ian Khama** a 12-month sabbatical has been roundly condemned and faces a constitutional challenge. It is also damaging a new-found stability. (*Gemini News Service* 18/2)

Burkina Faso: The government on February 3rd adopted a bill modifying the electoral code. The bill gives greater powers to the Independent National Electoral Commission, which will now be in charge of revising the electoral lists and distributing voter cards. (*Radio France Internationale* 3/2: BBC Mon.)

Chad: The former armed wing of the Movement for Development and Democracy has been changed into the Movement for Unity and the republic, led by **Gaeled Gatul Bourku Manda**. The movement has entered into a military and political alliance with **Youssef Togoimi's** Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad and the Democratic Revolutionary Council led by **Acheikh Ibn Oumar**. (*Radio France Internationale* 11/2: BBC Mon.)

Comoros: The leader of the separatist movement in Anjouan, **Lt. Col Said Abeid** has signed a decree fixing March 26th as the date for municipal elections on the island. (PANA 17/2)

Lesotho: **King Letsie III**, 35, on February 18th married **Karabo Motsoeneng**, 23 from Ficks-

burg, South Africa. The king has said he will take only one wife, but the wedding has ended years of national anxiety over the monarch's marital status. (*The Times* 19/2)

Morocco: **King Mohammed VI** on February 17th, appointed **Mohamed Rochdi Chraïbi**, 37, as director of his office. Mohamed Rochdi Chraïbi, a former classmate of the king at the royal college in Rabat, was previously head of the king's personal secretariat, when he was crown prince. He was born in Ouarzazate (south). (AFP 17/2)

Togo: The Union of the Forces of Change (UFC), the Action Committee for Renewal (CAR), the Democratic Convention of African Peoples (CDPA) have decided to suspend their participation in the activities of the Joint Follow-up Committee (CPS) in charge of the planning of the upcoming legislative elections. The move is over a deadlock with the ruling Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), which does not wish to adopt the draft electoral code drawn up by the CSP, a consensual body set up by both sides. (*Radio France Internationale* 6/2: BBC Mon)

Uganda: The former mayor of Kampala, **Nasser Ssebaggala**, returned home to a hero's welcome on February 3rd after serving a 15-month jail term in the United States for fraud. (*Herald Tribune* 4/2)

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

MONTHLY BULLETINS

Political Series:

UK & Europe £373.00
N. America \$675.00
Rest of World £422.00

Economic Series:

UK & Europe £373.00
N. America \$675.00
Rest of World £422.00

Combined Series:

UK & Europe £562.00
N. America \$1014.00
Rest of World £634.00

Overseas mailing: Airspeed (N. America), Airspeeded delivery (Elsewhere).

Annual binder: available at £34.00 or \$54.00

For further information or to place your subscription please contact:
The Journals Marketing Manager,
Blackwell Publishers, 108 Cowley
Road, Oxford, OX4 1JF, UK.
Tel: +44 (1) 865 791100
Fax: +44 (1) 865 791347

National Security

ANGOLA

Counter Offensive

UNITA resumes guerrilla tactics, but diplomatically sidelined.

The rebel movement National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) appears to have launched a counter-offensive, and may be attempting to retake the diamond diggings in the north of the country, on which its economy depends. At the same time intelligence being fed to the Angolan government by the US has now dried up, military analysts in South Africa told *SouthScan*. They say this indicates that Washington believes a balance has been restored in the war-torn country between the government forces and those of UNITA.

Late in 1999 UNITA appeared to have the upper hand, and its leader, **Jonas Savimbi**, then based in the highlands town of Bailundo, boasted that he was able to threaten Luanda itself. Then came a massive offensive by the *Forças Armadas Angolanas* (FAA), which took all his town bases and the diamond diggings in the north of the country.

As that offensive appeared to put UNITA on the run the US and **Britain** made strong statements in favour of isolating Savimbi. These were repeated by British foreign office minister **Peter Hain** in Cape Town. The Angolan government has rejected the idea of Britain giving asylum to Jonas Savimbi, according to *Noticias de Angola*.

But the normally reliable South African sources say that the detailed satellite intelligence given to the FAA on UNITA's force disposals has now been stopped.

This coincides with claims from UNITA that it is having successes against the FAA in its traditional role as a guerrilla force, avoiding conventional setpiece battles against a superior enemy.

As anticipated, UNITA's *Forças Armadas para a Libertação de Angola* (FALA) now appear again to be operating in small commando units, using a hit and run tactic, aiming at disrupting the enemy supplies and economic infrastructure, except in areas where they train to preserve or increase a territory control.

This change of tactics since the semi-conventional war on the Huambo highlands which eventually UNITA lost in 1999, may create considerable difficulties for the FAA high command. Clearly, the strategy is no longer to seek control of the entire territory of Angola but, as in the past, rather to maintain enough pressure to force the government to negotiate.

It may eventually also bring pressure on the hard-line generals in Angola's army and ruling **MPLA** party to change to a more accommodatory line—one which the South African government believes should be pursued. (*SouthScan* 11/2)

Sidelined

Despite its military resurgence, UNITA has been increasingly isolated diplomatically, commented *Africa Analysis*. The US, on its part, is assiduously following a strategy of creating a "credible opposition." This is both a rejection of Savimbi and acceptance that the government-supported **UNITA Renovada** is not credible. Washington is encouraging a regroupment of UNITA forces to include **Abel Chivukuvuku** and his closest associates, including **Jaka Jamba**. It recently sponsored a meeting between **Eugenio Manuvakola**, the Renovada leader, and Chivukuvuku at the US embassy in Luanda.

Launched in Lisbon, the Commission for Peace, Justice and Reconciliation in Angola is the latest diplomatic device of UNITA, reported *Africa Confidential*. It is led by UNITA's Representative in **Italy**, **Adalberto da Costa**. Commission members claim to have been empowered by Jonas Savimbi to work for negotiations.

United Nations sanctions prevent senior UNITA leaders from travelling abroad. Savimbi's confidants, such as **Isaías Samakuva** (now appealing against **France's** refusal of political asylum) are stuck. So it is up to Da Costa, not on the UN sanctions list, to change Western opinion. After their recent defeats, Savimbi and his men were out of contact, for fear that their satellite phones might betray their location. The calls have begun again. Savimbi's team thinks there's been a shift, especially in Africa, towards preferring a negotiated solution that would include him. (*Africa Analysis* 11/2, *Africa Confidential* 18/2)

Sanctions Busting

The UN report on sanctions against Angola is due to be presented in March against the backdrop of an anxious diamond industry. Britain's foreign office minister for Africa, Peter Hain has named a further five people he accuses of sanctions busting. He named three in January (p. 13820B). The names were sent to **Robert Fowler**, Canada's UN representative, who is the chairman of the world body's committee on Angolan sanctions. (*Guardian (UK)* 18/2) **Namibia sucked in pp. 13819–21**

Algeria Hattab Alive ...

... and negotiating; generals replaced, but hawks remain.

Speculation over whether the leader of the Salafi Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), **Hassan Hattab** had been killed, was scotched by President **Abdelaziz Bouteflika** who confirmed in a press statement that he was still alive and negotiating. According to *Al-Zaman*, a meeting of GSPC emirs was held, with the approval of Algerian troops, in the first phase of a move to end GSPC operations against the security forces.

According to *Liberation*, although at least 10 of Algeria's 140 generals had been replaced, none of the *decideurs*, as the handful of high ranking who hold the real power are known, had changed. In effect the triumvirate Lieut-Gen. **Mohammed Lamari** (chief of staff), Col **Small Lamari** (chief of counter-espionage) and **Mohammed Mediene** (called "Tewfik"—chief of intelligence) are still in place.

Chiefs of four of the seven military regions have been replaced, among them General **Boughaba**, who negotiated the unilateral truce with the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS). He is replaced by Gen. **Cherif Fodhil**, a confidant of Lamari and head of special forces. *Liberation* adds that although President Bouteflika is formally Minister of Defence, it is Mohammed Lamari who makes the decisions.

(*Al-Zaman* 12/2, *TV Algiers* 24/2: *BBC Mon.*, *Liberation* 25/2) **AIS dissolved, army escalates attacks pp. 13834–5**

BURUNDI

Violence Continues in Run-up to Talks

Situation deteriorates; negotiator arouses Tutsi ire; walkout threatened.

According to varying reports, between 100 and 200 people had died in fierce fighting near Bujumbura, *Marches tropicaux* reported on February 11th. However, there were contradictory reports on the fighting: *Radio Burundi* in Swahili announced that it was between the Burundi army and Hutu rebels, while the army spokesman, Col. Longin Minani, told *AFP* that it involved extremist Rwandan Hutu militiamen killed by their former allies from the Burundi rebel movement, the National Liberation Forces (FLN), denying any military involvement.

The deteriorating situation was confirmed by the flood of refugees into **Tanzania**. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) about 1,000 a day were arriving at the beginning of February. In January alone, some 24,000 people had fled into Tanzania to escape the civil war.

During this time, the new mediator, **Nelson Mandela**, had been laying the ground for fresh talks. His meeting with President **Pierre Buyoya** was described as “very encouraging” by the two men, who gave the appearance of being very optimistic although they gave no details of their discussions. Mr. Mandela was due to meet the rebel leader, **Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiyi**, whose refusal to take part in the Arusha negotiations is the main obstacle to progress. “They have to be involved, they have to be an integral part of any agreement,” insisted Mr. Mandela. (*Marches Tropicaux* 11/2, *Nation* 10/2)

Talks Resume

On February 21st, the day the Arusha talks resumed, Mr. Mandela said that the civil war could not be brought to an end while the Tutsi minority continued to monopolise power. He also reiterated that the involvement of the two largest and most radical rebel groups (the Force for the Defence of Democracy **FDD** and the **FNL**)—still absent from the negotiations—was indispensable.

“One of the most critical issues is that a 15% minority can continue to monopolise political, economic and military power (. . .) This situation can no longer be tolerated,” he told six African heads of state and three European ministers present for a

one-day summit which was serving ostensibly as the opening of a new session of negotiations within commissions due to last for two weeks.

“Mr. Mandela has hit the nail on the head,” one African diplomat present as an observer told *Agence France Presse*.

However, one member of the Burundian opposition delegation, who also wished to remain anonymous, responded: “Things have got off to a bad start. The Burundi problem cannot be reduced to a simple ethnic conflict.”

Mr. Mandela then urged the Burundian delegates to accept “compromises” so that a transitional government could be put in place if a peace agreement was reached and he advocated a “combination” of the principles of “one man, one vote” and that of representation “based on the principle of ethnicity” in which each group would designate its representatives.

Apart from the modalities concerning the involvement of the **FDD** and the **FLN** in the talks, their representation within any future government and army are the main stumbling blocks, according to Father **Matteo Zuppi**, from the Catholic Sant’Egidio community in Rome and chairman of the commission on security at the talks, and **Cheikh Tidiane Sy**, special representative of the United Nations (UN) general secretary.

In a message from President Jacques Chirac of **France** read by delegate Cooperation Minister Charles Josselin, there was a call to the international community to resume its economic aid to Burundi in order to re-establish confidence in the peace process and a pledge of French support for that process.

Presidents Museveni (**Uganda**), Mkapa (**Tanzania**), Bizimungu (**Rwanda**), Mbeki (**South Africa**), Chissano (**Mozambique**) and Buyoya (**Burundi**) were present as were the secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity (**OAU**), Salim Ahmed Salim, the **UK** Foreign Affairs Minister Peter Hain, the **Belgian** Foreign Affairs Minister Louis Michel and the **US** special envoy to the Great Lakes Howard Wolpe. On the 22nd, Mr. Mandela told the delegates that it was imperative that they made a significant “breakthrough” in the latest round of talks. Speaking via video conference facilities, US President Bill Clinton said he hoped the peace process could be “a shining example not only in Africa but in the rest of the world” in conflict resolution. Pierre Buyoya meanwhile invited the Hutu rebels to negotiate directly with his regime to end the conflict.

“We are ready to talk to everyone and listen to those who have demands to be heard,” he said. (*Agence France Presse* 21/2, *Le Monde* 25/2)

Prickly Negotiations

Eight out of the 19 political parties participating in the Burundi peace talks in the northern Tanzania town of Arusha have threatened to pull out, accusing the facilitation team of misleading the mediator, former South African President Nelson Mandela, about the nature of the problems tearing apart the Central African country.

In a communique issued on February 23rd, the seven mainly Tutsi parties—**Av-Intwari**, **PRP**, **Raddes**, **Uprona**, **Anadde**, **PSD**, **PIT**, and **M.S.P. Inkizo**—said they would leave the talks if the proposed treaty were based on the concept that Tutsi domination was the cause of the bloody rivalry in Burundi.

The parties accuse one of the committees of implying, in its presentation to Mr. Mandela on the Burundi problem, that the main cause of the conflict is the “political, economic and military domination by the minority Tutsis over the majority Hutus.”

The parties argue that in 1994, 90% of the members of parliament were Hutu, while the government was 60% Hutu. The communique said “a more or less similar situation exists today.”

In the end, reported *EastAfrican*, the parties guardedly endorsed the motion for a draft treaty, pending its production and scrutiny. More ground was expected to be covered in the subsequent days of the peace talks, which were to continue for two weeks.

The delegates have admitted the **Raddes** group, bringing the total number of participating groups to 19.

But **FDD-CNDD**, the country’s main armed group boycotted the talks, demanded a formal ceasefire with the government, prior to joining the political talks, a position countered by the **CNDD** party as a non-starter. (*EastAfrican* 28/2) **Mandela begins talks; promise on camp closures p. 13836, Disaster camps p. 13764**

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Minurca Leaves

Goumba fears Minurca leaving too soon; soldiers edgy.

The UN Mission in the Central African Republic (**Minurca**) left the country on

February 15th. Minurca had taken over from the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Bangui Accords, **MISAB**, in March 1998, and its aim was to monitor the implementation of the agreements signed to mark the end of a series of mutinies in 1996. The Bangui accord is still being implemented and Minurca is already leaving as laid down in the timetable.

While the ruling Movement for the Liberation of the Central African People (**MLPC**) was optimistic about the future, opposition leader **Abel Goumba**, chairman of the **Oubangui Patriotic Front—Labour Party** was less sanguine. He told *Radio France Internationale*: “The reorganisation of the army has not been concluded. The Special Forces for the Defence of the Republican Institutions, which are in fact a praetorian army, have theoretically been dismantled. You are certainly aware of the demonstration staged by the so-called Karako, who are elements of the president’s militia. They demonstrated ten days ago, and they were dispersed with tear gas. Besides, the economic reforms recommended by the UN have not been followed. Out of the over 300 recommendations resulting from the Bangui agreements, only 10 or 15% have been realised. The disarmament process has not been concluded throughout the national territory. Weapons are circulating everywhere and consequently there is an increase in the activities of highwaymen. The CAR is confronted with never-ending insecurity.”

Patasse recruited 900 Karako—mostly from pro-government Bangui *quartiers* such as Miskine, Boeing, PK12, Gobongo, Fouh and Boy-Rade—when he was threatened by army mutinies in 1996–97. Now they expect their reward.

The highly regarded army inspector general **General Francois Bozize**, has persuaded many soldiers to return to civilian life. But they refuse to leave until the government finds the cash to settle salary arrears of up to 12 months.

In this edgy atmosphere **President Patasse** will be relieved by **France’s** decision to restore military training aid, announced during the January 26th visit of French co-operation minister **Charles Josselin**. Central African troops are already participating, with units from other franc zone states, in a regional francophone peace-keeping training exercise organised by France and hosted by **Gabon**. (*Radio France Internationale* 15/2: *BBC Mon.*, *Africa Analysis* 28/1) **Bangui bombs p. 13765**

CHAD

Habre in Dock

An historic ruling puts Habre in dock, with extradition possible; meanwhile back home soldiers executed for treason.

