

the Courier

Africa - Caribbean - Pacific - European Union

Women

**Country reports
Botswana
Lesotho**

Austria
Belgium
Denmark
Finland
France
Germany
(Federal Rep.)
Greece
Ireland
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Portugal
Spain
Sweden
United Kingdom

France

(Territorial collectivities)
Mayotte
St Pierre and Miquelon
(Overseas territories)
New Caledonia and
dependencies
French Polynesia
French Southern and
Antarctic Territories
Wallis and
Futuna Islands

Netherlands

(Overseas countries)
Netherlands Antilles
(Bonaire, Curaçao,
St Martin,
Saba, St Eustache)
Aruba

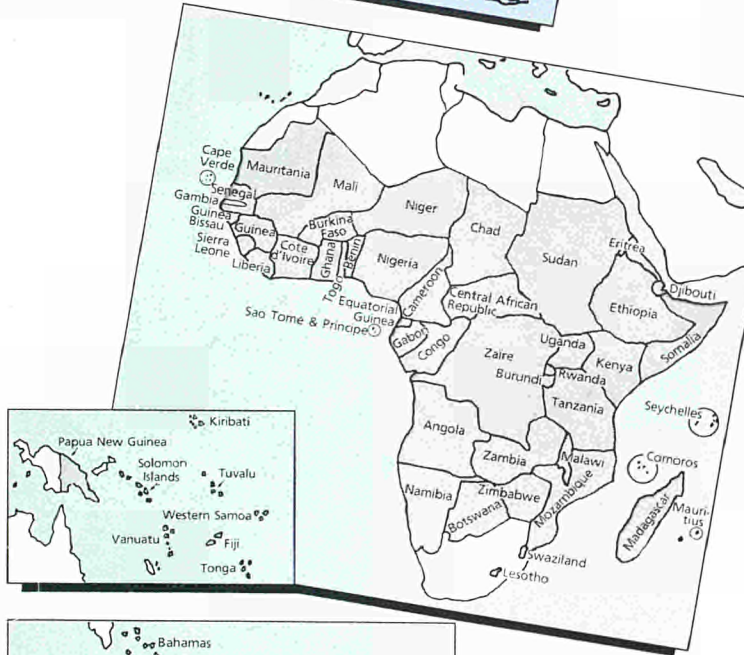
Denmark

(Country having special
relations with Denmark)
Greenland

United Kingdom

(Overseas countries and
territories)
Anguilla
British Antarctic Territory
British Indian Ocean Territory
British Virgin Islands
Cayman Islands
Falkland Islands
Southern Sandwich Islands
and dependencies
Montserrat
Pitcairn Island
St Helena and dependencies
Turks and Caicos Islands

THE EUROPEAN UNION



THE 70 ACP STATES

Angola
Antigua & Barbuda
Bahamas
Barbados
Belize
Benin
Botswana
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cameroon
Cape Verde
Central African Republic
Chad
Comoros
Congo
Côte d'Ivoire
Djibouti
Dominica
Dominican Republic
Equatorial Guinea
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Fiji
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Grenada
Guinea
Guinea Bissau
Guyana
Haiti
Jamaica
Kenya
Kiribati
Lesotho
Liberia
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mozambique
Namibia
Niger
Nigeria
Papua New Guinea
Rwanda
St Kitts and Nevis
St Lucia
St Vincent
and the Grenadines
Sao Tome & Principe
Senegal
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Solomon Islands
Somalia
Sudan
Suriname
Swaziland
Tanzania
Togo
Tonga
Trinidad & Tobago
Tuvalu
Uganda
Western Samoa
Vanuatu
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

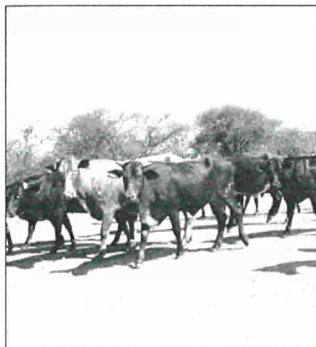
General Secretariat
of the ACP Group
of States
Avenue Georges Henri, 451
1200 Brussels
Belgium
Tel.: 733 96 00

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the status of these countries and territories
now or in the future.
The Courier uses maps from a variety
of sources. Their use does not imply
recognition of any particular boundaries
nor prejudice the status of any state
or territory.

Cover page:
Part of the work entitled 'Femmes'
(Women) by the Haitian painter
Métellus.
The painting was part of a special
exhibition at the Espace Alizés in
Brussels held to mark the IVth World
Conference on Women
(Photo The Courier)

COUNTRY REPORTS

BOTSWANA & LESOTHO



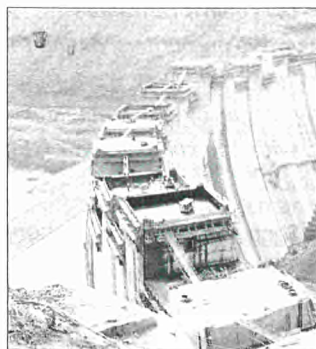
As Southern Africa looks to a more peaceful future, we feature two of the region's smaller ACP countries. Botswana and Lesotho are distant cousins. Common characteristics include considerable ethnic homogeneity and a traditional lifestyle with an emphasis on livestock.

They are both landlocked and suffer from soil degradation. In other respects, however, they are like chalk and cheese. The Republic of Botswana borders four countries, is big and generally flat, and has a long tradition of pluralism. Lesotho, by contrast, is a small and mountainous kingdom, where democracy still struggles to take root, entirely surrounded by South Africa.

The main difference, however, is in the economic field. In just 25 years, Botswana has moved from being one of the poorest countries in Africa to one of the richest. Prudent economic management and a major diamond windfall, have made the country a 'model' of development in the eyes of many. In Lesotho, political instability, a lack of natural resources and an unfavourable geographical situation have contributed to sluggish growth and a heavy economic dependence on South Africa.

Despite the economic divergence, both countries find themselves having to adapt to big changes. On the face of it, Southern Africa's new-found stability should benefit Botswana and Lesotho. But things are not that simple. We look at how these 'distant cousins' are shaping up to the new situation.

Botswana — pages 12 to 28
Lesotho — pages 29 to 47



DOSSIER

Women

The Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women took place in Beijing in September. After a great deal of discussion and argument, delegates were finally able to agree on a Declaration and a Programme of Action. Meanwhile, millions of women across the globe continued their daily struggle, many doubtless unaware that decisions aimed at improving their quality of life were being taken in a far away country.

We report on the outcome of the Beijing Conference — the measures that were agreed and the controversies that arose. We also focus on some of the problems that women face — in developing countries and elsewhere — in a world where genuine 'equality' is still some way off. **Pages 48 to 72**



CULTURE & SOCIETY

Mediums of Change conference in London

'Why do dictators always cling to power after so many years in office'. This was one of the challenging questions posed by Nobel Literature laureate *Wole Soyinka* in a keynote address to the *Mediums of Change* conference held in London at the end of September.

The conference, convened to discuss the role of the artist and the arts in contemporary Africa, formed part of *Africa 95*, a season of African cultural events being organised throughout the UK from August to December. The event attracted writers, playwrights, visual artists, musicians, film-makers and scholars, representing a wide cross-section of African artistic talent. **Pages 91 to 93**

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PUBLICATIONS

Gertrude Mongella

Secretary General of the
Beijing Conference

'Women will bring the spirit of serving people into politics'

Two pieces of news — one good and the other bad — were announced by the press officer of Gertrude Mongella, Secretary General of the Women's Conference in Beijing. First the bad news: The Courier did not manage to fix a one-to-one interview, but had to speak with Mrs Mongella in a 'pool' with another reporter (with only seven minutes available!). The good news was that the other journalist, from the 'New York Times', had already arranged an individual interview, and he politely limited himself to two questions on how the conference was going. These are inserted at the beginning of the text below.

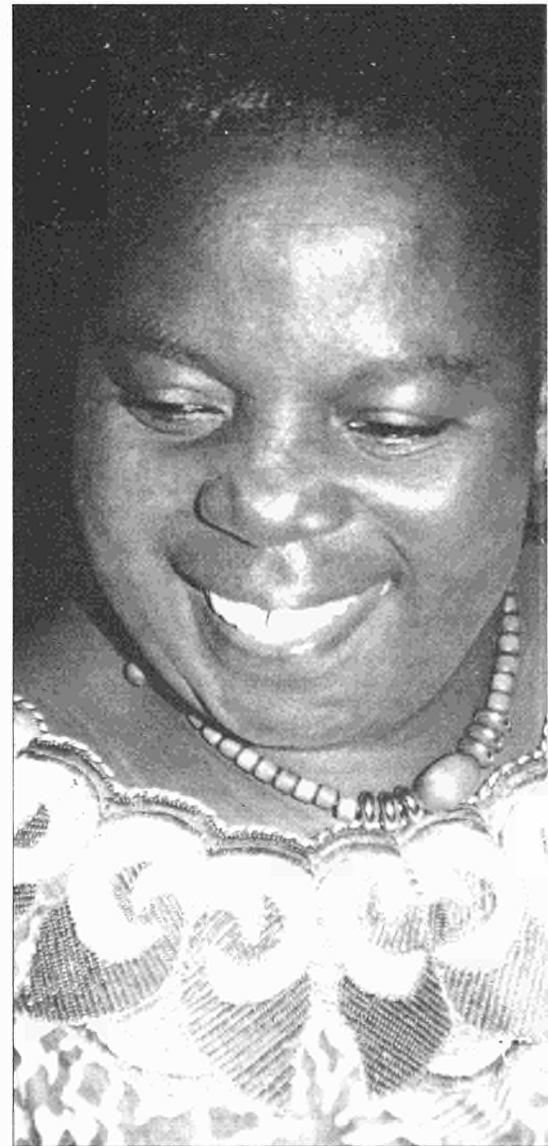
At the final press conference on the eve of Conference's closure, The Courier was also able to ask Mrs Mongella about the effect of the reservations made by some nations to the final document. These came from some 40 Catholic and Islamic countries and related to the provisions on sexuality and abortion. We also feature some of the questions put by fellow journalists, to help provide an insight into the personality of Mrs Mongella — someone we have certainly not heard the last of.

Mrs Mongella's tremendous personal energy greatly contributed to the conference's success. Alongside the 'official' conference, she also had to make sure that the NGOs' meeting ran smoothly. The siting of this event by the Chinese authorities outside the capital, prompted some to question whether Beijing had been an appropriate choice to stage the conference. Mrs Mongella's commitment and her maternal warmth (which conceals a steely determination), helped in the trickier moments. She had to reconcile the irreconcilable: trying to bring states at opposite ends of the moral spectrum together to agree a final text. Moreover, it is a text which, for the first time in an international diplomatic forum, deals with sensitive questions like women's sexuality,

in declarations which are more than empty shells. You could sense her apprehension, even when she replied with a smile that all was going well. Several participants likened it to the pain of a mother carrying a baby, pondering the risks that lie ahead.

Gertrude Mongella was the 'Mother' of the Conference, and is one of the inventors of the women's diplomacy for which Beijing will be long remembered. Women diplomats are nothing new, but it was a world first that important decisions at this level were taken by a forum comprised almost wholly of women. Patience, tenacity, respect for one another's opinions and simplicity were the key features of this diplomacy and all of these attributes were embodied by Mrs Mongella.

A trained teacher, Gertrude Mongella worked in development policy and was a parliamentarian in her native Tanzania before being appointed a minister at the age of thirty. She was later Ambassador of Tanzania to India. Her father was an activist in the Tanzanian independence movement. Speaking about him in the UNDP review, she said: 'I quickly learnt what matters in life, the power to take your own decisions and stick with them... and not trying to please everyone.'



The irony is that Mrs Mongella is liked by almost everyone. She is now set to become 'Mrs Women's Rights' and there is a lot of talk about her taking up a position in the cabinet of the UN Secretary General to ensure a full follow-up of the conference. She has also been touted as a future Presidential candidate in her own country. The UN's gain is Tanzania's loss! In the first of our two encounters, during the pooled interview, the New York Times representative began by asking how things were going with the compilation of the final declaration.

— Soon the baby will be born. Everything is okay. I should like to say that governments have been working in a very co-operative way. This has been characteristic of all the negotiations so far. The removal of brackets, so to speak, is going very fast. I want to thank the chairpersons of the working groups who have been

willing to listen to people, even out of hours. That shows commitment. People are working at ten when they are supposed to have finished at six. As for the governments, the way they have divided themselves into groups has to be noted. The organisation is fantastic. And the NGOs have been so cooperative. They are working together closely with governments on the final documents.

■ *What are you looking for in the coming week?*

— What I'm looking for is the adoption of the document so that we will be able to finish on time. My plan is that by the last day we will have reached a very good conclusion. The Prime Minister of Norway will be one of our guests on that day and we aim to launch a strong commitment and action plan for the world.

■ *What is the link between women and development. What can this conference do for the ordinary woman in developing countries?*

— We are addressing the problems of women in developing countries — notably those in rural areas — in the fields of education, health and poverty. All these are crucial subjects. I am sure that after adopting this document, and with the commitments of governments, there will be a noticeable change for women in developing countries, in particular those living in rural areas. If you deal with issues like poverty and girls' education, developing country women will benefit. So the platform has many strong components for these countries.

■ *One of the biggest problems is attitude. How do you change the attitudes of both men and women, and especially the mentality of the political decision-maker?*

— I have seen a lot of changes in the attitude of men. Men are now more serious about these issues. Today for example, I was in a meeting where one of speakers was from the 'Grameen' bank. Men in Bangladesh have started up a bank for women. Just listen to those men. Men who have been working in various areas of development are making strong pronouncements here.

■ *But how can you change mentality?*

— Today there are very few men who have the courage to ignore women's issues in public. They can do it privately, but publicly they cannot do it any more and that's the difference.

■ *What can women bring to politics that men cannot?*

— You name it. We will bring the spirit of serving people which men don't have. Men are used to being served by women, so even when you're in power, you only want to be masters. We are used to serving people, so when we are in power, we use that position to serve everybody.

(Questions from the closing press conference)

■ *Do you consider the platform * has had to be less ambitious than intended because of the large number of reservations?*

— There has been no 'regression' in the platform. When we implement it, there will be a big change. This is the first time, for example, that there has been such a big focus on the girl child. This has not happened before. It is first time that we have brought out the issues of violence in our proposals for action. It is also the first time we are calling for men and women to work together to solve problems. This represents a complete change in looking at women's issues. They are no longer a concern only for women. They are becoming societal issues. So the document is extremely strong and there is no excuse for not implementing it.

■ *What have been the major achievements here and are some of the issues not irrelevant for African women?*

— One of the biggest achievements of this platform has been to look at all the areas concerned and where everyone can fit in. We have structured the platform in a way that it cuts across nations. The proportions or numbers may vary, but the reasons for poverty, for example, are the same all over the world. They include the lack of equal access to

opportunities. There is no issue which appears in the platform which is irrelevant to African women.

Poverty is rampant in Africa, where education and health questions need addressing. So there is no area that does not apply to Africa or to Asia or anywhere else. That's the good thing about the document. All of us, when we go back home, should read it and see that this is the beauty of it.

■ *Do you think that this platform will be fully applied given the number of reservations?*

— Over 2000 NGOs were represented here and with such a large number, someone's bound not to have supported the programme. I have been involved in many platforms, and this is the most applauded of all. People have the right to make reservations because human beings are not homogenous. When you talk about democracy, it is sometimes about listening to other people's opinions. What the Beijing Platform has done is to set out principles. ■

Compiled by Hégel Goutier

* The terms 'Programme of Action' and 'Platform of Action' were used interchangeably at the Conference.

UN at the crossroads



United Nations

The 50th anniversary celebration of the United Nations, reaching a peak on the day it was founded (October 24), is a crossroads. The UN's peace-keeping activities and other work is hampered by a severe shortage of funds because a number of its 185 members are in arrears on dues. Plans are in the pipeline to expand the membership of the Security Council to respond to the shifts in the economic and political weight of nations since the end of the Cold War. UN staff emphasise, meanwhile, its expansion into new areas, notably support for fledgling democracies and ever stronger ties with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), cemented by a series of global conferences.

The feeling that the UN has seen better days both politically and financially is acknowledged by its staff, but at the same time they stress the past successes and future potential of the organisation — notably branching out into new areas of global cooperation like support for new democracies and ever stronger links with NGOs.

Says Gillian Martin Sorensen, UN Under Secretary General, interviewed by the *The Courier* during a recent visit to Brussels: 'The United Nations has not failed. There are a great number of successes and achievements to celebrate in this anniversary year. But these are difficult times, for both political and financial reasons. The UN is in the middle of reforming and enforcing its own operations for the future.' She adds: 'The UN

considers this year to be a defining moment for the next half century; a moment of transition and consideration of the past and future.'

The financial crisis without a doubt hangs over the birthday celebrations and according to Sorensen will hamper everything from its high profile peace-keeping to personnel, if some of the main debtors, notably the United States, do not pay at least part of what is outstanding by the end of the year. Sorensen says recruitment and travel restrictions have already been brought in and she adds: 'Without adequate support and sufficient numbers, peace-keeping is extremely risky and raises the possibility of failure instead of success. One of the most important lessons learnt in these last couple of years is that you cannot undertake peace-keeping missions half way; they must be properly staffed and supplied.'

The latest figures available at the time of going to press (September 30 1995) show that member states owe a total of \$3.33 billion — \$810m to the regular budget and \$2.52bn for peace-keeping and international tribunals. The United States, the biggest contributor to the UN's budget, is by far the biggest debtor; \$527m to the regular budget and \$907m for peace-keeping. Russia owes \$21m to the regular budget and \$571m to peace-keeping. Members of the Republican-

controlled United States Congress have already made it clear that some of the UN's redundant programmes should be scaled down and bureaucracy trimmed back. The US is likely to pull out of the Industrial Development Organisation and reduce its involvement in other agencies. And South Africa, which owes almost \$114m (as of May 31 1995), does not want to meet the debts that accrued when the country was suspended from the General Assembly during the apartheid years. Other big debtors to the peace-keeping operations are Ukraine and France while Brazil owes a significant amount to the regular budget.

Some countries who are better payers want solutions. British Foreign Secretary, *Malcolm Rifkind*, recently called for a policy where UN members who fall into arrears by two years would lose their vote in the General Assembly on peace-keeping operations — a rule already applied to the regular budget. His other suggestions are for interest payments on arrears and for the calculation of contributions according to national income. The latter idea is also advocated by the Swedish government.

Institutional reform

Major reform is in the pipeline to raise the status of certain UN members in response to their bigger global political and economic weight. A report entitled *Our Global Neighbourhood*, drawn up by the 'Commission on Global Governance', jointly chaired by Swedish Prime Minister, *Ingvar Carlsson* and Guyana's *Shridath Ramphal*, former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, was launched in January 1995. This contains recommendations for the way forward from a group of eminent persons. It foresees the expansion of the Security Council, which presently has five permanent members (China, France the Russian Federation, the UK and the USA). Those lined up for membership of an expanded Security Council, which has prime responsibility for peace and security decisions, are Germany and Japan from the industrialised world, and India, Brazil and Nigeria from developing states. The question is, which will become permanent members and which non-permanent members.

The 'Commission of Global Governance' suggests the setting up of an 'Economic Security Council' which would research and oversee global economic crises. This body would curtail the work of the Economic and Social Council (which coordinates the economic and social work of specialised UN agencies) the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the UN Industrial Development Organisation — three bodies born of the South's confrontation with the North over economic hegemony.

The failure of nations to achieve a more equitable North-South trade balance, based on UN values, was emphasised by *Myriam Vander Stichele*, Trade Programme Coordinator at the Brussels-based NGO 'International Coalition for Development Action', at a recent conference organised to celebrate the UN's fiftieth birthday. She said: 'Free trade has become an aim in itself, with little respect for democracy or equity.' She also observed that the World Trade Organisation is outside the United Nations system.

Preparing for the first democratic elections in Namibia, after the UN-brokered peace settlement



Peace-keeping

The UN's peace-making and peace-keeping roles have come increasingly under scrutiny as demands on its resources in this area — from Security Council resolutions calling for cease-fires, the use of the good offices of the Secretary-General, through to unpublicised diplomatic approaches, fact-finding missions and fully-fledged 'blue helmet' peace-keeping missions — have increased (notably in the former Yugoslavia).

The statistics clearly show how much more is being expected of the UN. Today, across the world, there are 16 fully-fledged peace-keeping missions operating. Between 1988-1994, 21 new operations were launched, compared with just 13 over the previous 40 years. In early 1995, nearly 70 000 UN troops, military observers and civilian personnel were provided by 77 countries and deployed on various missions. But peace-keeping has its ideological critics too. There has been criticism and many media studies of the lack of muscle and inability of 'blue-helmets' to cope with the crisis in Bosnia, whilst UN troops dispatched to Somalia (UNOSOM) reportedly clashed with some of the civilian population.

And as regional organisations flourish, more and more attention is being paid to their potential for staging peace-keeping operations themselves, with a need to look at how these might fit in with global objectives. The development of an in-house EU defence force is likely to be one of the subjects on the agenda of next year's Intergovernmental Conference which will review the functioning of the EU institutions.

But despite difficult times, the long-list of UN successes should be stressed. Ms Sorensen is keen to point out that UN agencies have won the Nobel peace prize five times — the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (1954 and 1981), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in 1965, the International Labour Organisation (1969) and the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces (1988). Staff are also keen to highlight its potential in areas such as the promotion of democracy and environmental protection.

Much of its past work too, in pursuit of the principles of justice and equal rights set out in the Charter, has set standards for individuals, non-governmental organisations, nations and regional organisations. These include international conventions on women's rights, the rights of children, and the fight against racial discrimination. The UN Commission on Human Rights is the only inter-governmental body in the world that stages public meetings on human rights issues 'on the ground'.

Gillian Sorensen also waves the familiar sky blue flag over the current series of United Nations global conferences — in Rio (Environment), Copenhagen (Social Development), Cairo (Population) and Beijing (Women's Rights). These events, she says, have set goals for the future based on the universal values contained in the Charter. 'There is one more scheduled for June 1996 — the Habitat Conference in Istanbul, Turkey, then it is proposed that there be a moratorium on world conferences until the year 2000.

Cost is one factor, but also people realise that tremendous agendas have been set by each of these conferences and that planning involves huge commitment, time and energy. UN officials believe it is important to focus on achieving the goals set by past conferences and then to organise one — perhaps in the millenium year — to see how far the goals have been achieved.'

She adds: 'Most of the world considers the UN essential and if it were disbanded, people would next week try to build a new UN. But it would be very hard to do. It is an instrument that exists. It is not perfect, but I think every country recognises that it has had important achievements and accomplishments.' ■ D.P.

What you are telling us

The first 1000 replies to our questionnaire

On the basis of the first 1000 replies to our questionnaire (insert in issue no. 152, July-August 1995) this is what you, our readers, are telling us. Although, due to proximity to our base, 80% of the initial replies have come from Europe, we already have a pretty good idea of your profile.

From among those who indicated their gender in the questionnaire, our readers are overwhelmingly male (806 as against 146 female). 81 are between the ages of 20 and 30, and 689 between 30 and 60. Ninety per cent of you have either a university education or higher technical training. Eighty five per cent are public servants, consultants or are in the teaching profession. A good number are in industry, commerce and finance. This is particularly gratifying since our aim is to reach as many opinion formers and practitioners of development as possible.

Seventy-eight per cent of you read *The Courier* regularly and find it useful or very useful in your jobs or as a source of information, especially on relations between the ACP states and the European Union. At least 50% read most or several of the articles. As the majority of you are resident in Europe, with its extensive media, it is quite flattering to note that we are competing effectively. In addition to your other periodicals, 618 of you watch national television regularly and 478 international television while 542 and 398 listen to national and international radio respectively. *The Courier* is the main source of information on ACP/EU matters for 308, an important source among others for 437 and the only source for 198. No one so far finds the magazine useless, although 24 say it is 'not very useful'.

This exercise is enabling us to determine how fast *The Courier* reaches you. It is a constant source of concern for us

that you should receive it on time. Ninety five per cent of you indicate having received issue no. 152 in August but obviously the final figure will change as later replies come in. Despite the fact that it came off the press slightly late and that the majority of the responses are from Europe, we note with pleasure that a good number have come from further afield — including Russia, Japan and even Micronesia. The greatest number of replies from the ACP states have come from Ghana and Tanzania.

Big readership

Another source of satisfaction is the confirmation of our belief that although our print-run is 80 000, we have a wider readership — probably three or four times that figure. *The Courier*, it should be noted, is circulated in over 130 countries. According to this first batch of replies, 930 are subscribers while 70 have access to the magazine through other means, mostly EU delegations, libraries and friends. However, 287 indicate they pass on their copy to two or three other persons and 297 to more than three. We expect of course the proportion of this category of our readers to increase significantly when all the replies are in from the ACP states.

