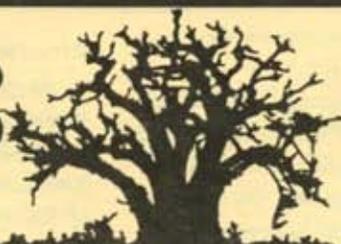


BAOBAB NOTES



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“Kill Everybody!” South Africa’s Executive Outcomes - 21st Century Corporate Mercenaries

by Prexy Nesbitt

With the end of the Cold War and Nelson Mandela’s 1994 election, many of the apartheid government’s covert military units were made redundant. In 1990, former South African special forces 32nd Battalion commander Eeben Barlow formed Executive Outcomes (EO) as a privately incorporated mercenary army. Barlow, in fact, does not call his forces an army, but rather calls them a “consultancy firm” specializing in “marketing recovery strategies.” “We can help a country to achieve some form of stability before the UN comes in,” is the claim that Barlow makes from his suburban Pretoria headquarters.

EO is actually a large collection of assassins and killers - mostly black Angolans and Namibians from apartheid South Africa’s 32nd Battalion, renown for its ruthless acts, such as taking lips and testicles as souvenirs from civilians they had assassinated. The units are led by white South African and Rhodesian officers and receive between \$2000 and \$7000 a month. EO and its leadership are currently accountable to no nation and no legal entity (though the South African government is attempting to rein them in). In the past, EO has served the government of Angola, the Valentine Strasser government in Sierra Leone and Iraq’s Saddam Hussein. Negotiations have been under way for some time with President Mobutu Sese Seko to “combat and destroy the terrorist enemies of the state” in Zaire and the Great Lakes region.

While it is alleged that various West African governments and populations praise EO, many people that know EO and its modus operandi best, South Africans, reject EO and all that the firm represents. Much of the South African press, even the conservative Afrikaans press, point out incidents like one in 1993, when two EO pilots who, while flying sorties in Sierra Leone, told their Sierra Leone military liaison that they were having trouble distinguishing the rebels from the civilians. The EO pilots and the Sierra Leone military commander then simply decided that the best solution was to “kill everybody.”

Elizabeth Rubin argued in her article “An Army of One’s Own” in the February 1997 *Harper’s* that the EO is a dressed up version of the old notion of white colonial violence and domination. “It comes dressed in the new rhetoric of the global marketplace.” She also cites in her concluding pages a Washington, DC defense expert who lauds what EO

did for Angola and how cost effective it was (as opposed to the UN). She quotes him as saying, “The privatization of defense internationally is not that different from a trend at home. In the US, you already see more and more people hiring private security firms to keep the Third World away from suburban America.”

Mercenary Company Admits Approach from Crisis Region

Executive Outcomes, the SA security company which describes itself as a military consultancy, says it was approached by a government in the Great Lakes region last year for assistance, but refused. Eeben Barlow, head of EO, said that the company did not wish to become involved in an area in which there had been so much “ethnic cleansing.”

Barlow reports that illegal arms shipments to Angola were continuing from South Africa; EO knew of weapons currently being flown into Angola, two years after the signing of the Lusaka peace treaty. Barlow denied, however, that EO was involved in the arms shipments and said his company had informed the SA government that the shipments continued.

The lucrative trade is likely to have provoked some commercial rivalry with allegations surfacing of another SA outfit selling arms in Central Africa and Angola. According to the London *Independent* newspaper, the Rwandan government-backed Zairean Tutsi rebels are receiving arms from freelance SA sources. One of the operations is being coordinated by Willem Ehlers, who was interviewed by the UN arms probe team. Ehlers told them that he had believed earlier arms sales had been to the Zairean government and had not been destined for Rwandan forces. The UN report claims that training for dissident forces throughout Central Africa is being provided through a SA company called Omega Support run by Johan Smith, SA’s former military attache in Luanda, who also works for Strategic Concepts, run by former diplomat and UNITA adviser Sean Cleary.

(*SouthScan*, Vol. 11, No. 44, 11/22/96)

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APIC Policy Outlook 1997

First the good news: For the decade beginning in 1996, the annual economic growth rate for Sub-Saharan Africa is projected at 3.8%, double that for the decade that ended in 1995. This welcome increase reflects improved commodity prices, the return to peace in several countries on the continent, and increased investment and productivity in many. Statistics for 1995 show that it was the first year of positive per capita income growth since 1989, and 1996 is expected to turn out even better.

This new aggregate growth refutes the stereotype of a consistently gloomy outlook for the continent. There are, however, many sobering qualifiers. The World Bank estimates that growth rates less than 6% will not significantly reduce poverty in most countries. While 12 African countries achieved this target in 1995, 41 did not. Food intake per person in Sub-Saharan Africa was estimated last year at just 87% of daily requirements.

Africa's share of foreign direct investment continued to fall, from 10% in 1987-1991 to 3.6% in 1995. Meanwhile, global concessional aid flows, on which Africa is particularly dependent, continued their decline. While 1996 saw the approval of a new scheme for greater debt reduction for heavily indebted countries, it was unclear how many countries would actually benefit from it in 1997.

In addition, as the World Bank now concedes--echoing the longtime view of critics--"economic growth is necessary but not sufficient for reducing poverty." Even in countries praised for their economic reforms and growth rates, most people continue to struggle for survival under precarious conditions. Funds for investment in infrastructure and human development, essential for long-term advance, are squeezed by "market-oriented" budget constraints throughout the continent.

Peace and Security Issues: Countries cannot progress economically in the absence of basic physical security. In many countries, security is threatened by open conflict, physical displacement or arbitrary abuses by repressive regimes.

The multifaceted crises in the Great Lakes region and Zaire, which made headlines in 1996, remains deadly. Open war also continues in the Sudan, and peace settlements in both Liberia and Angola could easily give way to renewed violence. In Algeria there is no end in sight to the violent conflict pitting extremist Islamic rebels against repressive government forces, in which both sides have targeted civilians and the lives of journalists are particularly at risk.

In cases such as the Great Lakes, the scale of crisis simply overwhelms local capacity to respond. There is a growing consensus, contrary to the Organization of African Unity's general assumption in past decades, that internal conflicts are not just the concern of one country. Neighboring countries and indeed the continent at large are victimized by spillover effects. Genocidal violence is in theory--if not yet in practice--the concern of the entire human community.

Yet consensus on the need to "do something" is unlikely to lead easily to agreement on who should do what. The crises mentioned above, and perhaps new ones, are certain to confront

Africa advocates this year with hard questions.

In African countries not suffering open warfare--i.e. the vast majority--civil society continues to expand its role in demanding respect for human rights, democratic governance, and attention to a wide range of specific issues. But advocates typically work in a climate of domestic repression and international indifference. The most prominent case in 1997, as in 1996, is likely to be Nigeria, where the military regime shows no signs of responding to demands for democracy and respect for human rights.

In South Africa, the new democratic system is well established. The extension of the Truth Commission's amnesty deadline into this year makes it likely that revelations about past abuses will continue. The country faces formidable problems, however, as it seeks to reconcile demands for economic growth with the need for equity in a society still fundamentally defined by the class and race hierarchies of the apartheid era. South Africa has yet to define a clear foreign policy that includes constructive participation in African issues as well as relationships with global economic powers.

Issues In Washington This Year: The political climate will likely remain extremely difficult for advocacy on Africa. The re-elected Republican majority in both houses of Congress will continue to press for cuts in international affairs budgets, ranging from development assistance to UN funding, the World Bank's International Development Association, peacekeeping operations, and other international agencies. The Clinton Administration, moreover, is likely to be inconsistent in its support for such budget commitments, despite its success in ousting UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

In Congress, the retirement of Senators Nancy Kassebaum (R-Kan.) and Paul Simon (D-Ill.) removes two of Africa's most prominent allies on the legislative front. While there are sympathetic lawmakers in both the Senate and House, it will be an uphill battle to build even a modest core of members ready to speak out regularly on Africa issues.

Apart from regular budgetary issues, there will be discussion of the African Growth and Opportunity Act introduced by Representatives Crane, Rangel and McDermott last year. The bill is designed to promote US trade and investment in Africa, but there is debate about whether it takes a balanced approach to development and reciprocal economic ties or fosters a one-sided stress on market-led growth and free trade.

In short, African issues are unlikely to receive much more attention from Washington in 1997 than in 1996. In many cases, however, relatively small shifts in US policy can have substantial impact on African or multilateral initiatives. The following is a brief checklist of some specific areas and issues on which US involvement may make a difference this year.