Hissein Habre, the exiled dictator of Chad, has been indicted on charges of torture and placed under house arrest for human rights violations carried out more than a decade ago.

The historic ruling was made in **Senegal’s** Dakar Regional Court by Judge Demba Kandji, after hearing testimonies from six of Habre’s victims and receiving information about hundreds of other crimes.

In Senegalese courts, which are modelled on those of France, private parties have the right to lodge criminal charges.

While the judge will continue his investigation into the case, the latest move opens the way for Habre to face trial—possibly later in 2000. It is the first time a former African head of state has been indicted for atrocities by the courts of another country.

“This is a stunning victory for the Chadian people and for torture victims all over the world,” said Reed Brody, advocacy director of **Human Rights Watch**, one of the groups which initiated the criminal action. “Today’s indictment is a wake-up call to dictators in Africa and elsewhere, that if they commit similar atrocities they could also be brought to justice one day.”

Documents detailing 97 political killings, 142 cases of torture, 100 “disappearances,” and 736 arbitrary arrests—mostly carried out by Habre’s dreaded Documentation and Security Directorate—were presented to Judge Kandji.

Seven individual Chadians and one Frenchwoman, whose Chadian husband was killed by Habre’s regime, had acted as private plaintiffs in the case. They expressed their delight with the outcome.

Habre, who has lived in Senegal since his fall from power in 1990, will remain in his villa on the outskirts of Dakar under the guard of Senegalese gendarmes. He lives on the estimated \$11m he brought with him from Chad.

The dictator’s reign in Chad, which began in 1982, was marked by widespread human rights abuses. A 1992 truth commission accused Habre’s regime of committing 40,000 political murders, 200,000 cases of torture and of stealing \$11.6m from the Chadian treasury.

Despite his human rights record, the dictator had **US** support because he opposed **Libya’s** Colonel Gaddafi. Chad’s Minister for Foreign Affairs, **Mahamat Saleh Annadif**, said Chad was ready to call for Habre’s extradition “so that he can be tried in his country.” (*West Africa* 14/2)

Coup Soldiers Executed

Thirty-two Chadian government soldiers accused of taking part in a coup have been executed by firing squad by the Ndjamena regime, a rebel political-military movement, the National Front for the Renewal of Chad (**FNTR**), said on February 4th.

The secretary-general of this movement, **Ahmed Yacoub**, lives in France.

According to an FNTR statement received by *AFP* in Paris, these “executions” took place at Tine, in the east of the country, on January 28th and 29th. They were carried out by **Gen. Mahamat Derio**, the commander of the Rapid Intervention Force, according to the FNTR.

The statement says that the president’s security team have been carrying out sporadic arrests throughout the country since January 2nd. More than 50 soldiers accused of participation in a coup d’etat or the attempted physical elimination of President **Idriss Deby** have thus been arrested.

Among the officers arrested is Col **Issakha Bachar**, the brother-in-law of Gen. **Adoum Togoï**, the former Chadian ambassador to Libya. (*Agence France Presse* 4/2)

COMOROS

Boycotts and Rumour

OAU boycotts Anjouan leaders; on Grande Comore an “invisible hand,” some say French-backed, is feared.

Travel and financial boycotts have been imposed on the leadership of Anjouan secessionists by the OAU for reneging on its commitment to honour last July’s Antananarivo agreement maintaining the sovereignty of the Indian Ocean islands state of Comoros, reported *Gambia Daily*.

“The measures include travel restrictions, non-recognition of the travel documents and passports of separatist leaders, the freezing of their bank accounts and other financial transactions, inside and outside Comoros, and the blocking of all reparations of funds by members of their families, external allies and sympathies,” the OAU said in a press release.

The measures which took effect from February 1st will be implemented in phases whose nature and severity will depend on the separatist movement.

Meanwhile the fear in Moroni is that the “invisible hand” that appears to have been orchestrating political events in Comoros may soon become active again. These ylang-ylang-scented islands, made infamous by mercenary-led coups, may experience yet another putsch, say observers. The aim of the coup would be to divert attention away from the secession on Anjouan to the murky politics on Grande Comore, currently under the military rule of Colonel **Azali Assoumane**. As always, “**French** interests” are mentioned as being the likely backers of such an undertaking.

Assoumane, who took over power last year after ousting the civilian government of interim president **Tadjidine Massonde** and his prime minister **Abbas Djoussouf**, is at present hemmed in by internal and external pressures to return the islands to democratic rule. He also has to contend with public workers’ demands for more pay and better working conditions (doctors have been on strike since mid-January) and with the secession on Anjouan.

A coup, mercenary-led or not, on the main island of Grande Comore will undoubtedly give a respite to the Anjouannais secessionists who now have to reckon with OUA-imposed sanctions.

But more than two weeks after their theoretical imposition, the OAU sanctions (travel and financial restrictions) have not yet started to bite since they are not implemented on Mayotte by the French authorities. So far, Mayotte remains the only egress from Anjouan.

The French authorities on Mayotte have told *Africa Analysis* that they have yet to receive instructions from Paris on the enforcement of the sanctions. The Comorian authorities in Moroni have decided to impose two additional sanctions to back those announced by the OAU. First, Moroni has suspended until further notice the transportation of maritime freight to and from Anjouan and, second, anyone living on Anjouan must receive special authorisation before travelling to Grande Comore or Moheli, Comoros’s third island. (*Gambia Daily* 4/2, *Africa Analysis* 25/2) **Victory for separatists p. 13827**

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

UN Operation

UN operation concept; Hema and Lendu violence; Archbishop of Bukavu “exiled”; rebel amnesty; RCD internal rift.

Le Monde reported on February 26th that the United Nations (UN) was at pains to explain the concept of the UN operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The United Nations Observation Mission in Congo (**Monuc**), the creation of which was voted in New York on February 25th, has as its mandate neither the imposition of peace nor the protection of civilians. The 500 observers will only monitor the implementation of the cease-fire and the 5,000 blue helmets will only be there to protect them. In keeping with the new UN spirit it is not wise to create “unrealistic expectations.”

The UN will arrive in a country and a region which is in chaos: the July–August Lusaka agreement has not prevented the fighting nor the serious human rights abuses from continuing.

In spite of the recommendations of the secretary-general, **Kofi Annan**, in November, it has taken four months of negotiations for the Security Council to agree on the sending of observers. According to *Le Monde*, this delay is mainly down to reticence on the part of the US Congress.

The US ambassador to the UN, **Richard Holbrooke**, on the 24th expressed his satisfaction at the resolution. “The Security Council has taken a crucial measure to help Congo reach the peace that its people so desperately need,” he said. For his part, the Congolese ambassador, **Andre Kapanga**, declared: “After so much procrastination, the Security Council has finally heard the cries and lamentations of the Congolese people.”

Under Resolution 1291, sponsored by the US, Monuc, which has an annual budget estimated at \$0.5bn, has 45 days to draw up a plan for implementation of the cease-fire accord including “disengagement, redeployment and disarmament” of the warring parties. Monuc will be divided into four infantry battalions to be deployed in stages. **Pakistan, Jordan, Senegal and Egypt** have offered troops. But the resolution also stresses that the UN troops will not be deployed until the warring parties give “firm and credible assurances” guaranteeing their safety.

Around March 10th, the assistant general

secretary in charge of peacekeeping operations, the Frenchman **Bernard Miyet**, will go to central Africa to make sure the conditions are appropriate for the sending of the observers.

If the deployment goes smoothly, Monuc could, eventually, form the first element of an international force charged with overseeing the disarmament and demobilisation of the combatants as well as the withdrawal of foreign troops.

As far as the use of force is concerned, Resolution 1291 allows Monuc to resort to the use of weapons to protect its men and adds with ambiguity that a recourse to the use of force extends to “protection of civilians in imminent danger of physical violence. When questioned on this point, one UN official responded angrily: “We are not there to settle certain countries’ problems of guilty conscience. If they want civilians to be protected, they should put at our disposal 50,000 soldiers.” (*LM* 26/2)

Prof Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, the leader of the Congolese Rally for Democracy (**RCD**) Kisangani rebel group, has said internal rifts and lack of clear leadership in rebel ranks will greatly undermine the United Nations peace mission in Congo.

In an exclusive interview with *The New Vision* (Kampala), Wamba said it was a long way to peace because, “certain parties were not sincere when signing the Lusaka Peace Agreement. Two things complicate the internal aspect of the peace process. Many of the signatories never signed the Lusaka accord with good faith. Many still hold the notion that [DR Congo president, **Laurent-Désiré**] **Kabila** cannot be trusted so the only alternative is to overthrow Kabila militarily,” he said.

He added that DR Congolese leader **Laurent Kabila** himself did not trust the rebels and would not be in position to actually sit down at a national dialogue to reach a consensus to seek a sort of arrangement that could bring stability and democracy to Congo.

Wamba, whose group has **Uganda**’s backing, said the **Rwanda**-backed RCD-Goma (eastern DR Congo) faction is in “disarray and almost destroyed.” He said lack of effective leadership in any group could result in numerous cease-fire violations.

War Within a War

Violence between the Hema and the Lendu has killed several thousand people in a seven-month period in the north east of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Both sides blame each other for the massacres and



(Independent 15/2)

risk raising the tension even higher. The massacres, which began in June in Ituri province (formerly the eastern province) have left between 2,000 and 8,000 dead and caused widespread destruction on both sides, according to the *Agence France Presse* correspondent in Bunia, the capital of the province bordering Uganda.

"Most Hema and Lendu want peace," said **Jacques Depelchin**, one of the leaders of the Congolese Rally for Democracy-Liberation Movement (**RCD-ML**), a rebel group which controls the province with Ugandan support. However, leaders from both communities recall that there have always been clashes and accuse each other of genocidal leanings.

The Hema, livestock rearers, and the Lendu, farmers and hunters, co-existed more or less peaceably in the Ituri province up to the independence of the former Zaire when Hema traders managed to obtain the rights to the lands freed by the Belgian colonial power. The Lendu meanwhile settled around these big estates, where they were employed as agricultural workers and herdsmen.

"The roots of this war lie partly in the way Mobutu ran the state," Mr. Depelchin asserted, adding that without any effective administration, the rich took power and he accused the former provincial governor, Adele Lotsove of having reinforced the inequalities and causing attempts at reconciliation to fail.

On two occasions, tensions between the Hema and Lendu have degenerated into violence: in the mid-seventies and in June 1999.

According to **Missak Kasongo**, an activist in **Justice-Plus**, an independent human rights organisation, what caused the spark to ignite in the latest round was the intervention by **Ugandan** soldiers. Landowning Hemas effectively recruited soldiers, mostly Ugandan, to protect their interests, although they claim it was for their own defence.

For his part, **Raphael Butsoro Bulikoko**, a Lendu leader in Djugu (north of Bunia) also cites self-defence as the reason many Lendu men set up bases in the brush. "If we put down our weapons and go back to the villages, we are attacked again," he said. Several Lendu men were killed at the end of last year near the village of Bambu Mines, which had been the target of two attacks.

As far as Mr. Bulikoko is concerned, the only way to stop the fighting is to disarm the Hema and ensure that each community's territorial boundaries are respected. Other Lendu leaders are calling for the Hema to abandon the land which should theoretically have been theirs at independence. Hema leaders maintain that the land issue is just an excuse for an extermination process which has been planned for a long time.

Mr. Depelchin, who is in contact with both sides, says he has seen no evidence pointing to such a plan. "The idea that all the good guys are on one side and the bad on the other does not apply here," he affirmed.

John Nagenda, an aide to President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, called the allegation that Uganda was involved "absolute rubbish."

"We agree 100 percent with the Lusaka peace accord and therefore have no interest in pouring flames on an already hot situation," he said, referring to the peace document signed in Lusaka.

PANA reported that Uganda was deploying more troops in the Democratic Republic of Congo to restore law and order in the troubled north-eastern region of Ituri. (*Nation* 10/2, *Herald Tribune* 14/2, PANA 15/2)

Papal Protest Over Treatment of Archbishop

Pope Jean Paul II protested very strongly on February 16th at the decision by the Congolese Rally for Democracy (**RCD**) to prevent the archbishop of Bukavu (east), **Mgr Emmanuel Kataliko**, from returning to his diocese.

"It constitutes a very serious violation which is an affront to all Catholics," the Pope told 16,000 pilgrims at his daily

address in St Peter's Square. He also made "an urgent appeal for a swift implementation of the Lusaka accords" so that the DR Congo can achieve "peace and reconciliation."

On February 11th, the RCD, the main rebel movement in the Congo, accused the archbishop of complicity with President Kabila. In a statement the RCD said Mgr Kataliko recently "issued a pastoral letter which was unworthy of a man of the Church as it encouraged ethnic hatred."

Between February 1st to 7th, Bukavu was the scene of a civil resistance movement which turned it into a ghost town, with its residents protesting particularly against the **Rwandan** army presence alongside the rebels. The Congolese authorities accused the representatives of the Catholic church in Bukavu of being behind the protests. On December 2nd, Mgr Kataliko had called in a letter for "civil resistance to stop the looting of the DR Congo's resources by foreign powers."

According to the Vatican agency, *Fides*, the measure taken against the archbishop "is a part of the repression being promoted against the Church in the Great Lakes by the Rwandan authorities and their agents in the Congo."

The archbishop is said to be "well" and staying with the Bishop of Butembo. The tension between the Church and the pro-Rwandan rebels in the east reach a new high with the report of the murder of a priest in a rebel-held town. The Vatican press *Fides*, said that a newly-ordained priest and two laymen travelling in the parish of Kiliba (east) were killed on the evening of the 15th. The agency said the attack was led by a group of rebel *banyamulenge* (Congolese Tutsis) but a priest in Bukavu maintained that the attackers were Burundian or Rwandan soldiers. The RCD meanwhile accused the **Interahamwe** militia.

"The rebels' strategy, backed by Rwanda, is to eliminate the Catholic Church's representative in Kivu," said the priest, who wished to remain anonymous. "The scenario is always the same: they stage an attack with the so-called Interahamwe who kill a priest," he added.

There are serious precedents for these incidents, noted *AFP*. In 1996, the archbishop of Bukavu, **Christophe Muzirha**, was killed in an attack led by Kabila with his Rwandan allies who are now fighting against him. Numerous sources in Kinshasa say the Rwandans were behind the killing. As explanation they point to the alleged collusion between some of the

Catholic clergy and those responsible for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. (AFP 16–19/2)

Rebel Amnesty

President Kabila signed an amnesty decree for rebels on February 19th. It was granted to:

- (i) All Congolese being prosecuted or who have been sentenced for acts undermining the internal or external security of the state.
- (ii) All Congolese residing in the country or abroad who have in any fashion carried out acts undermining the internal or external security of the state.

The amnesty offer was immediately rejected by the two main rebel groups. Both the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD) and the Congolese Liberation Movement (MLC) said Kabila should be seeking, rather than granting, such a measure. (RTNC, TV Kinshasa, AFP 21/2: BBC Mon.)

RCD Split

A major split in the leadership of the Rwanda-backed RCD Goma faction is threatening the peace process in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Several rebel leaders want the president of the faction, **Dr. Emile Ilunga**, removed.

They have also sought Uganda's help to reconcile them with the other group led by Prof **Wamba dia Wamba**, but are threatening at the same time to form new rebel movements if reconciliation is not achieved.