Our ambition to be accessible to a greater number of readers is boosted by what you say concerning the quality of the magazine. Over 75% of you think it is at the right technical level, well balanced, and usually or always objective. About 50% find it pleasant to read and educational and want *The Courier* to remain as it is. Only 25%, however, consider the magazine journalistic.

As regards presentation, 728 find the cover attractive while 596 think the layout encourages them to read it. The print can be 'easily' or 'more or less easily'

read by 913 and almost the same number say that an article is easy or more or less easy to find in the magazine.

The most popular sections are the Country Reports (752) and Dossiers (582) and, to a lesser degree, Developing World (459) and ACP (414). Other sections in order of preference are the Operational Summary (306), News Round-up (291), Culture and Society (286) and Europe (263). Almost all the sections are indicated as receiving a sufficient amount of space in the magazine. And on the amount of information provided, readers who say this is 'sufficient' amount to 643 on ACP countries, 528 on EU Member States, 489 on EU institutions and 522 on ACP-EU cooperation.

We are definitely not resting on our laurels. Replies are still coming in and they all still have to be fully analysed. The aim of this questionnaire being to improve *The Courier*, we cannot simply be satisfied when a good number of our readers assess our performance in a number of areas as 'average'. The opinions of the minority are also important to us. For example, 37% of you think *The Courier* can be read 'more or less' easily with its current print and 35% can do so with its current page layout. We are determined that, on both grounds, the magazine should be *easily* readable for everyone. And while 728 of you say that our articles are 'of the right length', a sizeable number — 228 — say they are 'too long'. We will have to strike a balance somewhere.

We are disappointed by the number of our female readers. We note that we observed the same situation in 1986 when we last launched a questionnaire. And we already have a sense of failure here although the replies are still coming in. As extremely important actors in development, we realise that we have a big task to attract more women to our growing readership.

A more detailed analysis of *all* the questionnaire responses will be published in a future issue of *The Courier*. ■

Augustin Oyowe

Joint Assembly: looking ahead

Debate at the September 25-29 Joint Assembly meeting in Brussels was all about looking forward to the year 2000 and beyond. With agreement reached on the mid-term review, we have now turned the corner and are into the home stretch of the current ten-year Convention. South Africa is on the verge of becoming a 'qualified member' of Lomé IV and agreeing a bilateral free trade pact which could lead to a 'new look' cooperation with the entire Southern African region. A report by Dutch Parliamentarian, *Johanna Maij Weggen*, was brim full of ideas about how best to improve infrastructure in ACP nations for economic growth. And, responding to news events, political sparks flew over France's resumed nuclear testing in the Pacific with a firm resolution condemning the policy.

Disappointment that only ECU 13.307 billion will be available under the five year 8th European Development Fund (EDF) was voiced by Co-Presidents of the Assembly, *Lord Plumb* and *Dr Chambrier* of Gabon. But this did not appear to dampen their enthusiasm for Lomé IV. In his opening address, Mr Chambrier waxed lyrical: 'Never has the scope of ACP-EU political dialogue been so far reaching. Never has inter-ACP-EU debate been so extensive, enriched by new parliamentarians elected by universal suffrage.'

Lord Plumb was also upbeat in his opening remarks: 'The conclusions of the mid-term review will bring beneficial resources. They may fall below our expectations of what is necessary to fulfil our ambitions, but I will not allow that fact to dominate my judgment of the overall advantages which have been obtained.' These, he said, included decentralised management systems in the Commission, improved cooperation at a political level, trade concessions and the strengthening of democracy and human rights. At the same time, he remarked: 'In our world, which is

changing fast, I think the time has come for the ACP group to work harder to establish its own identity beyond the immediate political environment of our relationship. It should make its collective presence more powerfully felt in the various multilateral institutions of the world — most notably the United Nations — but also the new World Trade Organisation and other bodies.'

The following day, *Commissioner Pinheiro* echoed the broadly positive statements of the Co-Presidents saying: 'we have got a good agreement — although the Commission would have liked a bigger sum.' He was keen to emphasise the 'plus points' of the mid-term review elaborated above by Lord Plumb.

Co-President Chambrier took it a stage further by looking forward to the year 2000 when Lomé IV expires: 'I am dreaming about a 9th EDF based on Regional Indicative Programmes.' He also mooted the idea of setting up an 'ACP transcontinental television channel'. This will be debated at the next Joint Assembly to be held in Windhoek in March 1996, which will also see a new ACP Co-President, *Sir John Kapitin* of Papua New Guinea.

Lomé IV-bis disappoints

Both ACP and EU participants remarked that the budget for the next five years — which will see a 21.9% increase in nominal terms but no real increase allowing for inflation — was far below expectations. Revealing figures contained in a working party report by *Maartje Van Putten* (PES-NL) and *John Corrie* (EPP-UK) — later inserted into a general resolution on the mid-term review — highlighted that the 8th EDF will only amount to 65% of the scheduled debt repayments by ACP countries to EU member states between 1995-2000. Another telling calculation; what has been agreed in the mid-term

review on the conversion of special loans will only mop up ECU 15 million of outstanding dues, whereas ECU 500 million of unused funding from previous Conventions could, the Assembly suggested, be used in some way to alleviate ACP debt.

Congo's representative had some sharp words to say about the way the mid-term talks were conducted, criticising the 'take it or leave it' attitude of the EU. If the Union was really interested in bolstering democracies, he argued, it should be spending more not less.

Investing in infrastructure

The session's key report, drafted by *Johanna Maij Weggen* (EPP), who is a former Dutch Transport Minister, recommended that more should be reinvested in transport, water, energy and telecommunications infrastructures in ACP nations. It was an area that had been neglected by donors over the past few years. She emphasised the need to consider the environmental impact of infrastructure projects, and stressed that funding for repairs was as important as brand new construction. She pleaded for an extra budget line to guarantee upkeep, and another for rebuilding in the wake of catastrophes. She also suggested that ACP governments should introduce more user taxes.

Raising a theme that would recur throughout the week, on all subjects from trade to peace-making, Mrs Maij-Weggen's report contained a strong regional angle. It recommended that projects be placed under the auspices of regional bodies. It also called for the organisation of regional conferences to set out clear agreements and identify projects benefiting whole regions, instead of having a few prestige projects dotted here and there. This regional approach was welcomed by Deputy Director for Development at the Commission, Peter Pooley.

The representative of *Côte d'Ivoire* suggested that there should be a special fund for infrastructures under Lomé and sought more resources for the development of solar energy. By contrast, the delegates from *Zambia* and *Zimbabwe*

questioned the value of investing too much in infrastructure. In Zambia, it was pointed out, the lack of rain meant that irrigation canals only operated to half their capacity. 'How can you construct dams when there's no rain or water?' asked the Zimbabwean speaker. Representatives from Chad and the Dominican Republic complained of certain 'inaccuracies' in the report regarding their own countries.

The landlocked countries of Central and Western Africa, according to Mrs Majj-Weggen, faced particular difficulties. The vital missing links between coastal and landlocked states should be developed alongside container transport facilities at ports. She recommended that efforts be made to prevent further fuelwood harvesting and called for more use of renewable energy resources such as solar, wind and hydro-electric power, and biogas. She also observed the need for improvements to drinking water supplies, sewerage systems and irrigation in these regions.

For Southern and East Africa, the rapporteur again saw the access of landlocked countries to ports as a priority. She specifically referred to completing the road between Rundu and Oshikango in Namibia as an addition to the Trans-Caprivi highway. This is the shortest route linking the port of Namibe in Angola to Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The report also pinpoints the need to improve the navigability of the Zambezi and to develop the small airports of the two regions.

In the Caribbean, the development of air and shipping links should be priorities, with a particular focus on opening up routes to the interiors of Suriname, Guyana and Belize. And, because of the big distances between the Pacific islands, the emphasis here should be placed on development of small airports. In the Pacific context, the report also stresses clean water supplies, and improved satellite links to detect cyclones in time to minimise damage to infrastructures.

South Africa waiting in the wings

ANC member, Robert Davies, voiced South Africa's enthusiasm at the imminent prospect of entering the ACP fold. At the same time, he warned that EU

Member States were expecting South Africa to open its doors too wide to EU products too soon and that this could be dangerous for his country.

South Africa is in the process of negotiating a bilateral trade agreement with the European Union. According to Steffen Smidt, who is the Commission's Director-General for Development, this should go to Ministers in first draft on December 5. Mr Davies said that the best arrangement for South Africa would be the non-reciprocal trade arrangements as set out in the Lomé Convention, but this does not appear to be on offer from the EU. He attempted to dispel any myths that South Africa might swamp the EU's economy. 'The impact on the EU of allowing duty-free access to our products will, in the end, be very modest. We produce only 0.46% of the world's GDP



Doctor Ebrahim Samba, of the World Health Organisation, who warned against complacency in the fight against diseases such as malaria and cholera

and are unlikely to pose a threat to any sector of the European economy.' He continued: 'We need to ensure that we do not get ourselves into an arrangement that could be likened to purchasing a first class ticket on the Titanic. At first the voyage is great, and you many even sit at the captain's table, but eventually you are going to strike the iceberg and go down.'

The EU is expected to offer an 'asymmetrical agreement' in which the European doors will be opened to South African goods more rapidly than *vice versa*. At the same time, 'qualified membership' of Lomé will allow South African firms to tender for ACP projects and to benefit

from the rules of origin relating to cumulation.

Another key speaker was the President of São Tomé and Príncipe, *Miguel dos Anjos da Cunha Lisboa Trovoada*, who thanked the EU for its 'unanimous and unequivocal' stance in the wake of the attempted military coup of August 15. Economic and financial crisis was the root cause of disenchantment in his country, he explained. He appealed for direct support to fledgling democracies like his own, which held free elections in 1991.

The Assembly was also addressed by Doctor Ebrahim Samba, who recently took over as the World Health's Organisation's regional director for Africa, after a decade running the continent's River Blindness eradication programme. Dr Samba reported that the programme, which has now reached 30 million people, especially in West Africa, has used an integrated approach to combat the disease. As well as providing treatment, it has encouraged people to grow food in reclaimed areas by rivers. The WHO's regional director cautioned donors not to be complacent in the fight against maladies such as malaria, cholera, and other contagious diseases.

Sudan

The eagerly awaited report of the Joint Assembly's mission to Sudan recommended that Lomé aid should not be resumed because of the lack of fundamental freedoms in the country. The mission, composed of Co-President Lord Plumb (PPE-UK), *Jerome Boule* (Mauritius), *Glenys Kinnock* (PES-UK) and *Heather Robinson* (Jamaica) visited Sudan, and neighbouring Eritrea and Ethiopia, at the end of August. Mrs Kinnock regretted that she had to report unacceptable levels of repression in Sudan, with opposition parties banned and press freedom curtailed. Whilst she rejected any suggestion that the delegation wanted to impose Western standards, she expressed the view that the National Islamic Front exerted too much influence in the country.

The delegation welcomed an improvement in the human rights situation in Sudan, reflected in the release of 32

political prisoners and 37 convicted army officers from jail, and the ending of the detention of former Prime Minister Sadiq Al Madhi. But the delegation was unhappy about the events on September 11-14 when students had protested, while grave concern was expressed over the two million people reported to have been displaced by the civil war. Young people, said the delegation, faced particular harassment from the authorities. And lawyers seeking to defend those at risk had now been detained themselves. Glenys Kinnock said she had been told by President *Omer Hassan Ahmed El-Bashir* that there was no chance of a return to multi-party democracy. The delegation also highlighted the plight of street children and the serious situation in the Nuba mountains.

The Sudanese delegate sought to defend his country's record, contending that the human rights situation was improving despite the continuing civil war. He also said that Sudan was trying to cope with a huge number of Eritrean refugees. A number had been repatriated, but some had returned.

'No' to nuclear tests

The liveliest debate at the Assembly was over France's nuclear testing programme in the Pacific. A resolution was adopted 'expressing outrage' at the recommencement of the tests which, it is claimed, 'contravenes the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty.'

The text adopted calls on the EU to invoke Euratom rules requiring information to be provided on health hazards and environmental damage — and to seek immediate agreement on a nuclear test ban treaty.

Fiji's representative, *Berenado Vunibobo*, did not mince his words, suggesting that the Pacific islanders were being treated 'in a sense amounting almost to contempt'. The *Soloman Islands* delegate stressed: 'We are not anti-France in the Pacific — just anti-nuclear testing wherever it takes place in the world.' *Wilfried Telkamper*, for the Greens claimed

that the French action was 'a new form of colonialism.'

On the other side, some French politicians defended the right of their government to act in what is, after all, French territory. Bernard Antony (Ind-F) said he was unable to take the arguments opposing the tests on environmental grounds seriously. Bernard Kouchner (PES-F) concurred with this on the basis that the health risks were difficult to validate, but nonetheless stressed his personal opposition to the tests.

The United States has recently filed a complaint in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) claiming that American companies (such as *Chiquita*) have suffered losses as a result of the EU's banana framework agreement involving Costa Rica, Colombia, Nicaragua and Venezuela. Sensing that their duty-free quota to the EU, enshrined in the Lomé Convention, is once more under attack, ACP speakers rallied to the defence of their banana industries.

The banana issue is, of course, a hardy annual which seems to crop up at most major EU-ACP meetings and, on this occasion, three separate resolutions were submitted. They included a call for the EU to help improve sustainability through a certification system for 'sustainable production', increased efficiency and diversification. The Joint Assembly also opposed any increase in the 2.553 million-tonne annual quota for Latin American nations and stated that 30% of import licences should be kept for 'traditional' ACP suppliers.

The resolutions took note of the report by *Arthur D. Little* that was commissioned by the European Commission and has recently been published. This concludes that the losses incurred by US companies are not due to the Single Market banana arrangements. Delegates also asked for special measures for banana producers who have suffered losses as a result of tropical storm 'Iris' and hurricanes 'Luis' and 'Marilyn.'

The increasingly unpredictable weather was a subject taken up by the Barbados representative Michael King, who pointed out that extreme meteorological conditions in recent years had

affected much more than just banana production. The speaker, who is his country's ambassador to the EU, offered some thought-provoking facts and figures. The 1980s, he said, were the warmest decade of the century and 1990, the warmest year. 1994 had been the third warmest year since the 1950s. February 1995 had seen the worst floods recorded during the 1900s in Europe.

In June 1995, Eastern Canada had suffered unprecedented flooding and forest fires. More generally, he pointed out that the average temperature had risen by more than 0.5 degrees celsius since the middle of the last century, while tidal gauge data indicates that global sea levels have been rising at a rate of 1.4cm a decade. 'Measures must be put in place urgently', Mr King declared, 'to ensure long-term planning mechanisms are developed to assist small island states in the affected regions'.

These states needed help to cope with the effects of global climate change and to reduce their vulnerability to disasters, 'especially in the agricultural and tourism sectors'. The Joint Assembly plans to hold a hearing on the effects of catastrophes on small island states, at its next meeting in Namibia.

The Assembly adopted a series of resolutions on diverse subjects including sugar, the worldwide context of development aid, conflict prevention in Africa, 'responsible' fisheries agreements and the Fourth World Conference on Women being staged in Beijing. There was also a resolution on NGOs in development planning — the subject of a special hearing on the last day of the meeting. Northern Mali, Southern Africa, Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Haiti and Liberia all featured in separate 'country' resolutions. ■

Debra Percival

Angola: triumph of Brussels Round Table

A two-day Round Table, held on September 25-26 to cement peace in Angola with economic support, united a score of international donors, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and many private sector firms in the same cause. It exceeded all expectations, with pledges of humanitarian aid and of funds to reconstruct the country over the next two years reaching one billion dollars – 107% of the target initially set. The Round Table organisers, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Union (EU), were delighted with the outcome and with the politically important fact that both President *Eduardo Dos Santos* and UNITA's *Jonas Savimbi* were present. The two men asserted that the war was finally over after 20 years of fighting.

The enormous economic potential in Angola — with its large deposits of oil, diamonds, iron and other minerals, extensive arable and forestry land and significant fishing potential (it has a 1650 kilometre coastline) — was underlined by the big private sector turn-out. Initially, projects to rid the country of mines and resettle refugees and displaced people will receive priority. The centrepiece of the conference was the National Programme for Community Rehabilitation and Reconciliation. This is aimed at putting the country back on its feet, following the signing of the Lusaka Protocol on November 20 1994 which provides for a cease-fire throughout the territory.

In Brussels, donors committed almost \$800 million for rehabilitation and development covering the revival of food production, launching of small-scale activities, reconstruction of roads and basic infrastructures and the restoration of water supplies, basic health services and primary education. It will be buttressed by more than \$200 million in humanitarian aid from an appeal originally launched by the



Burying the hatchet?
Commissioner Pinheiro and Jonas Savimbi look on as Prime Minister Dehaene of Belgium greets President Dos Santos

United Nations in February 1995. The initial target for humanitarian assistance, which was \$221.7m, is likely to be exceeded once Japan, Germany and the UK have reviewed their commitments as they promised to do at the meeting. This money will be targeted at programmes that are critical to the peace process including demobilisation of large numbers of soldiers. From an existing figure of 200 000 military personnel, a single national army of 90 000 is to be formed. Other key projects include demining and the resettlement of displaced people.

'Today we can finally say that the military hostilities have ended. A new perspective has opened up allowing for the progressive consolidation of peace and reconciliation amongst all Angolans,' President Dos Santos told the conference in his appeal for aid to bolster peace. He added: 'The national reconciliation process has to be placed on the economic field. We need to see a sustained improvement of the people's living conditions in order to

restore their capacity for determining their own destiny.'

UNDP administrator, *James Gustave Speth* warned, however, that a failure to achieve economic growth and a broad improvement in living standards 'would fuel tensions and lead to a risk of renewed war.' He added: 'In the short run, economic policy in a post-conflict transition must support political as well as economic stabilisation.'

But it was still a dream start: 'We often use the word success too lightly. This Round Table is one of the rare occasions to which it can justifiably be applied', said European Commissioner for Development Policy, *João de Deus Pinheiro*. He continued: 'I cannot recall such a success over the last eight years in my posts as Portugal's Foreign Minister and EU Com-

Indications of Financial Support (in \$ million)

Country/organisation	Rehabilitation/ Development	Humanitarian
ADB	60.0	—
Belgium	17.0	—
Denmark	10.0	4.0
European Commission	127.0	17.7
Finland	0.1	0.5
France	140.0	10.0
IFAD	39.0	1.1
Italy	31.0	—
Japan	—	7.7
Netherlands	30.0	30.0
Norway	15.0	15.0
Portugal	16.0	0.4
Spain	6.8	0.3
Sweden	22.5	9.5
Switzerland	6.0	6.0
UNESCO	0.2	—
United Kingdom	5.0	5.0
USA	90.0	100.0
World Bank*	180.0	4.0

* Includes indicative support from the World Bank for all programmes, urban and rural (not just funding under the Community rehabilitation programme.)

Source: European Commission, DG VIII.

missioner. I know of no other round table that has generated such support.'

War legacy

The heavy toll of 20 years of civil war on the wealth of the economy and health of the people was driven home at the meeting.

One third of the population of 10 million has been displaced by the conflict and some 280 000 Angolans are now living in neighbouring countries. Some 70 000 people have been disabled.

The mortality rate for children under five is 320 per 1000 births, compared with 159 for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole. In GDP *per capita* terms, Angola has fallen sharply down the world rankings — from 58th to 161st position between 1990-1995. Over the same period, Angola slipped from 94th to 164th place on the Human Development Index.

The urban population has risen from 15% in 1970 to 50% in 1995 resulting in huge squatter settlements on the fringes of the cities. Life expectancy has remained at 45 years although in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, it has risen from 40 to 51 years over the last quarter century. Another challenge facing Angola and the international community is the lack of qualified civil servants to run local administrations.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Assistant Administrator and Director of the UNDP Regional Bureau for Africa, stressed that Angola's \$11 billion debt — amounting to 356% of exports of goods and services — needed urgent attention.

EU pledge

The EU pledged one of the biggest sums at the conference — \$127m in rehabilitation and development aid and \$17.78m in humanitarian aid.

Cooperation between the European Community and Angola began in 1978 when the Southern African state received assistance as a 'non-associated' developing country, in the form of grants to develop artisanal fisheries and industry in Luanda, Benguela and Namibe.

It became a party to the third Lomé Convention in April 1985 and was allocated ECU 102m for development purposes under the sixth European Development Fund (EDF). This was followed by a further ECU 115m for the first five-year period of Lomé IV (7th EDF).

The EU's round table pledge will be funded largely from unspent funds in the 7th EDF and from the new 8th EDF, which is due to come on stream at the beginning of 1997. The balance will be

provided by additional contributions, from other EU budget lines.

Professor Pinheiro stressed that the disbursement of funds hinged on macro-economic reforms and the implementation of the Lusaka peace protocol. This was a theme echoed by other donors and by private sector participants anxious to see guarantees for investment.

According to the European Commissioner: 'We are at the beginning of a political, economic and social process whose first key steps are the implementation of the social and economic reforms required to create the basis for development. In this context, an agreement with the Bretton Woods Institutions is a necessary step in the economic reform process.'

He added: 'Of course, to implement our commitments effectively, the European Commission will be closely following the situation in Angola and the implementation of the rehabilitation programme. We expect the Government of Angola and UNITA to take all necessary steps towards national reconciliation and the timely implementation of the Lusaka Protocol.'

The UN's Special Representative to Angola, *Maître Alioune Blondin Beye*, pointed out, however, that the economic reforms being sought in Angola would be 'no more and no less' than those asked of other aid recipients facing serious economic difficulties. The last word goes to Maître Beye, who pleaded for an immediate follow up so that the political and economic criteria for the commencement of aid disbursement can be met. 'We must not rest on our laurels,' he said. ■ D.P.

BOTSWANA

Prudence and dynamism: getting the mixture right

In the offices of one of the Botswana government's senior officials, there is a poster which proclaims: *'simple minds discuss people, ordinary minds discuss events, great minds discuss ideas'*. It was a somewhat intimidating message to be presented with at the start of an interview, prompting thoughts about where in this 'hierarchy of discussion' our own conversation would fit. We try to deal with ideas in our Country Reports, of course, but we also need to talk about people and events. After all, it is people who shape events, and from their experience, develop ideas.

Although the wall-poster may have an elitist overtone, it reflects, in a certain sense, what is different about this Southern African country. Unlike much of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, Botswana is not preoccupied with its day-to-day existence — wondering where the resources can be found to feed the population and tackle mass poverty. A quarter of a century of impressive economic growth has raised the country into the 'middle income range' (with an annual GDP *per capita* of roughly \$3000). Educational levels have also dramatically improved. As a result, people here have more time to discuss new ideas and policies for the future, and more intellectual tools to deploy in the process: on the face of it, a kind of virtuous circle which should fuel further advances.

This is not to say that Botswana is problem-free. Indeed, it seems that everyone we spoke to — even in government — was keen to highlight something which wasn't quite right. It is as if people here have grown weary of the often uncritical references to 'Africa's success story' which have characterised so many

media reports about the country. We mention the problems, of course, but it is important to stress their context.

This is particularly the case when it comes to talking about the politics and constitutional system of Botswana. The opposition says there is a 'problem' because the government rejects 'reasoned' proposals to lower the voting age from 21 to 18. In next-door South Africa, there are octogenarians who recently got to cast the first vote of their lives. There are suggestions that a larger proportion of the country's \$4bn reserves should go on social spending. In nearby Mozambique, ministers can only dream of having access to funds on this scale.

Alice Mogwe, who is the Director of Ditshwanelo, the Botswana Centre for Human Rights, reflects what seems to be the prevailing philosophy that 'things can always be improved' - which is surely a healthy attitude. To the outside world, Botswana is not seen as a place where basic freedoms are under threat. But as our interviewee was keen to stress, 'it is a dangerous assumption that you only need a human rights centre when things are bad.' Our conversation focused on recent 'human rights' issues. There was the ritual killing of a child last year which sparked off serious disturbances in Gaborone and an allegedly heavy-handed response by the security forces. 'The Centre's role as a watchdog was important during this time', said Alice Mogwe. There was also the decision to hang a number of convicted murderers (who had undergone 'due process'). This shocked liberal opinion,



Young people in one of Gaborone's poor quarters. Ditshwanelo has helped to provide a 'para-legal' service for people who cannot afford access to justice.

coming after a long period without executions, and in the wake of South Africa's decision to abolish the death penalty altogether. On the other hand, the public more generally is thought to favour the 'ultimate sanction', seeing it as a deterrent. The hangings certainly sparked off a lively debate in the letters pages of the newspapers.

More generally, Ditshwanelo appears to be in the business of moving the human rights debate forward all the time. It has taken up the cause of the Basarwa

Glossary

Botswana — the country

Motswana — singular name for a person belonging to Botswana's main ethnic group

Batswana — plural of the above

Setswana — the Tswana language

(bushmen) in the north of the country, and of domestic workers who sometimes suffer exploitation and abuse. It focuses on women's issues, campaigning for the repeal of laws that discriminate on the basis of sex. It has helped with the provision of legal advice in the poor areas of Gaborone. And it has recently held a public forum on homosexuality — still against the law in Botswana and something of a taboo subject.