Conflict (Great Lakes and the Horn): With the return of the majority of Rwandan refugees from Zaire and Tanzania, the interlocked crises in this region are for the moment focused primarily within rather than between borders. Rwanda faces the massive challenge of integrating the refugees and establishing functional legal procedures for coping with the aftermath of

Southern Africa 1997

genocide. The future of Zaire and the refugees remaining there is unpredictable, except for the certainty that the conflict is not over. Burundi's minority military regime is still under sanctions from regional countries, and massacres of civilians continue.

War rages on in southern Sudan, and the repressive Sudanese government is under increasing challenge in the north as well. There is, nevertheless, little immediate prospect of decisive military shifts or revival of stalled mediation efforts. The conflict has spawned an ongoing humanitarian crisis, and Sudan's neighbors could yet be drawn into the war.

Peace agreements (Liberia and Angola): The peace process in Liberia is formally on track again after its violent collapse in April 1996. But key steps such as disarmament of faction forces are not yet implemented, and a new collapse is easily possible in 1997. In Angola, the United Nations peacekeeping force is scheduled to withdraw by mid-year. On paper the demobilization of UNITA forces is complete, but observers warn that as many as 20,000 UNITA troops are still operational. Insecurity is pervasive in the countryside, and there is a real threat of renewed open warfare.

Democratization (Nigeria and other countries): The internal and international campaign for democracy in Nigeria will continue, given the failure of the Abacha regime to offer more than token promises of change. Neither Western nor African countries are likely soon to take additional steps to increase pressure on the military regime, however, unless there is a dramatically visible escalation of the crisis. Pro-democracy efforts in most other countries are even less likely to attract major international attention and support.

Landmines: The Clinton Administration will have to decide soon whether to join Canada and other countries in pressing rapidly for a total ban on anti-personnel landmines or continue deferring to the Pentagon's opposition to quick action on the issue.

International institutions: Like his predecessor, incoming UN Secretary General Kofi Annan is a highly skilled diplomat from the African continent. But the spectacle of the transition, engineered unilaterally by the United States, was not encouraging. Substantive issues were absent from the debate, save for the code-word "reform," generally understood as a euphemism for downsizing. This will be a critical year for US relations with the U.N. and other multilateral institutions. Unless the pattern of the last few years changes, the negative consequences for Africa will be substantial.

(Africa Policy Information Center, 1/6/97)

Productivity, Key to Sustainable Development for SADC

Productivity, the theme of this year's Southern African Development Community (SADC) Annual Consultative Conference (ACC), is crucial in preparing the region for the fierce competition emanating from the globalization of trade. The emergence of southern Africa as a major economic player was dependent on its ability to improve and develop a competitive edge. This is true largely because the economies of the region were constantly being exposed to the harsh dictates of both domestic and international markets in a highly competitive world economy.

At the regional level, establishment of an SADC Free Trade Area, which is set to be consolidated by the protocols on trade and free movement of goods and people, will promote intra-regional trade and competitiveness among companies.

SADC has already embarked on massive rehabilitation and construction of regional infrastructure such as roads, railways, posts and harbors, telecommunications and electricity. In addition, the recently established Southern African Power pool and the evolving regional electricity grid is another major initiative that could enable the region to get its power at competitive rates.

Pressures from labor and the private sector to easing of customs and other trade laws in line with the aims and objective of the Cross Border Initiative may frustrate efforts toward enhanced intra-regional trade and investment flows. SADC recognizes that both private and public sectors should cooperate in harmonizing labor laws in order to reduce the frequency of strikes that rocked the region last year. There is a need to update labor laws, some of which were wholly inherited from the colonial era, to bring them in line with the new economic order. Employee motivation, which is a key prerequisite to higher productivity, starts with a good package and ends with conducive working conditions.

(Southern Africa News Features, 1/22/97)

Pollution: Price for Progress?

The pollution versus industrial development debate is on in southern Africa, as the region steps up economic growth amid calls to conserve the environment. Southern Africa is faced with the option of fast industrialization which may warrant "polluting now and cleaning up later" as has happened in most developed countries. Some industrialists have observed that too stringent environmental controls may also cripple economic prosperity as the industry devotes more time for a clean environment without better lifestyles.

Whether pollution is either deliberate or accidental, contamination of the environment with waste from human activities, especially industry, means southern African countries will face enormous challenges of maintaining a clean environment. Pollution indicators have been noticed from the basic end-point of all spills on systems - water and water bodies. Substances which harm the quality of air, water, and soil are also being noticed either in people, animals or plants. Pollution is also being aggravated by growing populations and increased economic/industrial growth.

Most SADC countries have been battling to reduce water pollution levels which are reported to have tripled over the past five years due to increased industrial activity and sewage discharges. Growth in populations and urbanization has also played a major role in uncontrollable waste discharges.

A recent High-Level Round-Table ministerial meeting on Environment, Trade and Sustainable Development held in Geneva concluded that "both trade liberalization and environmental protection are necessary to advance sustainable development. However, the environmental benefits of trade liberalization are not automatic. They can only be derived if appropriate environmental policies and sustainable development strategies are implemented."

(Southern African News Features, 1/22/97)

Angola

UNITA Delays Unity Government

Plans for the creation of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN) have once again been postponed following the failure of UNITA to send their representatives to Luanda for the formation of the GURN on 25 January. This is the second postponement, as the GURN was to have been formed at the end of last year. The delay raises further difficulties for the planned withdrawal of the United Nations mission, which is to be addressed in the next UN Secretary General's report, due out by 10 February.

Under the Lusaka Protocol, signed in November 1994, which underpins the peace process, UNITA is to send their nominees to take up their place in Angola's parliament, the National Assembly, to which they were elected in 1992. Following this, the GURN is to be formed with the inclusion of UNITA nominees in the cabinet.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1087 on 11 December 1996 called for rapid movement on "the political steps towards national reconciliation, including the assumption by UNITA deputies and officials of their posts, followed by establishment of a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation (GURN) prior to 31 December 1996".

However, on 19 December the Joint Commission (comprised of the UN, the Government, UNITA, and three observer states—Russia, United States and Portugal), which oversees the peace process, agreed a new calendar, the key elements of which were:

- the arrival in Luanda of UNITA deputies by 16 January;
- the assumption of office in the National Assembly of the UNITA deputies on 17 January; and,
- the taking of office of the Government of National Unity and Reconciliation on 25 January.

The Angolan Government subsequently sent out invitations to Heads of State for the inauguration of the GURN.

The failure of UNITA to deliver its deputies to Luanda to join the National Assembly, and their decision not to go ahead with the inauguration of the GURN is linked to three key issues - the future policies of the GURN, the control of the diamond regions, and of course, most importantly, the status of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)

UN Tussles with Problem of How to Bring UNITA into Line

Following the failure of UNITA to bring their deputies to Luanda, it is expected that the United Nations will only renew the United Nations Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) mandate until 31 March, with veiled warnings of further sanctions against UNITA after this, if they do not change their ways.

In his report to the Security Council on 7 February (S/1997/115), Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that "the pace of implementation of the remaining military and political tasks, owing mainly to the lack of cooperation of UNITA, has, once again, been painfully slow and disappointing."

The failure of UNITA to carry out the tasks under the Lusaka Protocol has led the Secretary General of the United Nations to warn that "if the international community is to maintain its involvement in Angola, it is imperative for the parties,

in particular UNITA, to take urgent and decisive steps."

However, few observers predict that there exists in the international community the political will to punish UNITA. At present there is no effective implementation of the mandatory sanctions already in place, which involves prohibiting the selling of weapons and petroleum products to the rebel organization.

The Chairman of the Security Council Committee established to monitor the observance of the mandatory sanctions in place against UNITA, on 13 January reported to the Security Council on the Committee's work in 1996. The Committee held two meetings in 1996, and report that they "considered a case of an alleged violation of the embargo against UNITA." However, there is prima facie evidence that Zaire has been used as a conduit by UNITA for importing arms and fuel and for smuggling illegally mined diamonds out of Angola.

Some forces in the international community would not wish to see UNITA weakened militarily, believing that this would in turn weaken the need for the Angolan Government to involve it in a GURN. Other forces prefer to see negotiations with UNITA.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)

UN Security Council Pushes Ahead with Plans

The UN Security Council went into private session on 25 February, during which it will agree to a plan to progressively cut its presence in Angola. The UN's new Secretary General Kofi Annan had hoped that improvements in the situation could extend to the mandate in Angola, UNAVEM III, to be extended for a two month period. However, problems blamed on UNITA will almost certainly lead the Security Council to review the situation at the end of March.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)

UNITA Raises Further Linkages

In January 1997, the main obstacle raised to further progress on the political front was UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi's demand that he be granted the status of principal adviser to the President of Angola, with a major coordinating role over rural development and national reconciliation, along with supervisory power over several ministries.