The EastAfrican has learnt that the split follows a rumoured mutiny by soldiers of the RCD as the security situation in North Kivu province deteriorated.

Discontented RCD rebels accuse Ilunga of failure to act independently of their ally, Rwanda. Others accuse the commander of the rebel forces, **Jean Pierre Ondekane**, of "not being in control."

In another development, a founding member of the RCD Goma faction, Mr. **Roger Lumbala**, resigned from its leadership, saying the movement was guilty of human-rights violations and corrupt.

He accused officials in the RCD-Goma, the main rebel force which has been fighting President Laurent Kabila's government in the Democratic Republic of Congo, of failing to pay its fighters and causing suffering. (EastAfrican 28/2) **Battle for Ikela; who really wants peace? p. 13837–9**

DJIBOUTI

Peace Accord

Release of prisoners follows peace accord, which is greeted with the hope of a new government and responsible power-sharing.

Marches Tropicaux reported that a peace accord signed in Paris on February 7th between the Djibouti regime and the armed rebellion came into force on February 10th with the release of about 30 Afar prisoners and three Djiboutian soldiers.

Twenty-eight detainees belonging to the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy (FRUD) left Gabode prison in the suburbs of the capital on February 10th, and the authorities now claim there are no remaining members of the Afar rebellion. A 29th Afar detainee, Mohammed Daoud Chehem had been released on the 7th so that he could go to France to visit his sick brother.

Three Djiboutian soldiers who were being held by the rebellion also arrived in Djibouti on February 10th. Among the rebels who were released are the former FRUD representative in Europe, **Mohamed Kadame**, and a rebel commander, **Ali Maki**. About a dozen detainees belonging to the Issa ethnic group, who had been accused of trying to form a second guerrilla movement in Djibouti, were released on February 12th, having been given a prison sentence equal to the length of time they had already spent in custody.

Radio Djibouti reported that the president of the republic invited the armed FRUD members to return to their homes and rejoin their families. We are nurturing, he said, the hope that the framework agreement which crowns the peace process that started on December 29th 1994, would enable our people and other people within the region to enjoy the aspired-for peace, security and tranquility. The newly-concluded Djibouti accord deserved respect from the international community.

In 1993 a significant offensive was launched by those in power, predominantly Issas, which enabled them to reconquer the territories the Afars had won in 1991. The latter had control of almost the whole country, with the exception of the capital.

Since 1994 the fighting had become more sporadic.

Forays by the FRUD and punitive army operations had resulted in a number of civilian victims. Many lost their lives stepping on landmines left by both sides. But no major headway was made by either side.

After a vigorous army offensive in February 1998, opponents denounced the "blind and brutal repression" carried out by the army in the North. It was accused of summary executions, rape and deportations on a large scale.

Today a number of areas in the North, near the Ethiopian frontier, remain isolated. Travellers avoid certain roads which are reputed to be dangerous.

But now most of the population no longer suffers the effects of a civil war. Instead the signing of this agreement raises a number of questions and the main question is: what positions of power will be assigned to Afars?

If it is applied to the letter, the agreement will upset the current political picture, in particular in the Afar camp, divided between those who agreed to share power in 1994, **Ahmed Dini's** opponents, and supporters of the latter.

According to some Afars, close to Mr. Dini, a change of government and the nomination of a new prime minister with "real power" is looked forward to. **Barkat Gourad Hamadou**, an Afar, has held the post but he had little power. Mr. Dini, an ex-Prime Minister himself, could also return to the political scene, although he has always maintained an intransigent position as regards a true division of power between Afars and Issas. (Radio Djibouti 7/2: BBC Mon., *Marches tropicaux* 18/2, Agence France Presse 9/2) **Moussa Ahmed Idriss Freed p. 13804C**

EGYPT

Step Forward?

Islamic Group asks members to change tack while emergency powers extended.

Gama'a al-Islamiya (Islamic Jihad group) in Egypt has asked all its members in and outside of Egypt to halt military operations and direct all efforts and resources towards liberating Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

In a statement dispatched to *Al-Jazeera* television channel, the group said that this decision was made after consultation with Gama'al al-Islamiya leaders who support stopping military operations in and outside Egypt.

Egypt's political and fundamentalist forces have received with relief the statement issued by the Egyptian Jihad Organisation that was signed by one of its leaders, **Usamah Siddiq Ayyub**, who lives in Germany, and which *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* published on February 6th.

It seems that the recent developments within the Egyptian group, which forced its leader, **Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri** to step down, have led to the emergence of a new trend within the leadership of the group seeking to stop the military operations and move the organisation's strategy towards other means. An appeal issued by a prominent leader of the group, Usamah Siddiq Ali Ayyub, was quickly welcomed by his colleagues in the group, and a number of inmates in Egyptian jails—sentenced for issues relating to the group—have announced their support for the appeal.

Prominent fundamentalists in Egypt refused to comment on the statement, which gave rise to conflicting reactions.

Several fundamentalists linked the call to the controversy surrounding the resignation of Jihad founder **Ayman al-Zawahiri**. The sources, who asked to remain anonymous, called it an extension of the turmoil and confusion within the Jihad—particularly with regard to Zawahiri's organisational link over the past years with **Osama Bin Laden** which, the sources said, is at odds with the bases on which the group was founded in Egypt.

The sources said that Siddiq's call has come late, given that over the past two years, the country has not witnessed any acts of violence. (*Al-Sharq al-Aswat, Al-Hayat* 7/2)

Emergency Extended

On February 26th the People's Assembly extended the emergency law for another three years. It has been in effect for 19 years, coming back into effect after the assassination of President Sadat in 1981. (*Al-Wafd* 27/2) **Copts and Muslims clash** (map) pp. 13839–40

KENYA

Ethnic Clashes

Some political, some drought induced, clashes increase ethnic tension.

The *Daily Nation* (government—Nairobi) criticised the government for failing to tackle ethnic violence. Reports that the government is being accused of not only sidelining the Kikuyu community on development matters but also engaging in a hate campaign that might lead to genocide are extremely disturbing.

A good example is the recent flare-up in Laikipia and a part of Nyandarua during

which it was reported that at least 40 members of one tribe had been killed in quite a macabre fashion.

It is true that violence is widespread throughout the country. But the apparently motiveless orgy of organised violence which has broken out in many areas in the past eight years cannot be ignored.

While we cannot go as far as saying the government is responsible for planning and executing the opening shots of incipient genocide, most of the violence directed at Kikuyus is patently political, said *Daily Nation*. In other words, violence has become a political weapon, and whenever that happens, a Rwanda-style pogrom becomes inevitable.

Ethnic clashes have erupted in Isiolo town (central Kenya) and Laikipia District, scene of previous tension.

The situation in Laikipia has had serious political ramifications following a spate of unsolved and grisly killings, with local politicians voicing suspicion of a political motive. The pastoralists largely identify with the ruling party, while the majority of Laikipia residents support the opposition Democratic Party, reported the *East-African*.

Part of the problem is an intense drought in some areas, which is causing herders to stray from their usual pastures.

At least 100 Pokot herders from western Kenya, who had gone to graze their cattle in neighbouring **Uganda**, have been killed and 40 injured by rival Karamojong herders, according to Kenyan police. (*Daily Nation* 10/2, *EastAfrican* 14/2, *GD* 28/1)

LIBERIA

Islamic Leader Charged

Government says it fears external Islamic threat. Konneh disappears. Mosques burnt.

The Liberian government has charged **Lartin Konneh**, the leader of the **Islamic Jihad of Liberia** movement, with treason and issued a warrant for his arrest.

In a press statement issued on February 19th, the Justice Ministry said it had information that Konneh was "a representative of a greater Islamic fundamentalist organisation outside Liberia with plans to wage war on the country."

Government officials said Lartin Konneh, who has encouraged Liberian Muslims to boycott the government of President **Charles Taylor**, was guilty of violating

Article 76 of the Liberian constitution which forbids incitement in any form.

They also said Konneh was in hiding, though his family earlier lodged an official complaint that he had been taken from his home 10 days earlier by 20 plain clothes men believed to be government security officers and had not been seen since.

"We have information that a certain local NGO is planning to smuggle Konneh out of Liberia," the ministry said, warning anyone against harbouring or aiding the Islamic Jihad leader to escape.

Konneh, a member of the Mandingo ethnic group and of the opposition **Reformation Alliance Party**, ruffled the feathers of state authorities in early February when he called on all Muslim public officials to resign with immediate effect.

In an interview with the independent *New Democrat* newspaper, Konneh also called on Muslims to reject President Charles Taylor's offer to underwrite the expenses of some 40 Muslims wishing to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca this year.

He said this was to protest the recent burning of three mosques on Voinjama, Lofa County as well as attacks on Muslim shrines in the Zoe-Geh district of Nimba County and Zorzor, Lofa County. Lartin Konneh blamed the attacks on Muslims partly on government inaction.

Ethnic clashes between the predominantly Mandingoes and the Lormas in Lofa have been going on since 1997 and have led to wanton arsons and massacres on both sides, with the Muslims suffering heavier casualties, however. (*AFP* 20/2)

LS40m for AFL

President Taylor has announced a sum of Liberian \$40m, to be approved by the legislature, to support the initial phase of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) restructuring programme. (*R. Liberia, Monrovia* 16/2: *BBC Mon.*) **Monrovia checkpoints demolished** p. 13805A

NIGERIA

Kaduna Explodes

A constitutional vacuum encourages a further shift towards shariah and sectarian violence. Return to status quo ante may calm Kaduna.

Fighting between Christians and Muslims in the northern Nigerian state of Kaduna is the latest challenge faced by the still-young democratic government in holding

together one of Africa's most diverse countries.

Over the past year, fighting has set Yoruba against Hausa, Christian against Muslim, and communities against their neighbours throughout Africa's most populous country.

Usually, the conflict has been sparked by local rivalries, but fuelled by wider regional resentments—between the commercial hub of the south-west and the politically dominant north, or the plundered oil fields of the south-east.

Even at local level, fighting takes on an ethnic or religious character, since Christianity and the Yoruba and Ibo people are associated with the South, and Islam and the Hausa people with the North. Nigeria's existence as a country is purely the result of borders drawn by colonial pens.

At independence, a federal constitution was adopted with a view to giving a greater degree of self-determination to Nigeria's regions.

But since democracy returned to Nigeria in 1999, and President **Olusegun Obasanjo** adopted a less authoritarian style of government than his military predecessors, the shortcomings of the federal system have been all too obvious.

However one might redraw the internal boundaries, there will always be states in Nigeria that reflect something of the country's ethnic and religious diversity.

The most serious ethnic clashes in recent months have occurred in cities such as Lagos and Kano which have a large ethnically mixed population.

And so it is with religion, reported *BBC Online*. As part of the greater freedoms offered under the Obasanjo government, several Muslim-dominated states in the North have expressed interest in introducing Sharia, or Islamic law.

Sharia arrived peacefully in the overwhelmingly Muslim Zamfara.

So far, Zamfara state is the only one where Sharia has been implemented, and the transition passed off largely peacefully.

But in Kaduna—which has a substantial Christian minority—the mere mention of Sharia has sparked bloodshed and destruction.

Perhaps wisely, the Kaduna state authorities said they would start investigating ways in which Sharia could be introduced, rather than imposing it unilaterally.

Moreover, Nigerian Muslim leaders have said all along that Sharia will not affect the



(EC [UK])

lives of the Christian minority in Sharia states.

But such assurances did little to ease the fears of Christians in Kaduna, who turned out in their thousands in an initially peaceful demonstration against the proposed introduction of Sharia. Scuffles between demonstrators and Muslim bystanders soon grew into far more serious fighting and arson.

The question now is how to contain the violence.

Police in Kaduna have appealed for reinforcements. Another more risky option would be the deployment of soldiers.

Calling out the army to quell civil unrest is bound to be politically dangerous in a country where soldiers have in the past needed little provocation in staging coups d'état—and where the present government is trying to prove itself as the guarantor of democracy.

President Obasanjo, whose family is part of the north's Christian minority, also has to tread carefully lest he be accused of anti-Muslim bias.

The last time the president called out the troops was in November, when soldiers went into the Niger Delta following the killing of a dozen policemen by local militant youths.

The result was yet more bloodshed, with soldiers blamed for hundreds of deaths, and President Obasanjo being forced to apologise.

Memories of that incident are certain to haunt the President as he ponders how to deal with this latest symptom of his country's difficult transition. (*BBC Online* 25/2)

Zamfara Enforces Sharia

On February 10th, a young muslim in Zamfara State was caught sipping alcohol

by the muslim vigilante aid group employed by the state to enforce Sharia laws. The group subsequently reported him to Abubakar Rando-Runa, one of the judges of the Sharia court trained by the state government. The judge sentenced him to 80 strokes of the cane, reported *Newswatch*. The sentence was immediately carried out to the cheers of a crowd of about 500 persons. The sentence was carried out near the palace of the Emir of Gusau, the traditional ruler of the state capital.

Constitutional pundits say that though the law would help bring down the rate of crime in any state, which adopts it, it would also increase misery if, for example, petty thieves have their hands amputated.

Non-muslims especially in Kaduna say that what they fear is the effect of the Sharia on their lifestyles, especially aspects of their culture which may be infringed upon by the full application of the Islamic law. A motorbike operator was jailed, for instance, for carrying women. They are quick to point to comments and actions of the government of Zamfara. For example, the state governor refused to include Christians on the board of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. He has also vowed not to give jobs to anyone who does not wear a beard. Since it is the Christians in Zamfara who own restaurants and bars they believe the ultimate objective is to drive them out of business. (*Newswatch* 28/2)

Obasanjo Vacillates

One of the reasons why the sharia issue has assumed such alarming proportions is the inability of the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo to take a clear stand on the issue, commented *Mail & Guardian*. Many non-Muslims believe that as the Nigerian Constitution makes Nigeria a secular state and prohibits the imposition of any religious beliefs on any Nigerian citizen, those states that have imposed sharia law have done so *ultra vires*—the Constitution does not give them power to do so. Those who hold this view include Judge Mohammed Bello, a former chief justice of Nigeria.

Because of the legal interpretation necessary if the Constitution is to be respected in the matter, it was expected that the action of the Zamfara state governor in being the first to declare his state a sharia state would be challenged in the supreme court by the federal government.

Once the supreme court had made a constitutional interpretation of the relevant clauses, the issue would have been deter-

ined. If the supreme court said that the application of sharia law was legal, then those states that want it can have it. But if it ruled that sharia law was illegal, then anyone who imposed it would be going against the law of the country.

But, either because Obasanjo obtained his greatest electoral support from the northern Muslim states, he has not been able to give the green light to his legal officers to seek a supreme court interpretation; or—which is even worse—his legal officers, sensitive to his political position, have not been able to give him the sort of advice that is necessary to put an end to the dangerous controversy.

However, what Obasanjo's inaction has wrought is the dangerous situation we have seen in Kaduna, which can be taken as a sign that as the sharia train gathers momentum in the northern states, there will be more of the same.

The elected governors of the 19 northern states where Muslims are in the majority are all under varying degrees of popular pressure now to take a stand on Sharia law.

However, the governor of Kaduna has made no decision either way.

Kaduna has almost as many Christians as Muslims. So whatever the eventual decision, the consequences could be disastrous. But indecision too is proving costly. (*Mail & Guardian* 25/2, *Financial Times* 23/2)

The Northern States Consider Sharia

By February 29th the violence had spread to other towns. A dust-to-dawn curfew was imposed on Nigeria's south-eastern city of Aba after the clashes between ethnic Igbo youths and members of the Hausa community, an apparent off-shoot of sectarian violence that killed more than 200 people in the northern state of Kaduna.