Ms Mogwe is an articulate and committed spokesperson for the human rights cause, and no one can deny the importance of the issues she raises. But the very fact that the emphasis is on improving the legal position of women, making legal advice accessible to the poor, or gay rights — rather than say arbitrary imprisonment or the denial of free speech, says a lot about how far things have evolved in Botswana.

There is also, of course, the basic point that she was willing to talk to us openly, without any apparent inhibition.

This willingness to discuss and argue controversial issues suggests a healthy democratic system, and this was borne out in our discussions with ministers and civil servants, all of whom were happy to speak frankly, and to field awkward questions.

Botswana has been genuinely democratic since independence in 1966. Indeed, those who follow the 'rule of thumb' that the amount of democracy in a country is inversely proportional to the number of pictures of the Head of State displayed in public buildings, will have to revise their thinking.

President Masire's photo is to be seen everywhere. If the opposition takes power next time, the local photographic processing industry should get a big boost!

Press freedom

In fact, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) once dominated the political landscape, thanks to its success at the ballot box, but there is now a substantial opposition presence in Parlia-

ment, following the Botswana National Front's (BNF) gains in urban constituencies at the last general election. And the opposition cannot complain of being denied fair coverage in the press. The country has a number of independent weeklies which operate to proper journalistic standards, as well as a government-funded daily freesheet. An issue of the latter publication, which appeared during *The Courier's* visit, gave prominence to claims by an opposition-controlled local authority that they were not receiving a fair share of funding from central government (a story which must sound familiar to many of our European readers). Whatever the merits of the actual claim, it certainly seems that there are opportunities to have one's message put across — even if it does not coincide with the views of those in power.

And what of the scourge of corruption, which has contributed to the undermining of economic confidence in so many places? Until recently, the general, and possibly rather complacent view, was that Botswana did not have a problem in this area. It is a democracy after all! Corruption is obviously more likely to thrive in the absence of proper mechanisms for accountability, but the ballot box alone does not necessarily guarantee public

honesty — as the citizens of a number of EU countries have discovered. A few stories of official impropriety have recently come to light in Botswana. The government is well aware of the damage that such a trend might have on the country's reputation as a good place to do business, and it has pledged to crack down hard on offenders. Again, however, it is important to put the issue into perspective. In September, the newspapers reported that a government official responsible for issuing driving licences had received a two-year suspended jail sentence for taking inducements. In many countries, such a 'minor' case would hardly merit a mention in the media!

Botswana is a 'model' state for those who argue that there can be no development without democracy. At independence, it was a very poor country with few identified resources. The majority of the population had a traditional village lifestyle — indeed, there were no cities at all and only a few large settlements. Even today, the capital has fewer than 200 000 inhabitants and Gaborone has expanded

Modern housing in Gaborone
The city has expanded enormously over
the past thirty years



The Courier

enormously over the past thirty years. (In colonial days, Botswana was actually governed from Mafikeng which is in South Africa). The socio-economic indicators were also particularly unfavourable with high infant mortality rates, low life expectancy and widespread illiteracy.

Diamonds dominate

Despite these unfavourable circumstances, Botswana stuck with democracy (albeit, of a somewhat paternalistic kind initially). Then the diamonds were discovered, and the economy took off. For those who would argue that diamonds 'saved the day' for Botswana and its democracy, it is worth noting that other, less politically responsive regimes in Africa, also enjoyed resource windfalls which appear to have been squandered, or salted away. From the start, the Botswana government encouraged private sector involvement in the economy, adopting a businesslike approach, which did not prevent it taking a fair 'cut' on behalf of the nation as a whole. For diamonds, it entered into a joint venture with the giant De Beers corporation. This arrangement ensures that extraction (at the country's three mines) and processing is managed by the experts. For a long time, the De Beers conglomerate has effectively controlled the world diamond market, without, for some reason, being stopped by anti-trust authorities. Through the control exercised by its Central Selling Organisation (CSO), prices have been kept high, and the foreign exchange has flowed in to the diamond-producing countries. The scale of Botswana's dependence on diamonds is revealed by the export income figures for 1994. Of the \$1.75bn earned by the country that year, \$1.39bn came from diamonds. As Mineral Resources Minister, D.N. Magang, agreed when *The Courier* spoke to him: 'Diamonds certainly have been Botswana's best friend' (see box for more of this interview).

We also discussed the importance of the diamond industry with Baledzi Gaolathe of the Debswana Diamond Company. He acknowledged that currently, markets are 'still a bit depressed',

'Seeking to convert the diamond bonanza'

In this interview extract, D.N. Magang, who is the Minister of Natural Resources and Water Affairs, describes the impact of the diamond business on Botswana's economy — and explains how the government aims to use the windfall for new economic and social development.

■ *It could be said that 'diamonds are Botswana's best friend'. Are you concerned that the country may be unduly dependent on this single product?*

— Our country is, in general, very poorly endowed with natural resources. In particular, our climate and soils are not conducive to most forms of agriculture and we have no coastline to provide fishing grounds. Except for cattle-raising, therefore, traditional subsistence activities are very limited. Without diamonds, there is little doubt that the Botswana economy today would still be one of the poorest in the world. The diamonds, and to a lesser extent other minerals, have 'jacked up' the economy.

Partly because of the spectacular success of the diamond mining, and partly because of the constraints we face in developing other economic activities, we have become almost the classic 'mono-culture' economy — even more extreme than those agricultural economies which specialise in one specific product. So yes, of course, we are concerned at this level of dependence on one product — but it is a lot better than not having any industry where we can compete with and beat the rest of the world.

We are seeking to convert the diamond bonanza into industrial development and improvement in the social sectors of health and education. It is difficult to encourage industrial investors but I think we are beginning to see signs of success.

■ *How much control does the government exercise over the diamond industry?*

— In the strict meaning of the word 'control', government restricts itself to matters of mine safety, environmental protection and the other matters where regulation is accepted as essential. The government has never wished to 'control' the commercial aspects of the mines or the day to day management. We see great merit in harnessing the expertise of the private sector in these roles. However, if you are asking how much influence the government has, the answer is more complex.

Botswana's three diamond mines are owned and operated by the Debswana Diamond Company, a joint venture in which the government and De Beers Centenary each owns 50%. The affairs of the company are directed by a board in which neither has control — all decisions are by consensus. The sharing of profits, however, is subject to separate agreements. These are confidential, but it is no secret that government receives significantly more than 50% of the profits.

Debswana has traditionally had exclusive sales agreements by which all diamonds produced at the mines are sold through the Central Selling Organisation of De Beers. It has been and remains our view that given the scale of our diamond production, marketing through the so-called 'single channel' offered by the CSO gives the most beneficial overall result for Botswana. It is not that we don't believe in competition — we know that our mines are the best and most cost-effective in the world — rather that we see it as being most efficient to employ specialists with the necessary experience and infrastructure to get good prices for our entire production over the long term. Of course, we employ our own experts to check the valuation process and to ensure that it is done correctly and fairly. ■

Interview by S.H.

explaining that the main problem lay in Russia (a major diamond producer) which was selling almost as much 'direct to the market' as to the CSO, thereby disrupting the system so carefully built up over the years. Mr Gaolathe stressed that the 'blame' did not necessarily lie at the door of the Russian authorities. As a society in transition, it was inevitable that there would be some leaks.

The question that springs to mind is whether it is necessarily a good

thing to have the diamond trade dominated by a cartel. For Botswana there is no doubt about the answer. The country has benefited enormously from the business, and in particular, from the maintenance of a high world price. Consumers may have mixed feelings on the subject. Those who use diamonds for industrial purposes would presumably appreciate lower prices. On the other hand, the 'consumer' of a diamond necklace or engagement ring is making an investment in one sense or another, and

presumably does not wish to see the value go down. One interviewee whom we spoke to (not in the business) suggested that the global diamond business was nothing more than an elaborate (and spectacularly successful) marketing ploy. He thought that in a genuinely free market, the price of the stones would fall significantly. In consumer economics, it is recognised that there are some items, bearing a 'luxury' cachet, that defy the normal laws of supply and demand. Diamonds and certain brand-name perfumes are the most obvious examples — sell them at too low a price and the lure of exclusivity is lost.

Mr Gaolathe's reference to the problems in Russia called to mind the fate of OPEC which also once was able to control the world market in a single commodity. Ultimately, the members of the organisation sowed the seeds of their own destruction by failing to honour agreements internally and making the world oil price more attractive to new entrants — who proceeded to 'steal' market share from them. There seemed, in particular, to be a parallel between the 'disruption' in the diamond sector caused by Russia as it grapples with chronic economic problems, and the failure to hold the line in OPEC as states sought extra oil revenues to plug widening economic gaps at home (Nigeria) or to wage war (Iran, Iraq). Could the diamond industry be heading for the same fate?

There is still some potential for mining development



The answer, to Botswana's relief, is 'probably not', although the temptation for countries in crisis to 'cut and run' should not be underestimated. In fact, the oil and diamond markets are different in a number of important respects. The two products are dissimilar of course. Oil is rapidly consumed, diamonds are 'forever' (industrial uses notwithstanding). Oil is a staple product used in a variety of processes which buyers would prefer to be cheap and sellers would like to market at a high price. As mentioned above, the situation is much less clear-cut where diamonds are involved. Finally, the Central Selling Organisation has control over a far larger part of the market than OPEC ever had. Indeed, it is a structure which had no real equivalent in the petroleum sector.

Planning for the future

Diamonds may be 'forever', but there isn't an endless supply of them, of course. The existing mines will one day be exhausted and Botswana will then have a huge hole to fill in its national economy. Ministers and officials are all too aware of this, and they recognise that there are few other sectors where the country can presently offer the required 'comparative advantage' in an increasingly globalised economic system. With this in mind, one must acknowledge Botswana's prudent economic management and the efforts that have gone into forward planning. The diamond industry has brought huge revenues to the country, and significant amounts have been spent on infrastructure, education, housing and so on. Gaborone has an excellent road system, including wide avenues and dual carriageways already constructed in the outskirts, in anticipation of future expansion of the city. Plans are also being made for a major project to transport water from river sources in the north to meet the expected demand in the next century. At the same time, a sizeable proportion of the revenue has been put aside for a 'rainy day' (a not very apt metaphor, since real rainy days are a blessing in this dry country). 20% of Botswana's annual income is currently being generated by interest on the P12bn of reserves that the authorities have accumulated.

The essential aim is to establish the best possible conditions for investors by laying down the infrastructure and improving the human resource base. Even when all this has been done, however, the basic question remains — where will Botswana's future wealth come from?

The mineral sector appears to have some potential for new development. Extensive prospecting is taking place, with an emphasis on finding new diamond deposits but also with the hope of discovering commercially exploitable quantities of precious and base metals. The country has identified coal reserves, although the cost of transport makes exporting this fuel an unattractive business proposition. The government is studying the possibility of using the coal to generate electricity which might then be sold to South Africa. The Selebi Phikwe copper-nickel mines (see separate article) will probably wind down during the early years of the 21st century but new deposits are being worked at Francistown and there are high hopes that supplies can be maintained to keep the smelter running. Finally, Botswana has very large reserves of brine, which is rich in sodium chemicals. A joint venture company between the state and the private sector which was set up to exploit this resource recently collapsed. Despite this setback, Natural Resources Minister Magang believes that the business can be put back on its feet and indeed expanded over the longer term. A new company has now been formed to resume soda ash production on the basis of new operating arrangements.

The other product for which Botswana is famous is beef. This was once the economic backbone of the country, and although diamonds now bring in 17 times more export income, the livestock sector is still important in terms of rural employment. The country has a deeply entrenched tradition of cattle ownership. Many professional people working in Gaborone during the week will return to their 'cattle post' at the weekend. Meat is produced for local consumption, of course, but it is also exported on preferential terms to the EU under the Lomé Convention beef protocol. *Maggie Monyatsiwa*, who is the marketing manager at the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC), explained how strict



The BMC abattoir in Lobatse
It is in the country's interests to have a sustainable livestock sector

The Courier

lot of people think that livestock raising has now gone beyond what the country is capable of sustaining. Mr L. Nchindo, who is chairman of the Kalahari Conservation Society (a local NGO) spoke of the 'dramatic decline in the wildlife population', for which the cattle culture was partly responsible. 'People', he said, 'are prepared to spend their hard-earned savings on animals in the often mistaken belief that this is an investment.' He cited the example of one owner who travelled 600 km to his 'cattle post' every weekend. The transport costs more than gobbled up any profit that could be made on the herd. Mr Nchindo was particularly critical of the indirect support available to cattle owners in the form of subsidised animal feeds and free vaccines. He also identified hunting as another major factor in the loss of wildlife, and argued for the imposition of 'staggered hunting bans' so that the wildlife population in given areas could be given time to recover.

On the overgrazing issue, Mrs Monyatsiwa was more than prepared to acknowledge the danger. As she pointed out, it was hardly in the BMC's long-term interests to have a cattle business that was unsustainable. The problem has yet to be solved, however, and it looks as if the cattle versus conservation debate still has some way to go.

Botswana's industrial base is not very extensive although the country has had some success in attracting foreign investment into manufacturing. Cars are assembled here, for instance, and there are a number of factories making textile products. It is unlikely that the country will ever become a large-scale manufacturer, but there are hopes that it will be able to capture some more niche markets. In this context, the new situation in South Africa — and in particular, the outcome of the SACU renegotiation — is seen as crucial. Pelani Siwawa-Ndai, who is Chief Economist with the 1200-member Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower (BOCCIM) says that the key thing is for Botswana to be able to import inputs from third countries duty-free. Currently, they are subject to the SACU common external tariff, a situation which benefits South African companies. She would also like to see even more of a

'private sector mentality' within government.

Two other possibilities being pursued are the financial sector and tourism. The government would like to make Botswana into the financial centre for the region. It may well succeed in attracting some 'offshore' business, but Ms Siwawa-Ndai, and a number of others whom we spoke to, were doubtful whether this could ever develop into a really major business. Tourism, by contrast, is seen as offering considerable promise if the country can develop the appropriate expertise — and, of course, halt the decline in wildlife, which is one of the main attractions for visitors.

Recently, after a quarter century of steady, and often spectacular growth, the Botswana economy suffered a downturn. The recession was short and shallow, but it nonetheless came as a unpleasant shock. It was accompanied by the country's first internal civil disturbances of any significance. The country has, in fact, a big divide between rich and poor. The urban poor of Gaborone do not live in the kind of squalor seen in the huge shanty settlements on the fringes of other African conurbations. But they often lack basic amenities, they find it difficult to get jobs, and their health and education status is unfavourable. On the subject of health more generally, AIDS is now regarded as the country's biggest challenge.

The government is therefore aware that it cannot rest on its laurels. Botswana deserves to be applauded for its successes and its far-sightedness. But there are problems of poverty and resource depletion that still need to be tackled. With an economy heavily dependent on 'non-renewable' activities, the question: 'what do we do next?', can never be far from mind. In fuelling future progress, the Botswana need to find the right mixture of prudence in husbanding resources, and dynamism in deploying them to generate new wealth. It may not be easy, but their track record so far suggests that it can be done. ■

Simon Horner

controls were applied to ensure that Botswana beef kept its good reputation in the crucial European markets. She stressed, in particular, that no hormones were allowed. The BMC is a parastatal, which has an 'exclusive dealership' in meat products and it guarantees to buy all the cattle delivered to its abattoirs. The meat is then shipped out, either chilled or frozen, with Europe as the main destination. Many of the hides go to Italy's leather industries while South Africa and Zimbabwe buy carcass meal as animal feed and tallow for soap.

Environmental worries

It would not appear, however, that the livestock sector offers much scope for further expansion. Indeed, there are those who argue that it needs to contract because of the effect of overgrazing on the local ecology. Botswana has a serious problem of soil degradation and while the cattle cannot take all the blame (there are clearly other factors, including drought) a

President Ketumile Masire's recipe for economic success

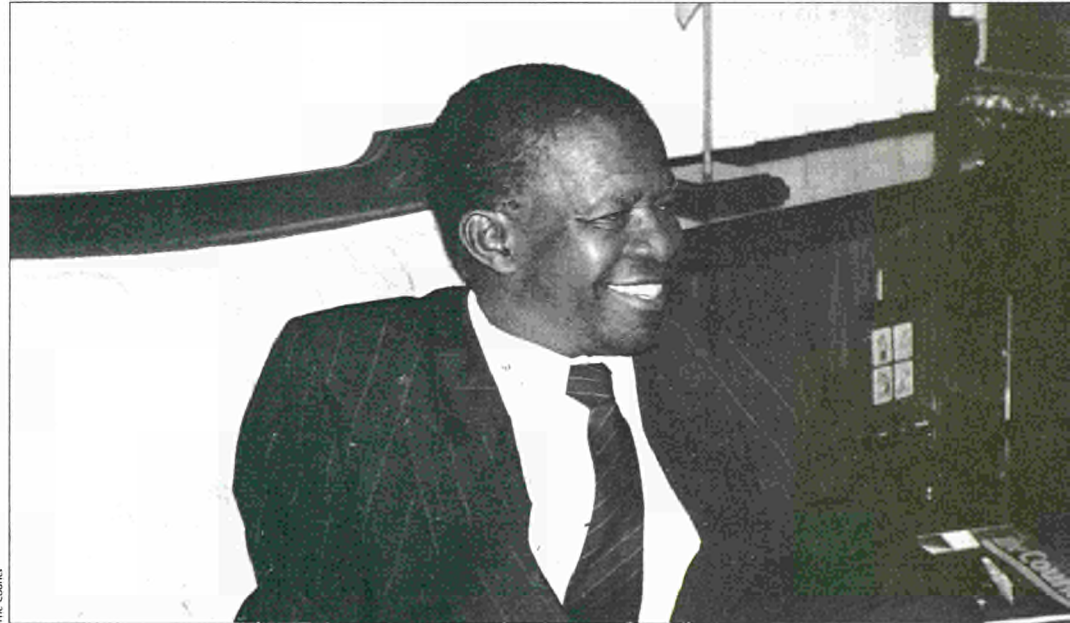
'Don't kill the goose that lays the golden eggs'

Like many African countries, Botswana has a tradition of long-serving leaders. Dr Quett Ketumile Masire, in fact, is the country's second President, having succeeded to the post in 1980 on the death of Sir Seretse Khama. The big difference is that both Dr Masire and his predecessor came to power and retained it through the ballot box. Indeed, Dr Masire once suffered the unhappy experience of losing his parliamentary seat (in the 1969 election). Like many of his compatriots, the President is a farmer. He also has a background in education — having established a secondary school when he was in his twenties — and in journalism. He is a co-founder of the Botswana Democratic Party which has governed the country since independence in 1966.

During his fifteen years in office, President Masire has presided over an economic 'miracle'. Botswana has been transformed from a largely poor and pastoral society into one of the richest countries in Africa. Not everything is rosy of course. Economic growth has slowed recently, unemployment is a serious problem and there is poverty to be found, particularly in the rural areas. Despite this, Botswana's record is one which other African countries must surely envy. When we spoke to President Masire, we began with the obvious question: How did Botswana achieve political stability and economical success in a region which, until recently, has been characterised by turbulence and conflict?

— By sticking to our constitution, practising democracy, presenting ourselves to the people every five years and having a work programme based on the cardinal principles of democracy, self-reliance and good governance.

■ *You did have some civil disturbances earlier this year. What was the explanation for this?*



The Courier

— I think that it was a human reaction. You can expect that once in a while, people will feel they have to let off steam. The excuse was provided when we had a case of ritual murder in Mochudi. Everybody jumped on the bandwagon. Some of the people involved were unemployed but it was mainly students.

■ *Democracy in Botswana has delivered power to your party for a very long time. Some might argue that it is a little too long.*

— That is a subjective view. The fact is that the people have been given an opportunity every five years to elect a government and each time we have presented ourselves to them, they have returned us. That suggests that we have run things fairly well and they have not had a reason to throw us out.

■ *What effect do you think an opposition victory at the next election would have on Botswana?*

— I don't know. They are untried and there is no track record upon which we can judge them. But if their pronouncements are anything to go by, they would

risk destroying what we have put in place. They have been impatient with our management of Botswana's resources. They are eager to do things which we think would be to the detriment of the country — for instance, promising high salaries which the economy cannot afford. Of course, they could just be saying that in order to win votes.

■ *That suggests a left-right split in Botswana politics, with the opposition being more spending-oriented.*

— Yes, that is precisely what I am saying. They claim to be social democrats and feel we don't spend enough on jobs.

■ *Which leads us neatly to the economic situation. You had many years of impressive growth but there was a downturn three years ago. Although you seem to be moving out of that now, what do you see as the long-term challenges for Botswana, particularly given your heavy economic dependence on just a few sectors?*

— It really boils down to the diversification of the economy, which is

what we are trying to do. We are seeking to build the necessary basis. We have engaged in an ambitious education programme looking at people as a productive sector. Generally speaking, the more people are trained, the more productive they are. We have set up a productivity centre and have been in touch with Singapore and Malaysia in order to learn from their experience in terms of productivity. We have also taken other measures.

There is the financial assistance policy which is a measured package to try and attract investors to the country — with a view to diversifying the economy. There is a new tax package with the rate cut from 35% to 25% and even to 15% for manufacturing industries. The labour movement should recognise that it is in their long-term interests not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

At the end of the day, if our wage structure can attract people into industry, this is the best way of increasing incomes. The companies will compete for labour, leading to a natural rather than an artificial growth in wages. This then translates into a higher standard of living for the people.

We are looking at tourism which is one of our untapped resources. Considerable preparatory work has already been done. We have put environmental and tourism policies in place which, generally speaking, focus on high value and low volume. We know that we can tap into this area successfully, provided we don't overdo it. And we are looking to protect our flora and fauna as far as possible.

■ *You have a particular problem of soil degradation here?*

— Yes. We are aware that we are in a delicately balanced ecology and we take that into account.

'We now have people we can do business with'

■ *How do you feel about the new situation in Southern Africa.*



The Courier

— We are encouraged, both politically and economically. To paraphrase Mrs Thatcher, 'we now have people we can do business with.' The result should be to bring stability and peace to the region. Indeed, we are already beginning to reap some peace dividends. We have gone full throttle into renegotiating the Customs Union agreement on a basis of more enlightened self-interest — bearing in mind, of course, that it is ultimately to everyone's benefit if we all feel we are deriving some good from it.

We have also removed an impediment to investment in our countries. In the past, although we did not have apartheid here, people felt that the problems created by the regime in South Africa were bound to spill over into Botswana. With that now behind us, we stand a much better chance of attracting investments here.

■ *The ending of apartheid has obviously led to a transformation of SADC. How far do you see integration going in Southern African in the longer term. Will it just be an economic process or do you see the possibility of a political entity developing?*

— I see the possibility of both. We are all new states and we want to establish ourselves, but we also realise that small economies don't pay these days. There is the view that economies should be around a hundred million people and we make a neat parcel of 120 million. That means we are a good-sized trading bloc, both for conducting business among ourselves and trading with other regions. Self-interest will dictate that we come closer and closer together.

■ *What is your view of Botswana's relations with the European Union, particularly in the light of the Lomé IV mid-term review?*

Focus on education
'Generally speaking, the more people are trained, the more productive they are'

— I think they have been good. They could have been better but we nonetheless feel we have done very well. As regards the latest package, we didn't get all that we hoped for. In real terms, the financial assistance has fallen. However, we hope that this can be compensated for by more effective delivery of aid. One thing we have found frustrating has been the laborious method of implementing or disbursing EU aid.

We are in a good position to judge this because we have been 'professional beggars'. We have done the rounds and know that delivery is faster elsewhere. So I think there is room to improve the delivery system.

■ *Do you anticipate leading the BDP into the next election... and winning it?*

— I think you should ask me that as the date draws closer. ■

Interview by S.H.

Profile

General information

Area: 582 000km²

Population: 1.44 million

Population density: 2.4 per kilometre²

Population growth rate: 2.92% (1990-95)

Capital: Gaborone (150 000)

Other main towns: Francistown (65 000), Selebi-Phikwe (40 000), Molepolole (37 000), Kanye (32 000), Setowe (31 000), Maun (27 000).

Main languages: Setswana, Kalanga, English

National currency: Pula (1 ECU = P3.7, \$1 = P2.7 approx.)

Politics

Legislature: National Assembly with 40 members elected from single-member constituencies. A 15-member House of Chiefs which advises on tribal matters.