The UN made clear that although the question of Jonas Savimbi's status must be resolved, as agreed under the Lusaka Protocol in 1994, it rejected any linkage between this issue and the formation of the GURN. However, senior UNITA official Abel Chivukuvuku said in an interview published on 16 February in *Jornal de Angola* that Savimbi now only requires that he be recognized as head of the country's main opposition party. There is speculation in Luanda that the Government and UNITA have reached agreement over the UNITA leader's status as "leader of the opposition" although there are varying degrees of support for the concept among other parliamentary parties.

Now the focus has switched to the latest UNITA demand that the MPLA agree to a Common Program of Governance (CPOG) for the GURN. Isaias Samavuka, head of the UNITA

Angola

delegation in the Joint Commission, said on 14 February that "if the ruling party, the MPLA, unilaterally defines a Program of Governance, then what we have is a continuation of a one-party regime no matter what it is called."

Subsequently, UNITA presented a programme to a press conference in Luanda on 19 February. Joao Lourenco, speaking on behalf of the MPLA on 21 February said that this was "an attempt to divert and mislead public opinion."

In the view of the MPLA, which is the major party in the Angolan Government, this is another attempt by UNITA to re-open negotiations. The Angolan Government has consistently rebuffed such moves, including attempts by UNITA to re-open negotiations through the South African Government. This issue is now being put forward as the major obstacle to progress in the peace process.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)

"Completely Disarmed"

UNITA's troops have been completely disarmed and have dismantled their command posts in the regions of Angola that they controlled, according to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. Speaking on the movement's Radio Vorgan, Savimbi said UNITA had implemented all the UN recommendations for demilitarization by the November 20 deadline.

Almost 64,000 UNITA soldiers have been registered in the 15 camps run by a multi-national UN military force, in line with Lusaka peace accords of November 1994, but since that operation began a year ago, 12,000 of them have deserted. The UN has asked UNITA to help find the missing 12,000 men, but the former rebels have stated that their responsibility for them ended when they went into the camps.

(SouthScan Vol. 11 No. 44, 11/22/96)

UNITA Concerned for Ally as Zaire's Military Crumbles

The Angolan rebel group UNITA is watching the situation in Zaire with increasing concern as the army of its main regional ally flees rebel advances. Several UNITA generals have offered training and troops to Zaire's ramshackle military, according to reports. Jonas Savimbi's group has consistently used Zaire as a sanctuary and as a supply route, including for the smuggling of diamonds, now UNITA's main resource.

With the US arms embargo continuing, UNITA would need the backing of Zaire again in the event of a resumption of the war. A report by the UN's military chief in Angola, Phillip Sibanda, accused the former rebels of not handing over all military equipment, but it is now accepted that they will not easily be able to return to conventional warfare, though they do have the capacity to re-launch a guerrilla war. For most of the years of the civil war, UNITA held parts of the countryside with guerrilla tactics, while the government controlled the towns and cities.

UNITA maintains its strongholds in the central Huambo and Bie provinces. It is reluctant to take down military control posts and has forbidden UN de-mining teams to clear roads through

the areas. At Andulo, UNITA insists that the UN give advance notice of air or road patrols and refuses to allow searches of planes from Zaire.

(SouthScan Vol. 11 No. 44, 11/22/96)

UNITA Troops Fighting in Zaire?

There have been continuing rumors that UNITA have 2,000 fighters in Zaire backing President Mobutu. However, these rumors are vehemently denied by UNITA. In particular, they have taken the step of denying that their senior general, Kamalata Numa, was killed in Eastern Zaire. UNITA has also denied that General Numa is being treated in a South African hospital for injuries sustained during fighting in Zaire.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)

Fighting Breaks out in the South

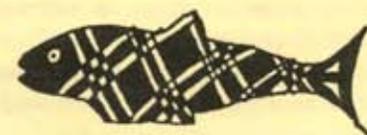
According to reports from Reuters on 16 and 17 February, around 1,700 people in southwestern Angola have fled their villages because of unrest. The new refugees are mainly from the village of Yambala, and are moving to the city of Cubal. Reuters report that the aggressors are either UNITA troops or ex-UNITA bandits.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)

Aid Round-up

- Sweden has announced that it will provide \$3 million to help repair roads and provide support for demobilized soldiers in Malanje.
- A cooperation agreement between Portugal and Angola has been signed to promote juvenile education and vocational training.
- The Angolan Government has undertaken a project to rehabilitate 100,000 hectares of land to increase coffee production. Angola used to be one of the world's major coffee producers. Twenty years ago production stood at 200,000 tons, but last year was only 8,000 tons.
- The World Food Programme has announced that it will provide around 96,000 tons of food assistance to Angola's war refugees, valued at \$75 million.
- The Ministry of Education is planning to spend \$130 million a year on teacher training and on the repairing and rebuilding of the education infrastructure.
- The UN Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit has put out an urgent appeal for \$18 million to meet the critical shortfall of financing due to the extension of the demobilization process. These funds would last until the end of March.

(Angola Peace Monitor, Issue 6, Vol. III, 2/25/97)



The International Campaign to Ban Landmines

Southern Africa Campaigns for a Mine-Free Zone

Most countries in southern Africa have joined the worldwide campaign for a complete ban on the production, stockpiling, transfer, sale and use of anti-personnel landmines to achieve "a mine-free zone that could be an international model." National movements have already been established in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe to spearhead the campaign against the production and use of landmines. The movements have sent a joint letter to the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) heads of state urging them to adopt permanent and legally binding national measures to ban landmines and to destroy all stockpiles.

In February, Mozambique, one of the most heavily mined countries in the world, hosted the Fourth International Non-governmental Organization Conference on Landmines. The conference is a follow-up to the one held in Canada last year where representatives from 50 countries worldwide called for a ban on anti-personnel mines. The group, now dubbed "the Ottawa Group", pledged "a commitment to work together to ensure the earliest possible conclusion of a legally binding international agreement to ban anti-personnel mines."

A UNICEF Report, *Impact of Armed Conflict on Children* by Graca Machel of Mozambique, says, "Landmines are uniquely savage in the history of modern conventional warfare not only because of their appalling individual impact, but also their long-term social and economic destruction."

It is estimated that there are 30 million landmines planted in Africa, most of them in southern Africa. The most affected countries are Angola and Mozambique which had protracted civil wars in which rebel groups were trained and equipped by the apartheid regime in South Africa. Between eight million to twenty million landmines, according to different sources, are buried on Angolan soil, and two million in Mozambique.

(Washington Notes on Africa, 2/16/97)

U.S. Bans Exports, But Not Use

The U.S. Congress, spear-headed in its efforts by Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), has taken a leading role in advancing the cause of a total ban on landmines. The response of the Clinton Administration has been ambivalent. In a message to the United Nations in 1993, and most recently in January of this year, President Clinton has expressed verbal support for a global ban. The United States has adhered to a moratorium on the export of landmines since 1992, and the President announced in January that the export ban would become permanent. The United States has allocated almost \$15 million a year for research on new de-mining technologies, and the budget to support de-mining operations in other countries has risen from \$18 million in 1994 to \$60 million in 1996.

The US government has been unwilling, however, to abandon its own use of landmines in Korea. Internal Pentagon studies show that a combination of alternative measures could replace the defensive use of landmines in Korea within the three-year phase-out period the Canadian treaty would allow. In international negotiations, nevertheless, the Administration has sought to find alternatives to an immediate ban, advocating more gradual measures that might result in a total ban by the year 2010.

By opting for the Geneva slow track rather than the Ottawa fast track this year, the President is giving up an opportunity for quick progress toward a ban by the majority of the world's countries. Instead, he is pegging advance on the issue to measures that will be acceptable to hold-out countries such as Russia and China.

This negotiating course adopted by President Clinton, wrote Senator Leahy in The Jan. 19, 1997 New York Times, risks delaying achievement of a real landmine ban well beyond his final four years in office. If the Geneva process does not show real progress by June, the Senator added, the United States should become an active participant in the Ottawa process.

(Washington Notes on Africa, 2/16/97)

Rural People of Color Most Affected

It is often noted that landmines do not discriminate between soldiers and civilians, or between children and adults. More than 80% of estimated casualties are civilians. In another sense, however, landmines do discriminate. Vulnerability to landmines is not random, but depends on who and where you are. The killed and maimed are predominantly poor people of color. Africa is the most heavily mined region in the world, followed by the Middle East, South Asia (mainly Afghanistan), and East Asia (mainly Cambodia and Vietnam). Post-Cold War conflicts—with the widespread use of landmines in the former Yugoslavia, for example—may modify the regional distribution somewhat. But new conflict zones in Africa also provide promising markets for sellers of landmines.