Reports on February 29th from Aba, in Abia state, said the police were mobilised to enforce the curfew and maintain peace after clashes in which more than 20 people reportedly died.

The neighbouring city of Owerri and the famous market town of Onitsha were also reported to be under ethnic and religious tension.

The states of Kebbi, Katsina and Sokoto were preparing for the introduction of the sharia, Yobe had adopted an overseer in preparation, Kano was cautious, Katsina determined. Niger state signed the bill making sharia the law on February 22nd. The whole of northern Nigeria was likely to adopt the sharia. (*PANA* 29/2)

Sharia Revoked

On February 29th the National Council of State decided that the implementation of the sharia law in the northern states should revert to the former provisions of the penal code.

At a news conference shortly after the meeting, the vice-president, **Atiku Abubakar**, explained that the decision was taken in the best interest of national security. The vice-president described the penal code as substantial in sharia, with only a few exceptions which were modified to suit the circumstances of this country.

The National Council of State, therefore, appealed to all religious leaders, opinion leaders, and leaders of thought to help keep their citizens or followers in check to minimise the present tension in the country. He said the decision on the penal code issue was taken to restore normalcy and create confidence among all communities.

Present at the news conference were the governors of Zamfara, Niger, Bauchi, Kaduna, Ogun, Plateau, Anambra and Rivers State. The governors were immediately directed to get back to their various state to tighten security in the interest of the citizens.

The three northern Nigerian states which declared Islamic sharia law have agreed to withdraw the legislation, Vice-President Atiku Abubakar said. At a meeting of the National Council of States presided over by President Olusegun Obasanjo it was agreed that the three states of Zamfara, Niger and Sokoto should return to the situation preceding declarations of sharia made in recent months. "It was decided and agreed that, as far as the sharia law is concerned, we will return to the status quo ante," he told reporters after the meeting.

The governors of the three northern states had accepted the decision, he said. Three other states—Kaduna, Kano and Yobe—which have said they are considering declaring the strict sharia code have agreed to halt the process, Abubakar added.

The ruling was a relief. Many Nigerians feared that if the violence intensified, or if the country seemed to be breaking up, there are military men waiting for an excuse to seize power. Senator **Joseph Waku** of Ogun state was denounced on February 7th for inviting the military to take over. His call for a coup, quoted by *Tell*, was denounced as seditious, but it hints at an underlying unease. (*R. Kaduna* 29/2: *BBC Mon.*, *Agence France Presse* 29/2)

Poverty Underlying Evil

President Obasanjo is hoping that if he can turn the economy round, sectarian violence will become an evil of the past. "What leads to division and conflict is inequality."

According to the *Financial Times* the deterioration in the economy has exacerbated tensions. The collapse of social services, school closures, rising unemployment and falling living standards provides fertile ground for religious extremism and intolerance.

The president started well, but the pace of economic reform has been too slow. He needs strong international support to repair the ravages of military rule, and alleviate the poverty that fuels the violence. Urgent agreement is needed on the IMF programme under discussion, coupled with sympathetic treatment of Nigeria's debt burden. Economic recovery is a precondition for a stable Nigeria. But the country will only remain united if it is governed under a secular federal constitution, which respects both faiths. (*Financial Times* 25/2)

According to *The Guardian*, even Gen. Obasanjo's critics acknowledge that in the past nine months he has achieved some notable successes. He took advantage of the near total disgrace of the army, and his own position as a former general and military ruler, to dismiss almost an entire layer of corrupt senior officers with barely a murmur of protest.

Gen. Obasanjo's anti-corruption programme has also been praised for sending the right message, even if it has a long way to go before significantly curbing graft. But the president is virtually at war with parliament, which has passed just one bill in nine months, and accuses its members of wanting to be bribed to do their work, particularly after they were granted huge "furniture allowances."

"The national assembly has a problem," the president said. "The average age of the members is probably 29 or 30. They have power without knowledge or experience, which is dangerous. They seem to get carried away by emotion or personal interest."

The president's advisers say he is so sick of the national assembly that he will use his powers to bypass it if it fails to cooperate. (*Guardian* 25/2) **State of emergency threat p. 13841**

RWANDA

International Genocide Arrests

Suspects have been arrested in Britain, France and Denmark and face

extradition to stand trial in Tanzania. The Rwandan authorities have resumed cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal there.

There is no hiding place, it would seem, for those accused of taking part in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, said *West Africa*. In mid-February, the prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), **Carla Del Ponte**, announced the arrest in Europe of two more suspects, Major **Francois Xavier Nzuwonemeye** and **Innocent Sagahutu**.

Nzuwonemeye, the commander of the Rwandan army's reconnaissance battalion was arrested in Montauban, **France**. According to the prosecution, his men were responsible for massacring Tutsi civilians in a Kigali hospital in April 1994.

Sagahutu was picked up in Ringkjobing, **Denmark**. He is said to have given the order for 10 **Belgian** UN peacekeepers to be taken to Kigali barracks where they were subsequently murdered on April 7th 1994. "I welcome these two new arrests and thank the French and Danish authorities for their co-operation," Del Ponte said. This brings the number of suspects arrested since November 1999 to six.

Nzuwonemeye is the second person to be detained in France. The first was former minister **Jean de Dieu Kamuhanda**, who was arrested in Bourges in 1999. *AFP* reported that he had had his appeal for extradition rejected in Paris on February 9th and was due to be handed over to the Arusha authorities.

The other three, **Mike Muhimana**, **Tharcisse Muvunyi**, and former military leader **Augustine Nindiliyimana**, were arrested in **Tanzania**, **Britain** and **Belgium** respectively.

Officially, the ICTR is saying that the arrests are due to the aggressive policies of Del Ponte. However, sources say the exercise is an attempt to salvage the image of the prosecutor's office, which suffered a major setback with the release of genocide suspect **Jean Bosco Barayagwiza**. It was found that the prosecution had violated his rights during his arrest and detention.

The prosecution has since filed a motion for a review of the decision. Barayagwiza, meanwhile, is still in detention.

The Rwandan government, in protest at the release, withdrew its cooperation with the ICTR and refused to issue travel documents to witnesses. Full relations only resumed in early February.

The three most recent arrests have all protested their innocence. The governments of the three countries concerned will have to make the decision on whether to allow extradition or not. The suspect in the UK, **Tharcisse Muvunyi**, was remanded in custody in London on February 7th. He has been implicated in the deaths of more than 100,000 people and has been living in Britain for almost two years.

It is alleged that Muvunyi, while a military commander in Butare and Gikongoro provinces, sanctioned the murder of 25 children living in a convent. The nuns tried to protect the children, but the killers found them hiding in cupboards and above ceilings. They were led out with promises of cake, forced to lie down in the back of a lorry and driven to a forest where they were butchered. Mr. Muvunyi's lawyer said on February 18th that his client planned to mount a legal challenge, the *Guardian* (UK) reported. (WA 28/2, *GATP* 16, 18/2, *GD* 10, 17/2)

Human Rights Inquiry Into Sebarenzi Affair

The Rwandan National Commission on Human Rights (CNDH) has opened an inquiry into the matter of the former speaker of the Rwandan parliament, **Joseph Sebarenzi Kabuye**, who was forced to resign on January 6th, the CNDH president told *Agence France Presse* on February 18th.

Mr. Sebarenzi, accused by the authorities of subversion, was forced out of parliament by the forum of authorised political parties on January 18th. Fearing that his life was in danger, on January 23rd he fled to **Uganda**, according to a source close to him. The CNDH, elected by the national assembly, has written to two ministers in the transition government requesting clarification on the issue. Its president, Gasana Ndobu, said the letter had been sent to the Ministers of Justice and the Interior but would not elaborate on its contents.

According to the Rwandan Minister for Internal Security, **Cheikh Abdoul Karim Harelimana**, "This letter asks me where Sebarenzi is at present, while it asks the Minister of Justice if there is an actual legal case against Mr. Sebarenzi."

"Some people, certain rumours, are saying that Mr. Sebarenzi was detained in Kigali at the moment when Kampala was saying that he had not been seen on Ugandan soil," he added. (*AFP* 18/2)

Meanwhile, state radio in Rwanda said four people had been sentenced to death for genocide and crimes against humanity for their roles in the 1994 mass killings.

They were among a group of forty people tried jointly by a special court in Cyan-gugu, in south-western Rwanda. Thirteen others accused were sentenced to life imprisonment and a further thirteen to twenty years each. Two were given four-year terms and the remaining eight were acquitted. (*R Kigali* 29/2: *BBC Mon.*) **UN Genocide Lawsuit p. 13841**

SENEGAL

Rising Death Toll in Casamance

A joint peace mission was set up by the government and the Casamance rebel movement in early February but clashes still occurred. An attack on a tourist bus in late February was condemned by the rebels.

The government and the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) set up a joint mission to monitor and implement the Banjul peace deal on February 5th. The mission has representatives of the government, the MFDC, civilian society, **Guinea Bissau** and the **Gambia**, said *Radio France Internationale* (RFI).

Despite this initiative for peace, however, there were several attacks and deaths in the region in February, coinciding with the presidential elections (p. 13863). The attacks seemed to increase in severity. Three people died—two civilians and one soldier—in the first two. Two soldiers were killed and two wounded in the third clash on February 22nd. The army had intervened against men who had attacked a transport vehicle and stolen the passengers' belongings. The attackers withdrew towards the border with Guinea Bissau taking food and the vehicle with them as well as hostages that they then freed. A French tourist was seriously wounded in the second attack and had to be repatriated. On February 18th rebels had also cut off electricity supplies to Ziguinchor, ransacked shops there and killed a gendarme. *Liberation* asked whether the attacks were an attempt by the most radical guerrillas to discredit the peace process, or was it just banditry. It pointed out that the fighters were finding supplies increasingly difficult to come across.

The MFDC meanwhile "denounced and condemned the barbarous and criminal acts against peaceful European tourists" and blamed "the enemies of peace who have not yet laid down their weapons." (*AFP* 22, 23/2: *BBC Mon.*) See p. 13863 **Renegades Undermine Peace p. 13842**

SIERRA LEONE

Truth and Reconciliation?

A commission similar to the one pioneered by South Africa is to be set up. Foday Sankoh, erstwhile rebel leader, defies a travel ban but is deported from South Africa. Former rebels in stand-off with UN troops as RUF elements refuse to disarm. Guinea vulnerable?

On February 22nd parliament voted in a law setting up a “truth and reconciliation commission” with the job of looking at the atrocities committed during the war (1991–1999) *Le Monde* reported. The commission will have seven members and will include three foreign experts. The creation of such a commission was included in the peace agreement signed on July 7th in Lome by President **Ahmad Tejan Kabbah** and the rebel leader of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), **Foday Sankoh**. It will not be able to recommend that people be brought to trial as the peace deal gave a general amnesty for “war crimes”. (*LM* 25/2)

Gemini News discussed the implications—“the difficult trade-off of justice for pragmatic compromise”. The civil war left up to 50,000 people dead and two million displaced between 1992 and 1999. A widespread rebel tactic was to chop off limbs from thousands of children and adults, in order to terrify and to punish those they suspected of backing the government.

“Most truth commissions do come with a blanket amnesty,” notes truth commission specialist Michael Scharf. “But you can still achieve some justice through other mechanisms: you can name names of perpetrators, ban them from elected office, judicial office and the military, and you can allow civil suits to go forward so that victims can get compensation.”

An ideal truth commission would establish an unassailable historic record. It would allow victims to present their stories before a neutral official body because it has a cathartic effect—they feel they’ve told their story and someone’s listened.

“In addition, the people responsible for atrocities ought to be named, and the commission should also have a victim compensation mechanism.” (*GEM* 25/2)

Foday Sankoh Sent Home

The leader of the former rebellion (RUF), Foday Sankoh, arrived in Abidjan (**Cote d’Ivoire**) on February 22nd from South Africa, the Ivorian Foreign Ministry revealed. He was awaiting a plane home. Sankoh had arrived in **South Africa** from

the Cote d’Ivoire on February 18th, armed according to the Pretoria authorities with a visa issued “by mistake” in Abidjan. The RUF leaders have been under a UN ban on travelling since 1998 and Foday Sankoh was asked to leave South Africa as soon as the “mistake was realised”. On February 19th the UN Security Council’s sanctions committee on Sierra Leone demanded the “immediate return” to Freetown of Sankoh who had left the country without authorisation.

In October 1999 Foday Sankoh was appointed president of the Commission for Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development following the July 1999 peace deal which put an end to eight years of civil war. The Abidjan authorities pointed out that his initial visit to Abidjan was justified by “health reasons” and approved by the Sierra Leonian government. Once there he succeeded in getting himself a visa and going to South Africa, taking the Ivorian authorities by surprise.

Newspapers in Sierra Leone reported that Sankoh had gone to South Africa to tie up a private diamond deal. Foreign ministry spokesman Dumisani Rasheleng said the South African mission mistakenly believed the UN travel ban on Mr. Sankoh was lifted after he was appointed to the government. (*AFP* 22/7, *GD* 23/2)

UN Force Held Back – Arms Stolen

Soldiers from the UN peace force, **MINUSIL**, were prevented from deploying in the east of the country by former rebels, the UN mission in Freetown announced on February 25th. About 300 fighters from the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), armed with assault rifles and grenade launchers, held back a unit made up of **Indian** and **Ghanaian** soldiers near Bendu locality, *AFP* reported.

After a tense encounter “we decided that it was not worth a confrontation and we brought our contingent away”, a MINUSIL official said. The blue helmets are there to guarantee the application of the July 1999 peace agreement. The UN Security Council recently voted to increase the number of men in the force from 6,000 to 11,000.

Foday Sankoh, as well as being expelled from South Africa, now faces the wrath of two other factions: Deputy Defence Minister **Sam Hinga-Norman** who leads the pro-government Kamajor militia and **Johnny Paul-Koroma**, a retired colonel who heads the renegade soldiers of the defunct Armed Forces Ruling Council (**AFRC**). The two have pledged to the UN and Ecomog forces to use force against any faction which continued to refuse to disarm, reported *Africa Analysis*.

There is no doubt that the pledge is against Sankoh’s RUF which started the country’s rebel war in 1991. The RUF has so far refused to be disarmed and still occupies large parts of the country, including the diamond-rich eastern districts of Kono and Tongo Field.

Sankoh’s rebels have also blocked the deployment of the UN force in the areas they control, and recently seized the weapons of the **Guinean** contingent in the UN force in the northern township of Kamakwie. MINUSIL is still waiting for Sankoh to instruct his fighters to return the weapons taken from the UN troops and to desist from mounting road-blocks and impeding the free movement of peace-keeping forces.

These RUF-created obstacles have angered the international community which is funding the peace process. And MINUSIL is now under intense pressure to enforce the disarmament. Hinga-Norman said, “If the UN force is here to give away its weapons to the RUF they should pack their bags and leave rather than endanger the lives of our people.” But the UN special representative and MINUSIL head, the **Nigerian**-born Oluyemi Adeniji, has not ruled out the use of force to ensure that the RUF complies with the Lome accord.

Many in Freetown fear that the arms seized from the UN troops might be used to restart the war. And there has already been a coup attempt by a group of renegade AFRC soldiers headed by George ‘Junior Lion’ Johnson. Four of the alleged coup plotters, including Johnson, have been arrested with a cache of arms they had stored in various locations in the capital, Freetown. Sankoh had recently advised his fighters to mend fences with the renegade soldiers, since the ‘RUF would soon need their support’.