President: Sir Quett Ketumile Joni Masire (elected by the National Assembly)

Political parties: Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), Botswana National Front (BNF), Botswana People's Party (BPP)

Party representation in National Assembly (elected members): BDP 27, BNF 13

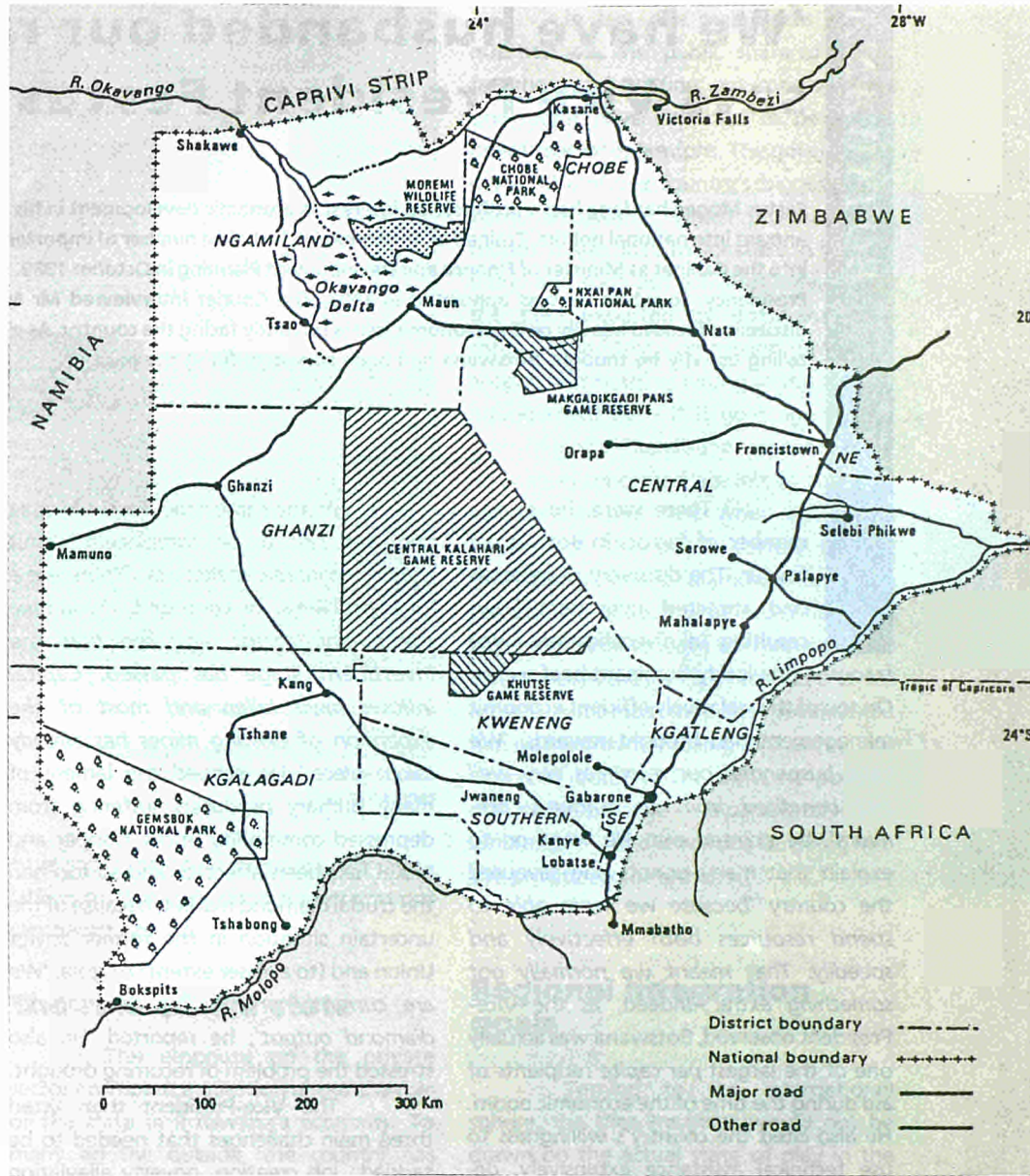
Economy

(1993-94 figures)

GDP: P10.33bn (\$3.9bn)

GDP per capita: P 7267 (\$2750)

GDP growth rate: 4.1% (1994 provisional estimate), -0.3% (1993)



Main economic activities: mining (37% of GDP), trade, hotels and restaurants (15%), financial services (6%)

Principal exports: diamonds — \$1.4bn, copper-nickel — \$99m, beef \$79m, soda ash \$27m

Balance of payments: surplus of P390m in 1994

Principal trade partners: Europe (86% of exports, 8% of imports), Southern Africa Customs Union (9% of exports, 82% of imports), Zimbabwe (3% of exports, 5% of imports)

Government budget: revenue P5.4bn, expenditure P4.5bn, surplus P0.9bn. (The 1994-95 budget projects a deficit of P240m).

Inflation rate: 11.5% (July 1995)

Social indicators

Life expectancy at birth: 65

Infant mortality: 42 per 1000 live births

Adult literacy: 67%

Enrolment in education: Primary — almost 100%, Secondary — 54%, Tertiary — 6%

Human Development Index rating: 0.763 (74th out of 174)

'We have husbanded our resources well' says Vice-President Festus Mogae

Festus Mogae has long had a professional interest in economic development in his native Botswana although he is a relatively late entrant into national politics. Trained as an economist, he held a number of important posts both at home and abroad before coming into the Cabinet as Minister of Finance and Development Planning in October 1989. He still has this portfolio, together with the Vice-Presidency, to which he was appointed in 1992. The Courier interviewed Mr Mogae in September, and not surprisingly, our discussion focused heavily on the economic issues currently facing the country. As a background to this, the Vice-President began by telling us why he thought Botswana had been so successful in the past.

There were, he said, a number of factors in Botswana's favour. The discovery of minerals had attracted investment flows resulting in diversification away from the previously dominant beef sector. On top of this, relatively efficient economic management had brought rewards. 'We have husbanded our resources very well and benefited from an efficiency premium', he pointed out. He went on to explain that many donors had favoured the country 'because we were able to spend resources both effectively and speedily. That meant we normally got something extra.' Indeed, as the Vice-President observed, Botswana was actually one of the largest *per capita* recipients of aid during the time of the economic boom. He also cited the country's willingness to use technical assistance extensively, describing this as 'part of our efficient management.'

Vice-President Festus Mogae



The Courier

At the same time, Festus Mogae appeared not to be complacent about today's economic challenges. 'There are a lot of problems,' he conceded. 'If you take the mining sector, you see that the investment stage has passed. Capital inflows have fallen and most of the expansion of existing mines has already taken place.' He echoed the lament of many primary producers suffering from depressed commodity prices. Copper and nickel had been affected, and so too had the crucial diamond market, because of the uncertain situation in the former Soviet Union and (to a lesser extent) Angola. 'We are currently only selling 85% of our diamond output', he reported. He also stressed the problem of recurring drought.

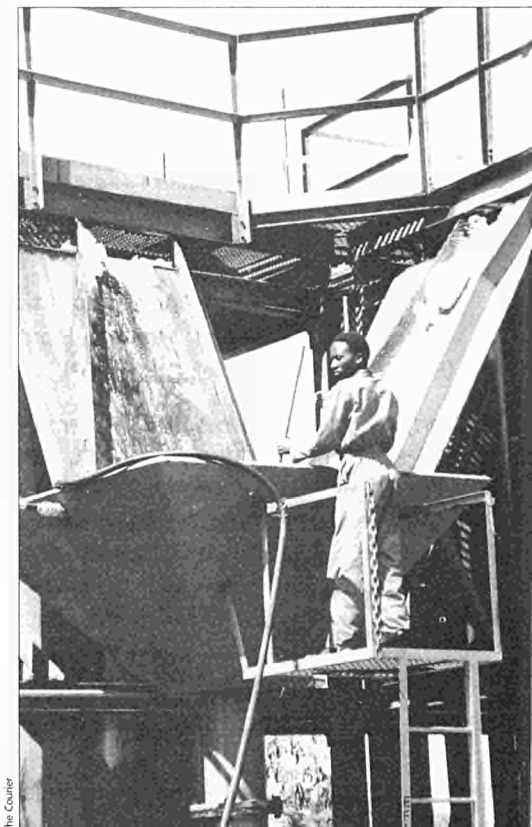
The Vice-President then listed three main challenges that needed to be tackled: job creation, poverty alleviation and sustainable diversification. 'We must also improve our international competitiveness,' he continued, 'through realistic exchange rates, higher productivity and higher savings ratios. We believe that controls should be kept to a minimum without, of course, becoming completely *laissez faire*. Finally, we have to try and contain the AIDS pandemic, address the demographic question and ensure sustainable and effective environmental management.'

Tourism and financial services targeted

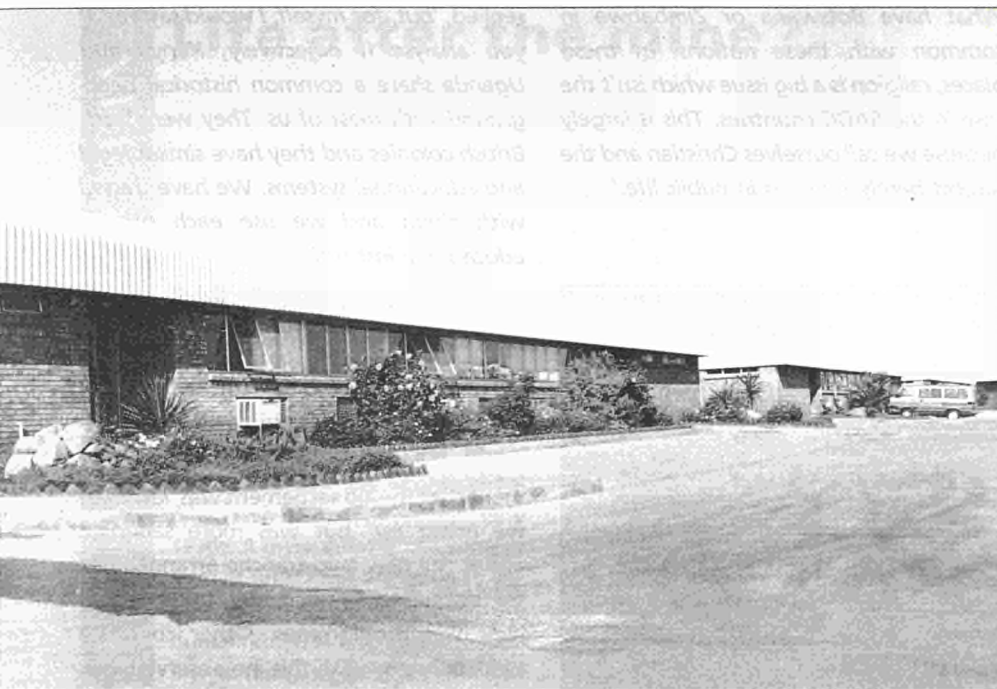
The list is a long one and the minister is aware that diagnosing the problems is only the first step. Turning to possible remedies, he laid particular em-

phasis on developing tourism. 'This is very attractive because it is labour-intensive and would employ people in the rural areas.' As for manufacturing, the Vice-President acknowledged that the previously adopted policy of attracting textile producers had been less successful than anticipated. 'We have since discovered that these industries are among the most competitive in the world.' During the recent world recession, a number of enterprises operating in Botswana went under, although Mr

Recently-built ice-plant (built with Sysmin assistance) at the Selebi-Phikwe copper-nickel mining complex. 'Most of the expansion of existing mines has already taken place'



The Courier



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Small-scale industrial units near Gaborone. Botswana's economic future lies in a lot of small developments rather than a few large ones

Mogae was not prepared to write-off the experience altogether. *'Employment in this area is rising again'*, he pointed out — a fact which was confirmed when *The Courier* subsequently visited the industrial estate in Selebi-Phikwe. Another promising field, he thinks, is financial services. *'We have conducted a study and are told this is viable'*. Mr Mogae acknowledged, however, that this sector is unlikely to provide a large number of new jobs. This led him to make the general policy point that Botswana's economic future lies in a lot of small developments rather than a few large ones. *'Realistically'*, he observed, *'there is probably no single sector today with the potential to employ thousands in the way mining did.'*

'In simple terms, what we are trying to do is to create an enabling environment for private sector development.' As part of this strategy, he cited recent corporate tax cuts designed to make the country more attractive to foreign investors.

The Minister continued: *'We are, in fact, interested in any type of manufacturing. We have the most liberal exchange control regime in the region, and intend to abolish controls altogether in a few years. At the same time, we are seeking to ensure that we are not used for improper purposes. Even if you establish a financial services sector, something which entails the removal of controls, you must*

have some minimum precautionary regulations so that only bona fide operations can be set up.'

The role of the state

This emphasis on the private sector prompted a question about the role of the state in Botswana's economy. To many on the outside, the country has traditionally been seen as an open, market-oriented economy. But a closer look reveals public ownership — if not perhaps actual state control — of large sectors of the economy. The Vice-President acknowledged this although he stressed that it had happened, as it were, by default. Focusing on the utilities (water, power and telecoms), he pointed out that initially, *'there was nobody in the private sector that would do it.'* Now that these enterprises are up and running, however, *'opportunities have arisen to start getting rid of them.'* In fact, relatively little privatisation has been undertaken to date. Two government-owned breweries are in the process of being sold off and the national airline has also been earmarked for divestment *'as soon as it begins to make a profit'*. Some aspects of the telecom business are also being targeted.

In fact, the main focus of our question was the 'public' share of manufacturing and trading enterprises which one might have expected to be purely private sector operations. The government owns 50% of the country's biggest company, Debswana, which produces diamonds. It also has a major stake in copper-nickel and soda ash activities, while all of the beef exported by Botswana goes through the Meat Commission (BMC). Mr Mogae sees nothing wrong in this type of arrangement even if it goes against the grain of global liberalisation, so long as the companies concerned are left to run on a commercial basis. And when one learns how much the public coffers benefit (particularly where diamonds are concerned), it is difficult to be too critical. The key seems to be to leave the running of the companies in the hands of the experts. Mr Mogae confirmed that the government had no intention of selling its shares in the diamond industry. The BMC, he pointed out, is a cooperative — *'a parastatal with a difference'* — and it will not be going into the private sector either.

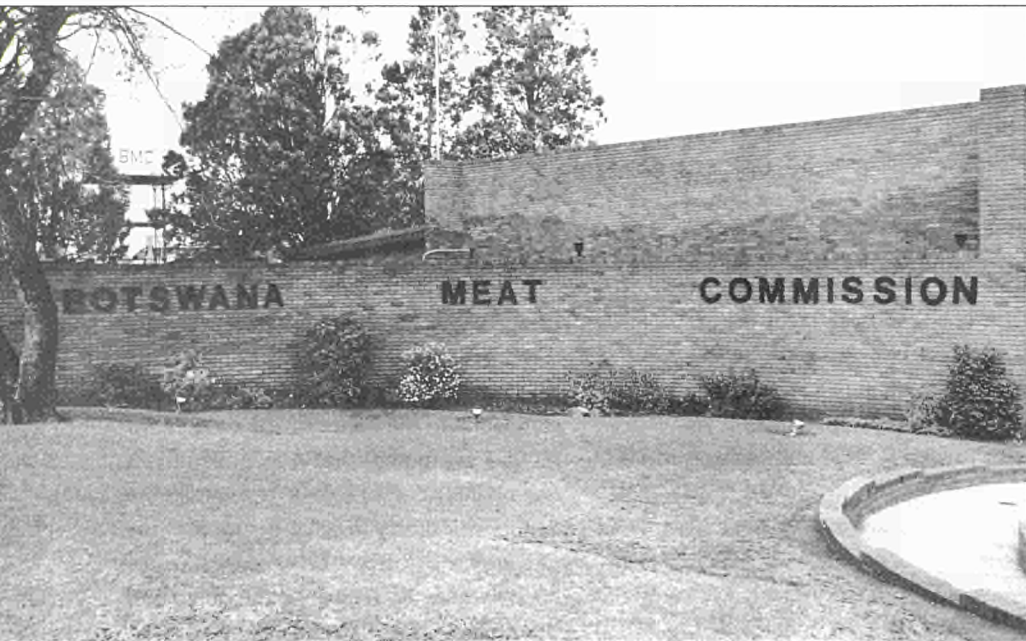
Regional integration goals

Turning to the international sphere, the Vice-President would not be drawn on the actual state of play in the renegotiation of the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU). He was prepared, however, to outline the government's underlying goals. *'A key aim is to democratise the decision-making arrangements and restructure SACU so that it is more balanced,'* he said. *'Originally, we were effectively just participating in the South African tariff. The common external tariff was designed to protect South African industry and we were paid monetary compensation for its effects in terms of cost-raising and the polarisation of development. But, as far as Botswana is concerned, monetary compensation is no longer our priority. We want to industrialise and therefore want some of the arrangements to apply in a way that benefits industrial location here.'* He recognised, however, that *'in the new world order, you cannot just rely on tariff walls.'*

The Vice-President was also keen to stress the role of SADC as 'the new instrument of regional cooperation in Southern Africa', and looked forward to 'mutual tariff and non-tariff barrier reductions between all SADC countries.' Both organisations are very important for

What have Botswana or Zimbabwe in common with these nations. In these places, religion is a big issue which isn't the case in the SADC countries. This is largely because we call ourselves Christian and the subject barely features in public life.'

replied, 'but, for myself, I would say yes. If you analyse it objectively, Kenya and Uganda share a common historical background with most of us. They were both British colonies and they have similar legal and educational systems. We have traded with them and we use each other's educational institutions.'



Botswana, he observed, given its small domestic market. 'Almost everything we produce is for export and, of course, we rely to a large extent on imports from our neighbours. We therefore have to be geared up to working in the region as a whole.'

This led us to talk about the problem created by the overlap between SADC and COMESA — the successor to the PTA. Botswana is not a member of the latter organisation and the Vice-President confirmed that they were firmly 'in the SADC camp.' He went on: 'Our view is that the smaller the number of countries involved and the more similarities they have, the more regional cooperation becomes feasible.' He pointed out that the SADC Treaty was already quite ambitious and that integration even within this smaller group of 12 countries would require 'perseverance, persistence, determination and commitment. Extend that to the 27 COMESA members and what was difficult becomes impossible.'

'Let us look at COMESA. It includes countries such as Somalia and Sudan.

'A parastatal with a difference'
The Botswana Meat Commission head office and abattoir in Lobatse

Mr Mogae also made a pragmatic point about the capacity of regional organisations to make progress when faced with internal political crises. The SADC countries already had a lot on their plate. They had had to deal with the problem of apartheid in South Africa and civil wars in Mozambique and Angola — with the Angolan situation still to be properly resolved. 'Just imagine the difficulty', he said, 'if we add to that the crises in Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and Sudan — four or five more seemingly intractable social upheavals and conflicts. We wouldn't even know where to begin.'

On the other hand, the Vice-President noted that the SADC countries had a lot in common with some non-SADC members of COMESA — notably Kenya and Uganda. This prompted us to ask whether he could envisage SADC extending northwards to include these two countries. 'I can't speak for those countries or for the other SADC members', he

Our interview concluded with a brief look at the outcome of the Lomé IV mid-term review and Botswana's relations with the EU in general.

Mr Mogae expressed disappointment that the aid settlement was 'less than we asked for' but was more sanguine about the new two-tranche arrangement for disbursing funds under the national indicative programmes. Other countries were unhappy with this, he observed, but 'we are not too worried because past experience suggests that we should be able to compete effectively and perhaps get a little more at the second stage.' He also expressed appreciation for the 2% reduction in the beef protocol levy.

As for the relationship in general, Mr Mogae echoed the President in suggesting that European procedures were sometimes unduly burdensome — although he was keen to absolve the local EC delegation of any 'blame' in this regard. 'Sometimes you are even more bureaucratic than we are', he observed wryly. On the other hand, the Vice-President was keen to stress the positive aspects of the relationship as well. 'We have benefited from the EDF, access to the European Investment Bank, the Beef Protocol and the Sysmin fund. Overall, it has been very beneficial.' ■

Interview by S.H.

Life after the mine?

Selebi Phikwe is a community whose history seems to have been compressed. People lived there before, of course, in the two settlements that give it its name but it is essentially a 'new' town, built to service the copper-nickel mines which opened in the early 1970s. A mere quarter of a century later, it finds itself facing up to the fact that the days of mining are numbered. This is a situation familiar to many traditional centres of heavy industry in the developed world but at least most of them enjoyed a good innings covering more than one generation.

It should be emphasised that Selebi-Phikwe, which lies 350 km north-east of Gaborone, is not yet a town in decline — and if all goes according to plan, it is not destined to become one. Indeed, it is a tribute to the forward thinking of the authorities that so much has already been done to prepare for the day when the copper-nickel ore body is exhausted.

In just 25 years, the town has grown to become the third-most populated urban centre in Botswana, although the term urban is not entirely appropriate. By far the tallest structure in the vicinity is the smelter's chimney stack (built high to ensure the proper dispersal of SO₂ emissions). Buildings more than a few storeys high are a rare sight and care appears to

have been taken in the planning of the community. At present, it is very much a company town with most of the male population working in one or other aspect of the copper-nickel process. The BCL plant, which covers three separate mining operations and a processing phase (crushing and smelting into matte) employs more than 5000 people — fewer than 200 of whom are expatriates.

A visit to the BCL operation is an instructive experience for the uninitiated. Safety procedures are stringent, but the fact remains that most of the workers labour in conditions that are likely to be noisy, dusty or hot — and often a combination of all three. The compensation is that the pay is good by local standards (about twice the national average wage). In the early days of the operation, there was a relatively high turnover of local staff. Today, the figure is down to between 6% and 7% annually.

Digging deep

The mines at Selebi Phikwe are very deep, going down as far as 850m, and there are plans to take one down to 1450m. At these depths, the tunnels are extremely hot and a permanent supply of ice is needed for the ventilation systems.

Steam engines, used to transport the ore from the mines to the crushers

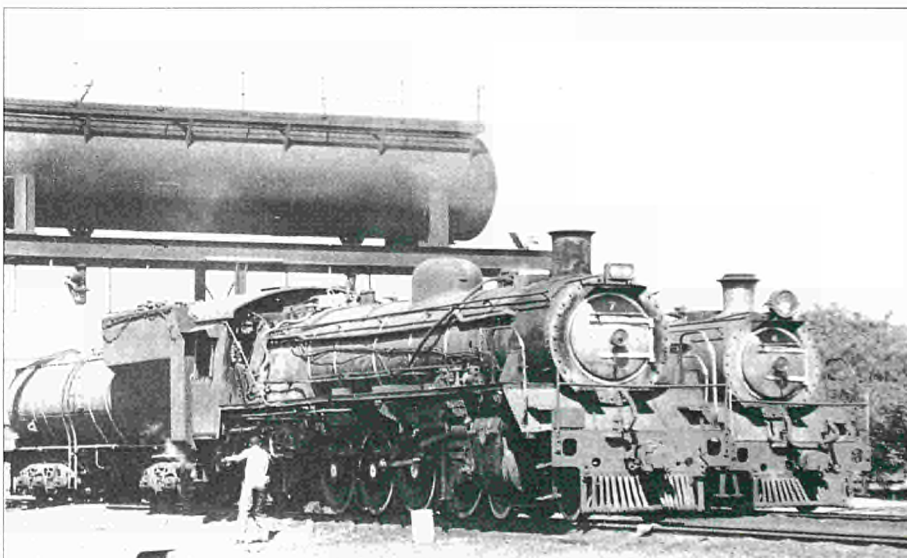


The main shopping street in Selebi Phikwe. Care has been taken in planning the town.

From the mines, the ore is transported by train to the start of the crushing operation. The company has its own network of tracks complete with every railway buff's dream — a fleet of steam engines (making use of the fact that Botswana also has coal reserves).

As Mr T. Badisang, the recently appointed manager of the concentrator explained to us, when he showed us round his part of the operation, prodigious amounts of energy are needed to keep the huge crushing machines going day and night. There is a coal-fired power station at Selebi-Phikwe, and BCL is the electricity corporation's biggest customer. The crushing process, in fact, involves a number of phases as the rock is progressively reduced to a manageable size for the smelter. The matte produced by the smelter is then sent to Zimbabwe or Norway for refining into copper and nickel.

Malcolm Ralls, who is one of the managers at BCL provided us with some background information about the operation. He pointed out that the ore body at Selebi Phikwe is low grade and this meant that for the process to be viable, it had to be energy efficient. Sulphur contained in the ore is used as fuel in the smelter. Initially, there had been some teething troubles with the flash smelting process but these had eventually been resolved. The mines were now producing some 3.5 million tonnes of ore a year while the smelter's annual production of matte was about 50 000 tonnes.





A BCL employee supervises the initial phase of the ore crushing process

Obviously, an operation such as this is 'high risk' entailing huge initial investments as well as significant running costs. Viability is ultimately determined by world market conditions. The price of nickel, which is used among other things, in the production of stainless steel, is strong at present at roughly \$4 a pound, and the expectation is that world demand will continue gently to rise. One cloud on the horizon for established nickel producers is the discovery of a large, high grade ore body in Labrador. Mr Ralls indicated that this would not come on stream for at least three or four years but when it does, it could undercut existing operations and have an effect on the world price. Copper prices were also holding up well (approx \$1.30 a pound) although there is some doubt about whether this can be sustained in the face of low cost production in Chile. One promising by-product of the process at Selebi Phikwe is cobalt which sells on the commodity markets at around \$25 a

pound. This is produced in much smaller quantities than copper or nickel, of course, but the company is hoping to increase the rate of extraction.