The list of countries most victimized by landmines is headed by those that were Cold War battlefields in the 1980s. Angola and Mozambique, the most affected countries in Africa, suffered conflicts fueled by internal strife and by South African and super-power intervention. Within countries, the people most likely to encounter mines are the rural poor, especially peasant farmers and their children. The disruption of transportation and agricultural production hits hardest the economies of those countries with large rural populations and little industrial infrastructure.

(Washington Notes on Africa, 2/16/97)

Diana's Call for Ban on Mines Stirs Controversy at Home

Diana, Princess of Wales became embroiled in a political row when she declared her support of the campaign for a worldwide ban on anti-personnel landmines. The Ministry of Defense fears that she could damage the Government's position. Ministers say her intervention during her trip to Angola was "not helpful" to the search for a solution to the landmine problem. They say she was "ill-advised" to step so publicly into the political arena by backing a campaign not in keeping with Government policy. The Princess was fully briefed on the Government line by Foreign Office officials before she left Britain.

The Princess made it clear as she arrived in Angola that she was there to help the Red Cross in its worldwide campaign to ban mines. As she met victims who had been maimed by stepping on landmines, she called for an international ban on the "hideous weapons." She condemned the "horrific" injuries.

(Electronic Telegraph, 1/15/97)

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March 1997

4th International NGO Conference on Landmines: Toward a Mine-Free Southern Africa February 25-28, 1997 • Maputo, Mozambique

An Account of the Maputo 4th International Conference to Ban Landmines

by Prexy Nesbitt

Founder, Mozambique Solidarity Office

The five hundred people, seasoned activists from more than sixty countries, rose as one, wildly applauding. It was the high point of the entire conference. Mozambique's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Leonardo Simao, had just formally announced Mozambique's new official position on anti-personnel landmines. It is conservatively estimated that a minimum of two million landmines, anti-tank and anti-personnel, remain uncleared in Mozambican soil. Mozambique's new position, proclaimed Dr. Simao, would be based upon "prohibiting the production, commercialization, utilization and non-authorized transportation of anti-personnel land mines in the national territory of Mozambique."

While making the announcement, Minister Simao, like President Chissano who opened the conference, emphasized the difficult task which Mozambique yet faced of clearing Mozambique of landmines. Specifically, the Minister told a workshop entitled *Toward a Mine-Free Southern Africa*, that Mozambique had three priorities: "The first is de-mining; the second is de-mining; and the third is de-mining!" Along with the announcement, the Government of Mozambique issued a specific appeal to the international community to increase their contribution for mine-clearance in Southern Africa. (A new study from Human Rights Watch says that the approximate twenty million mines in Southern Africa have claimed over 250,000 victims since 1961).

South Africa, too, provided new and vibrant political strength to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and its Maputo conference. On February 20th, five days before the conference's opening, South Africa's Defense Minister, Joe Modise, presented to a press conference a revised South African policy position on landmines. He stated, "With immediate effect, the South African government, as an integral part of South Africa's commitment to the promotion of international peace and security, has decided to ban the use, development, production and stockpiling of anti-personnel landmines." He further stated that the South African government would begin immediately destroying its stockpile of some 160,000 anti-personnel mines.

When the Canadian government's representative took the podium to present her government's position, a special electricity

filled the hall. With her first words barely uttered, the audience burst into applause knowing that Canada would be hosting the December 1997 Ottawa Treaty Signing Conference. Meeting the energy level of her audience, the representative quietly but resolutely discussed her government's position, pointing out that Canada had destroyed 2/3 of its anti-personnel mines and would finish the task by the end of the year. "We believe," she said in a direct reference to the US government's perspective, "that the development of a treaty can be done in months, not years."

Canada's position and role in the conference contrasted starkly with that of the US, the biggest landmine producing country to participate in the conference. The opening words of Michael McKinley, Charge d'Affaires of the US Embassy in Maputo, as he presented the US government's viewpoint on landmines, were, "No one is more aware of the scourge landmines represent and no country has done more to address the dreadful legacy of landmines in numerous conflicts around the world than the United States." As he itemized the list of some thirteen countries and regions which, in the last five years, had received more than \$140,000,000 in de-mining assistance, I could not help but think of the US contribution(s) towards initiating and sustaining many of the very same conflicts in the first place.

McKinley's statement also pointed out some of the steps the Clinton administration had taken in support of the campaign to ban landmines. He said that there was only a difference in strategy between the International Campaign's efforts and the US initiatives. He said that like the rest of the world, the US was concerned about its stockpile of four million "dumb" anti-personnel mines.

As I listened, I had to acknowledge a difference in the attitude towards landmine usage of the Clinton administration and previous ones, noting, of course, the sameness of over-all massive defense and armaments expenditures throughout the Cold War years and the post-Cold War Clinton years. But, most of all, my mind was drawn back to the last time I had been in Maputo, following closely US government pronouncements. The occasion was Mozambique's United Nations-supervised national elections in October of 1994. The announcement had been made by then-US Ambassador to Mozambique, Dennis Jet. Ambassador Jet was renown in Southern Africa for his anti-FRELIMO, pro-RENAMO perspectives. Just prior to the voting, with a blatant intent to shape Mozambique's election results, he, in essence, was quoted in *Noticias*, Mozambique's major newspaper, saying that there would be no continuing US aid if "democracy" was not victorious in the elections.

Revered and venerable anti-apartheid organizer, Abdul Minty, who for years headed the worldwide effort to end nuclear and military collaboration with the apartheid state, personally delivered the official South African government position to the conference in his new capacity as Deputy Director General of South Africa's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He read a special message to the gathering from one of his colleagues, known in South Africa as "Madiba", familiar to the world as President Nelson Mandela.

Maputo's Ban Landmines Conference was intense. The sessions were long and arduous. Maputo was muggy and full of mosquitoes. But our discomfort was nothing compared to what it must feel like when the blast sends the shrapnel, mud, stones, and bone splinters up what's left of an arm, a leg or an eye. At the end of the day, what it's all about is that the US government is often callous and insensitive to human suffering, especially the suffering of Third World peoples. It does not take a soothsayer to prophesy about a serious US response if white, middle class, young "Dicks and Janes" were to start stepping on landmines.

On the final day of the conference, the twenty-five US delegates held a news conference. Noting that Malawi and Swaziland had joined Mozambique and South Africa in support of the Canadian initiative to sign a landmine ban treaty in December 1997, we called on the US government to follow the lead of more than fifty countries that support the "Fast Track to Ottawa" and a treaty banning anti-personnel mines by the end of the year.

We left Maputo in a celebrative mood but with the grim knowledge that the US has never been good at "follow the leader" unless it's playing the part of Rambo.

So, we've got work to do.

Excerpts from Presentations and Messages to the 4th International NGO Conference on Landmines

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Nelson Mandela, President

The indiscriminate use of anti-personnel landmines has brought immense suffering to Africa. These terrible weapons are causing death and inhumane injuries to our people. They place severe constraints on reconstruction and development, particularly in rural areas. The legacy of millions of emplaced landmines in Southern Africa, particularly in Angola and Mozambique, have left areas uninhabitable and will pose significant challenges to the region's limited resources and great development needs.

This grave problem can only be addressed by concerted international action which deals with it in a comprehensive manner, and restricts the availability and use of landmines and alleviating the suffering they cause.

South Africa remains fully committed to the Ottawa Declaration we subscribed to in October 1996. In that context we would want to work with others to ensure the earliest possible conclusion of a legally binding international agreement to ban anti-personnel landmines.

South Africa will furthermore do everything possible to assist in the eradication of anti-personnel landmines. In this regard, I give our fullest support and endorsement of the Fourth International NGO Conference on Landmines.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

P. Michael McKinley, Charge, U.S. Embassy Maputo, Mozambique

"No one is more aware of the scourge landmines represent, and no country has done more to address the dreadful legacy of landmines in numerous conflicts around the world, than the United States. In just five years, the United States government has committed \$140,000,000 to de-mining programs in Afghanistan, Angola, Bosnia, Cambodia, Central America, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Laos, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Jordan, and Yemen. We have worked closely with many of you to remove landmines and establish sustainable, indigenous de-mining capabilities. We are keenly aware not just of the human cost, but the impact the presence of unexploded anti-personnel landmines has on a nation recovering from conflict...

...Since the Ottawa Conference in October 1996, however, there has been the unfortunate perception that the United States is less committed to seeking a comprehensive landmine ban than other nations or peoples. As I have said, what we are confronting is a difference over tactics, not the desired goal. The United States wishes to move as swiftly as possible to a comprehensive ban, but only one that can be truly comprehensive. One of the reasons we face a global landmine crisis today is because countries are still committed to their use and are reluctant to give them up. If our goal is to address the humanitarian problem at stake here, and it is a truly global one affecting all our nations, then we must address the source of the problem. The fact is landmines remain integral to the way that many countries defend themselves. We need to tackle this central fact head on and deal with -- not sidestep -- reluctant states.