Sankoh had also confirmed the much-held suspicion that some of his fighters were planning to attack Guinea to support Guinean and Liberian dissidents who aim to overthrow their governments. He warned his men in Kamakwie, where the UN weapons were seized, that they would be severely punished were they to attack Guinea.

Sources close to the RUF high command say that the Guinean rebel leader, Colonel **Joseph Bgago-Zoumaningi**, who left Guinea for **Libya** some 10 years ago, signed a contract with the RUF on May 10th 1999. The terms of the contract are said to include the invasion of Guinea, the training of Guinean hostages and the capture of an entire province which could be used to launch a series of raids in other

parts of Guinea. The invading force is being marshalled at the northern township of Kambaia, *Africa Analysis* said. (AFP 25/2, AA 25/2) **Very Fragile Peace p. 13842**

SOMALIA

Djiboutian Initiative Moves Forward

The Djiboutian peace initiative gathered pace, receiving international interest as well as internal Somali reactions. The desperate need for a solution was illustrated by attacks on aid convoys to the country.

New African reported that the Somali National Reconciliation conference was now taking shape with the direct support of the United Nations.

The growing possibility of a conference has led Somalia's clan and militia leaders to sit up and take note. Some are more bellicose than others, but there is a distinct mood that the conference could work. There is even a realisation among those who say they will not attend that they will have to deal with whatever body that emerges from the conference.

Somaliland is one such grouping. In early January, Somaliland and Djibouti agreed to reopen their common border (p. 13844). But there was more. The Somaliland government had always said it would not attend the proposed conference, but there are indications that it might just change its mind and President **Mohammed Egal** has said he will present proposals to whoever or whatever comes out of the conference.

Neighbouring **Puntland** is a similarly stable area in what was once called north-eastern Somalia. An active, elected administration emerged from the Darod clans that inhabited the area in August 1998. But unlike Somaliland, its government refused to accept the break up of Somalia, and is entirely behind the Djibouti process.

Says **Abdullahi Yousef**, the president of Puntland, "We have to change the previous system. We plan now to organise a federal system; not north-south as Egal wants. We would have several regional states in the federation. If [Egal] wants his regional state within the union, it is up to him."

"Puntland is a part and parcel of Somalia and we have not any intention of seceding from the rest of the country. Not even in 100 years."

The plan's proposals were formally endorsed at a meeting in Djibouti on February 7th attended by the US, Italy, Egypt and Ethiopia, the Somaliland newspaper

Jamhuuriga said. (NA, March, *Jamhuuriga* 8/2: *BBC Mon.*)

Aid Convoy Attacked

The international relief and development organisation CARE stated it would continue to respond to humanitarian needs in Somalia despite a recent attack on a famine relief convoy.

On January 28th the food convoy—a private Somali transporter contracted by CARE to deliver approximately 250 tons of emergency food relief to Tieglo in Bakool region—was travelling from north Mogadishu through Hiran when it was stopped and fired upon by local militia. Five people, including four militia members and one member of the convoy, were killed, and 10 more injured. CARE reported that none of its staff were killed or injured and that no food was stolen.

"We will continue to do everything we can to reach the people of Tieglo who desperately need our assistance," says Mustaque Ahmed, food sector coordinator for CARE in Somalia. "This attack has highlighted, once again, the dangers for aid workers in Somalia." (*Care Info* 29/1) **Peace Initiative p. 13844**

SOUTH AFRICA

Anti-Terrorism Bill

The issue of gangs and lawlessness is a perennial thorn in the post-apartheid regime's side. A new anti-terrorism bill aims to address the problem. Meanwhile acts of violence persist.

The government wants to ban groups responsible for bombings and other acts of terror by using a powerful new anti-terrorism law, says the *South African Times*.

The Anti-Terrorism Bill, now under investigation by the SA Law Commission, could make membership of such groups a punishable offence. Also under investigation are provisions which allow for the forfeiture of the assets of groups which end up on the banning list.

A draft of the Bill and a discussion document, which is expected to be finalised before April, were to be considered by the law commission project committee on security legislation in February.

Under investigation are measures which could provide for investigators to apply to the courts, possibly within 48 hours, to detain a suspect for a longer period; and special search-and-seizure powers which will apply specifically to acts of terrorism.

The law is expected to provide for a review of police powers of detention and interrogation; and heavy penalties for supporting a banned organisation and conviction for terrorism.

The legislation could make provision for changes to the Constitution, although this is unlikely.

The proposed legislation will give police and the government's elite law enforcement unit, the Scorpions, other sweeping new powers to aid the war against urban terrorism.

President **Thabo Mbeki** said on February 6th that the new anti-terrorism legislation would be drafted within the framework of the Constitution.

The police and army swooped on Cape Town's Manenberg suburb during the weekend of February 5th–6th in an operation aimed at cleaning up the gang-infested area.

Police said 27 people were arrested on charges ranging from the possession of drugs and illegal firearms, to drug dealing and gambling.

A police sergeant at the scene said further swoops were expected. "This is a new type of raid, using the army as backup. This time we are going to sort them out seriously," he said.

Earlier, the crack police unit, the Scorpions, raided the homes of 15 members of the anti-drugs group People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (**PAGAD**). (*SA Times* 8/2, *Times* 8/2)

Taxi War

Club-wielding taxi drivers halted traffic, smashed windshields and pulled passengers from vehicles on February 17th in a protest against the reorganisation of their industry.

The angry drivers tied up traffic in central Johannesburg and blocked the country's major highway in the second major demonstration against President Thabo Mbeki's plan to rid the roads of what he has called mobile coffins.

Protestors smashed windshields and dragged commuters from taxis not joining the action.

Police said they arrested five taxi drivers for assault and attempted hijacking of non-participating vehicles.

The *South African Times* said it hoped the acts of vandalism and wilful destruction of private property by hundreds of protesting minibus taxi drivers across Johannesburg will finally prompt the government to take

a different and tough approach to hooligans hiding behind “good” intentions.

The paper said that some of the drivers’ fears were understandable but they had alienated people by their behaviour and their attacks on mainly white motorists had increased racial tension. (*HT, SA Times 18/2*) Urban Terrorism p. 13844

TANZANIA

Amnesty Criticises Treason Trial

Amnesty International issued a report on January 27th highlighting the absence of human rights protesters in Zanzibar where 18 opposition members are on trial for treason. President Amour has said the government will not intervene—but is apparently seeking a constitutional change so he could stand for re-election.

The charges of treason being brought by the Zanzibar government against 18 members of the Zanzibar opposition party, the Civic United Front (CUF), illustrate the disturbing absence of human rights protection in the semi-autonomous island of Zanzibar, Amnesty International said in a new report issued at the end of January.

“The treason charges against the members of the CUF are politically motivated. There is no substance to the allegations of a violent conspiracy by the defendants to overthrow the Zanzibar government. The proceedings are merely an attempt by the government to intimidate and suppress its opponents,” Amnesty International said.

The release of the report coincided with a High Court hearing in Zanzibar, adjourned from the previous week when police tear-gassed and beat CUF supporters outside the court, injuring several and arresting about 15. Two policemen were also injured.

In the report, Amnesty International documents the lengthy proceedings—which contravene international fair trial standards—against the 18 members of the CUF. It places the case in the context of a pattern of human rights violations against CUF activists in Zanzibar following the 1995 elections, which were widely seen as rigged to keep Zanzibar President **Salmin Amour** in power.

The first arrests in the treason case were made at the end of November 1997 on the eve of an important by-election in Zanzibar, which CUF nevertheless won. Fourteen CUF members and supporters were

initially arrested and charged with sedition, but the next month the charge was changed to conspiracy to commit treason, which is a non-bailable offence and carries a mandatory death sentence.

Over the following months a further four CUF members were later charged with the same offence, including **Juma Duni Haji**, the winner of the November 1997 by-election and a former opposition candidate for the Tanzanian vice-presidency. In all, four members of the House of Representatives have been arrested, including **Hamad Rashid Mohamed**, a former Tanzanian deputy finance minister.

Treason charges were drafted in early 1999 against a further ten senior CUF members, who might also be arrested and tried with the other 18 defendants.

Amnesty International believes that the numerous delaying tactics of the Zanzibar government, the weak state of the judiciary and the defendants’ treatment in court so far, make it extremely unlikely that the accused could receive a fair trial according to recognised international standards, in particular the right to be tried by an independent and competent court. The trial could be further delayed so as to weaken opposition campaigning for the next elections in October 2000.

“The eighteen individuals are prisoners of conscience who are imprisoned solely on account of their non-violent opinions and peaceful political activities,” the organisation declared. “The Zanzibar government must set them free and withdraw the charges against them.”

Amnesty International is concerned about the ill-health of a number of the defendants, including two women, as a result of the poor prison conditions in Zanzibar Central Prison and the denial of adequate medical treatment.

The organisation urges the Tanzanian government of President Benjamin Mkapa to acknowledge its constitutional responsibilities under the terms of the Union with Zanzibar, as well as its obligations under international law, to protect the human rights of all its citizens—including Zanzibaris and these treason trial prisoners.

“The Tanzanian government should take all the necessary measures to ensure that Zanzibaris enjoy the same basic rights and freedoms as those prevailing throughout the rest of the United Republic of Tanzania,” the organisation concluded.

President Amour said on February 2nd that the court would decide on the fate of the 18. Meanwhile, the controversial debate on

constitutional changes in Zanzibar took a new twist when the isles [of Zanzibar and Pemba] government insisted that plans to amend the constitution so that the incumbent leader could vie for re-election were under way. The Zanzibar Minister for Justice and constitutional affairs, Mr. **Iddi Pandu Hassan** told *PST* (news service) in an interview that a bill to amend the constitution will be tabled in the House of Representatives in March. (*AI 27/1, The Guardian 3/2: BBC Mon.*) Treason Trial p. 13833

TUNISIA

Student Riots

Street demonstrations seen as protest against Ben Ali’s regime.

The French paper *Liberation*, on February 17th, claimed that several towns in Tunisia had been the scene of violent unrest at the beginning of February. The French writer Gilles Perrault, at a press conference in Paris on February 16th, to mark the expulsion from Tunisia of the French academic Jean-Francois Poirier, said, “We must boycott all French personalities who support **Ben Ali**.” Poirier had been expelled after visiting the interior of the country in the company of the Tunisian journalist **Taoufik Ben Brik**, and the human rights militant **Siheem Bensedrine** to verify a rumour that a recent announcement of a rise in the price of bread had led to riots. Although this price rise did not actually take place, several towns were indeed shaken by unrest by high school students for several days from February 3rd.

The press and the authorities did not breathe a word, but eye-witness accounts of February 4th claimed there had been wide-ranging outbreaks of trouble in El Hamma and Zarzis. They had then spread to Sfax, the second largest town in the country. “Not a single sign or notice escaped the rioters. Barricades were put up all over the place, cars were burned out (...). The adults who were stupefied by this phenomenon which had started without their assent, nevertheless applauded the action. The following day, the children ransacked anything that was left,” wrote Taoufik Ben Brik in a text sent to Paris.

The forces of order initially seemed to be beaten, but they then used tear gas and made a number of arrests. More than 400 students and unemployed people were taken into custody. Although most of them were released quite swiftly, about a dozen remained in detention near Gabes, and were due to appear in court on February

8th. Taoufik Ben Brik went on to claim that the school students, aged between 13 and 15, "live in towns steeped in bad luck, attend colleges that were built in a hurry in an environment which does nothing to promote collective living." Thus only 2000 people have a regular salary in El Hamma (80,000 inhabitants), while 70% of the unemployed in Hammet Gabes are under 25. A week after this expression of frustration, during which the name of Ben Ali was booed and hissed, police officers patrolled in the streets of these southern towns, and a number of barrages were set up along the roads linking them.

On February 18th *Liberation* reported that 66 high school students were due to appear in court in El Hamma and Sfax for "destroying public property", following riots in several southern towns. According to human rights militant Sihem Bensedrine, "these are the first demonstrations from the street and they serve as a warning."

President Ben Ali said the riots involved "a small number of secondary schools" and had been started by false news given out by people wishing to harm education in the country, *Radio Tunis* reported. (*Lib 17, 18/2, R Tunis 26/2: BBC Mon.*) **Mouada released p. 13812C**

UGANDA

New Strategy in West

President Museveni has involved himself personally in operations to beat rebels in the West.

President Yoweri Museveni, on February 11th, flew to Semilki National Park in Bundibugyo (western Uganda) where he was to camp for at least a week to coordinate operations against the rebel Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), *New Vision* reported.

This was the first time Museveni had got

directly involved in the **UPDF** (Uganda People's Defence Forces) operations to rout the hit and run ADF insurgents. The three year old ADF rebellion in western Uganda has left hundreds of people dead and displaced in the districts of Kasese, Bundibugyo and Kabarole. The rebels were funded by the **Sudanese** government and Democratic Republic of Congo regime, but a recent deal with Sudan has ended that support.

Security was tightened in the districts of Kabarole and Bundibugyo as the president arrived in the expansive national park where about 100 ADF remnants were said to be on the run. The rebels infiltrated the park while fleeing the UPDF offensive in the Ruwenzori mountains.

Hundreds of troops including the Presidential Protection Unit were deployed in Semilki National Park and the surrounding areas of Karugutu and Jtoroko to ensure the security of the president and hunt for the rebels.

The UPDF had in the previous month destroyed several ADF camps in the national park and Ruwenzori Mountains, killed well over 30 rebels and captured large amounts of ammunition, *New Vision* claimed.

On the 15th army commanders in the area were reshuffled and one of them, Major **Haji Kimbowa**, was arrested. Sources said more than six army units under his command were simultaneously attacked by the APF who killed several, including a captain who was second-in-command.

President Museveni, who is also the army commander-in-chief, held several meetings with army chief of staff and overall commander in the region, the Brigadier **James Kazini** and other junior field commanders in the war zone.

On February 17th the President climbed the Ruwenzori Mountains to assess the situation and reiterated his call to rebels to "take advantage of the amnesty law". (*NV*

13–17/2: *BBC Mon.*) **Scepticism on Amnesty p. 13846**

IN BRIEF

Cameroon: A special unit charged with combating insecurity in Douala, the economic capital of the country, was created by presidential decree on February 20th, an official source in Yaounde said. The unit, named Operational Command, incorporates elements from the police, the gendarmerie and the army and is headed by **General Mpay**. (*AFP 21/2*)

Guinea Bissau: The new President of Guinea Bissau, **Kumba Yala**, promised on February 22nd that he would release several prisoners after he had visited Bissau jails where members of the former regime are incarcerated. About 97 prisoners are still waiting to be tried while their legal dossiers are being argued over by the Ministry of Justice and the Order of the Bar. (*AFP 22/2*)

The trial of Avito Jose da Silva, former Agriculture Minister under the regime of Joao Bernardo Vieira, who is accused of "treason", opened in Bissau on February 22nd. Imprisoned since May 7th 1999, Mr. Da Silva is accused of having embezzled CFA470m to support the war effort and to feed the troops who remained loyal to ex-President Vieira who was confronting an armed rebellion by most of his army. (*AFP 22/2*)

Mauritania: A former Justice Minister in the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (**SADR**), Hametti Ould Rabanti was expelled in mid-February from Mauritania. According to the Mauritanian paper *Le Calame*, Ould Rabani, who is currently in charge of Saharan colonies abroad, was taken to the border by security forces after receiving an order to leave Nouadhibou, where he lived. (*MTM 18/2*)

Morocco: Captain Mustapha Adib, 31, was on February 17th sentenced to five years in prison by the permanent military court of Rabat for exposing corruption in the Moroccan army to a foreign journalist, reported *Le Monde*. His lawyer, Me Abderrahim Jamia, exposed "a whole series of violations of human rights, and abuse of the most elementary procedural rules". The Moroccan Islamic leader Abdessalam Yassine, 72, who has been under house arrest for more than 10 years, could be released soon, according to the Minister of Justice, Omar Azziman in Paris on February 2nd. (*LM 4/2*)

Military

ALGERIA

Joint Exercises with US

Joint American and Algerian naval exercises are to take place in the second half of 2000.