By its very nature, mining is a non-renewable activity, and it has been recognised for some time that the ore body will not last forever. Two parallel strategies have been adopted. The first has been to extend the life of the mining operation with new investment — a process supported by the European Union with Sysmin Funds. According to Malcolm Ralls, 'we are effectively building three new mines under the existing ones.' This has allowed the day of reckoning to be postponed by several years taking it well beyond the turn of the century. There are also plans to keep the smelting side going even after local extraction has ceased using ore brought in from mines in the Francistown area (about 100 km further north). Indeed, the Selebi Phikwe smelter has already handled some ore from this source.

Diversification

The second strategy has been to find new things for Selebi-Phikwe to do. To find out more about this, we spoke to *Joe Beirne* who works for an Irish company that was contracted to run the Selebi-Phikwe Regional Development Programme. This was first established as a result of a World Bank initiative, and it became clear at an early stage that manufacturing offered the only realistic possibility for economic diversification in this particular location.

One of the new manufacturing units built as part of the diversification strategy for Selebi Phikwe

When Mr Beirne first came to the town, some 600 people were employed in the manufacturing sector. This figure has risen to 5000, with 12 non-mining enterprises now in business. The main products are clothing and other textile items although there is also a factory that makes jewellery.

In fact, investors have snapped up almost all the available factory space. 'Our biggest single problem today', says Joe Beirne, 'is factory shells — or rather, the lack of them'. He believes that there is potential for several thousand more manufacturing jobs to be created, and cites as evidence, the serious interest being shown by a number of potential investors from Mauritius and South Africa.

95% of the jobs in the town's new industries are held by women — an ideal situation at present given that mining and heavy industry operations tend to be heavily male-oriented. When the mines start to run down, in perhaps ten years time, there is the risk that male unemployment will rocket with many households having to fall back on the woman's (lower) income. This is something of which the authorities are acutely aware but they make the valid point that it would be premature to provide immediate job opportunities for people who are actually still in work.

The key is to do forward planning and, if possible, organise a smooth transition. There are probably too many variables to predict with certainty that this will happen but no one can accuse the Botswana of not thinking ahead. Over the years, *The Courier* has talked about the prospects for diversification with officials in many different countries, but here, we actually saw it happening in practice. From the evidence, it seems that Selebi Phikwe can look forward to life after the mine — and it could be a very prosperous one. ■

S.H.



Opposition emphasises social issues

The story is familiar to observers of the post-Cold War political scene. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Botswana National Front was very definitely a party of the left. Nowadays, as Opposition Leader *Kenneth Koma* frankly admitted to *The Courier*, they 'have moved much closer to the Democratic Party'. He was keen to stress that there was now 'no real ideological difference' between Botswana's two main political forces. This appears to be true in the sense that both accept the prevailing free market philosophy, but as our discussion continued, it became clear that the BNF has a distinctly different agenda. The emphasis is on social issues (and the spending that goes with it) rather than the fiscal and financial discipline favoured by the BDP. In short, the voters of Botswana are offered the kind of political choice in elections which many European voters would recognise.

We spoke to Mr Koma and two of his party colleagues in September. From what they said, it is clear that the BNF is not entirely happy with Botswana's much-vaunted democratic system. Mr Koma states, for example, that the government's supporters include many senior civil servants and members of the nobility, thus ensuring its 'conservatism'. This, he argues, is reflected in the BDP's rejection of political reforms espoused by the opposition including a lower voting age and the introduction of proportional voting. 'Good proposals are often rejected simply out of habit', he says, claiming that until recently, there was 'more or less' a one-party system. 'They are simply not used to dealing with an opposition.' Prior to the last election, the BNF had just three MPs out of 34. Today, they hold 13 out of 40. The party has a number of other proposals for reforming the system. They dispute the fairness of the electoral process, pointing to the huge cost of mounting an election petition, and question the role of the High Court in such cases. They want, instead, an independent electoral commission to oversee polling arrangements. They also argue for the extension of voting rights to Botswana living abroad.

When asked to respond to the BDP claim that a BNF administration would be too ready to spend money, and thus undermine the economic achievements of the country, Mr Koma gave a forthright response. 'That is a false accusation,' he insisted. 'The country has plenty of foreign



Kenneth Koma, Leader of the BNF

reserves. All we are saying is that we should spend 2 billion of the 12 billion pula that we have saved for reconstruction and development. That would make a big difference. He cited by way of example, the problem of water shortages in the northern town of Maun. Some of the reserves, he believed, should be invested in piping water to Maun from Kasane in the far north-east. He also argued more generally for spending on 600 000 Botswana 'who live in extreme poverty'. The party is particularly critical of the absence of social security provision in Botswana and argues that the country is sufficiently well-endowed to offer some sort of 'safety-net'.

One area where the BNF and BDP appear to agree broadly is on the subject of regional integration. When asked for their

views, most mainstream politicians in the region express enthusiasm for the principle and Mr Koma was no exception. 'I am completely for it', he said. 'At the end of the day, there is no way we can compete with South Africa.' On closer questioning, Mr Koma revealed that his concept of integration entails more an economic than a political coming together. He spoke of sharing common services and free movement of people within Southern Africa but rejected the idea that Botswana might one day be incorporated into a large regional 'state' entity.

We then asked the Opposition Leader for his views on environmental issues. The National Front's strength is currently concentrated in the towns and it needs to expand its support in the rural areas — where ecological degradation is a serious problem — if it is to win power. Mr Koma acknowledged the sensitivity of the subject, particularly given the tradition of livestock ownership in Botswana. He reserved his strongest criticism for the 'rich people who have their own farms' but who graze their cattle on communal lands during droughts, thereby exacerbating the problem.

Recently, the country's legal authorities took many by surprise by hanging five convicted murderers, following a lengthy period without any executions. This has prompted a lively debate in Botswana and we were interested to hear where the opposition stood on the issue.

Mr Koma stressed that it was a matter of individual conscience. Having said this, his own view was that more attention should be paid to the link between crime and socio-economic problems. 'This is not the complete explanation, but it is at least part of the problem,' he argued. On balance, he favoured a 'more reformative, rehabilitation approach.'

Our final question to Mr Koma was whether he would be the next President of Botswana, and not surprisingly, he would not be drawn. 'Whether I am President or not is immaterial,' he insisted. 'What matters is our party programme, and we will do all that we can to win power so that we can implement it.' ■

S.H.

Botswana-EU cooperation

From cattle to conservation

by Dieter W. Schmidt*

Present EC cooperation with Botswana under Lomé III and Lomé IV falls under two main headings, namely non-programmed and programmed assistance. In financial terms, the former is more important than the latter.

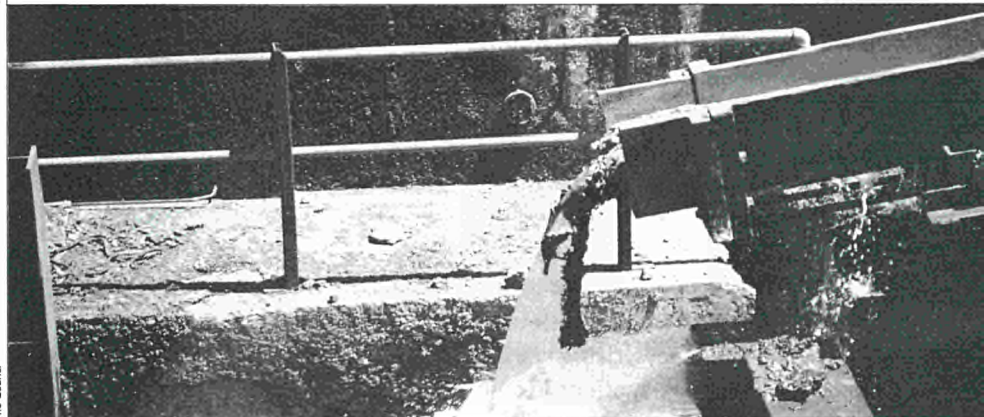
There are three key areas of non-programmed assistance — the Lomé Beef Protocol, Sysmin funding, and operations by the European Investment Bank (EIB). The Beef Protocol allows 18 916 tonnes of beef produced in Botswana to be exported to the EU annually on preferential terms. The financial benefit of this arrangement (although not entirely returning to Botswana), varies with quantities and type of beef actually exported and may reach up to ECU 24 million a year.

The country's copper-nickel mining industry, mainly run by BCL at Selebi-Phikwe, has received ECU 21.65m from the Sysmin loan facility for a rehabilitation and expansion programme. The aim of the funding is to optimise operations and extend the life of the mine and smelter to the end of the century, thereby maintaining the viability of the town that has grown up around the mining operation. The differential in the interest rate between the Sysmin loan to the government and onlending to BCL, after covering exchange rate fluctuations in the debt service, is expected to generate funds which are to be devoted to industrial diversification programmes. The purpose of these is to strengthen the longer-term economic viability of Selebi-Phikwe. A new loan application, aimed at further extending the smelter, with a view to processing other ore deposits in the region, is currently under appraisal. (For further inform-

* Head of the European Commission Delegation in Gaborone.



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ation, see the preceding article on Selebi-Phikwe).

Following earlier investments in Botswana, the EIB has, under Lomé IV, provided loans totalling ECU 27.3m for five separate operations in the electricity, water supply, meat processing and SME sectors. A new EIB loan of ECU 40 million, to support the large-scale 'North-South

Scenes from Botswana. Among other things, the EU has provided support for the livestock, copper-nickel and environment sectors

Water Carrier Project', has been agreed in principle. It is anticipated that the agreement will be signed before the end of 1995.

EU assistance to Botswana (in ECU millions)

	1975-80	1981-85	1986-90	1991-95
National indicative programmes	19.0	23.0	30.5	32.0
Other EDF (including Sysmin) and EIB funds	12.6	29.4	53.8	35.1
EC Budget	1.6	0.8	3.3	3.4
Total	33.2	53.2	87.6	70.5

As regards programmed assistance, EU cooperation with Botswana consists of two main 'concentration' areas and a number of other smaller scale actions. In the focal sector of 'environment, conservation and tourism', two major projects costing a total of ECU 13.4m are currently being implemented, relating specifically to wildlife conservation and tourism development. The forestry sector has also been targeted with a project costing ECU 3m, while a further tourism development scheme (ECU 1.5m) is presently being appraised.

In the second concentration area of 'technical education and training', there is a major project under appraisal for the establishment of a Vocational Training Centre in Gaborone. The plan is that this centre should have an Automotive Trades Training Centre attached to it. The estimated overall cost of the project is ECU 20m of which 75 % would be financed by the EDF, the remainder being provided by the government.

Outside the focal sectors, EU assistance has been provided for a number of social investments including the fight against AIDS, socio-economic infrastructure in rural areas (under a microproject programme) and assistance for the authorities in controlling drug trafficking. In the area of capacity-strengthening, support is being given to the Ministry of Commerce for trade development. Finally, a project

set up under an earlier EDF for small livestock marketing — which has been hit by the collapse of the Botswana Cooperative Bank — is under evaluation.

Fitting in with the wider objectives

Recent debates about EU development policy, not least the Maastricht Treaty discussions which resulted in the 'formalisation' of certain key policy objectives, have prompted the Commission delegation in Botswana to look again at the EU's programmes in the country. In particular, it has tried to assess how far the concrete actions of the Community fit in with the objectives and priorities identified both in 'Maastricht' and in the relevant Council resolutions.

The good news is that assistance currently provided in the EU's cooperative relationship with Botswana appears to be broadly consistent with the wider goals. First — and in very general terms — the Treaty on European Union refers to democracy, the rule of law and respect of human rights as fundamental objectives. Few would dispute that the government adheres to these basic tenets. As for more

The EU has been helping in the fight against AIDS which is now Botswana's most serious health problem

specific objectives such as *sustainable* economic and social development, smooth and gradual integration into the world economy and combating poverty, most of the programmes appear to fit in with one or more of these aims.

If one is making a thorough assessment, however, one must acknowledge that a question mark hangs over the beef protocol, notably regarding the effect that it may have on the environment in Botswana — alongside other important contributing factors such as drought, hunting and more broadly, human expansion and general economic development. The protocol, so the argument goes, is one of the main reasons for the expansion of the cattle industry and thus, the EC is accused of contributing to the rapid degradation of range land and the progressive decline of Botswana's wildlife population.

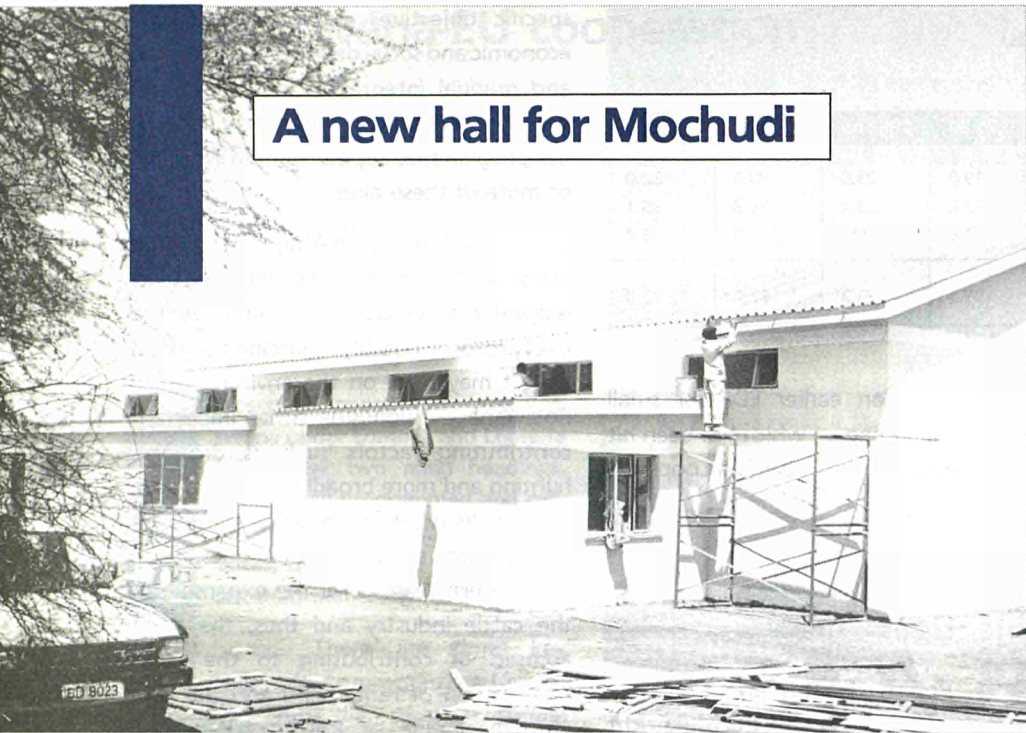
From a strict causative standpoint, this accusation is not entirely fair. The beef protocol imposes strict human and animal health rules in respect of the meat that is exported to the EU, but it does not and indeed cannot regulate the local conditions. The creation of an environmentally appropriate internal regulatory framework is, quite properly, a matter for the government of Botswana. Having said this, we are entitled to ask whether the EU has a moral responsibility to assist Botswana in finding longer-term solutions to this problem. Most people recognise that there is a need to reduce the pressure on the land engendered by the cattle industry. There is also the issue of alleviating rural poverty. At present, cattle smallholders derive some advantage from the protocol but so do large-scale farmers and 'middle-men' and there is a question as to equitable distribution of the benefit, bearing in mind that combating poverty is a key objective of Community aid.

This is obviously a complex issue which needs to be analysed in the wider context of EU trade policy and its linkages with the environment of developing countries. ■ D.W.S.

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A new hall for Mochudi



Commission, has provided ECU 1m through the Lomé Convention to assist in funding these. Now in its second year, the EC-supported part of the programme already has 17 projects on its books. It is administered by a small team operating within the Ministry and is able to deal speedily and flexibly with proposals presented to it.

The Courier visited Segale Primary School in September where we were greeted by Mrs Menyatso and her deputy, Mrs K.V. Molomo, together with members of the local PTA committee. The finishing touches were just being put to the building.

The hall area, complete with a stage, is obviously the central feature but the facilities include a changing room, office and kitchen/classroom. The last of these, explained our hostess, will be used for domestic science instruction. The new hall is also a true community project.

While the school will benefit during the daytime, the building will be utilised in the evenings and at weekends for a range of other social, recreational and educational activities.

Mrs Menyatso is a woman with a mission — that much was clear to us from our all-too-brief visit to the school. The walls of her modest office are adorned with examples of the pupils' work and messages which reveal her own management philosophy. One poster which particularly caught our eye was her 'recipe' for good administration. The ingredients include *patience, love, tolerance, faith* — and a *dash of laughter* — to be mixed together and *served equally to your staff*. The new hall may have been empty when we visited but it shouldn't be long before it is filled with activity — and laughter. ■ S.H.

Maud Menyatso, who is the headmistress of Segale Primary School in Mochudi, knows all about squeezing a quart into a pint pot. With no fewer than 1062 charges distributed among 29 classes — and only 22 classrooms to put them in — she has a lot of juggling to do to ensure that every pupil is accommodated. In fact, by developing country standards, Segale is reasonably well-endowed with the basic educational essentials. Mrs Menyatso has 31 teachers and a dozen young instructors who help out as part of Botswana's national service scheme.

The classrooms, while sometimes crowded, contain most of the equipment needed to ensure that teaching runs smoothly. And the accommodation shortage is 'solved' efficiently by a shift system, with children in different streams attending at different times.

One key facility which the school did not have was a hall. Indeed, the 'village' of Mochudi (actually one of Botswana's larger towns, with a population of more than 25 000) had no central meeting place. Now, with the help of the EC's recently established microproject scheme, this deficiency is about to be remedied.

The initiative for the new building came from the local community, which includes an active parent-teacher association (PTA). Under the rather uninspiring title of 'Policy 109', the Ministry of Local Government offers funds for a range of village projects. In turn, the European



Maud Menyatso, the Headmistress of Segale Primary School

LESOTHO

Mountains still to climb

The siege of Lesotho is over. After decades of living in apartheid's shadow, hemmed in by a powerful and often hostile neighbour, the political stranglehold on the kingdom has been eased. South Africa is now democratic and a more friendly regime sits in Pretoria. Democracy has also returned to Lesotho itself after a quarter century's absence. Its roots may not be very deep yet, but people are speaking and debating more freely. The government has a clear mandate from the voters and those who oppose it are able to voice their opinions.

All in all, it looks like a recipe for progress. Political stability — so the entrepreneurs tell us — is a prerequisite for economic success. And yet the current mood in Lesotho is decidedly downbeat. Hard-headed realism, some might say, but it could also be seen as pessimism, which is less healthy. Certainly, no one can accuse the citizens of the 'Kingdom in the Sky' of having their heads in the clouds.

Why has the regions new-found stability and the blossoming of political pluralism in Southern Africa not prompted a more hopeful outlook in Lesotho? The answer, it seems, is that the country remains beleaguered in many respects. Indeed, in the crucial economic sphere, the feeling of embattlement seems to have grown since the apartheid walls crumbled. Politically, many supporters of the elected government look anxiously over their shoulders at the army that so recently was

in charge of the country's affairs. And while South Africa is now a lot less hostile, the physical reality has not changed. Indeed, the new order prompts some outsiders nowadays to question the country's very *raison d'être*.

The Basotho, or at least those who lived in the mountainous British protectorate during the colonial era, managed to steer a path to independence, without suffering the geographically logical fate of incorporation into the Union of South Africa. During apartheid, it was an article of faith that Lesotho should be supported: not perhaps as a bulwark against oppression, but at least as an outpost — even if its own regime left a lot to be desired. Today, South Africa is democratic with a federal structure which recognises regional and ethnic diversities. A great many Basotho are actually South African citizens, coming from traditional lands lost before the colonial boundaries became set in stone. Many more leave the Kingdom to work in the mines of the RSA. In these circumstances, some seek to cast doubt on Lesotho's long-term future as a sovereign entity. This kind of speculation, not surprisingly, is greeted without enthusiasm in Maseru's corridors of power.

Economic uncertainty

Lesotho, perhaps more than any other frontline state, was aware that the

democratisation of South Africa would be a double-edged sword. Pleasure at the peaceful transition was inevitably tinged with anxiety about the future, particularly in the economic field. The essential problem is that the Kingdom has very few areas of comparative advantage. Its resource base is extremely limited, the size of the local market is small and its landlocked position does not make it an obvious choice for export-oriented foreign investment. One advantage it used to have was that it was *not* South Africa. So long as its neighbour was an international pariah, Lesotho could rely on significant development assistance and political support from international donors. Also more cynically, its position within the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), close to South Africa's main markets, made it more attractive for companies seeking to circumvent the sanctions. The apartheid regime may have been odious but the wheels of business kept turning!

Glossary

- Lesotho* — the country
- Mosotho* — singular name for a person belonging to Lesotho's dominant ethnic group
- Basotho* — plural of the above
- Sesotho* — the language

Today, foreign missions are leaving Maseru for Pretoria and aid programmes are under pressure. Meanwhile, business dealings with South Africa have come out from under the counter. There is a view among the Basotho that foreign investors have been mesmerised by the new situation in the RSA. It may not be fair to Lesotho, but locally it is recognised that little can be done at the moment in the competition for investment funding. South Africa is actually a high-cost producer which should be to Lesotho's advantage, but if the former succeeds in making efficiency gains, there is even a risk of disinvestment in the Kingdom's small manufacturing sector.

Lesotho's Foreign Minister, K. A. Maope told *The Courier* of his concerns that Lesotho was being sidelined. 'My appeal on behalf of this country', he said 'would be for the international community to remember that Lesotho and other neighbouring states of Southern Africa were also victims of apartheid. So when we talk about reconstruction, it should be for the whole region.'

Mining jobs under threat

A key source of income for Lesotho is the remittances from Basotho miners working in South Africa. The new Pretoria government is grappling with a domestic unemployment crisis and it is likely that local labour will be favoured for mining jobs in the future. Lesotho will lose out in two ways — less money remitted reduces local spending power while joblessness within the Kingdom will increase. The latest figures for migrant employment suggest this trend has already begun. In the first quarter of 1994, 103 000 Basotho were registered as working in the mines. This was the lowest figure recorded in two decades and represented a drop of 13 000 on 1993. Traditionally, this system of exporting labour has offered a useful economic safety valve and there appear to be few alternative means of 'releasing the pressure'.

Although, on paper, agriculture contributes only a small amount to the overall economy, the serious problems currently facing this sector have an impact on a large number of people. This is one

area where South Africa cannot be blamed — indeed, it suffers from the same drought phenomenon which is one of the key factors in the crisis. In principle, a drought is a one-off event which should not affect the long-term viability of the sector. Unfortunately, instead of the expected one bad year in seven, Southern Africa has suffered as many drought seasons as rainy ones in the past decade. The predicted crop yield for 1994-95 (mainly maize) was just 10% of the figure for the previous year. This has meant human and financial hardship for many Basotho although actual starvation is rare, the country having established a good early warning system



Foreign Minister K.A. Maope
'Remember that Lesotho and other neighbouring states of Southern Africa were also victims of apartheid'

which allows stocks to be built up and imports to be organised in good time. The EU and other donors help out in this area with food aid where required.

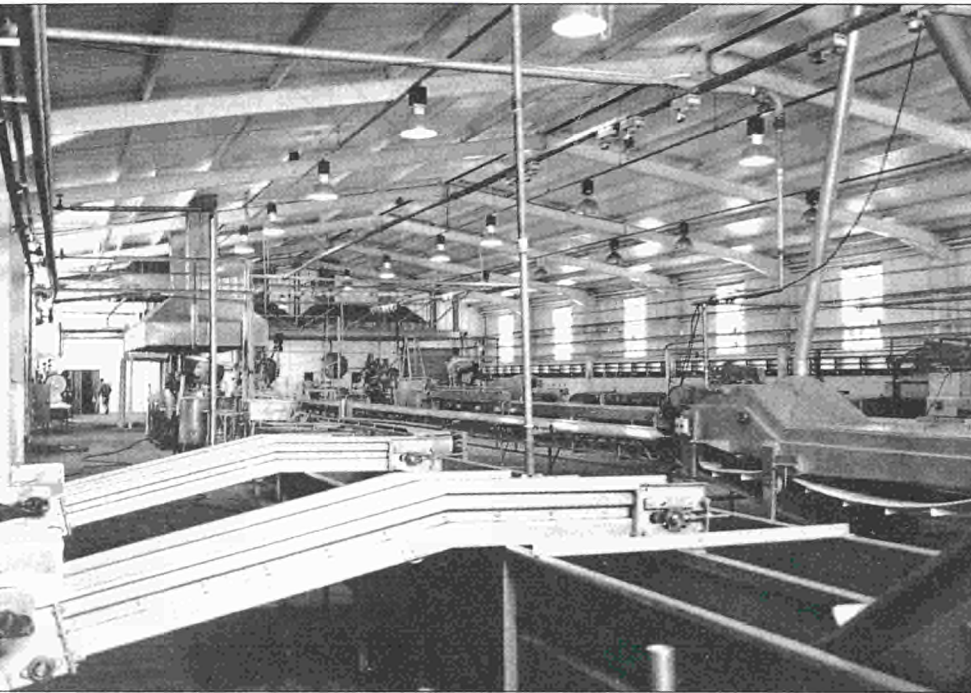
There is also a more serious structural crisis affecting agriculture, which is linked to the deeply-embedded tradition of livestock ownership in Lesotho. Few would dispute that the numbers of cattle, sheep and goats in the country exceed the grazing capacity of the available land. Even a layman can see that too much is expected of the soil. In the Highlands, the vegetation is extremely sparse and yet animals can be seen grazing close to every village. There are also very few trees, since these have

been progressively felled for firewood (the country experiences sub-zero temperatures in winter). The striking effect of this unsustainable activity can be seen in the lowland areas. Water run-off from the hills has caused widespread erosion, leading to a significant loss of what is often the more fertile farm land. The people of Lesotho are acutely aware of the deteriorating situation but again, there are no obvious solutions on offer.