In the meantime, if all the countries that are still exporting and transferring mines were to follow our example and that of more than thirty other governments like South Africa, and now Mozambique, we could negotiate a comprehensive ban confident that at least the worldwide commercial traffic in these indiscriminate killers was at an end. And we could be confident that the world's bystanders would be spared -- the women, children, and civilians from all walks of life who are the major victims of the sales of these kinds of weapons and of indiscriminate mine usage in civil and regional conflicts.

Until that time, however, we must confront the fact that all -- not just some -- major producers need to be part of negotiations to produce a comprehensive ban. Any landmine treaty must include most or all of the nations that are now most responsible for the international use and sale of APLs. Russia and China, for example, have both indicated that they will not participate in a free-standing agreement, and that they cannot support an immediate APL ban.

The Conference on Disarmament (CD) includes most of the countries which historically have produced landmines. Its membership is broad and geographically representative. It has a proven track record, including the comprehensive test ban treaty which, although controversial, was produced relatively quickly and endorsed by the United Nations. We believe it provides the best forum for those countries who remain reluctant to sign a free-standing comprehensive landmine ban, and who are unlikely, at least initially, to be influenced by international pressures to join the Ottawa process.

In the context of a negotiation process, we will push for a comprehensive ban on the use, production, stock-piling, export, and transfer of APLs. As we pursue this comprehensive ban, however, we are open to suggestions from other states that propose interim

steps which reinforce progress towards the final goal. These measures, as I have already mentioned, could include a worldwide ban on the export and transfer of APLs, and an overall cap on APL stockpiles. These measures would have an immeasurable impact on the humanitarian dimension of the problem we are trying to resolve.

As CD negotiations progress, we are supportive of all steps that are taken to heighten awareness of the need for a comprehensive ban, and of the hard work of the many non-governmental organizations who drew the world's attention to the urgency of addressing the need once and for all to end the use of landmines in any situation.

This means that although we have chosen to pursue negotiations on a treaty in the Conference for Disarmament, we are not -- as is popularly believed -- against the Ottawa process. To the contrary, we are convinced it will provide important momentum in the overall effort to achieve a comprehensive ban. The Ottawa process and negotiations in the Conference for Disarmament can and should be mutually reinforcing.

Solutions to the world's problems and conflicts rarely come in neat packages. Only ten years ago, as regional conflicts multiplied and so too the countless victims of indiscriminate mining, it would have been difficult to envisage a time when dozens of governments around the world would willingly forego the use of a weapon that had been an important part of their arsenals for time immemorial. The fact that so many of us are now prepared to take that decision is a testimony to just how far the campaign to ban landmines has come -- and a testimony to the drive and commitment and resources you have mobilized on behalf of this humanitarian endeavor. As we all pursue the common goal of a comprehensive APL ban, let us not forget we are on the same side, and sooner rather than later we will succeed."

Republic of Mozambique

H. E. Dr. Leonardo Santos Simão

Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation

"On the occasion of the official opening of this Conference, His Excellency, President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, pledged that the Mozambican Government would publically state its position with respect to the international movement towards banning the use of anti-personal landmines.

Accordingly, the Council of Ministers, at its Third Ordinary Session held on 25 February, 1997, approved its Resolution 04/97, which reads as follows:

"In spite of the end of the war in Mozambique, security has not yet been fully achieved by our people. Our country still faces the bitter experience of the effects of landmines, which have been claiming human lives, as well as posing serious obstacles to the reconstruction and development process.

The grave human consequences deriving from the utilization of these categories of weapons, call for concerted actions from the international community with a view to banning the use of landmines.

Accordingly, under the provisions contained in paragraph 1 of article 153 of the Constitution of the Republic the Council of Ministers determines:

1. With immediate effect, the production, commercialization, utilization and non-authorized transportation of anti-personal landmines is hereby prohibited in the national territory.
2. The Government shall continue to promote all efforts aimed at ensuring mine-clearance activities, with a view to guaranteeing greater security to the citizens....

With this resolution, the Mozambican Government demonstrates its pledge to see our planet free of anti-personnel landmines, and in this connection, it considers removal and destruction of those landmines planted on its soil, as being its number one priority, for it is landmines which are responsible, here and now, for the maiming and deaths of citizens. In this context, the Government of Mozambique urges the international community to increase its contribution for mine-clearance activities in our countries.

We are certain that the International Campaign against Landmines can give a valuable contribution in getting rid of landmines which are scourging our people.

The Republic of South Africa

The Honorable Mr. J. Modise

Minister of Defense

"...I am pleased to inform you that, on my recommendation and motivation, Cabinet decided, on the 19th of February 1997, to ban the use, development, production and stockpiling of anti-personnel landmines - with immediate effect. We thereby fully endorse the conviction of the International Committee of the Red Cross...

...in adopting this position, the South African Government, through our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reinforces efforts to bring about a universal ban on these mines and their complete elimination. We will resolutely pursue this objective, and do everything possible to encourage and influence governments and international institutions to adopt this position. Our commitment in this respect is a matter of record since our accession to office.

In terms of this decision, we will be preparing to destroy our stockpile of anti-personnel landmines, which amounts to 160,000. We will be retaining a very limited and verifiable number of anti-personnel landmines, solely for training specific military personnel in de-mining techniques and for research into assisting the de-mining process. All de-mining training and research will be carried out under the strictest government supervision and control....

Cabinet's decision reflects our determination to help rid the world of the problem of anti-personnel landmines....A heavy responsibility lies on the more developed countries, capable of producing this weapon, to cease production, export and use."

This grave international problem can only be addressed by concerted international action to restrict the availability and use of landmines and to alleviate the suffering they cause.

We believe it is possible to confront the menace, and South Africa will do everything possible to assist in the eradication of anti-personnel landmines from the face of our globe.

The United Republic of Tanzania

(From a letter to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 11/26/96)

Jakaya M. Kikwete

Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation

"We therefore have no hesitation in supporting your proposals as follows:

- I) to support and participate in the establishment of an international landmines register for reporting details of current landmines holdings and past/current/ planned landmines production and export.
- II) to develop greater cooperation and coordination among NGOs,

IOs and governments aimed at a comprehensive anti-personnel mine ban including the establishment of an information system.

III) urge other SADC members to sign a protocol prohibiting the use, production, trade and stock piling of anti-personnel landmines.

IV) to support efforts being undertaken to de-mine affected areas in the region, increase mine awareness and assist survivors..."

American Delegates Applaud Steps by African Nations to Ban Landmines, but Condemn US In-action

Americans representing humanitarian and other non-governmental organizations called on the US government to join the drive to ban immediately the production, stockpile, use and transfer of anti-personnel landmines (APMs). Nearly 25 US delegates...urged Washington to follow the lead of more than 50 countries, including several NATO allies and several African countries that support a fast track to a treaty banning APMs by the end of the year.

During the conference, Mozambique, Malawi and Swaziland joined South Africa in support of the "Ottawa process," the Canadian-led initiative to sign a ban treaty in December 1997. While the African nations are adopting this fast-track to a ban, the United States government reaffirmed a go-slow approach that includes negotiations at the United Nations Conference on Disarmament.

The American delegates to the conference consider the decision to keep these weapons in the US arsenal callous and insensitive to the human suffering inflicted on civilians, especially women and children. "Please help us confront the humanitarian crisis which continues to impede our development efforts in Africa and globally by supporting an immediate and comprehensive ban on landmines," said Gail Snetro, who represented Save the Children at the conference.

The American Delegation also called on President Clinton to step up US efforts to clear minefields so that farmers can re-cultivate their land, and to increase resources to rehabilitate an estimated 300,000 mine victims worldwide. Michael McKinley, counselor at the US Embassy in Maputo, told American conference participants that the US government has committed \$140 million during the past five years to help clear minefields in nearly 15 countries. But US delegates point out that much more is needed to help de-mine more than 60 countries now infested with more than 100 million landmines. Moreover, "de-mining without a landmine ban is like pouring water into a leaky pail," said Daniel Gomez-Ibanez, Executive Director of the International Committee for the Peace Council.

Very few US resources have gone to help mine victims in these countries. "I am appalled that a country as rich as the United States that produces landmines itself has not done more to help the victims, particularly the tens of thousands of African victims who lack access to proper medical care or rehabilitation," said Jerry White, director of the Landmine Survivors Network. "Urgent help is needed to assist victims to become productive members of their communities once again..."