Admiral Daniel Murphy, the commander of the Sixth American fleet, which is stationed in Naples (Italy), recently met Algerian military leaders to discuss military co-operation between the US and Algeria, said the Arabic daily, *Al Hayat*. The idea of naval manoeuvres between the

fleets of the two countries, the first of their kind, was the focus of discussions.

Admiral Murphy had, at the end of September, made a trip to Algiers on board the Mount Whitney, the commanding ship of the American VIth fleet.

The US Under-Secretary of State for the Middle East and North Africa, **Edward Walker**, had, on February 3rd, met Algerian President **Abdelaziz Bouteflika**, and had talked about the development of mili-

A

B

C

tary co-operation between the US and Algeria, according to the American diplomat. (*Agence France Presse* 3/2)

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Radical Restructuring of Army

Three presidential decrees will effect a radical army restructure, including the dissolution of the controversial special defence force, Forsdir; agreement with France.

President **Ange-Felix Patasse** signed three decrees in late January which aim radically to restructure the armed forces following the three mutinies of 1996 and 1997, sources close to the authorities in Bangui indicated.

These decrees, which are yet to be published in the official gazette, provide for the dissolution of the much-debated Special Defence Forces of Republican Institutions (**Forsdir**), the former presidential guard, *Agence France Presse* reported. Consolidation of the Defence Ministry's authority is also included.

Forsdir, which is omnipresent in the capital, Bangui, where its impunity and methods are received with hostility by the population, will, under a new name, be oriented towards ensuring the president's personal safety.

Members of the force will be reduced "in the coming days or weeks" from 1,200 to 400 men. The 800 dismissed elements will be integrated into the CAR armed forces, made up of an estimated 3,000 men, almost all based in Bangui, and into the gendarmerie, whose size will be increasing from 1,000 to 1,600 men.

Forsdir was a stumbling block for the normalization of relations between the CAR and the international community, especially **France**. According to diplomatic sources, the decree providing for the dissolution of Forsdir was signed during the visit of French Cooperation Minister **Charles Josselin** who travelled to the CAR in January for the restoration of dialogue between the CAR and France.

According to the same sources, on the occasion, France and the CAR signed a convention on military cooperation relating to the creation of two garrisons in the towns of Bouar, in the east, and Bria, in the centre. (*AFP* 31/1: *BBC Mon.*)

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

UK Curbs Arms Sales to Protagonists

Following the revelation that the UK had allowed the sale of spare parts for Hawk jets in Zimbabwe (p. 13850) which are used in the DR Congo conflict, British Prime Minister Tony Blair has tightened arms sales controls to countries involved in the war.

Mr. Blair said British companies wanting to export arms to the DR Congo and the six countries surrounding will be subject to new rules, reported the *Guardian* (UK).

One ministerial source described Mr. Blair's statement as "very strong" and that the new criteria were stringent.

The decision to allow the sale of the Hawk spare parts is not being revoked. But Mr. Blair said that in future such exports will be subjected to the new rules, even if it means breaking existing contracts.

As part of the new policy, Mr. Blair said, "We will not grant export licences for new military dual-use equipment where there is a clear risk that it would be used in the DR Congo". Jeeps and other equipment that have a civilian as well as military role will fall into this category.

In a further toughening of the approach to the region of Central Africa, open arms licences will no longer be granted to companies seeking to export to the seven countries involved. An open licence means that if permission is given for the export of one item, such as a tank, all repeat orders automatically go through, as well as spares.

From now on, every item, including spares, will be individually scrutinised.

Mr. Blair said that the British and European Union criteria for arms sales will be rigorously implemented and applications for licences will be examined on a case by case basis.

The policy change had first emerged during a visit by Foreign Office Minister responsible for Africa, **Peter Hain**, to **South Africa**. He had said Britain was "determined to do everything in our power to stop fuelling the conflict in the DR Congo." (*GD* 10/2, *FT* 1/2) **UK Military Sales To Zimbabwe p. 13850**

GUINEA

Senior Army Appointments

New general chief of staff, new land army chief.

Colonel Kerfala Camara, inspector of the armed forces, was appointed chief of staff of the Guinean armies by President **Lansana Conte**, a source close to the Armed Forces Ministry announced on February 14th. He replaces Colonel **Ibrahima Sory Diallo**, appointed governor of the Kankan (Upper Guinea) region where he replaces Colonel **Amara Bangoura** who has retired.

The new chief of staff was a minister on more than one occasion between 1984 when the army took power, and 1992. His predecessor, Colonel Diallo, was appointed chief after the February 1996 mutiny by soldiers. Colonel Bailo Diallo, commander of the Alpha Yaya camp in Conakry and considered as very loyal to Conte, was appointed chief of staff of the land army. (*Agence France Presse* 14/2)

KENYA

Mines Maiming Civilians

No-one is taking responsibility for landmines left in the Rift Valley. Local people are being maimed and even killed by landmines left behind by soldiers during training exercises but the **British** High Commission has denied involvement. Analysts say the Kenyan government was to blame for failing to protect the residents of the affected areas—either through evacuations or fencing off the training areas. There are also fears that the Kenya Army is culpable says the *EastAfrican*. A government source suggested the explosives were left behind by Kenyan and **American** marines.

The British High Commission said that the UK army—accused of abandoning explosives and contaminating pastures by residents of Mukogodo division in Laikipia district—was not the only one to train in the affected areas.

"The British Army exercises in those areas for only one or two weeks in a year. The remaining part of the year, they are used by other troops from other countries including Kenya," said Mr. Rufus Drabble, the high commission's press officer in Nairobi.

The official also denied that the British army used live ammunition in the course of their training at Mukogodo or Dol Dol areas in Laikipia, as alleged by residents.

“We reiterate that the UK troops use the Dol Dol Kenya Army training area for dry training exercises. This means that the British troops use no live ammunition whatsoever,” Mr. Drabble said.

He, however, admitted that the soldiers used live ammunition in Samburu, but with the permission of the Government of Kenya. (EA 21/1)

The *Daily Nation*, meanwhile, reported that a British army helicopter had crashed in the Mount Kenya forest on the night of February 24th injuring an unknown number of passengers. Unconfirmed reports reaching Nanyuki town (in central Rift Valley Province) said some soldiers had died but police said authorities at the UK soldiers camp based in the town were withholding information about the crash. (DN 26/2)

LIBYA

Weapons Deals With Russia

Russia and Libya are renewing their friendship. First off is a nuclear power deal but weapon purchases are on the agenda too. Libya has denied US claims that it is seeking long-range missiles.

Moscow is currently examining the possibility of resuming nuclear cooperation with Tripoli. Russian Deputy Chairman Ilya [Iosifovich] Klebanov has said that a team of Russian experts have already been sent to Libya to study the current situation in the Libyan nuclear centre, which was built with Soviet help, reported *Al Hayat*.

Following talks with Abd al-Rahman Shalgam, deputy Secretary-General of the People's Committee for Foreign Affairs, Klebanov confirmed that the discussions revolved around a project “equivalent to a university research centre” that cannot be used to manufacture nuclear weapons.

The Russian official, who is in charge of the military industries file, expressed his satisfaction with the level of military cooperation between his country and Libya.

West Africa said that Russia, as a major supplier of conventional weapons and civilian hardware to Libya in Soviet times, was in favour of abolishing sanctions in the hope that Libya would be able to pay off its multi-billion dollar debt and forge closer economic ties long before the UN actually did abolish them. “We fully support Libya striving to work hard with Rus-

sia after the lifting of sanctions,” said deputy Premier Oleg Davydov.

Russia's national airline *Aeroflot International* resumed regular flights to Tripoli within a month of the sanctions being lifted. Libya wants to modernise its fleet of military aircraft. This is the main focus of Libya's weapons deals with Russia. Libya intends to overhaul its MiG-25 planes and there are plans for both countries to extend their relationship into several new areas in the arms trade. Russia reportedly intends to supply Libya with its S-300 missiles system. The two countries are currently in negotiations on the sale and modernisation of SU-24 fighters and Mig-14 helicopters.

“I won't keep any secrets. . .now that the UN sanctions against Tripoli are gone, Libya will be the first on our list,” Yury Rodin-Sova, Russia's head of defence systems, told one newspaper. (*Al Hayat* 16/2; *BBC Mon.*, WA 21/2)

Libya has, meanwhile, denied allegations made by US Defence Secretary William Cohen that Libya, among others, was seeking to acquire long-range missiles capable of hitting US and European targets. *Jana* said Mr. Cohen's claims were made in the context of his attempt to market a US defence system and deploy it in Europe by 2005. (*Jana* 7/2; *BBC Mon.*)

NAMIBIA

High Cost of War Involvement

A huge budget deficit reflects the cost of the country's highly unpopular involvement in the war in the DR Congo.

The deficit is projected at N\$800m and relates to the cost of the DR Congo involvement—allowances for soldiers there now consume \$N1.4m a week according to *Africa Analysis*.

The government is also committed to upgrading its air force; even the N\$17m budgeted for rail extension in the north has a military component.

Ministers had originally planned to hold spending at N\$7.7bn for 1999/2000; the new, official, level is N\$8.09bn. The defence ministry will get nearly half the gross additional spend of N\$373m.

Finance Minister **Nangdo Mbumba** must hope for an early peace in the DR Congo, which would allow a face-saving—and cash-saving—withdrawal of troops. This is particularly important, given Namibia's

unavoidable military commitments in defending its own northern border against incursions by Angola's UNITA fighters, embroiled in a last-ditch struggle.

During the debate on the supplementary defence budget, Defence Minister **Ekki Nghmtina** focussed on the “unpredictable situation in the Kavango and Caprivi regions” and called for “increased military funding, moral support and unity”, *Republikein* newspaper reported.

A breakdown of the figures showed the DRC conflict consuming the lion's share, however. Of the additional amount of N\$172.7m, N\$74.5m would be used for salaries of NDF members serving in the DRC, while N\$600,000 is needed for medical expenditure on the troops in the DRC. A total of N\$36.8m is required for the purchase of ammunition and equipment, while N\$13m will be spent on communications equipment. A further N\$45.5m is needed for the Namibian Air Force. (AA 11/2, *Republikein* 16/2; *BBC Mon.*) **Supplementary Budget See Economic Series p. 14210**

RWANDA

Ukrainian Tanks Claim

A newspaper in the DR Congo reported that Rwanda had bought second-hand tanks to pursue the war in the DRC despite the fact that Rwandans were facing famine.

While the Tutsi regime of Rwanda is faced with certain difficulties in feeding its population in the grip of famine, this is the same moment that this minority government has chosen to buy arms in order to continue the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) said *La Tempete des Tropiques*.

“In one of the recent editions of *Billets d'Afrique et d'Ailleurs*, it is reported that the Rwandans acquired about 30 second-hand T-55 Tanks. With these tanks from **Ukraine**, one of the former federal republics of the USSR, Kigali intends to strengthen its positions on the central front. This source does not say it clearly, but admits, however, that with these second-hand tanks, Kigali intends to attack the world diamond capital to finance its war efforts.

“Taking Mbuji-Mayi remains the prime concern of Rwandans and their Congolese Rally for Democracy (**RCD**) men. Halted at about 100km from the Kasai-Oriental capital, the aggressors, as Kinshasa calls them, are trying by every means to tame

this town and, especially, to lay hands on the riches in this part of the DRC. The Rwandans, according to several observers, dream of monopolizing the Mbuji-Mayi diamonds in order to continue properly this war which is ruining them.” (*La Tempete des Tropiques* 1/2: BBC Mon.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Increased Arms Sales

Denel's UK deal; arms exports up; Israeli system.

Arms manufacturer Denel is to get a US\$30m aero-engine contract in terms of an accord signed between the government and the British *Rolls Royce* company in Pretoria on February 22nd, *SAPA* reported.

In terms of the strategic partnership agreement, *Denel Aviation* would become the sole supplier of the gearbox for the *Rolls Royce Tay* engine, mostly used in passenger airliners.

Trade and Industry Minister **Alec Erwin** endorsed the agreement under South Africa's defence renewal programme with *Rolls Royce* Director of African Affairs, Ralph Murphy.

The renewal package includes the purchase of Hawk trainer aircraft to be powered by another *Rolls Royce* engine. (*SAPA* 22/2: BBC Mon.)

Sunday Times newspaper reported that arms exports had risen by a massive 40% in 1999.

In 1998, annual sales slumped to less than R650m after a high of R1.32bn the previous year. Now it is back over the billion mark once more.

The arms sales regulatory body, the National Conventional Arms Control Committee, is due to release official figures for 1999 in March but committee director Captain Fred Marais confirmed that South Africa supplied arms to about 80 countries in 1999, double the number for the previous year.

Under apartheid, the South African arms manufacturing industry was riding the crest of a wave with the defence budget running in excess of 4% of gross domestic product and about 40% being spent on capital acquisitions.

Defence spending has been steadily cut back over the past decade and in 1999 only 1.6% of GDP went on defence, with 8% going towards capital acquisitions.

Now, however, the industry looks set for a sustained upswing on the back of govern-

ment's R30bn arms procurement contracts, which over the next seven years are expected to bring in an extra R800m–R1bn worth of industrial participation offsets. (*Sunday Times* 13/2: BBC Mon.)

Israeli Combat System Deal

Israeli *Globes* business information website reported on February 17th that an unnamed Israeli company is to supply the South African air force with tens of millions of dollars worth of the combat systems it manufactures.

The contract, in effect, expresses the resumption of security relations between Israel and South Africa, suspended by the post-apartheid regime in protest against the security relations Israel had maintained with the apartheid regime.

The Israeli company will supply key systems for dozens of Saab Gripen fighter planes that South Africa procured from Sweden. Supply will be effected jointly with a German company.

Globes said that foreign publications had maintained in recent decades that Israeli and the apartheid regime in South Africa had maintained security relations in all fields. Israel preferred not to comment officially on these allegations, mainly due to the international embargo on South Africa and the US-initiated embargo on the sale of arms to it.

David Shoval, former head of the aid and export division at the Ministry of Defence, confirmed, in 1997, that arms had, in fact, been sold to South Africa. “If we don't sell arms to ‘problem’ countries of this kind,” Shoval said, “they will be offered identical systems by other countries.”

The reports maintained that Israel had supplied South Africa with ships, tanks, armoured personnel carriers, rifles, armaments for fighting forces and missiles. The reports also alleged that the countries were maintaining relations in the nuclear field and that a nuclear explosion a US spy satellite spotted off the South African coast was the result of Israeli–South African cooperation. Israel was also alleged to be storing nuclear bombs in South Africa.

South Africa's first black Defence Minister, **Jo Modise**, suspended security relations between Israel and South Africa. He lashed out at Israel saying, after being appointed, “Israel will now pay for all the wrongs it did in the period of white rule”. At the time, there was talk that Israel Aircraft Industries would upgrade Cheetah aircraft for the South African Air Force.