Not all 'doom and gloom'

The economic picture is not all doom and gloom, however. Despite the difficulties, Lesotho's GDP, (which does not include miners remittances), has been outstripping the population growth rate recently. The national finances are also in relatively good order with regular budget surpluses being recorded. It is worth noting that within the EU, only Luxembourg displays a similar degree of fiscal rectitude.

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP), destined to deliver water to South Africa and electricity to the consumers at home, (featured later in a separate article) has delivered a major boost to the economy even before it comes on stream. Water supply is the one area where Lesotho does have a potential comparative advantage and since the mid-1980s, work has been proceeding on the project which is one of the world's largest engineering schemes. According to *The Economist's* Economic Intelligence Unit, the LHWP was expected to account for 10% of Lesotho's GDP in 1995. In practical terms, this translates into construction jobs for local people and employment opportunities in a host of ancillary activities. Of course, the jobs will not last forever, but with the final phase of the Project not due for completion until 2025, there should be work available for the next three decades. A by-product of the LHWP, which will help the wider economy, is the infrastructure built to service the huge engineering works. And once the water comes on stream, Lesotho will receive royalty payments from South Africa. Meanwhile the domestic generation of hydro-electric power should help the visible trade balance (which is massively in the red) by



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reducing Lesotho's dependence on imported electricity.

A lot of faith is being pinned on the LHWP. Indeed, too much has been invested for it to be allowed to fail now, although some people have raised doubts about how much water (and electricity) will eventually flow given the recurring droughts in the region.

The water project may well be Lesotho's salvation, but the country is obviously anxious to avoid a new economic monoculture developing. Indeed, the water project can never satisfactorily take over from the migrant labour system which has been the backbone of Lesotho's economy since the early 1900s. Once the dams, tunnels and turbines have been built, there simply won't be enough permanent jobs in the scheme — certainly not at the unskilled level — to take up the slack.

Tourism prospects

The buzzword (as in so many ACP countries) is, therefore, diversification. A number of options have been mooted ranging from the expansion of tourism — which looks promising, to developing financial services — which appears a much shakier proposition. Lesotho has spectacular mountain scenery which should appeal to the 'outward bound' type of

This cannery in Maseru turns out high value products (mainly asparagus) for export. There are fears that manufacturing investment will be lost to South Africa

visitor. Lakes are not currently a feature of the Highland landscape but that will change when the impoundment of the dams takes place. In an otherwise flat, dry and hot region, it ought to be possible to attract more visitors to the Lesotho Highlands. Before this can happen, however, a lot of investment is needed in the facilities and skills which make up a successful tourist product. The country would also like to develop new niche market manufacturing along the lines of what it already does in the field of woven wool products.

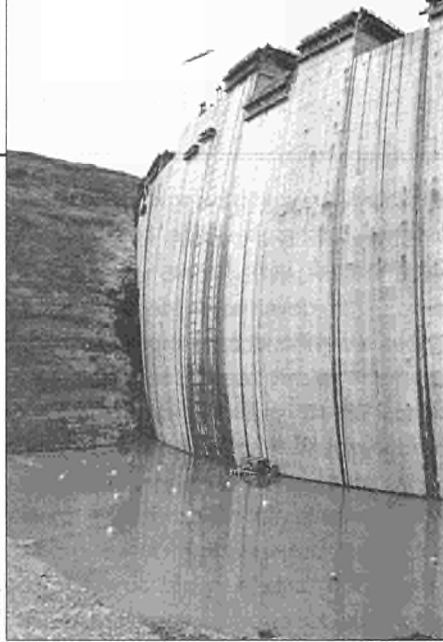
Although the changes in South Africa may initially hurt Lesotho's economy, local officials are keen to stress the likely long-term benefits of the improved regional situation. They acknowledge that South Africa is the blue-eyed boy of the region at present, but expect a more balanced picture to emerge as the novelty of the post-apartheid era wears off. And they point out that if South Africa does achieve economic takeoff (a big *if*, given the scale of the challenges it faces), then some of the benefits will surely spill over into Lesotho. It is an argument which has some merit although it does smack rather of a 'wait and see' policy. It is not

entirely clear what is being done to ensure Lesotho catches the tide once it starts flowing again in its favour.

In government circles, a lot of hopes are pinned on regional economic cooperation and integration. In the SADC *versus* COMESA debate, Foreign Minister Maope pins Lesotho's colours firmly to the SADC 'mast'. While expressing support for the Pan-Africanist vision in the longer term, he believes that more modest integration targets should be set in the meantime. He also foresees the possibility that Lesotho 'may seriously have to consider opting out of COMESA'.

Mention was made earlier of the government's budget surplus. It is also worth noting that education is by far the largest element on the recurrent expenditure side absorbing more than three times the sum devoted to defence or health. This is an indication of the importance which the authorities attach to human resource development. But a question mark hangs over the government's main source of funds which is the SACU revenue-sharing agreement. More than half of the state's income comes from this. The agreement, however, is currently being renegotiated, and South Africa appears keen to reduce the 'subsidy' which it pays to the so-called BLNS states (Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland) in return for captive markets for its manufactured goods. Lesotho, with the smallest economy in SACU, has little clout at the negotiating table although sympathetic noises from the region's other capitals suggest that their especially disadvantaged position will continue to be recognised. The funds from the common customs pool are not going to dry up altogether, but even a small reduction would be difficult to make up from elsewhere.

One issue which causes some resentment locally is the apparently changing attitude of the traditional aid donors. Lesotho did very well in the past because of its uniquely vulnerable position in Southern Africa. Today, there are growing indications that donors are curtailing their global aid programmes while locally, the emphasis has shifted to the RSA. The Lesotho Government fears — with some justification it would seem — that they will lose out as a result. It appears likely that



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A lot of faith is being pinned on the Lesotho Highlands Development Project

the EC's commitment will not change radically, but other donors are cutting embassy personnel and, in some cases, leaving altogether. Once the diplomats have been rationalised, can the aid programmes be far behind? For Lesotho, this trend must seem like a betrayal although those whom *The Courier* interviewed were too polite to use this term. It certainly seems ironic that past one-party and military dictatorships should have received so much support while today's freely elected regime faces cuts. Whatever happened to the idea that democracy and good governance should be encouraged?

Byzantine politics

This leads us neatly to the political situation in Lesotho which, at least partly, explains the failure to develop a clear economic agenda for the post-apartheid era. It is not possible here to give a detailed account of the Kingdom's recent political history, which is byzantine to say the least. It suffices to say that between 1970 and 1993, democracy was suspended and party political activity curtailed.

For a decade and a half, the country had one-party government until the ruling Basotho National Party (BNP) was ousted in a military coup in 1986. King Moshoeshe II remained on the throne but relations between the palace and the army authorities deteriorated to such an extent that he was forced into exile, being replaced by his son Letsie III.

With the winds of democratic change blowing over the sub-continent, the country's military rulers finally agreed to the unbanning of political parties and the holding of elections. After several delays, these were eventually held in March 1993.

The Basotho Congress Party (BCP) under Ntsu Mokhehle, who had been robbed of power when the results of the 1970 election were annulled, stormed to victory, winning all 65 seats in Parliament on three quarters of the popular vote. The opposition BNP claimed the results were rigged and although observers acknowledged that there were probably some irregularities it is difficult to see how the essentially 'anti-establishment' BCP — which had never before held office — could have manipulated the outcome so comprehensively in their favour.

In fact, the position of the government has proved less secure than the figures would suggest — as subsequent events have shown. In 1994, the administration was dismissed by King Letsie, with backing from elements of the army. This event sent shock waves throughout the Southern Africa region and led to the prompt diplomatic intervention of the so-called 'guarantor' states (Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe) who brokered a settlement leading to the return of the BCP.

As President Masire of Botswana explained when we interviewed him in Gaborone in September: 'Here was a popularly elected government being denied the opportunity to deliver the goods that the people who elected it were expecting. We felt that this was not something that should be allowed.'

The intervention of regional powers was, of course, a highly significant event which points the way towards closer political cooperation among the states of the region. Some observers have described it as the key element in restoring democracy to the Kingdom.

Within Lesotho, there are those who have a somewhat different interpretation. *Caleb Sello*, who is the Executive Director of the Lesotho Council of NGOs, for example, pointed to the boycott of the new administration that was engineered by the NGOs. 'We wanted to make sure

the government was paralysed by mass action', he told *The Courier*, 'but also to avoid the danger of bloodshed.' This approach worked, argued Mr Saleb. 'The newly-appointed ministers very soon found that they could not function.' Mahatma Gandhi would certainly have approved!

In view of what happened, it would seem that the credit for restoring democracy to Lesotho deserves to be shared — with the combined internal and external pressure proving too much for the coup's supporters. In any event, the upshot was that the Kingdom suffered a period of serious instability which was certainly not helpful to the economy. Likewise, the ideas and programmes that the BCP needs to develop to solving the pressing concerns of the country obviously took a back seat during the turmoil.

Part of the deal involved the reinstatement of the former King Moshoeshe (this was actually proposed by Letsie III). The Kingship, or Paramount Chieftancy, is a traditional institution in the country and the guarantor powers saw it as an important element in maintaining continuity. The assumption, however, is that the days of an activist monarch are over, and the King is expected to keep out of politics.

Not all Basotho were enthusiastic about the idea but the old king was duly restored to the throne on 25 January 1995, and he seems to have kept a low profile ever since. A question mark still hangs over the legality of the restoration under the rules of succession, and a court judgment was pending on this issue at the time of *The Courier's* visit.

The shadow of the military

Although the political atmosphere has cooled considerably, Lesotho is still not 'out of the woods'. Relations between the security forces and the government continue to be characterised by suspicion and, in some cases, enmity. Under the constitution, the military authorities are accountable, not to the politicians but to a 'Defence Commission'

Women's legal status set to change

There is a dichotomy in the status of women in Lesotho, as we discovered when we spoke to the country's only female cabinet minister, *Dr Khauhelo D. Raditapole*.

Raditapole. Recently appointed to oversee the country's natural resources, she was formerly in charge of the health ministry. Dr Raditapole told us how legally speaking, married women in the Kingdom were still 'minors'.

The monarch must also be male and men still predominate at the level of political decision-making. Women, on the other hand, occupy a large number of key civil service posts and female heads of household predominate. The explanation for this is that many of the country's menfolk have left home to work in the South African mines.

Basotho women tend to be better educated, with more girls than boys attending primary and secondary school. Females are even beginning to outnumber males in tertiary education. This is because boys are more likely to drop out of school early to take up the traditional practice of cow-herding.

As far as the legal position of women is concerned, things seem set to change. Mrs Raditapole was keen to stress that Lesotho recently signed the UN



Dr Khauhelo D. Raditapole, Minister of Natural Resources

Convention on Discrimination against Women. This means that it will be obliged to repeal discriminatory rules including the law relating to female minority. Attitudes within society are also changing gradually and the days of male-dominated hierarchies appear numbered. The Minister cited the Beijing Conference

as evidence of a continuing trend which was having its effect on Lesotho, as elsewhere.

At the time we met, the Pope's visit to South Africa was attracting a lot of local media interest and it seemed appropriate to ask the former health minister where the government stood on the issue of birth control.

Lesotho has a high birth rate — and a strong Catholic church! Mrs Raditapole had no difficulty fielding this sensitive question. 'We see it as a matter of individual choice. The important thing is not to think in terms of 'commodities' — whether it be the pill, condoms or other devices. What we are trying to do is show the positive side of having well-spaced families and there are many ways of achieving this.' The Minister stressed that the government was very active in informing the public about AIDS. 'This is now becoming serious', she stated, 'and we need to work to change people's attitudes'.

dominated by members of the various security services.

The government is not happy with this provision, which was added at the last minute to the text of the new constitution, but they realise that they need to tread carefully in tackling this particular 'democratic deficit'. The security services, for their part, must recognise that the world has moved on. History has shown that serving soldiers seldom make a good job of running countries.

In September, a National Dialogue was held in Lesotho aimed at thrashing out, in open forum, many of the issues and disagreements that have plagued the country's political evolution. At the time of writing, the conclusions of this meeting were not known but there were indications that it might help to 'clear the air'. The government was initially suspicious of the motives which lay behind

the dialogue, stressing that it should not be regarded as an alternative to Parliament.

Many African countries, notably in West Africa, have held 'national conferences' as part of the democratisation process and they have been seen as useful exercises in consultation. The context of these meetings was very different, however, since they were held before democracy had actually been restored.

The Lesotho government's concerns are, therefore, understandable. On the other hand, the country's electoral system has deprived the opposition of representation in Parliament and working on the principle that 'jaw, jaw is better than war, war', any opportunity to bring people together to talk should be welcomed.

At the beginning of this article, we noted that businesses liked political stability. Few in Lesotho would deny the

importance of achieving this if the big economic and social problems of the country are to be tackled successfully. The Kingdom seems to be travelling in the right direction at last and fingers are crossed that the journey will be completed without further upset. ■ S.H.

'Unity is a powerful idea' says Prime Minister Mokhehle

Dr Ntsu Mokhehle's involvement in the politics of Lesotho and the wider region goes back a long way. He was one of the leaders of the liberation movements which developed in Southern Africa prior to independence, and an early exponent of the pan-Africanist vision.

His Basotho Congress Party, however, has had to wait a long time to handle the reins of government. Robbed of power in 1970, when the election results widely expected to deliver victory to the BCP were suppressed by the BNP administration, he was forced to spend 23 years in the wings before democracy was restored. In 1993, he led his party to a clean sweep at the polls with BCP candidates returned in all 65 of the country's parliamentary constituencies. The following year, the legitimate government was dismissed in a bizarre constitutional 'coup', only to be speedily reinstated, following a wave of popular disapproval and pressure from neighbouring countries.

In September, *The Courier* spoke to Dr Mokhehle in Maseru about the state of democracy in Lesotho and about the effects on the country of recent changes in the region. The biggest change of all, of course, is the advent of democracy in South Africa. Not surprisingly, the Prime Minister saw this as a change for the better and looked forward to Lesotho increasing commercial links with its more powerful neighbour.

He felt that his landlocked country could avoid being marginalised if it 'changed with the changing surroundings'. Dr Mokhehle also talked feelingly about closer regional integration, recalling his student days when the liberation movements ('Congresses') of Southern Africa

had started out with the vision of a unified region. 'It is a powerful idea and has survived all these years,' he asserted. 'I believe that we will succeed in working together to unify this area.'

As far as Lesotho's economic difficulties were concerned, the Prime Minister felt that the most important factor was the coming together of the states in Southern Africa, in particular to solve the unemployment problem. He went on to emphasise the importance of the political support that had been offered by countries in the region, not just during Lesotho's recent difficulties, but also in Angola and Mozambique.

'Democracy properly entrenched'

This led us on to the question of democracy, which Dr Mokhehle believed was now properly entrenched. 'The people are the basic element,' he insisted, and 'the people I work with understand and appreciate the importance of democracy'.

Offering his own variant on the separation of powers doctrine, the Prime Minister described democracy as the governing of the people by those who are ruled by the people. He did, however, acknowledge the existence of some disgruntled elements who did not necessarily adhere to this doctrine.

The reference to 'disgruntled elements' prompted us to ask about the role of the armed forces — a delicate issue in a country where memories of military rule are still fresh. Dr Mokhehle felt that the adjective 'disgruntled' was inappropriate, pointing out that the country's former rulers had been very unhappy to see power pass to the BCP. 'They weren't



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just disgruntled but were actually opposed to us — and not because of anything we did, but because they didn't want to release the reins of government.'

A lot of time had been wasted as a result, but the Prime Minister thought that the problem was now under control. 'We believe that things are settling down.'

Our final question was about the absence of opposition members in Parliament. While few seriously question the legitimacy of the current administration (which won 75% of the popular vote) some commentators believe that it would be healthier to have a 'loyal' opposition within the system. Wryly observing that Parliament was functioning smoothly at present, Dr Mokhehle nonetheless accepted the point. 'With a well-orientated opposition in the House, I think we would feel better.' ■

S.H.

An interview with Finance Minister, Dr. M. P. Senoana

Our main challenge is to create jobs

The people of Lesotho rejoiced when the country that surrounds them left apartheid behind and joined the ranks of the democracies. With tens of thousands of Basotho working in the South African mines, they too had suffered from the racial policies of the Pretoria regime. They were also victims of the prevailing political instability of the region.

Today, the political scene in Southern Africa is more secure and Lesotho is hoping that this will benefit them in the longer term. On the economic front, however, the immediate future is less rosy. The country is now in an unequal struggle with its more developed neighbour for foreign investment and, as South Africa tries to tackle its own unemployment crisis, Lesotho's tradition of 'exporting labour' is under threat. When *The Courier* spoke to Finance Minister, Dr. M. P. Senoana, these were the issues which were uppermost in his mind. The Minister was also closely involved in the recent mid-term review of Lomé IV and offered us his frank opinion on the outcome of the negotiations. We began by asking him to outline the main economic challenges currently facing his country.

— I believe Lesotho has a lot of potential which has not been exploited so far, for various reasons. As regards challenges, the main one for us is to create jobs. Unemployment has been rising steeply because of a number of factors. One of them, of course, is the changing conditions in the Republic of South Africa. The traditional and most significant employment opportunities for our unskilled workers have been in that country's mining sector. One of the reasons is increased mechanisation but, more importantly, we have seen big changes in the political scene. The areas that used to be the so-called Bantustans have now been incorporated into South Africa and, for the first time, the country is concerned with black unemployment. It therefore has to give priority to its own black people before it can consider the neighbouring states. There is another emerging phenomenon which is the influx of people from other countries like Mozambique and even from as far afield as Ghana and Nigeria. They are all coming to South Africa and competing for the same jobs as Basotho. The immediate effect on Lesotho is the loss of employment opportunities and the re-

trenchment of miners who are having to return. That increases the unemployment rate here and adds to an already rising population.

In conjunction with this, the agriculture sector appears to be failing to absorb our growing population. In fact, the retrenchment has a multiplying effect. The mining sector provides a cash flow into rural areas because a large proportion of Lesotho men working in mining come from these areas. Some of the money they remit is ploughed into agriculture providing jobs for people not able to go to the mines. That cash flow will certainly be cut as retrenchment occurs.

To crown it all, Lesotho, like most SADC countries, faces a serious drought problem. This is reducing the productivity of agriculture further and causing yet more unemployment.

Another point I should mention is our recent political instability. This has been a temporary phenomenon, but it has had its effect on the flow of foreign private investment. Of course, we are now restoring stability and are hoping that foreign investment will pick up again.



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Finally, while we are still on the question of unemployment, it should be noted that post-apartheid South Africa has created a more favourable climate for investors. People who might otherwise have come from Europe or the USA to invest in Lesotho, as they did in the past, are now being directed to South Africa, because of the new opportunities there. This will affect us in the short to medium term. All that we can hope is that, after that market has been saturated, we will see interest in Lesotho picking up again.

■ *You seem to be saying that while people here may have rejoiced at the democratisation in South Africa, you were also aware that there was likely to be a negative economic impact.*

— That is right. We are obviously not saying that we would have liked to see the previous situation prevailing in South Africa. We really welcomed the changes. But repugnant though apartheid was, our economy seems to have been a beneficiary in the sense that, as an island within the apartheid system, it attracted the interest of international private investors. The advent of majority rule has inevitably transformed that. But our hope is that while we are feeling the short-term impact, in the long run it will be for the benefit of Lesotho. In particular, investors who come here should be aware that they can market their products in South Africa.

Then there is the question of our accessibility to the sea. That is something that we are moving towards. That should make it easier for investors to come here.

Lesotho has always been disadvantageded because it is land-locked. With access to the sea, we will have a normal environment for our economy to grow.

■ *What form is that access likely to take? I know that President Mandela has made sympathetic noises on this issue, but presumably you have some sort of duty-free corridor in mind rather than a transfer of territory?*

— We are certainly not talking here about a transfer of territory. That is another matter altogether. Here it is basically a corridor that is involved, with perhaps some sort of export processing zone along the lines of the Mauritian model. A lot of European, and some Asian investors have shown interest in this. We see it as an opportunity to attract these foreign investors to Lesotho. As I say, events in South Africa have changed the situation dramatically, with some negative economic effects here but I believe things will soon settle down again. So not all is lost in the post-apartheid era.

■ *In the field of regional cooperation, the SACU (Customs Union) Treaty, to which Lesotho adheres, is currently being re-negotiated. What are you hoping for from that process?*

— There are mixed feelings among the members of the customs union. In the past, the rest of us used to look at South Africa as an entity and we negotiated with it as a unified group. The main factor governing the negotiations between 1969 and 1992 was the revenue-sharing formula from the customs duties. Another important aspect was compensation for the loss of our fiscal and monetary discretion. Now that apartheid has gone, we find ourselves sitting at a round table rather than with them at the top and the rest of us negotiating with the 'big boss' for handouts. That has, in a certain way, affected the coherence of the smaller member states. Everyone now has to put their own cards on the table and see how best they can pursue their own interests. And this brings in the fact that we are at different stages of development. Botswana and Namibia do not face the same financial constraints as Lesotho and Swazi-

land. Indeed, Botswana is highly liquid to the extent that they may be in the position to lend rather than borrow money. Their priority is no longer the revenue-sharing formula, but rather the regional distribution of industry. You see Botswana's position in their negotiations on the motor industry. They want South Africa to give them the chance to develop this. They already have one or two firms in this area and have been affected by the new situation. They are also developing the textile industry and would like to be able to import raw materials from outside the customs union without too high duties. So we are seeing negotiations along those lines.

Similarly, Namibia would like to be able to trade with nearby countries that are not members of the customs union, like Zambia. Road infrastructures have been developed and Namibia is unable to use these to the full because of the provisions of the customs union.

■ *Does that mean they are talking about reducing the common external tariff?*

— Basically. At the very least they want to be allowed to trade with countries on the other side. But the effect will be damaging. If a country decides to use Zambia as a dumping ground, then goods imported from Zambia to Namibia will inevitably find their way into the customs union. That could be a serious problem.

So you see, we are not simply looking at South Africa as a unit we should negotiate with. We are contesting issues among ourselves. The talks have broadened to cover a lot of new issues and have revealed the diversity of the SACU countries.

■ *Presumably, Lesotho's interest is in maintaining a high take from the revenue sharing formula?*

— Yes. Botswana and Namibia have a different platform altogether and are looking for different concessions. Lesotho and Swaziland are negotiating largely on the lines of the revenue-sharing formula because that is of most benefit to us, at least in the short run. Obviously, we are hoping for private investment so that the economy will grow, but until that becomes a reality, the main benefit for us is our share of the joint revenue.

Another aspect, of course, is regional development and trying to reduce the polarisation of industries. In this area, we are negotiating for the establishment of a common fund. The idea is that a large chunk of the money from the common revenue pool should be deposited in that fund and used to mitigate the impact of industrial polarisation.

■ *Would this be like the European Union's regional development fund?*

— Essentially that sort of thing. But the argument here is the designation of the regions. If you look at South Africa, a large number of that country's regions, in particular, the traditional Bantustans, are just as, if not more, depressed than Lesotho or Swaziland. So the criteria have to be developed whereby we will not find ourselves in a common development fund which benefits part of South Africa more than Lesotho and the other countries. If a region of South Africa is underdeveloped, it is still part of that country and should not be considered in the same way as Lesotho and Swaziland. That is a controversy that we are finding difficult to resolve.