THE OTTAWA GROUP OF PRO-BAN STATES

- The Ottawa Group is made up of 50 like-minded States which support a total ban on anti-personnel landmines. These 50 States participated in the International Strategy Conference "Towards a Ban on Anti-personnel Mines" in Ottawa, Canada, October 3-5, 1996.
- In its declaration the Ottawa Group committed itself to: seek the earliest possible conclusion of a legally-binding agreement to ban the production, stockpiling, transfer and use of anti-personnel mines and to increase support for mine-awareness programs, mine-clearance operations and victim assistance.
- The Ottawa Group also prepared an ambitious Agenda for Action for 1997 which outlines joint efforts on national, regional and international levels towards a landmine ban and in the fields of mine awareness and clearance and victim assistance.
- An Ottawa Group follow-up conference will be held from 23-27 June in Brussels, Belgium.
- At the close of the Ottawa Conference the Canadian Foreign Minister invited and challenged States to return to Ottawa for a Treaty Signing Conference in December 1997. Since then moves towards the early negotiation of a treaty banning anti-personnel mines have picked up momentum. Consultations among Ottawa Group States on a treaty text will be held in Austria in February 1997, with additional sessions planned for Norway and Switzerland later in the year.
- The International Committee of the Red Cross participated in the Ottawa Conference and fully supports the Canadian initiative for the negotiation of a new treaty within the context of the Ottawa Group. It will participate as an expert-observer in treaty negotiation throughout 1997.

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| ANGOLA | IRELAND |
| AUSTRALIA | ITALY |
| AUSTRIA | JAPAN |
| BELGIUM | LUXEMBOURG |
| BOLIVIA | MEXICO |
| BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA | MOZAMBIQUE |
| BURKINA FASO | NETHERLANDS |
| CAMBODIA | NEW ZEALAND |
| CAMEROON | NICARAGUA |
| CANADA | NORWAY |
| COLOMBIA | PERU |
| CROATIA | PHILIPPINES |
| DENMARK | POLAND |
| ETHIOPIA | PORTUGAL |
| FINLAND | SLOVAKIA |
| FRANCE | SLOVENIA |
| GABON | SOUTH AFRICA |
| GERMANY | SPAIN |
| GREECE | SWEDEN |
| GUATEMALA | TRINIDAD & TOBAGO |
| GUINEA | UNITED KINGDOM |
| HONDURAS | UNITED STATES |
| HUNGARY | URUGUAY |
| ICELAND | ZIMBABWE |
| ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN | |



Mozambique

RENAMO Threatens to Boycott Local Elections

RENAMO is threatening to boycott this year's local elections, unless the law on local authorities is amended in line with its wishes. The constitution now states that decentralized municipal authorities may be set up in cities, towns and administrative post headquarters. At least half of the Mozambican populations do not live in these areas, and are therefore not covered by this round of municipal elections. It seemed that RENAMO had accepted the principal of gradualism: that local elections would only be held this year in those places that already have the basic conditions for financial and administrative autonomy - that is, that they already have a functioning administration, and have a reasonable local tax base. Additional legislation now needs to be passed to set up local election procedures and intergovernmental relations, but it looks as if RENAMO will attempt to stop passage of such legislation to ensure that no local elections at all are held this year.

(Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports, 1/23/97)

Refugees En Route to South Africa

Refugees, from countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and Zaire, are using Mozambique as a corridor to reach South Africa, according to Fernando Fazenda, director of the Mozambican government's Refugee Support Nucleus. It seems that people applying for asylum are crossing the border to South Africa after selling goods provided by the Mozambican government to sustain them while waiting for their asylum cases to be processed. Some refugees have guides who facilitate them, both in the sale of their goods and in showing them the way into South Africa or Swaziland. There have been some problems with some refugees who have been accused of trafficking in drugs and precious stones, particularly in the central and northern regions of the country.

(Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports, 1/23/97)

Paris Club Meeting on Mozambique

Mozambique went to the Paris Club on 20 and 21 November 1996, where the restructuring of Mozambique's bilateral debt was discussed. The outcome was disappointing. Only 67% debt relief was agreed with a consolidation period of 32 months. The IMF and World Bank have argued for giving Mozambique 80% debt relief in June 1997, when the country is to be invited to a new meeting with the Paris Club.

Despite enormous efforts to reform its economy under the aegis of the IMF and World Bank, four years after the end of the war, Mozambique has remained one of the poorest countries in the world. The per capita income with circa US\$100, is about the same as in 1987; industrial production represents just a third of its potential value; agricultural production in 1995 was still below the 1987 level. Today, foreign debt is double what it was in 1984/85, when Mozambique became a member of the IMF and five times larger than its GDP. The amount of families living in absolute poverty has increased: in 1987 this was 10 to

15% of the population living under the absolute poverty level, now it is more than two-thirds. Also the number of unemployed has grown. Distribution of income and wealth has become more inequitable. Infant mortality rate is tragically high, and young children are badly malnourished, which damages the country's future development potential. The country, still lacking fundamental infrastructure like roads, water, food distribution logistics, an educated workforce and capital, has not recovered yet.

In the absence of an international, independent insolvency procedure, which could give impartial, rational and due recognition to what is in effect Mozambique's bankrupt state, the Paris Club continues to maintain a charade of re-scheduling and re-shuffling these unpayable debts. This has two effects. First, it maintains a debt overhang effect for Mozambique, retarding her economic development primarily by discouraging investment and encouraging capital flight. Second, it undermines the credibility of the Paris Club process because it imposes the harshest possible discipline on debtors, and no discipline whatsoever on creditors.

(EURODAD, Africa Policy Information Center, 12/15/96)

Rail Rehabilitation Depends on Coal Mines

Repairing the sabotaged railway from the western province of Tete to the port of Beira is dependent on attracting foreign investment to the coal mines in the Tete district of Moatize, according to Deputy Transport Minister Antonio Fernando. Rebuilding the railway, wrecked by RENAMO during the war of destabilization, would cost about \$300 million. On top of that would come the costs of clearing land mines away from the rail line. This is money that the government does not have, and no foreign donor has expressed any interest in funding repairs to this line. South African and Brazilian companies have expressed interest in developing the Moatize mines, but there has been no guarantee that work on repairing the railway would begin this year.

The railway is not only crucial for resuming the export of Mozambican coal, but would also provide landlocked Malawi with another route to the sea, one that would be shorter than either the Nacala corridor, or routes to South African ports.

(Mozambique News Agency AIM Reports, 1/20/97)

Train to Zimbabwe Helps to Revive Mozambique's Economy

With the 16 year civil war over, the train track, which was laid a century ago by the British to link land-locked Rhodesia to the sea, is no longer a military target. Once again it carries the hope of prosperity. This time Mozambicans - not their colonisers - may gain. The Beira Corridor project is almost complete and aims to revive the fortunes of the line, the port and the region. The war left Mozambique bankrupt and wholly dependent on foreign aid, with Beira and its hinterland particularly badly hit. European donors have financed the dredging of the harbor, the overhaul of the dilapidated port and the building of an oil terminal. Beira, with spare capacity, is now struggling to lure trade from Durban and lucrative Zimbabwean freight. Progress is slow.

(Mary Braid, The Independent, 9/6/96)

Women in Southern Africa

Southern African Women's Rights Agenda - 1997

The Beijing Platform for action (PFA) defines strategic objectives and spells out actions that should lead to fundamental change in the lives of women by the Year 2000. 1997 should be a year to embark on the implementation of such plans of action. For southern Africa, the draft sub-regional Plan of Action on Gender will be discussed by a ministerial conference that will be held during the course of the SADC Annual Consultative conference scheduled for Windhoek, Namibia, in February.

The southern African sub-regional PFA urges and lobbies SADC to:

- support comprehensive women's rights campaigns and simplification/translation of constitutions, laws and conventions into local languages;
- establish human rights commissions or assist the formation of an NGO based human rights monitor, and support ongoing human rights research and activities, especially human rights/legal information;
- promote ratification/adoption, implementation and incorporation of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) into national constitutions and legislation by all member states;
- incorporate the CEDAW into its protocols/legal instruments.

It is encouraging to note that countries in the region are revisiting the laws strategies relating to domestic violence. Countries in southern Africa should join the campaign to break the silence on domestic violence against women, a vice that has for a long time been treated as a trivial issue.

(Women in Development-Southern Africa Awareness Project, 1/97)

Women's Issues in Botswana

The Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) held a workshop recently to discuss with women and members of parliament, the Affiliation Proceedings Act which regulated maintenance fees. The law regulating maintenance (child support) was enacted in 1970 and has not been reviewed despite the escalating cost of living. The workshop recommended that fathers should maintain children from birth until the child is 21 years. Under the current law, a father has to pay maintenance until the child is 13.