(*Globes* 17/2: BBC Mon.) **Defence Procurement Deal p. 13849**

IN BRIEF

Angola: Angolan Deputy Defence Minister **Demosthenes Amos Chilingutula** and Slovak State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Jaroslav Chlebo, discussed the revamping of technical and military cooperation between Angola and the Slovak Republic. The *Angolan News Agency* (*Angop*) said that a source at the Angolan Defence Ministry had said cooperation would cover primarily the acquisition of equipment for the Angolan Armed Forces. The Slovak official was on an official visit starting February 21st and headed a ministerial delegation. (*Angop* 21/2: BBC Mon.)

Djibouti: The Chief of General Staff, **General Zakaria Sheikh Osman**, received a courtesy call from General Germanos, the French army chief inspector on February 28th, *Radio Djibouti* said.

Their discussions dealt with relations between the national army and defence and French forces stationed in Djibouti. Gen. Germanos was to remain for one week. (*R Djibouti* 27/2: BBC Mon.)

Morocco/Nigeria/South Africa: US Defence Secretary, William Cohen, began a week-long trip to Morocco, South Africa and Nigeria on February 10th *Gambian Daily* reported. (*Gam* 11/2)

Nigeria: The Nigeria Air Force (NAF) has bought five General Aviation Trainer-2 (GAT-2) multi-purpose flight simulators valued at about Naira 100m from the *Environmental Tectonics Corporation* (ETC), a US firm.

The simulators provide basic flight training through advance instrument and spatial orientation training. Each of the simulators cost between \$150,000 and \$200,000 depending on the software the customer orders.

Nigeria has also expressed interest in acquiring **Franco-Italian** built ATR planes President Olu-segun Obasanjo said during his visit to *Aerospatiale-Matra* and *Airbus-Industrie* plants in Toulouse, France. (*The Guardian* 14/2: BBC Mon.)

Somalia: Colonel **Abdullahi Yusul Ahmad**, the president of the Puntland regional government (northeastern Somalia), visited Britain in February and signed an agreement with a British firm, *Hart Group* on the 21st, under which the company will deploy a force it has already trained to patrol the waters off the coast of northeastern Somalia. Hart Group will also supply high-speed boats equipped with state-of-the-art tracking devices to impound ships illegally fishing or dumping nuclear waste in the waters said the Somali paper *Qaran*. The British firm, which has an office at a leading hotel in Boosaaso, has employed a 60-man force.

A Boosaaso-based *Qaran* reporter said members of the public are suspicious of the agreement between the northeastern administration and the British firm. People believe that mafia groups planning to dump nuclear waste may be behind the deal. (*Qaran* 23/2: BBC Mon.)

Overseas Relations

AFRICA–UN–WEST

Litmus Test Ahead

Whatever the motives behind the United Nations “Month of Africa”, the next few weeks and beyond will prove critical in assessing the international community’s commitment to helping Africa.

The UN Security Council began the new millennium by dedicating its first month to discussing African problems. The continent’s HIV/AIDS epidemic and the conflicts in **Burundi, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)** were all put on the table. For the architect of the initiative, the US ambassador to the UN and current Security Council president, **Richard Holbrooke**, the aim was to illustrate to the world the seriousness of the problems afflicting the world’s poorest continent.

The “Month of Africa” did set some kind of a record for the Security Council. *West Africa* pointed out. For the first time a health issue—the HIV/AIDS situation—was addressed, with the US Vice-President and Democratic party hopeful **Al Gore** in attendance. An unprecedented number of African leaders were also present at the talks, with most appearing satisfied with the outcome of the Security Council’s historic initiative.

But some reservations have been expressed about possible ulterior motives for the meetings. After all, the Security Council has held numerous discussions on Africa in the past without actually implementing the necessary follow-up actions that would make a difference. According to Jennifer Davis, executive director of the new York-based Africa Fund organisation, domestic political considerations may have been the real reason behind the Month of Africa. President **Bill Clinton** is eager to woo the African–American population in the US to bolster Gore’s presidential prospects in November’s election—not to mention his wife Hillary’s choice of winning a place in the US Senate from New York, where the black population potentially holds enormous electoral power. In addition, say the cynics, Holbrooke’s role in the process was likely to win him the powerful US Secretary of State job should Gore emerge victorious.

One immediate indicator of the international community’s commitment is the resolution passed to send a 5,500-strong peacekeeping force to be installed in the DR Congo (see p. 13872). Although the plan has been given the green light, the true test will come later. The job of the initial 5,500 troops is to offer protection to UN and other international personnel and to help monitor compliance with the ceasefire. But Annan has indicated that a larger force will be required at some stage to disarm the combatants involved in the conflict and repatriate foreign forces.

Other Challenges

The international community’s commitment will also be tested by the way it responds to the other items on the Security Council’s agenda. While the conflict in **Sierra Leone** was not a major topic of discussion during the Month of Africa, the Security Council is currently considering a recommendation to enable it to take over the duties of the West African peacekeeping force, **ECOMOG**.

Africa’s AIDS crisis poses another tough challenge. The US government recently announced a \$150m increase in its commitment to help fight AIDS in developing countries, but the international community’s overall effort is still falling short of what is required.

Peter Piot, Executive Director of the UN AIDS agency (**UNAIDS**), said that while around \$2bn a year was needed to maintain an effective preventative campaign in developing countries, only about \$165m has been contributed by donors. AIDS aside, one of the most remarkable outcomes of the Month of Africa was the light it shed into some of Africa’s biggest conflicts. At the Security Council’s January 19th meeting on Angola, **Canada’s UN Ambassador, Robert Fowler**, offered an insight into how UNITA, Angola’s rebel movement, has subverted international sanctions—including embargoes on arms, petroleum and the diamond trade—by paying international dealers with diamonds. The world’s commitment to peace in Angola will be tested later in 2000 when the UN’s sanctions committee delivers its recommendations on how to rectify the situation.

Nelson Mandela gave the Burundi conflict a welcome shot of publicity, saying the

country’s leaders were capable of making the necessary compromises to restore peace but that the onus also lay firmly on the international community to lend its weight and help bring stability to the troubled country.

The Independent (UK) noted that the UN had completed its “Month of Africa” but commented that the first weeks of the new millennium had proved “an almost unrelieved disaster” for the continent. It listed the DR Congo war, the conflicts in Sudan, Angola, Eritrea and Ethiopia, the violence in Nigeria between Christians and Muslims, misrule in Zimbabwe, lawlessness in Sierra Leone, the unprecedented AIDS epidemic and, of course, the **Mozambican** calamity.

The Independent believes the blame “extends to everyone” including Africa’s governments “often criminally negligent of the welfare of the people they claim to rule” but points the finger at the West and its “short attention span and reliance on gestures such as debt-relief initiatives and the promised “war on AIDS”. Of the world’s 50 poorest countries, 31 are in Africa. Any number of “Africa years” is unlikely to alter that dismal fact, it concludes. (WA 14–20/2, Ind 24/2) **Laudable Effort Raises Hopes and Challenges p. 13847**

LIBYA–UK

UK Gaddafi Coup Plot Allegations

Internet report exposes plan to overthrow Libyan leader; UK parliament to question MI6; Denial from UK Foreign Secretary.

An incriminating British intelligence report containing details of a plan to overthrow Libyan leader Col Muammar Gaddafi in 1996, was leaked and briefly displayed on the Internet.

The report, headed “UK eyes alpha”, according to the UK *Guardian* newspaper of February 14th said MI6 (the British secret intelligence service), was told by a “delicate source” about the plot two months before it took place in February 1996.

The plot narrowly failed to assassinate Colonel Gaddafi, but killed six innocent bystanders, according to reports in the Arab press.

British Foreign Secretary **Robin Cook** dismissed the plot as “pure fantasy” and said he had seen nothing “which would suggest that the SIS (MI6) has any interest, any role, or any experience in such an escapade.”

A

B

C

The UK parliament's intelligence and security committee is to question MI6 on what it knew about the plot and the Home Office has ordered an inquiry into the leaking of the top secret report containing the revelations.

After the report appeared on the Internet, Libya's foreign ministry summoned Britain's recently-arrived ambassador to Libya, **Richard Dalton**, and informed him of Tripoli's eagerness to be involved in investigations into the matter. (*GD 14, 15/2, AA 25/1, NA March*).

US Eases Up as Libyan Image Improves

The *International Herald Tribune* reported on February 28th that although the US continues to label Libya a sponsor of terrorism, it has not attempted to stop Libya's political rehabilitation at the UN.

For his part, Colonel Gaddafi has taken concerted steps to improve his reputation, most recently by contributing three Libyan officers to a UN mission in the **Democratic Republic of Congo**, the first time in a decade that Libya has joined an international peacekeeping effort. Despite some concern in Washington that Libya might play a destabilising role, the United States did not try to block Tripoli's participation, according to US and UN officials.

In mid-February, the State Department authorized a visa for Libya's UN ambassador, **Abuzed Omar Dorda**, to travel to Washington for five days to attend a conference of the UN International Fund for Agricultural Development. The trip was the first to the US capital by a Libyan UN envoy since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations nearly two decades ago, according to Mr. Dorda.

US officials said Washington had eased up because the Libyan leader had halted the terrorist threats against the United States, expelled the Abu Nidal terrorist organisation from Libya and cooperated in the pending trial in The Hague of two Libyan intelligence officers charged with planting the *Pan Am* Lockerbie bomb. (*HT 28/2*)

Meanwhile the two Libyans standing trial over the Lockerbie bombing entered their first formal not guilty plea to the charges against them on February 2nd at the pre-trial hearing at Edinburgh (Scotland) high court. (*GD 3/2*) **Judge agrees to delay Lockerbie trial p. 13814**

The trial of six **Bulgarian** medics accused of infecting Libyan children with HIV was postponed until April 3rd in order to give the defence more time to examine documents.

The Libyan Justice Minister has given his Bulgarian counterpart an assurance that the

medics will receive a fair trial. (*R. Sofia 28/2, BTA 29/2: BBC Mon.*)

MOROCCO-SPAIN

Rabat Calls on Spain To Protect Its Nationals

After the worst outbreak of racial violence to affect modern Spain, Rabat calls on the Spanish government to protect all its nationals in Spain; human rights body calls for compensation.

Moroccan immigrants in the town of El Ejido in southern Spain on February 13th called off a protest strike and announced a 12-day truce while they consider an emergency package promised by the government, *The Guardian* (UK) reported.

But as both local people and migrant workers blamed official neglect, rather than each other, for an explosion they say was waiting to happen, some insisted it would take more than promises of legalised status and decent housing to achieve full racial integration.

Three murders in the space of two weeks, apparently all carried out by Moroccans, triggered racist violence that led to 23 arrests and 50 injuries, and has left El Ejido, and the rest of Spain, incredulous, and prompted an official protest from Morocco.

Immigrants from north Africa—around 10% of the 50,000-strong population—began a strike on February 7th demanding better pay and conditions.

Bands of young Edjidans—and outsiders alerted by a neo-Nazi website—went on the rampage stoning immigrants and setting fire to their shacks. For a 24-hour period the conservative local mayor let the population take matters into their own hands.

In a state of abject terror, many north Africans took to the foothills of the nearby sierra for safety. Then they responded in kind, setting fire to some of the smallholdings where they worked, calling a strike and attacking eastern European immigrants waiting to take their place.

Around half of El Ejido's immigrants are said to have entered Spain illegally, and the violence came soon after parliament passed a law allowing 70,000 illegal immigrants to take up residency. But Spain's centre-right government now plans changes if it wins the March election.

"We can't assimilate so many immigrants so quickly," says the interior minister, Jaime Mayor Oreja.

On February 10th, *MAP* reported that Moroccan government spokesman **Khalid Ali-oua** had said in Rabat, that a decision had been taken to follow up daily the situation of Moroccans living in Spain.

The government spokesman reaffirmed Morocco's condemnation of the violent and racist acts against Moroccan nationals and expressed astonishment at the negative response by the Spanish security forces. He called on the Spanish government to assume its responsibility of protecting all Moroccan nationals in Spain and to protect their material and moral rights in accordance with international charters which stipulate the protection of human rights.

The independent Moroccan Human Rights Organisation (**OMDH**) called for legal action to be taken against those who committed criminal and racist acts, and compensation to be paid to the victims. (*GD 14/1, MAP 10/2: BBC Mon.*) **Spanish riots p. 13635**

SUDAN-WEST

Canada Ignores US In Move to Revive Links

Canada chooses 'constructive engagement'; Sudan keen for better relations with US and EU.

The Canadian government plans to re-establish a diplomatic presence in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum, despite pleas from Washington that it cooperate in efforts to isolate the Islamic government in the war-torn country.

In addition to the decision to step up diplomacy, Foreign Minister **Lloyd Axworthy** refused to impose sanctions on *Talisman Energy Inc.*, a Canadian company that operates major oil concessions in Sudan. Although a government report concluded that "oil is exacerbating the conflict" and has contributed to human rights abuses by the Sudanese government, Mr. Axworthy said, "Canada continues to believe that engagement and dialogue are the most appropriate tools for advancing the cause of peace in Sudan."

Although limited UN sanctions are in effect against Khartoum, Canada and Western Europe have moved to normalise relations with Sudan while the United States has opted for a policy of isolation and unilateral sanctions.

In the autumn, Ottawa and Washington clashed openly when the State Department accused *Talisman* of helping to fuel the war and criticised Canada for not stopping the company's activities. Responding that "our policies are set by Canadians, not

Americans,” Mr. Axworthy said that Canada was doing more than the United States to promote peace in Sudan. He has said he would open an office in Khartoum to promote peace and human rights and argued that Talisman should use its economic muscle to bolster human rights.

Sudanese Foreign Minister Dr. **Mustafa Uthman Isma'il** welcomed the Canadian decision describing it as a good chance for the Canadian government and people to obtain actual, real information on the Sudan.

Meanwhile President **Omar al-Bashir** has affirmed Sudan's keenness to enhance its relations with the European Union (EU) countries and the US. Speaking on February 26th, he said relations with the US were currently witnessing a chill but Sudan would continue efforts to enhance their progress.

On February 2nd, the *International Herald Tribune* had reported that as a possible step to reviving relations, Washington has decided not to supply food directly to Christian insurgents in southern Sudan.

Until now, administration sources said, **Susan Rice**, assistant Secretary of State for African affairs, has been able to persuade **Mrs Albright** that a policy of isolation was best.

Undersecretary of State **Thomas Pickering**, who led a six-hour interagency brainstorming session in mid-January to re-examine US policy towards Sudan, and others in the administration have argued for reopening the embassy and keeping an open mind about possible changes in Sudan's leadership. (HT 2, 17/2, AA 25/2, SUNA 27/2: BBC Mon.) **US attitude questioned p. 13845**

IN BRIEF

Angola–Brazil: The Brazilian state of Rio de Janeiro has dismissed allegations that Angolans are involved in Brazilian drug trafficking. After the Angolan embassy in Brazil appealed for

clarification, the Brazilian government reached the conclusion that a public apology to the Angolan government was necessary. About 3,000 Angolans live in Rio de Janeiro. (TV Luanda 27/2: BBC Mon.)

Cote d'Ivoire–US: The Ivorian political leader **Alassane Ouattara** was in Washington in late February meeting state department officials and congressmen. Above all, he was there attempting to project the image that he is presidential material and will win the presidential election scheduled for October. (AA 25/2)

Diplomatic Relations: The new US ambassador in **Algeria** is **Janet Sanderson**, who has vast Middle Eastern experience. The new ambassadors from **Malawi** and **Gambia** to the US, respectively **Tony Kandiero** and **John Bojang**, presented their credentials to President Clinton on February 7th, as did the ambassador from the **DR Congo**, **Mtiifu Marakuke Faida**.