This modern cannery in Maseru forms part of Lesotho's limited manufacturing sector
Minister Senoana argues for a SACU regional development fund to counteract the polarisation of industry in Southern Africa



The Courier



some, if not most, of the European countries went out of their way to make the talks succeed. They had a great many meetings on the subject. But I cannot say I was satisfied with the outcome. The EDF was far lower than it could have been — and we were not even given the chance to negotiate on this. It was simply presented to us as a *fait accompli* and we had no real choice but to accept what was offered. The arguments used by some countries, particularly Germany and the UK, were not very convincing. Germany may have increased its aid overall but this includes what it is doing in Eastern Europe. So what you have is a larger number of recipients sharing the cake. People might argue that they have increased their overall commitment but the key thing is to look at individual countries, and there you find that many are getting less than they did in the past. The increase, in fact, is a drop in the ocean compared with the numbers and needs of the recipients.

■ *On the other hand, the talks did lead to some trade liberalisation, notably in the agricultural field. Is that something that you might be able to exploit here?*

— It is fair to say that the European side was quite liberal in that area. It is as if they were trying to compensate for the reduction of the financial envelope. I would like to think that we could make use of these provisions but in reality, it is going to be difficult in our particular situation, given our current level of production. And it is not simply a question of production. There is also the accessibility issue — getting your goods to the market. I would like to have seen us look further at transport and communications issues in the negotiations. We need to tackle this if we are to gain maximum benefit from the more liberal trade provisions. Until we do that, I am afraid the new arrangements are not going to make a lot of difference. ■

Interview by S.H.

There are other issues. I mentioned earlier the development of the motor industry in Botswana but the same principle applies to the other countries as well. Should anybody find it worthwhile to establish a motor assembly firm in Lesotho, then South Africa should not stop that. South Africa is a high cost producer of motor vehicles, because it has been protected for years. The price of cars there is just too high. But there is a problem. If we or Swaziland were to go into this area, we would probably have to start at a higher stage of car assembly, putting cars together from kits. That doesn't actually employ very many people.

■ *So you would be creating say 100 new jobs here, but losing 1000 in South Africa.*

— Exactly. It is a complicated matter.

■ *Looking to the future, the idea of regional integration seems to be gaining ground throughout the world. It usually starts at the economic level but it may extend to the political level later. Can you envisage a time when Lesotho will be a component part of a federal Southern Africa — not necessarily integrated just into South Africa but perhaps including other countries as well.*

— Yes, that is inevitable. You can see from the latest GATT agreement that the trend is towards dismantling customs duties. Although people were pleased with the outcome of the Uruguay Round, it is clear that there was an oversight regarding the negative impact which this would have on countries that depend largely on customs duties for their revenue. The tariffs obviously have to be dismantled gradually but there is now a view that there should be some kind of scheme to mitigate the impact in terms of revenue losses. Even if we can improve our competi-

Accessibility is a vital issue in this mountainous country
'I would like to have seen us look further at transport and communications in the Lomé negotiations'

tiveness and accelerate industrialisation, thereby generating new tax revenues, it is difficult to see how this process can offset the reduction in income resulting from tariff cuts. So something is needed to mitigate the effects of that.

■ *And do you see regional economic integration as an instrument for achieving that?*

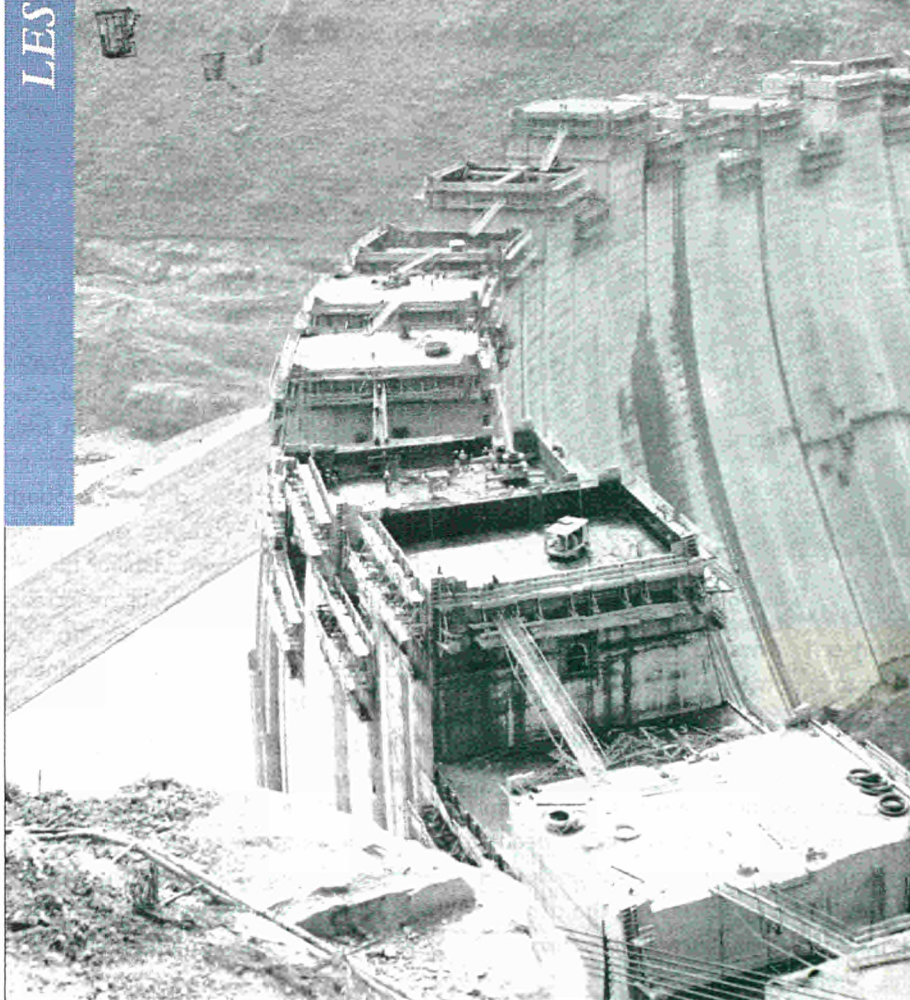
— Yes. That is why we are talking about the development fund, for example. And it shouldn't just be viewed in the context of SACU. We should move it up to the SADC level as that organisation develops into a genuine community.

There is also another issue. South Africa is coming under a lot of pressure to do something which could undermine the customs union. It is currently in trade negotiations with the European Union. South Africa wants the same treatment as the ACPs but the EU argues that it is too developed for that — it may even be more developed overall than some of the European countries. The EU, on the other hand, is talking about a free trade area. If that idea prevails, South Africa will be expected to remove duties in its trade with Europe. And if it agrees to do that under the present SACU arrangements, the EU will have access to all the other countries of the region which currently have non-reciprocal preferential trade terms. This is another complicating factor.

■ *What are your views about the outcome of the Lomé IV mid-term review?*

— It wasn't very satisfactory. We on the ACP side have to acknowledge that

Harnessing the waters



The Courier

You don't need to be a qualified engineer to appreciate the scale of the Katse Dam in the Lesotho Highlands. When the construction is completed next year, it will tower 185 metres high making it one of the tallest man-made structures on the continent. And impressive though it is, Katse is just part of a much bigger scheme — the Lesotho Highlands Water Project — which is destined to quench the growing thirst of South Africa's Gauteng province, and in the process, provide sufficient hydro-electric power to meet most of Lesotho's current needs.

To an outsider, the idea that this Southern African nation could be home to one of the world's most ambitious engineering projects may come as a surprise. When referring to Lesotho, journalists are apt to qualify it with the adjective 'tiny'. The sight of it on a map, pressed in on all sides by South Africa, may also create a false impression. Of course Lesotho is not a

big country but it *is* about the size of Belgium and most of its surface is mountainous. Rivers run through the valleys and, in a drought-prone region, the water is a vital strategic resource.

In 1986, Lesotho entered into a treaty with South Africa 'to enhance the use of surplus water of the Senqu (Orange) River and its affluents'. The plan involves the construction of a series of dams, tunnels and pumping stations to deliver the water to an outlet on the Axle River in South Africa from where it will flow to the populated areas around Johannesburg. For Lesotho, the direct benefit will be two-fold — income in the form of a royalty for the water that is exported and hydro-electric power for domestic consumption.

The overall size of the project is difficult to grasp. Assuming all goes

according to plan, by the scheduled completion date of 2020, Lesotho will have six new dams (five higher than 120 metres), a diversion weir, 225 km of tunnels, 650 km of new or upgraded roads, three pumping stations and two hydro-electric power stations. All this represents millions of hours of human labour, and a huge investment in equipment and materials. Oddly enough, the one statistic which does not immediately strike the layman as impressive relates to the amount of water that will be delivered when the work is finished — 70m³/s is how it appears in the publicity material. And then you think about it more carefully. 70 cubic metres *per second* is six million cubic metres a day and more than two billion cubic metres in a year! 110 megawatts of electricity will also be generated.

The scheme has been designed in what are effectively five separate phases (IA, IB, II, III and IV) with the last due to be finished in 2020 — assuming all goes according to schedule. The consumers of the two treaty countries will not have to wait another 25 years, however, to enjoy the fruits of this investment. Electricity and water should begin to flow in 1996/7 once Phase IA has been completed.

When The Courier visited Lesotho in September, we had the opportunity to visit the two main sites of Phase IA which should soon be delivering 18m³ of water per second to the South African plains. Setting out from Maseru early in the morning, our first 'port of call' was Muela where the hydro-electric power station and a 55 metre-high tailpond dam are under construction. The EU is making a significant contribution to the funding of this (see 'Cooperation' article). Although the terrain is hilly here, it is still effectively the lowlands of Lesotho — with the long and winding route into the mountains ahead of us. Muela is the point where the water will emerge after a 45km journey through the transfer tunnel from Katse. The dam is the smallest of the six planned, but it is an imposing edifice nonetheless. One of the engineers explained that it is of the same type as its 'big brother' upstream and similar engineering challenges have to be overcome.

We also paid a visit to the transfer tunnel 'exit', going right up to the



A boring machine about to enter the Muela end of the transfer tunnel

And what of the local people. It is impossible to embark on a project of this scale without having some impact on those who live nearby. In fact, the Lesotho Highlands are more heavily populated than one might expect.

The distinctive stone-built *ron-davels* (round houses) clustered in villages that cling to the hillsides are a feature of all but the highest areas. And the lives of families who have had their homes here for generations have certainly changed.

On the positive side, the Water Scheme has brought jobs. Traditionally, the boys of the area began work at an early age as cow-herders. When they reached adulthood, they headed for the South African mines. Today, overgrazing threatens the long-term viability of live-stock-raising while mining jobs are increasingly hard to come by. And so, although the construction jobs are not permanent, they have helped boost the flagging local economy in the short-term. New infra-structures — not least the roads and bridges that have been built — have also had some positive impact, while health facilities required for construction workers have been made available to local communities. Oddly enough, water and elect-

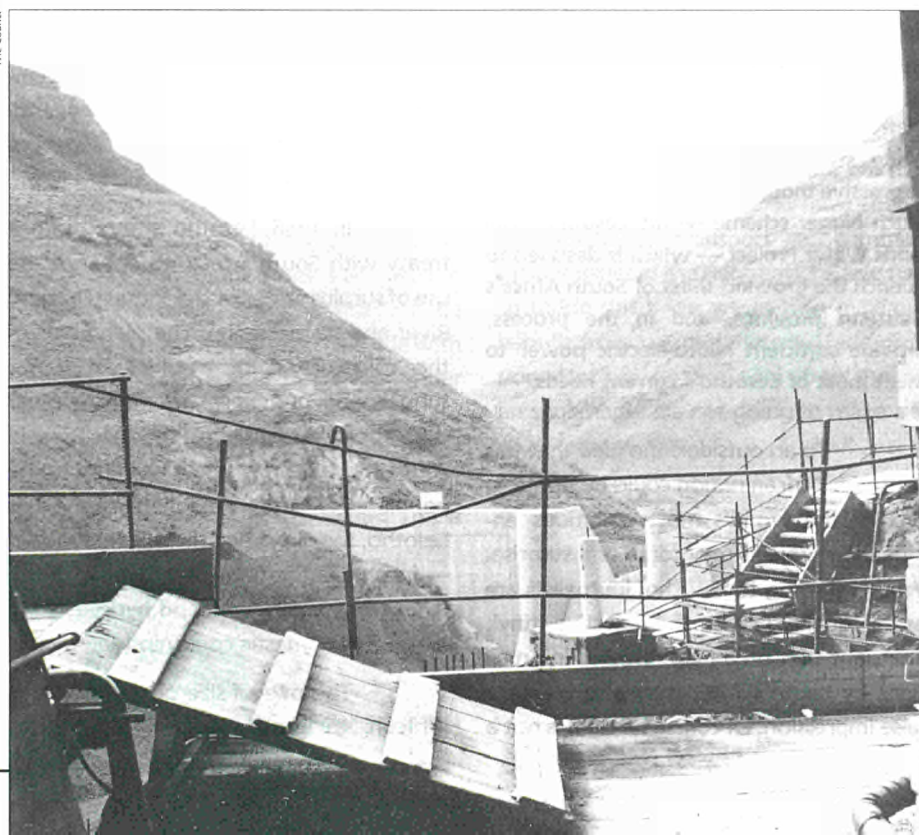
rock face where the excavations are taking place. Tunnels may have less of a visual impact than dams but they are no less vital to the scheme. The link between Katse and Muela is about the same length as the Channel Tunnel, while further downstream another stretch of 37km (Delivery Tunnel North and South) is destined to carry the water from Muela to the Axle River outlet on the other side of the border.

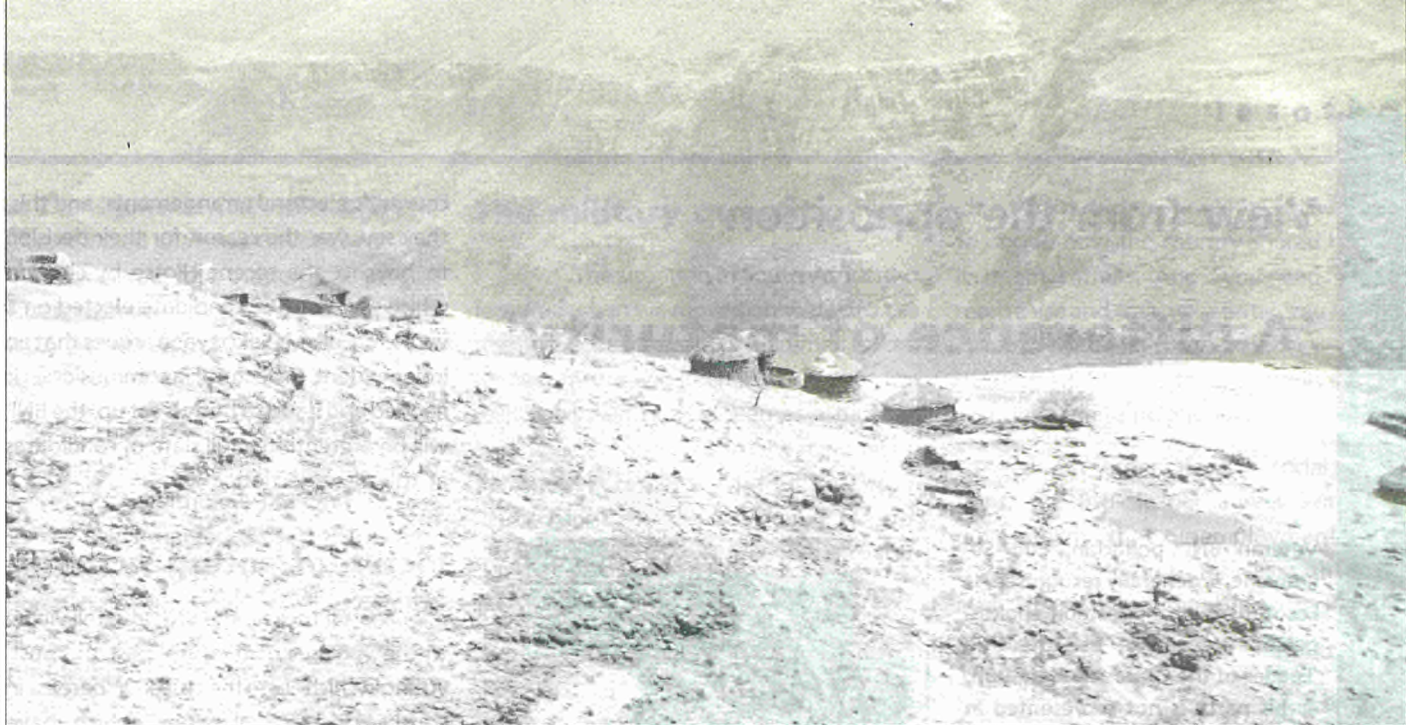
The journey onwards from Muela was uphill almost all the way. The road is in excellent condition — it needs to be to cope with the heavy lorries that carry equipment to the construction works at Katse and beyond — but it cannot defy nature altogether. At times, it almost doubles back on itself, easing gently up the mountain contours on its 1500m climb. The views, needless to say, are breathtaking. En route, we stopped to visit two community projects funded by the Lesotho Highlands Water Authority. The light was fading by the time we reached Katse where we checked in at the Lodge for the night.

The next day, we visited the centrepiece of Phase IA — even if it is at the 'top-end' geographically speaking. Katse Dam is a truly mammoth enterprise. By completion, 2.4 million cubic metres of concrete will have been poured and 1.2 million m³ of rock and soft material excavated. The reservoir will hold two

cubic kilometres of water and extend over a surface area of almost 36 km². The Lesotho Highlands are certainly beautiful but at present it is a stark, barren beauty without trees or significant bodies of water. Katse, together with the dams to be built in later phases, are set to change all this. Already, thoughts are turning to ways of developing tourism.

The view from inside the Katse Dam





ricity — the two 'products' of the scheme — are not high on the list of benefits. The water, of course, will go to South Africa, while most properties in the Highland villages are not wired-up. Down at Muela, the suggestion that local people might like their homes to be connected to the grid was apparently greeted with little enthusiasm.

Some would argue that the disruption of traditional lifestyles is one of the negative aspects. Obviously, the creation of new settlements, the influx of expatriate engineers and workers from across the country, the increased traffic and so on, all represent a dramatic change which some local people may dislike. More significant, however, is the direct impact on communities affected by land requisitions, blasting, noise pollution and dust. Finally, there are some who have lost, or are due to lose their homes and grazing land altogether, under the rising waters of the reservoirs. Relatively few families are being displaced at Katse but the Mohale

Dam (Phase 1B) will affect a much larger number of people.

The Lesotho Highlands Development Authority, which is the government agency charged with running the Lesotho end of the water project, is well aware of the environmental concerns. The highly vocal *Highlands Church Action Group* has made sure of that, in a campaign which has made full use of the local media. This NGO maintains a steady flow of critical press releases and letters to newspapers, championing the cause of those whose lives and livelihoods may suffer as the dams and tunnels take shape. To be fair, the Authority was, from the outset, given the task of mitigating the effects of the construction. The impact of the engineering work is constantly monitored, there is a comprehensive compensation plan in place and those who require re-housing are also to be given opportunities for job training.

A group of smallholders who have received LHDA funding for a pump irrigation scheme



Villages that cling to the hillsides

A skills centre at Thaba-Tseka, some 60km south of the Katse site, is being prepared to offer training to those who have been resettled. There has, however, been some criticism at the apparent slowness with which these schemes are being implemented.

In fact, the LHDA's environmental remit is much broader than one might expect. Operating on the principle that some of the financial benefits of the scheme (which have yet to be realised) should be ploughed back into the area most directly affected, the Authority has been provided with funds for rural development.

We visited two projects which fall into this category — a pumped irrigation scheme which should help improve the productivity of a group of smallholders, and a site being prepared for tree planting.

While recognising that some people are being displaced, and the lives of many others will be affected — not always positively — by the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme, the overall conclusion must be a positive one. This is a country facing serious economic difficulties with few natural resources. Water is the one thing they do have to offer and they are right to exploit the resource. The key is to ensure that the benefits flow down to the people of the Highlands. ■

S.H.

View from the opposition

'A difference of maturity'

Veteran BNP politician, E.R. Sekonyane, is generally recognised as Lesotho's main opposition spokesperson. He cannot use the title 'Leader of the Opposition' though, as his party is not represented in Parliament despite polling 20% of the vote in the last election. Mr Sekonyane was at the centre of Lesotho's political life, for many years, during the BNP administration of Chief Jonathan — a period of one-party rule which ended in the first of Lesotho's military coups in 1986.



The Courier

The 1993 election — reported as 'free and fair' by international observers — led to the restoration of civilian government. According to commentators, the voters were weary of political turmoil going hand in hand with economic stagnation. They voted massively for change and, in the process, delivered a heavy blow to the former single party that had governed Lesotho before the soldiers took over.

In a fast-changing world, political movements need to adapt speedily if they are to survive. Nowhere is this more true than in Southern Africa where former liberation movements, single parties and instruments of apartheid have all undergone the metamorphosis into legitimate political parties. The Basotho National Party, according to its leader, is now fully committed to democracy and aims to win power through the ballot box.

When the Courier asked Mr Sekonyane to explain the difference between the BNP and ruling BCP, our interviewee was ready to acknowledge that there was no significant ideological divide. Both parties are committed to developing the country within a pluralist and broadly free-enterprise system. He spoke instead, of a 'difference of maturity'. It was understandable for a party that had

been out of power for decades to make some mistakes, he acknowledged, but he claimed that the government had made too many unnecessary ones when it was returned to office with 100% of the seats in Parliament. These errors, he argued, had alienated some people and contributed directly to the short-lived coup in 1994.

The BNP has always sought to cast doubt on the 1993 election results — despite the fact that these were given an international seal of approval — but Mr Sekonyane chose not to dwell too heavily on this issue. 'We had grave reservations', he indicated, 'but that is in the past and we now have to look forward.' Having said this, the BNP is still not happy about the

country's electoral arrangements, and this, they say, was the reason for their decision to boycott the recent Hlotse by-election which saw the BCP candidate elected on a very low poll. Mr Sekonyane argues that an independent electoral commission is needed and if such a body is set up, the BNP will be presenting a full slate of candidates at the next election.

Victim of voting system

Of course, the BNP also fell victim to the vagaries of the 'first past the post' voting which Lesotho uses. Whereas in South Africa or Namibia (which have proportional systems), parties attracting a fifth of the votes have roughly a fifth of the seats, in Lesotho, the gap between the two main political forces was enough to deliver every constituency to the BCP. Mr Sekonyane thought that a more representative voting system might benefit Lesotho's democracy — which was not well served by the absence of parliamentary opposition. However, looking forward to the day (which he believes is bound to come) when the two main parties are more evenly matched, he was concerned that small parties could end up holding the balance, and exercising 'influence which is disproportionate to their support.'

In a sign that the deep suspicions between the BCP and BNP may be giving way to a more stable relationship between government and opposition, Mr Sekonyane spoke of the 'barriers that were being broken down' in the steering committee set up to oversee arrangements for the 'National Dialogue'. Interestingly, the same phrase was used by the Natural Resources Minister, Dr Raditapole whom

Lesotho's chequered electoral history*

Date of election	1965	1970**	1993
<i>Votes cast</i>			
Basotho National Party (BNP)	108 162 (42 %)	129 434 (42 %)	119 862 (23 %)
Basotho Congress Party (BCP)	103 050 (40 %)	152 907 (50 %)	395 951 (75 %)
Others	48 613 (18 %)	24 188 (8 %)	14 844 (2 %)
<i>Seats won</i>			
BNP	31	23	0
BCP	25	36	65
Others	4	1	0

* Source: *Lesotho: Political Liberalization, Recent Developments*, by Michael Neocosmos, L'Afrique Politique 1994.

** The results of the 1970 election were never officially released and the BNP government of Chief Leabua Jonathan remained in power until a military coup in 1986.

the Courier interviewed earlier. The BNP leader claimed that the Government had initially viewed the national dialogue process with deep suspicion, fearing that it might become an alternative vehicle for the exercise of power.

This, of course, is what happened in a number of national conferences in West Africa — although the local context (governments that lacked democratic legitimacy) was very different. As the meeting approached, however, these concerns were giving way to a more constructive attitude.

On foreign policy issues, Mr Sekonyane was critical of what he regarded as government timidity, notably in its dealings with South Africa. This was particularly so, he said, on the question of the boundaries between the two countries.

He felt that with the Pretoria government currently looking at frontier issues, Lesotho should be more forceful in presenting its case. He did not say whether this should include reviving the presumably unrealistic claim to the historic Basotho lands now situated in the Orange Free State, or whether it entailed something more modest.

The military question

The situation in South Africa also featured when we moved on to discuss the sensitive issue of the Lesotho armed forces. Mr Sekonyane was keen to stress that the military should not be seen as a partisan adjunct of the BNP. 'It is true that we set up the army, in response to the threat from South African surrogates during the apartheid era, but we also fell victim to it in 1986.'