Meanwhile, a regulation requiring pregnant girls to leave college for a year was overturned by a court in Botswana recently. The Molepole College of Education had required that pregnant students inform the Dean and leave school not more than three months after conception. The High Court found that the regulation violated constitutional guarantees of fundamental rights and protection against discrimination. The Court found that the real purpose of the regulation was not to provide maternity leave, but to punish unmarried students. This case is significant particularly because the practice of forcing pregnant girls - but not the fathers - to leave school is still widespread.

(Women in Development-Southern Africa Awareness Project, 1/97)

Gender Violence Tribunals: A Solution to Domestic Violence

Some Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in southern Africa have started holding gender violence tribunals as a measure to sensitize the public, policy makers and law enforcement agents about the adverse affects of domestic violence on the advancement of women. The tribunals which have now become annual events in South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe are also serving as a strategy to break the silence on domestic violence against women.

At the tribunals, women who have suffered various forms of domestic violence testify to their experiences in an open hearing presided over by a panel of judges comprised of magistrates, high court commissioners, lawyers and representatives of relevant policy making state bodies, human rights agents, police, and women activists. After listening to the testimonies, the panel of judges comes up with analyses to influence legal change and the attitude of the public and law enforcement agents in administering domestic violence cases.

A common issue that surfaced during the tribunals in all three countries is that abused women have no where to go for protection because in most cases, their families and the police send them back to the abusers. The tribunals are also revealing cases where women know their rights, but they still remain helpless because the mechanisms in place are not adequate to deal with the problems.

It is hoped that the revelations at such tribunals would help change societies' attitudes toward gender violence and influence positive change in the administration of domestic violence cases so that victims may enjoy adequate protection.

(Women in Development-Southern Africa Awareness Project, 1/97)

South Africa Adopts Gender Commission

South Africa has adopted a Gender Commission which is empowered to monitor policies of the state, public bodies and all private businesses and institutions in order to promote equality. The Commission will also be responsible for the evaluation of laws and recommendations for new legislation affecting the status of women. Negotiations for this commission preceded the first all race elections in 1994, with the aim of putting into the constitution a mechanism to promote equality and make recommendations on all laws affecting the status of women.

(Women in Development-Southern Africa Awareness Project, 1/97)

Zimbabwe Launches Women's Bank

The women's bank launched by President Robert Mugabe in the Zimbabwean capital, Harare, is expected to be established by December 1997. Omama-Madzimai (OMA) Bank, the brainchild of 13 local women's organizations, is expected to bring banking to marginalised rural and urban people operating below the poverty line, with an emphasis on women. The bank is open to all women in the country. However, the bank pioneers maintain that women can only buy shares through a women's organization and not as individuals, while men can only invest as minority shareholders. The bank provides women with the chance of being managers of their own destinies, making it possible for them to own a majority stake in the bank.

(Women in Development-Southern Africa Awareness Project, 1/97)

South Africa

US Opposes Arms Sales to Syria - Mandela Protests

"We detest this kind of behavior," thundered the message from President Nelson Mandela's office. "They are not going to tell us what to do." They? The United States, no less. A report had leaked out suggesting that the South African cabinet had provisionally approved a 3 billion rand arms sale to Syria and the Americans were in an imperial frenzy.

Sternly, the Americans told the South Africans that it would be "extremely serious" if the sale went ahead, and reminded them that America gives no foreign aid to countries that supply lethal weaponry to Syria or any country listed - by itself, on its private criteria - as a "state sponsor of terrorism".

South Africa is in a muddle about its arms trade. Under apartheid, it secretly built up a large and advanced weapons industry, and sold its weapons through scores of front companies to plenty of vile governments. Mr. Mandela was determined to disinfect the rot. He appointed two commissions to investigate the arms trade. Armscor, the former state arms maker, had been shaken out, staffed with new faces, and turned into only a marketer and buyer of arms; its front companies, it says, have been closed down. Weapons-making has been split off into a separate state-owned company, Denel. Export permits are now granted by a new ministerial committee. And the government says it will not sell to unpleasant regimes.

Yet to the surprise of many and the dismay of some, Mr. Mandela has also befriended the weapons-makers, appearing at international trade fairs to promote their hardware. In 1995-96, weaponry was South Africa's second-biggest manufactured export, earning a useful 103 billion rand. Some 50,000 jobs still depend on the industry. Armscor now has sales offices in Beijing, Paris, Tel Aviv, Kuala Lumpur and Moscow, which market South Africa's snazziest weaponry, from artillery pieces to mine-clearance equipment.

(The Economist, 1/18/97)

Sweden Provided \$400m In Aid to Apartheid Foes

Swedish Foreign Minister Lena Hjelm-Wallen revealed that the Swedish government secretly provided hundreds of millions of dollars to the anti-apartheid movement during South Africa's years of white minority rule. Much of that aid went to the African National Congress, then the main liberation movement and now the majority party in Parliament.

The disclosure has shed new light on how big a thorn Sweden was in the side of Pretoria's apartheid rulers. Swedish investigators are investigating allegations that the former white-led government held such deep enmity for the Swedes that they arranged the assassination of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in Stockholm in 1986. Palme was a vociferous opponent of apartheid who helped initiate global economic sanctions against South Africa.

Security agents of the apartheid period have a long record of doing away with opponents, but whether their efforts were ever directed against a foreign head of government has yet to be proved.

(The Boston Globe, 10/19/96)



Tutsis Armed by South Africans

The war in central Africa has been fuelled by arms traders who have links to South African military intelligence selling weapons to the Zairean rebels. According to sources in the South African intelligence services, Ters Ehlers, a former personal assistant to the former South African State President P.W. Botha, is coordinating one of the operations using his contacts in South African industry and the armed forces.

Sources in the police and national intelligence service say that arms and ammunition are flown by transport aircraft from Lanseria Airport near Johannesburg to Kinshasa, Zaire. From there, the aircraft flies to destinations in Angola and Rwanda supplying weapons to both the Angolan rebel movement, UNITA and the Zairean Tutsi groups. The arms are shipped as mining equipment by a company known as CMD, an Angola-based company which is also registered in Zaire.

It has been believed for some time that elements within South African officialdom were pursuing an agenda outside governmental control. This is a theme that characterized the apartheid years but the aim is now different. During apartheid, such activities were done primarily to destabilize South Africa's regional neighbors in order to undermine opposition to the apartheid regime. Now the same policy continues but the rewards are financial rather than political.

(The Independent, 11/19/96)

Apartheid's Former Strongman Lambastes Witchhunt Against Afrikaners

The former South African President P.W. Botha declared that he would never apologize for apartheid and denounced what he called an assault on the Afrikaner by the country's new black rulers.

"I am not guilty of any deed for which I should apologize or ask for amnesty. I therefore have no intention of doing this," he said. Mr. Botha, aged 80, made his remarks in a written statement after a private meeting with Archbishop Desmond Tutu at a secret location.

Mr. Botha said, "I am deeply concerned about the fierce and unforgiving assault which is being launched against the Afrikaner and his language at all levels of society." He had never associated himself with "blatant murder". But "there might have been instances during the conflict of the past where individuals have exceeded the limits of their authority. I cannot be expected to take responsibility for the actions of any such individuals."

Botha said British colonialists and not Afrikaners had introduced race discrimination into South Africa. "The Afrikaner was a victim of colonial greed...the recent conflicts in which we were involved were primarily against Soviet imperialism and colonialism."

(The Independent, 11/22/96)

Nigeria

US Reports Human Rights Abuses Continue in Nigeria

The US State Department released its 1996 Country Reports on Human rights practices on January 30. Particularly highlighted among the reports by its length and strong language was the report on Nigeria. The report states:

"...The Government continued to enforce its arbitrary authority through the Federal Security System and through decrees blocking action by the opposition in the courts. All branches of the security forces committed serious human rights abuses....Throughout the year, General Abacha's Government relied regularly on arbitrary detention and harassment to silence its many critics....Security forces committed extrajudicial killing and used excessive force to quell anti-government protests as well as to combat a growing wave of violent crime, killing and wounding a number of persons, including innocent civilians. Police tortured and beat suspects and detainees, and prison conditions remained life threatening; many prisoners died in custody. Security services continued routine harassment of human rights and pro-democracy groups, including labor leaders, journalists, and student activists. The government also infringed on citizens' right to privacy.