Sudan has appointed a new ambassador to **Britain**, 61-year-old former socialist Dr. Hassan Abdin. The post has been vacant since the recall and subsequent retirement of Omer Yousef Biredo. Until his latest appointment Dr. Abdin was first under-secretary in the foreign affairs ministry. (AA 11, 24/2)

Egypt: Beginning a pilgrimage to retrace the steps of Moses, the Pope arrived in Egypt seeking to use ancient biblical symbols to reduce modern religious tensions. **John Paul II** paid back-to-back calls on **Patriarch Shenuda III**, the Orthodox Coptic leader, and **Mohammed Sayed Tantawi**, the Grand Sheikh of Al Azhar and Egypt's leading Islamic authority. He is the first pope ever to visit Egypt.

Using the Arabic phrase for “peace be with you” in an airport speech, the Pope stressed the need for tolerance. “To do harm, to promote violence and conflict in the name of religion is a terrible contradiction and offence against God,” the Pope warned, referring to recent sectarian violence (p. 13839).

The Pope brought joy to Egypt's Christians on February 25th by saying Mass for 20,000 in a Cairo stadium and speaking out for an end to discrimination against them over jobs. His call for ecumenical unity, however, was rebuffed by Archbishop **Damianos**. (HT, DTel, IT 26/2)

Madagascar–MSF–Switzerland: The Swiss section of *Medecine Sans Frontieres* (Doctors without borders) has announced the immediate withdrawal of all its teams in Madagascar

because of the authorities' refusal to allow it overall charge of the serious cholera epidemic, and its refusal to let MSF treat patients in the south west. (AFP 22/2)

Mauritania–US: A Mauritanian who was accused by US police of taking part in a foiled bomb attack, confirmed, February 21st, he had been questioned by FBI agents following his arrest in **Senegal**.

Mohamedou Ould Slahi was speaking to reporters after a month in detention. He was extradited from Senegal to Mauritania on January 26th. He said he had been asked by FBI agents to clarify his relations with the Osama Bin Laden network. Officials in Nouakchott cleared Mohamedou Ould Slahi of suspicion, sources said on the 20th. (AFP 20, 21/2: BBC Mon.)

South Africa–UK: At the end of British Minister of State at the Foreign Office responsible for Africa, Peter Hain's visit, a joint communique was issued on February 6th saying discussions had been marked by a high level of agreement on key bilateral and foreign policy issues. Both sides reaffirmed the importance of the strategic partnership between South Africa and the UK.

Deputy President Zuma welcomed the UK's support for South Africa's endeavours to bring peace and stability to conflict areas in the region.

In a speech in Cape Town on February 3rd, billed by the British Foreign Office as a major policy speech, Mr. Hain said he had launched a tough new policy to target **UNITA** rebel leader **Jonas Savimbi**. “He must go; sanctions against UNITA must be enforced.” Hain also urged every government to take action against UNITA's sanction busters, who were in breach of international law. (SAPA 3, 6/1: BBC Mon.)

Meanwhile South Africa admitted in early February that it had spied on the **German** embassy in Pretoria in 1999 but blamed “over-zealous” agents and said the matter had been satisfactorily resolved at a meeting on the 5th between **Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma**, Foreign Minister, and **Harald Ganns**, the German ambassador. In November, German diplomats discovered a surveillance camera in a tree, pointed at the embassy, and handed the equipment to the South African police. Embarrassed South African officials ordered an immediate investigation. (FT 7/2)

Social and Cultural

SPORT

African Nations Cup

The 22nd African Nations Cup proved that soccer is alive and well on the continent. Even before the

curtain was lowered on **CAN 2000**, African soccer chiefs were calling for the first major soccer championship to be co-hosted by two countries a “resounding success”. **Cameroon emerged the final winner.**

The whole of the Cameroonian capital seemed to be one big picnic as the victorious team returned home on February 15th with the Cup of Nations they last won in 1988. They had beaten **Nigeria** on penalties in what turned out to be a controversial final. Nigeria had fought back from 2-0 down to force the game into extra time. The controversial win was sparked when Nigerian Victor Ikpeba's penalty crossed the line then bounced out of the goal after hitting the underside of the crossbar but

was ruled out by **Tunisian** referee Mourad Daami.

Television replays showed that the goal should have stood but by then it was too late, Cameroon captain Rigobert Song capitalised on the misses by Ikpeba and Nwankwo Kanu to ram home the winning penalty and claim the trophy.

Nigeria filed a formal protest to the Confederation of African Football (CAF) against the referee's decision. The result itself sparked a mini riot among the 60,000 crowd in the national stadium at Surulere, Lagos, leaving the police, once again, to fire shots and tear gas inside and outside the stadium. A police spokesman explained that they had "only fired tear gas to disperse the crowd that surged towards the track during the presentation ceremony". The Nigerian FA was fined twice in the course of the tournament by CAF for crowd misbehaviour.

There were certainly positive and negative aspects to the whole championship. CAF Secretary-General Mustapha Fahmy was emphatic in his assessment that the experiment of having two host countries was successful, despite "minor organisational hitches" in both **Ghana** and **Nigeria**. *West Africa* agreed with CAF that both deserved praise. "Successfully organising at the rather short notice a 16-nation event, which for the three weeks that it lasted captured the attention of the entire soccer world, required a lot of commitment, managerial acumen and sacrifice in the face of some severe economic constraints."

However, *West Africa* also pointed out that the empty stadia for many matches in Accra and Kumasi in Ghana were a major drawback, especially at a time when Africa is making its case to be given the right to host the World Cup. Such a low level of interest was not the best advertisement, probably more serious though, according to *West Africa* was the unruly behaviour of Nigeria's fans during several matches.

"Indeed, whatever points Africa might have scored by leading the way in co-hosting a major event like a continental championship, must have been eroded considerably by the incidents such as those which characterised the Nigeria matches and the Gestapo-style detention of the **Ivorian** team by the military junta in that country on the team's return home. The Ivorians crashed out in the first round of CAN 2000."

It has to be said that there were also numerous examples of good behaviour and true sportsmanship both on and off the field. In Kumasi, co-hosts Ghana lost 0-1 to **South Africa** in a game which left Con-

rad Leach, reporting for the British daily, *The Independent*, writing at the end of it, "Where Ghanaians did lead the way—and some European countries could learn a few lessons—is in fans' behaviour. After their beloved team were knocked out in the quarter-final by South Africa, their reaction was to congratulate the opposition."

High Standard of Play

Isah Hayatou, CAF president, told *News-watch* that he was satisfied with the standard of football at the championship, which showed an improvement over the last one.

Roger Milla, Africa's footballer of the last decade, agreed with Hayatou that the standard of football was indeed very high. He said that African players had proved that their performance in Europe was no fluke and that they could hold their heads high anywhere in the world.

The number of Europe-based players was more than significant. Indeed, the starting line-up of 22 players for the final between Cameroon and Nigeria was "imported" wholesale from Europe.

This is a complete departure from those early days of the CAN when each country was allowed only two professionals, possibly to ensure that a few nations, particularly the Francophone, who took the lead in "exportation" of their players, were not given an undue advantage, but probably to minimise the European influence on the African game.

If that was the case, then the situation has come full circle. With African players leaving in droves to join the exodus bandwagon, many countries on the continent would have been hard put to field any team of appreciable strength without their foreign-based stars.

West Africa endorsed the views expressed earlier that the standard of play was high and said that in spite of what some may say, the European influence has, to a large extent, been beneficial to the development of soccer on the continent. *New African* commented that it had been an excellent three weeks showcasing the best of the African game. All the 16 teams had had their moments. Nobody returned home without a point. Every side tried to play attacking football, and all had at least a handful of players of real ability.

A total of 73 goals were scored (20 down on the 1998 tally), with 7 red cards issued and 5 penalties awarded in regulation time—two were missed.

South Africa's Shaun Bartlett finished as topscorer (with 5 goals). But the final spo-

How They Did

The quarter finals:

Cameroon 2 - Algeria 0

Ghana 0 - South Africa 1

Tunisia 1 - Egypt 0

Nigeria 2 - Senegal 1

The semi-finals:

Cameroon 3 - Tunisia 0

Nigeria 2 - South Africa 0

South Africa beat Tunisia in the third-place game. After drawing 1-1 in regulation time, South Africa won 4-3 on penalties.

The final: Cameroon 6 - Nigeria 5 (after a penalty shoot. After extra time the score had stood at 2-2).

ils went to Cameroon of course. With an essentially young side, the future looks bright for the Indomitable Lions. (NA March, WA 21-27/2, NW 28/2)

Player of the Century

In what turned out to be a glittering side-show of CAN 2000, one of Africa's greatest players, Roger Milla, was honoured as the continent's player of the century. For *West Africa*, what was significant was that this honour was bestowed on Milla, inspirer of Cameroon's memorable World Cup performance in 1990, by an African magazine managed and edited by Africans. It was at once a remarkable departure from the past when it was European magazines which picked who deserved to be Africa's best players every year. In fact, until CAF itself instituted the African Footballer of the Year award in 1993, it was the Europeans who took this task upon themselves, obviously filling a void. (WA 7-13/2) **All Africa Games p. 13709, 21st African Nations Cup p. 13025**

South Africa Media

The Human Rights Commission, under sharp criticism for forcing a legal confrontation with newspapers it has accused of "subliminal racism", on February 25th agreed to reconsider its decision to subpoena 49 editors.

The commission said on the 28th that it could still revive the summonses if the editors failed to cooperate with the inquiry, which was due to open on March 1st. But its last-minute climbdown, amid accusations that the summonses were a breach of constitutional guarantees of press freedom, and that the probe was tainted by bad research and political manipulation, leaves the commission embarrassed and divided.

(M+G 18/2)

INDEX

- Algeria**
Hassan Hatlab alive 13869B
Generals replaced 13869B
Joint exercises with US 13882A
New US ambassador 13888B
- Angola**
Minister appointed 13868B
Counter offensive 13869A
Military co-operation with Slovakia 13885C
Brazilian drug-trafficking allegations 13888B
- Arab Maghreb Union**
11th anniversary 13858C
- Benin**
Party congress 13866A
- Botswana**
Condemnation of VP's sabbatical .. 13868B
- Burkina Faso**
Electoral code modified 13868B
- Burundi**
Violence continues in run-up to talks 13870A
- Cameroon**
PM visits south-west 13866B
Special security unit 13882C
- CEEAC**
Equatorial Guinea summit 13858C
- Central African Republic**
Minurca leaves 13870C
Radical restructuring of army 13883A
- Chad**
Armed group becomes political party 13868B
Habre in the dock 13871B
Coup soldiers executed 13871C
- Commonwealth-Francophone**
Yaounde conference on pluralism .. 13858A
- Comoro Islands**
Municipal elections 13868B
Boycotts and rumours 13871C
- Cote d'Ivoire**
Political campaigning begins 13866B
Presidential candidates 13866C
Referendum commission 13866C
Alassane Ouattara in US 13888B
- Djibouti**
Peace accord 13874B
French army chief inspector visits . 13885C
- Democratic Republic of Congo**
UN operation 13872B
Archbishop of Bukavu "exiled" 13872B
Rebel amnesty 13874A
RCD split 13874A
UK curbs arms sales to protagonists 13883B
New ambassador in US 13888B
- Egypt**
Islamic group changes tack 13874C
Emergency extended 13875A
Pope's plea 13888B
- Equatorial Guinea**
Opposition boycott 13867A
- Ethiopia**
Bandits raid Kenya 13859A
- Gambia**
New ambassador in US 13888B
- Ghana**
Vice-president seeks support 13865A
- Guinea**
Liberia opens border 13860C
Major reshuffle 13860A
Senior army appointments 13883C
- Guinea Bissau**
New government formed 13860C
Government list 13861B
Amnesty promise 13882C
- Kenya**
Border alert 13859A
Ethnic clashes 13875A
Mines maiming civilians 13883C
- Lesotho**
King Letsie III marries 13868B
- Liberia**
Guinea border opened 13860C
Islamic leader charged 13875B
Army restructuring programme 13875C
- Libya**
Weapons deals with Russia 13884A
Gaddafi coup plot allegations 13886C
US eases up as Libyan image improves 13887A
- Madagascar**
MSF-Switzerland withdraws 13888B
- Malawi**
President dissolves cabinet 13861B
New ambassador in US 13888B
- Mali**
Prime Minister resigns 13862A
Government list 13862B
Amadou Toumani Toure 13862B
- Mauritania**
Former SADR minister expelled 13882C
Suspect questioned by FBI 13888C
- Media**
SA drops media units 13889C
- Morocco**
King appoints adviser 13868C
Army corruption exposed 13882C
US defence secretary visits 13885C
Rabat calls on Spain to protect its nationals 13887B
- Mozambique**
Regional flood disaster 13859B
- Namibia**
High cost of war involvement 13884B
- Nigeria**
Kaduna explodes 13875C
Zamfara enforces Sharia 13876B
Obasanjo vacillates 13876C
Sharia revoked 13877B
US defence secretary visits 13885C
Military purchases 13885C
- Rwanda**
Prime Minister resigns 13862C
International genocide arrests 13877C
- Human rights inquiry into Sebarenzi affair .. 13878B
Ukrainian tanks claim 13884C
- SADC**
Centralised immigration data base . 13858C
- Senegal**
Time for change? 13863C
Presidential candidates 13864A
Rising death toll in Casamance 13878C
- Sierra Leone**
Truth and reconciliation 13879A
Foday Sankoh sent home 13879A
UN force held back 13879B
- Somalia**
Violent clashes on Kenyan border . 13859A
Djiboutian initiative moves forward 13880A
Aid convoy attacked 13880B
Puntland president visits 13885C
- South Africa**
Unity talks 13867B
Anti-terrorism bill 13880B
Increased arms sales 13885A
Israeli combat system deal 13885B
US defence secretary visits 13885C
UK Minister's visit 13888C
German embassy spied on 13888C
- Sport**
African Nations Cup 13888A
- Sudan**
Ugandan relations cool 13860C
Riek Machar resigns 13867C
Hasan al-Turabi's political demise? 13868A
Parties and Political Organisations Act 13868B
Canada moves to revive links 13887C
New ambassador to Britain 13888B
- Tanzania**
Amour denied third term 13862C
Chief Justice 13863A
Amnesty criticises treason trial 13881A
- Togo**
Deadlock over election planning 13868C
- Tunisia**
Student riots 13881C
- Uganda**
"No faith" in Sudanese agreement . 13860C
Referendum funding sought 13863B
Former mayor returns 13868C
New strategy in west 13882A
- United Nations**
Month of Africa 13886A
- Zambia**
Election petition 13865C
- Zimbabwe**
Crushing poll defeat 13855A
Final results 13856A
Morgan Tsvangirai 13856C

WORLD COPYRIGHT RESERVED

© Selection, summarising, translation and arrangement of published material: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000, Oxford, England. Material in the Publication may be quoted or utilised in brief selections or by individual items, provided that acknowledgement is made to Africa Research Bulletin and provided that the total reproduced is less than one page. The greatest care is taken to summarise fairly and accurately the original material upon which the published material is based, but the Publishers take no responsibility for the truth or accuracy of information contained in the published material. Edited by Pita Adams, Virginia Baily, Veronica Hoskins and Elizabeth Oliver. Published by Blackwell Publishers, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF, England and printed by Photo-graphics, Honiton, Devon. US MAILING: Periodicals postage paid at Rahway, NJ. Postmaster: send address corrections to Africa Research Bulletin (Political) or Africa Research Bulletin (Economic), c/o Mercury Airfreight International Ltd Inc, 2323 E-F Randolph Avenue, Avenel, NJ 07001, USA (US mailing agent).