Citizens do not have the right to change their government by peaceful means. Despite the announced timetable for transitions from military to multi-party rule, there was little meaningful progress toward democracy. In the March 16 non-party local elections, the government disqualified many candidates and promulgated a decree allowing replacement without cause of elected officials by government-selected administrators, effectively nullifying the the results. Local government elections, originally scheduled for the fourth quarter of 1996, were postponed until 1997. The Government's reliance on tribunals, which operate outside the constitutional court system, and harsh decrees prohibiting judicial review, seriously undermine the integrity of the judicial process. The Government's frequent refusal to respect court rulings also undercuts the independence and integrity of the judicial process."

(Africa Policy Information Center, 2/11/97)

On the Anniversary of Saro-Wiwa's Execution, Human Rights Organizations Call for Reform

On the eve of the first anniversary of the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa, Amnesty International, together with Nigerian human rights organizations, called on the Nigerian government to end human rights violations. An Amnesty International delegation was in the country to mark the 10 November anniversary, and to launch a campaign against human rights violations in Nigeria. Nigerian human rights organizations such as the Civil Liberties Organization and the Constitutional Rights Project are supporting the campaign.

"The Nigerian authorities' clear disregard for the most basic and fundamental rights of their people can only result in skepticism about its proposed transition to civilian government by October 1998. One year after the trials, governments worldwide should be keeping up the pressure for improvement in the human rights situation and accept nothing less than substantial reforms from General Abacha's government."

Amnesty International and the Nigerian human rights organi

Excerpt from Ken Saro-Wiwa's closing statement to the military appointed tribunal before his execution

We all stand before history. I am a man of peace, of ideas.

Appalled by the denigrating poverty of my people who live on a richly endowed land, distressed by their political marginalization and economic strangulation, angered by the devastation of their land, their ultimate heritage, anxious to preserve their right to life and to a decent living, and determined to usher to this country as a whole a fair and just democratic system which protects everyone and every ethnic group and gives us all a valid claim to human civilization, I have devoted my intellectual and material resources, my very life to a cause in which I have total belief and from which I cannot be blackmailed or intimidated. I have no doubt at all about the ultimate success of my cause, no matter the trials and tribulations which I and those who believe with me may encounter on our journey. Neither imprisonment nor death can stop our ultimate victory.

zations put forward a 10-point program for human rights reform. This program includes the release of all prisoners of conscience, the revocation of all military decrees which allow the indefinite or incommunicado imprisonment of political prisoners, the guarantee of fair trials for political prisoners, safeguards against torture and ill-treatment, and abolition of the death penalty.

(Africa Policy Information Center, 11/6/97)

Sierra Club Urges Aid for Ogoni Struggle Against Shell

The Sierra Club released a letter it sent to President Clinton that calls on the President to help the Ogoni people of Nigeria in their struggle against pollution caused by Shell's oil exploitation. The letter also calls on the President to again push American allies to adopt a series of Nigerian sanctions.

The letter was signed by Sierra Club Executive Director Carl Pope and by Dr. Owens Wiwa, brother of the late Ken Saro-Wiwa, the writer and environmentalist whom the Nigerian government hanged last year along with eight other Ogoni leaders. Environmentalists believe that Saro-Wiwa was executed because of his effective grassroots organizing directed at the devastation from Shell's oil exploitation in the Ogoni region.

In 1996, Shell admitted that it had imported firearms for the Nigerian police force. Last week the Managing Director of Shell Nigeria announced the company's sponsorship of a hospital in the Ogoni area of Nigeria. Dr. Wiwa noted the irony of Shell's influence in the Ogoni region. "What a cynical gesture," said Dr. Wiwa. "They open a hospital to treat the people wounded by their own guns. Shell's weapons were used against any Ogoni who dared speak out against the company's pollution."

"Rather than restore the environment in Ogoni or pay reparations to the communities the company polluted, Shell has hired public relations firms to counter our calls for environmental justice," said Stephen Mills, Director of the Sierra Club's Human Rights and Environment Campaign. "No amount of advertising can cover up the fact that Shell operated in Nigeria for some 38 years, made billions of dollars, and left the Ogoni with polluted farms and rivers and without electricity, running water, schools or hospitals."

(Sierra Club press release, 11/7/96)

Southern Africa

Swaziland: The Struggle for Democracy Continues

A strike by Swaziland's workers is the latest in a series of protests that are likely to continue in Africa's sole absolute monarchy unless demands for constitutional reforms are met. Swaziland, a nation of about 900,000 people sandwiched between South Africa and Mozambique, is the only country in southern Africa that does not allow multi-party politics.

Richard Cornwell, a political analyst of the African Institute of South Africa, is convinced that King Mswati III will not give in. "The monarchy does not lend itself to constitutional reform. The majority of Swazis still living in rural areas believe in the legitimacy of the institution. Two major trusts that run business in the country sponsor the monarchy. These are Tisuka and Tibiyo, established to fund development but which are now held in trust by the King, apparently on behalf of the nation. It is this economic power that is at stake if change occurs." These trusts control nearly all aspects of the Swazi economy, including hotel chains, sugar plantations, insurance firms, brewers and financial institutions.

The attitude of the monarchy to the pressure from labor has not been conciliatory. In response to the latest strike, labor leaders were arrested and new laws issued providing for a life sentence for anyone charged with sabotaging essential services.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) had been closely monitoring the current developments in Swaziland. COSATU leaders have called for a go-slow when handling Swaziland-bound goods in solidarity with the strikers and have picketed the Swazi embassy. Swaziland's government has taken the threat seriously since its economy is inextricably bound to that of South Africa through which virtually all its imports and exports pass.

(InterPress Third World News Agency, 2/5/97)

Abdul Rahman Mohamed Babu

22 September 1924 - 5 August 1996



Babu was a figure of deep significance in Africa's recent history: a leader in the nationalist struggle in Zanzibar and then in its Revolution, a minister in Tanzania. Then in the late 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, he became known and respected worldwide as an elder statesman of Africa, building on his experience at the highest levels of politics to influence struggles elsewhere on the continent and the pan-African discourse in the west. Unlike so many politicians of his generation, he had remained free of corruption, personal accumulation and self-aggrandizement and retained a commitment to the values of democracy, equality and socialism. That commitment gave him credibility in taking strong positions on human rights and the push for indigenous democracy throughout the continent in recent years. He is remembered for his role as an ideological lodestone to younger activists, a role which began in Dar es Salaam, while he was still a Minister.

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Southern Africa

Security Council Recommends Kofi Annan as Secretary-General

The UN Security Council, on December 13, recommended Kofi Annan to the General Assembly for appointment as the seventh Secretary-General of the United Nations for a term of office from January 1, 1997 to December 31, 2001, the culmination of a year in which the Council faced crises ranging from the Balkans and the Caucasus to the Great Lakes region of Africa.

Mr. Annan was appointed and sworn in by the Assembly on December 17, 1996. The first sub-Saharan African to become Secretary-General, he is a native of the first sub-Saharan country to gain its independence from colonialism, Ghana. He begins his term of office in the year in which Ghana will commemorate the fortieth anniversary of its independence in 1957.

(UN Security Council press release, 1/14/97)

NGOs Cite Colonialism

"The issue is not whether foreign investment is good or should be welcomed," said a position paper circulated at UNCTAD IX by the Third World Network (TWN) of non-governmental organizations. But for "foreign investment to play a positive role, governments must have the right and powers to regulate its entry, terms of conditions and operations." TWN argues that "the real motives of the proponents are to increase access of their companies to resources and markets of the developing countries, as well as to have another powerful instrument to block the development of potential rivals." Citing some measures suggested by the European Community for the OECD investment proposals, TWN said that a new treaty under the terms promoted by the EC would constitute "a return to the colonial era."

(Africa Recovery, Vol. 10, #3, 12/96)

New Investment Rules Cause Concern

African and other developing countries are worried by the industrialized country push to put more liberal proposals for foreign investment on the international agenda. They fear that even discussion of a new set of binding rules may overwhelm developing countries still struggling to implement, and also gain compensation for, the Uruguay Round trade agreements.

These concerns were not dispelled by the carefully worded compromise that emerged from the first ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO), held on 9-13 December in Singapore. There, the Ministerial Declaration announced that two working groups would soon be set up, one to "examine the relationship between trade and investment" and the other to study the interaction between trade and competition policy in order to "identify any areas that may merit further consideration in the WTO."

African unease about the potential disadvantages of any new investment rules is compounded by concern that such rules would "remove the last vestiges of national planning and pose a threat to national sovereignty," says Mr. Trevor Abrahams, Advisor to South African Trade Minister Alec Erwin who chaired the Global Investment Forum and presided at UNCTAD IX. It is "absolutely clear" that some of the proposed new measures "would be destructive to weaker economies" whose domestic firms cannot compete with transnational corporations. "It would be unfair to impose such new rules before these countries have had a chance to engage in full economic reforms."

(Africa Recovery, Vol. 10, #3, 12/96)



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