Asked why Lesotho needed an army at all, he pointed out that the country's neighbours are relatively stable today but this could not always be guaranteed. He thought that South Africa could suffer a reversal of fortunes, for example, and that Lesotho should keep that in mind.

Mr Sekonyane was particularly concerned about the role of the three guarantor states (South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe) in discussions over the Lesotho army's future, following last year's abortive putsch. He was disdainful of the

idea that outsiders should be called upon to decide how the country should handle its internal affairs. 'And if you need help to reorganise and train your army, you should approach allies in Europe or further away', he asserted. 'You certainly shouldn't go to your immediate neighbours.'

On economic and social questions, the BNP leader agrees with the government that unemployment is a critical issue although he claims that the authorities have done little to tackle the problem. He is also keen to stress the BNP's 'green' credentials.

The environment of Lesotho is rapidly being degraded and soon, he thinks, it will be irreversible. Immediate action was needed, he argued, to halt overgrazing in the hills and stem soil erosion. He admitted that this could prove politically delicate but stressed that 'leadership' was required in his area.

With little in the ideological sense dividing the parties, the theme of leadership is likely to feature heavily in the opposition's platform. The BNP has an electoral mountain to climb, however, and it will need to work hard to distance itself from the kind of leadership with which it was associated in the past. ■ S.H.

Green credentials?
Soil erosion is a serious problem in Lesotho and Mr Sekonyane believes that immediate action is needed to tackle it



The Courier

EU-Lesotho cooperation

Power for the people

by J. Jochem Zuidberg*

The Kingdom of Lesotho has been associated with the European Community since the signing of the first Lomé Convention in 1975. Prior to that, its links were mainly with the United Kingdom, to whom the first Paramount Chief, Moshoeshoe the Great, had turned for protection against land-hungry Boers and Zulus during the 19th century. This protection survived South Africa's accession to self-government in 1910 and lasted until the country became independent in 1966.

It is often said that Lesotho merits a mention in the Guinness Book of Records, because of its unique geographical circumstances — circumstances which incidentally have an important impact on the local economy. In the first place, it is the only country in the world all of whose territory lies above 1500m. This explains why it is often referred to as 'The Kingdom of the Sky', why it is possible to go skiing there at certain times during the winter and the importance of horses to the Basotho. With the need to cook meals and keep warm, it also accounts for the almost complete absence of trees or even bushes in the Highlands. Maize must be sown in early summer if the crop is not to freeze before it matures.

Another unique feature is that Lesotho is the only state of any size to be completely surrounded by the territory of another country (South Africa). Related to this is the fact that, until very recently, more than half of Lesotho's GNP was generated beyond its border, mainly in the form of salary transfers by migrant Basotho working in the South African mines. Taken together, these two factors account for Lesotho's dependence on a country which, until two years ago, was an international pariah because of its apartheid system.

Rather than a frontline state, Lesotho was, in fact, a prisoner state. In 1985, South Africa only had to close the border for a few days to force Lesotho to its knees, paving the way for the first military coup against a government seen as too friendly to black South African liberation movements.

Ironically, now that the apartheid beast has been slain and democratic South Africa under Nelson Mandela looks to a brighter future, the equally young democratic government of Lesotho might be justified in having mixed feelings about the changes that have occurred in its powerful neighbour. Few dispute that these have had some negative consequences for the enclave state. The number of Basotho miners in South Africa dropped at the beginning of the 1990s on account of the general crisis in gold mining and increased mechanisation. The proportion, however, remained significant at about 38% of the total labour force. This share of the total is now under pressure as South Africa looks to tackling its unemployment crisis. 40% of South Africans do not have jobs, a percentage which is similar to the current unemployment rate in Lesotho. The likelihood is that preference will be given to South Africa's own population in mining jobs. Another factor is Lesotho's share of income from the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU). This currently accounts for more than half the country's revenues, but the sharing formula is now being reconsidered, while South Africa is gradually dismantling the protective barriers which were a feature of the time when sanctions operated. Lesotho's state revenues seem certain to be reduced as a result.

Finally, as the 'prisoner' of South Africa during the time of apartheid, Lesotho used to be particularly favoured by many aid donors. Attention has now



Construction of the Muela tailpond dam, part of the EU supported hydro-electric school

shifted to Lesotho's larger neighbour, some bilateral donors have left altogether and others are showing less interest in the country. This is not the case as far as the European Union and its Member States are concerned. The UK, Ireland (for whom Lesotho is a 'concentration' country) and Germany (to some extent) have maintained their bilateral aid programmes. Meanwhile, under successive Lomé Conventions, the EU has consistently increased its commitment as well as becoming involved in a wider variety of actions.

The Muela Hydropower Project, which is technically part of the much larger Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP), has received backing under various Lomé Convention instruments since the mid-1980s. The latter, which is specially featured in a preceding article, is designed to transfer water from Lesotho's upper Senqu (Orange) River basin directly to the industrial area around Johannesburg. The direct benefits of this scheme will accrue to South Africa which has offered 50% of the savings resulting from this project to Lesotho.

* Head of the Commission Delegation in Maseru.

There was, of course, no question of the EU being associated with such a deal involving the old South Africa. But from the outset, the Commission encouraged the idea of using the water to generate power for the people of Lesotho, thereby reducing their dependence (currently 99%) on South African electricity. The EU's readiness to earmark a considerable proportion of its concessional aid to this project was almost certainly a key factor in the government's decision to go ahead and seek other sources of finance. The total cost of the hydro-electric scheme will be about ECU 170m. The EU's overall contribution will amount to some ECU 85m (ECU 52m through the National Indicative Programmes, ECU 18m in risk capital, ECU 5m from the EIB's own resources and ECU 10m from regional funds). ECU 21m of this has already been spent on various preparatory studies and the remaining ECU 64m — provided by the Commission and the EIB under Lomé IV — is mainly being used for the construction of the tail pond dam, the electricity operations building, design and supervision. The balance is financed by South Africa's Development Bank with export promotion funds, and commercial loans. The hydropower station is well under way and the work is expected to be completed in 1998. The Katse Dam and water transfer tunnels are due to come on stream at about the same time.



The EU's financing includes contributions for protecting the environment and for a manpower development programme aimed at increasing the Basotho proportion of engineers and technicians required to run the sophisticated hydropower and water transfer operations.

With the exception of water and labour, Lesotho has few resources. Only 9% of the country is arable. A generation ago, the figure was 13%, a revealing indication

A smallholder checks the progress of the asparagus crop. The EU has provided assistance in developing this high value vegetable which is exported in cans and jars to Europe

of the amount of land being lost to erosion. The soil is generally of poor quality and yields of the main staple crops; maize, sorghum and wheat, are declining. The non-arable mountain areas are also rapidly deteriorating because of overgrazing. For the Basotho, livestock are a traditional source of wealth and large numbers of cattle, sheep and mohair goats are raised in the Highlands. In its cooperation programmes, the EU has made a considerable contribution to offsetting these negative trends. These include improving livestock practices (mainly using Stabex funds generated by the decline in wool and mohair export earnings since 1987) and helping to promote agricultural diversification involving both irrigation (vegetables) and dry crops (notably asparagus) at the smallholder level. Land conservation has been increasingly financed through social forestry programmes with the money coming from the NIP, the Commission budget and food aid counterpart funds.

With the soil deterioration that has occurred, Lesotho now only produces between 40% and 55% of its cereal requirements. The EU has, therefore, systematically provided some balance of

European Union cooperation programmes with Lesotho 1975-95 (in thousands of Ecus)

	Lomé I 1975-80	Lomé II 1981-85	Lomé III 1986-90	Lomé IV 1991-95	Total
National Indicative Programmes (of which Lesotho Highlands Water/ Muela Hydropower project)	22 000	29 000 (8 767)	41 500 (9 625)	46 600 (34 000)	139 100 (52 392)
Structural Adjustment Support				20 600	20 600
Exceptional aid	1 146	51			1 197
Risk capital operations including interest subsidies for EIB loans (of which Muela Hydropower)	98	5 329	4 959	19 262	29 648
STABEX (wool-mohair)		1 213			
			4 364	3 707	9 284
Total National Programmes EDF (of which grants)	23 244 (20 507)	35 593 (24 851)	50 823 (35 864)	90 169 (72 169)	199 829 (155 391)
EIB loans (own resources/Muela HP)				5 000	5 000
Regional cooperation (Muela HP)				10 000	10 000
Outside Lomé					
NGO co-financing	187	128	546	1 365	2 226
Other operations on EC budget (democracy, environment/forestry)				1 456	1 456
Food in aid (tonnes of wheat/maize)		3000 t	41 000 t	53 000 t	97 000 t



payments relief in the form of food aid, to the tune of about 8000 tonnes a year. Sold on the local market, this has proved a welcome source of extra funding for small rural projects.

Prior to 1992, droughts were rare in the region but since that time, Southern Africa in general and Lesotho in particular, have been hard hit by the lack of rainfall. The existence of the rural population is precarious at the best of times and their position has been made even more vulnerable by the recent dry spells. Thus, free distribution of food — which is common in other parts of Africa — became a necessary evil in Lesotho as well. The EU has been the principal contributor of this humanitarian food aid, providing 15 000t of maize in 1992-93. 20 000t of maize and 1500t of beans are due to arrive by the end of 1995 as part of the 1995-96 distribution programme.

Since 1992, the EU has financed microprojects to the tune of about ECU 1 million a year under the Lomé IV NIP. Given the modest size of these projects — generally they involve an EU contribution of less than ECU 10 000 — this figure represents help in developing the economic or social infrastructure of roughly 100 village communities each year. A flexible

EU support for micro-projects has helped hundreds of communities to improve their economic and social infrastructures.

Pictured here are residents of a home for the elderly in Mazenod supported by a Canadian Catholic NGO (ADEP). Micro-project funds have been used to provide a hammemill, chickens for breeding and water collection facilities, thus helping the community to become more self-sufficient

management unit, staffed with assistance financed by Irish aid, has been set up to implement this programme. The unit also deals with similar small-scale projects paid for out of food aid counterpart funds. This type of assistance, which is highly appreciated, is likely to be developed further with the decentralisation of power from government to districts and village development committees.

Aproximately ECU 30m was used in the past for economic infrastructure, especially the upgrading of the main south road. The EU is now expected to join forces with the World Bank in a major road rehabilitation and maintenance programme to start in 1996.

In 1988, Lesotho embarked on a structural adjustment programme. This has largely been successful in correcting previous macro-economic imbalances, espe-

cially in terms of budgetary discipline. It has had less impact, however, in terms of implementing structural reforms such as privatisation, although the government continues to enjoy IMF backing. As a result, Lesotho is eligible for Lomé IV structural adjustment support. It has received ECU 20.6m under this heading for the period 1992-96. These funds are used to support the balance of payments by financing imports, while the counterpart funds generated in local currency contribute to the social chapters of the government's budget, with a view to offsetting the negative effects of the SAP on the more vulnerable sections of the population. This has enabled the government to step up its programmes in primary health care, primary education and village water supply — all areas which have previously been the subject of classic EDF projects.

In addition to its contribution to the Muela Hydropower Project, the EIB has, since the early 1980s, provided some ECU 10m in risk capital loans to the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC). This has helped bolster its efforts to attract foreign investors into labour-intensive, medium-scale industries. These funds have been on lent to firms or used to finance factory shells which are offered for lease on flexible terms to potential investors. The EU has also provided an additional incentive for the textile industry by offering an exceptional derogation from its rules of origin for garments produced in Lesotho from cotton of non-ACP origin. These two measures have helped the LNDC to create 15 000 jobs, mainly for women.

One should be aware, however, that each year sees some 25 000 young people joining the ranks of the unemployed. This poses an enormous challenge to the democratically-elected government of Dr Ntsu Mokhehle which took office in 1993. The EU and its Member States have strongly supported the democratic process in Lesotho, both financially and otherwise. But democracy can only work properly in an environment where the government is able to meet at least some of the people's expectations for a better future. This entails more than simple social or poverty alleviation measures and must include job creation in the

formal and informal sectors in both rural and urban areas.

It is obvious that Lesotho cannot make much progress in isolation from the Republic of South Africa, particularly given that the problems faced by the latter are very similar. Daily, it becomes clearer that the prospects for success depend on effective economic integration with the

wider Southern Africa region. The EU is ready to support such efforts under the next NIP (Lomé IV — Second Protocol) which is due to be agreed in the coming year. South Africa, in the meantime, is expected to gain some form of status associated with the ACPs under the Lomé Convention. Now that this country is a member of SADC as well, the focus of the

EU's regional cooperation programme is shifting away from the 'anti-apartheid' theme towards constructive economic development for the whole region. The peace and economic stability needed for this to work are now being consolidated, and this can only be good news for Lesotho and the Southern African region as a whole. ■■■ J.J.Z.

Digging for a better future

'It's no use working down the mine and not using your brain'. This was how *Tefo Lothala*, a former mine worker in South Africa, explained the motivation behind the Li'eang Tlala Farming Group. The story began when Tefo was 'retrenched' — to use the euphemism nowadays preferred by macro-economists. Returning to Lesotho, where formal job opportunities are few and far between, the ex-miner decided to try and boost the productivity of the fields around his village. His aim was to move into intensive, high value crops such as potatoes and cabbages. One of the ways to do this in a country periodically hit by drought is to dig rainwater collection reservoirs. The plan was straightforward enough, but to see it through, he had to penetrate the solid rock which lies below the sub-soil. Tefo clubbed together with nine other ex-miners and they began digging, this time for themselves. The labour was hard but rewarded finally when the water for the thirsty crops began to fill the newly-dug pits.

It was at this stage that the Farming Group approached the Microprojects Management Unit (MMU) based in Lesotho's Planning Ministry. They weren't looking for a large sum — just enough for some basic infrastructure to allow the water to be piped to the fields. The MMU was attracted by the fact that the ex-miners had already done so much spade-work before seeking assistance. Having examined the project, the Unit agreed to provide M12 000 (ECU 2400) — all within three months of receiving the initial request. To date, the Group has only had to draw on a third of this money.

The funds available from the MMU are provided by the European Union under the Lomé Convention while the technical assistance comes from the Irish Government. As *Pat O' Halloran*, who is head of the MMU explained to *The Courier*; 'the system works well because it is flexible. Projects are approved by a small steering committee and we don't get bogged down in paperwork. Of

course, the sums of money involved are quite modest but they can make a big difference to people's lives.'

Since the MMU took on the EC's microproject operation in 1992, it has provided help for more than 400 community projects. Included among these have been support for rural business groups, new primary school buildings, sanitary facilities and road improvements. Throughout the country, the Unit has been busy helping local people to help themselves.



Tefo Lothala (third from left) and his fellow ex-miners in front of the water reservoirs dug by the cooperative

Of course, not all projects end up being successful in the longer term. For Tefo Lethola and his colleagues (now 20 altogether) in the farming cooperative, the results of the first year of irrigated crop production have been mixed.

The good news is that their income (M 6300) was more than their expenditure (M 5200) and that's not counting the potatoes they ate themselves. But the 'profit' margin is well below what it needs to be for those involved to make a proper living. They lost out to an unscrupulous trader who refused to pay for potatoes supplied. In the absence of proper agricultural extension advice, they planted too large an area for the

supplementary irrigation that was available. And they also faced stiff competition from imports from neighbouring South Africa. Despite these difficulties, Tefo and his colleagues are determined to press on, learning from their experience and improving their productivity. They know that if they can make their operation 'sustainable' the EU will be happy to help out again in the future. The hope is for more rain and a good harvest in 1996. ■■■ S.H.



WOMEN

KIS'KEYA

The Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women, which ended in Beijing on 15 September, was, according to its organisers, an overwhelming success. The Programme of Action and the Declaration adopted commit the participants — 189 countries and the European Union — to view the world through the eyes of women in a variety of areas. The 30 000 who took part in the NGO Forum, staged in parallel with the 'official' event, were somewhat less enthusiastic about the outcome. The event itself was significant, they believed, but the initially radical proposals ended up being diluted as a result of pressure from the 'religious' states. They acknowledged, however, that the retreat in the face of this pressure was less than had been feared, and that the essential nature of the texts had not been altered. Of course, it takes more than solemn declarations to change matters. The real challenge is to implement what has been agreed.

The three earlier Conferences on Women (Mexico 1975, Copenhagen 1980 and Nairobi 1985) had little effect in terms of rooting out the injustices against women to be found in all societies — even those that are seen as the most equitable. The most disappointing was probably the last of these, in 1985, because it was this meeting that promised the most. The document that was adopted in the Kenyan capital was supposed to set out the path for the advancement of women. A timetable was even laid down with the next Conference pencilled in for ten years later — at which point, an assessment of progress would be made. The gloomy conclusion a decade on, as the delegates assembled in Beijing, was that the situation of women had got worse, particularly in the economic and political fields.

Preparation for the Beijing Conference included a number of preparatory regional meetings, two of which had a particular influence on the draft texts submitted for discussion in

A section of the painting entitled 'Evasion commune' by KIS'KEYA

the Chinese capital. These were the conferences for Europe and Africa which took place in Vienna and Dakar respectively during 1994. There were also the recent UN conferences on the environment, population and human rights, which gave new impetus to the cause of women.

The choice of Beijing to host the Conference, and in particular, the bureaucratic hurdles that the NGO Forum participants were forced to deal with, had the effect of lowering expectations. China is currently undergoing a transformation, with Deng Xiao Ping's 'economic revolution' threatening profound sociological and cultural change, provoking serious imbalances in the process. In this context, the arrival of thousands of foreigners, including many NGO activists with a reputation for being somewhat anarchic, appears to have unsettled the authorities.

While the talks were taking place, millions of women across the world continued their daily struggle. Many were doubtless unaware that decisions aimed at improving their quality of life were being taken in a far away country. In this dossier, we look at the problems that women face — and at the sometimes radical attempts to deal them. We consider how their situation varies from one region to another, and also some of the common features. The conclusion to be drawn is that it is not so much a 'problem of women' but rather of a human race that is out of balance. Attempts to redress the imbalance have been a long time in coming, but now the time for change is ripe. Indeed, it seems that we no longer have a choice. ■

Hegel Goutier

The 'hundred flowers' of women's diplomacy in Beijing*

The closing ceremony of the IVth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, scheduled for the afternoon of 15 September, was put back an hour. The 'psychological' final deadline was midnight on the same day. Shortly before, the General Secretary of the Conference breathed a barely audible sigh of relief. Tiredness had finally caught up with the seemingly inexhaustible *Gertrude Mongella*. An afternoon's sightseeing in Beijing planned for journalists by the press department and a similar trip for official delegates, quickly fell from the agenda, as did the big celebration where Chinese officials were preparing to mark an overwhelming diplomatic success for their country. 'We have made it', declared Mrs Mongella; four simple words born of a long and painful labour.

Despite a friendly working atmosphere and progress in the work of the Conference, which saw many brackets being removed from the draft text, it was a cliffhanger right up to the end. In UN practice, brackets traditionally surround parts of a text where consensus is lacking among the experts in the preparatory working sessions. The original 'Programme of Action' text (also referred to as the 'Platform') was extensively bracketed compared with documents for other similar gatherings. Despite two years of intensive preparation for Beijing — the biggest ever UN conference — one quarter of the text was still up for discussion when the talks opened. There were 438 words, phrases or paragraphs to clarify. Yet the diplomats, the majority of whom were women, assisted by NGO representatives, also mostly women, managed to turn a text punctuated by parentheses into a relatively smooth read. And, despite the

occasional jarring reference, it represented a triumph for female diplomacy. It may not have been the great leap forward for the cause of women that some anticipated, at the end of a long series of UN conferences, but it was nonetheless a testament to the virtues of quiet perseverance in the highly charged hubbub of Beijing.

The large number of brackets remaining in the texts at the start of the meeting was probably the main reason for the widespread pessimism to be found in the Chinese capital when the conference curtain was raised. The doubts of feminists and those states supporting them were so great that, initially, aspirations were limited to consolidating the successes of the Vienna (Human Rights) and Cairo (Population and Development) conferences. The latter had particular significance in setting relatively ambitious goals regarding women's reproductive rights.

The last remaining brackets were deleted early in the morning of Friday 15 September — at 04.44, according to the official communiqué. But there were still reservations from a number of delegations in the 'Vatican/Islamic camp' and it was feared that these might undermine the achievement in agreeing the text if their dissent surfaced once more at the closing plenary session. The informal 'group of friends of the President', a sort of diplomatic task force, beavered away in the wings and finally found a compromise, just as an impasse seemed highly likely.

Two days of intense discussion had resulted in agreement on most of the text and the last minute negotiations focused on just a few provisions where there was deadlock. These included recognition of women's 'sexual rights', condemnation of segregation on the basis of an individual's 'sexual orientation', 'families' in the plural (meaning *types of family* as

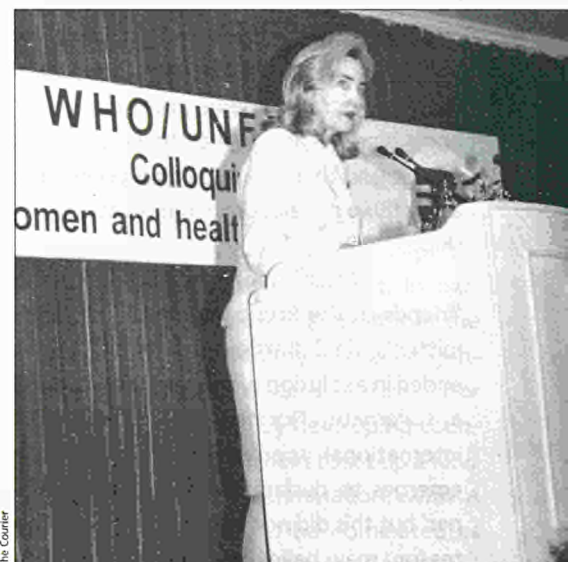
opposed to *the family*, as conceived by religious groups), and, to a lesser extent, the issues of women's rights to 'equal inheritance' and of 'additional resources' to implement the conference's recommendations. Apart from the last-mentioned, all these issues pitched 'the feminist camp', symbolised by the EU, but led in the main by Canada, Australia and the Caribbean countries, against the 'religious camp', led by the Vatican and a number of Islamic nations, notably Iran, Sudan and the Gulf states. The latter also included a small group of Latin American countries (Guatemala, Ecuador and Argentina), and Benin and Côte d'Ivoire from French-speaking Africa.

The ethically non-aligned

In contrast to the recent UN conferences in Cairo (Population and Development) and Copenhagen (Social Development), where the United States was extremely active, the American delegation in Beijing took a back seat. This was notwithstanding *Hillary Rodham Clinton's* widely-publicised speech against the conservatives and her sideswipes directed at the host country. This diplomatic self-effacement was doubtless related to the symbolic 'walkout' of conservatives from the US Senate, staged as a protest against the First Lady's message in favour of

Hillary Rodham Clinton speaking at the Beijing Conference.

The First Lady made a strong stand in favour of women's rights — in contrast to the more muted position of the US delegation as a whole



* See also *The Courier*, No. 151, Social Development Dossier, pp. 2 to 4 and pp 45 to 72.

The Beijing Conference in figures

The following figures were calculated on the eve of the conference closing ceremony (Thursday, 14 September 1995): 189 participating states plus the European Union; nearly 17 000 participants at the official conference, including 5700 officials, 4000 NGO members and slightly over 3000 journalists, to which should be added UN personnel and temporary, locally engaged staff. A Programme of 360 articles and a Declaration of 40 articles.

Conference cost: \$2.4 million, including \$1.8 million for conference services and \$700 000 for publications. This is in addition to the host country's expenses, roughly estimated at 100 million yuan (\$12 million), for organising the NGO Forum and conference, and 150 million yuan (approximately \$18 million) for infrastructures which can be used by the population after the conference.

Figure calculated on the eve of the closing ceremony of the NGO Forum (Thursday, 7 September 1995): 26 000 participants.

strengthened women's rights, which took place in Washington just a few hours after she rose to speak in Beijing. The next US election campaign has effectively already begun and the risks of upsetting rural America, now strongly represented in the Senate, seem to have dictated a lower than usual profile. Indeed, the Senate adopted an amendment on 1 August which criticised the conference 'Platform' and demanded that the US delegation in Beijing negotiate in favour of 'the traditional family unit as a fundamental component of society'. During this debate, a member of the US Upper House confessed to being outraged by any demand for equality between men and women because this would amount to 'denying biological realities and would sideline the role of women as mothers'. The religious camp also had the backing of several hundred representatives from American fundamentalist sects, both in Huairou, at the NGO Forum, and in the Chinese capital. Between the two extremes were the Group of 77 and China — and it was these countries who found themselves being wooed most ardently in the elaborate diplomatic courtship.

After intensive diplomacy by the 'friends of the President', the Main Committee's final battle through the night ended in a solution which might be dubbed a stalemate. Normally, in this type of international sparring match, everyone emerges to declare themselves the 'winner' but this did not happen in Beijing. The reason may have been negotiation 'fa-

tigue' or the fact that women delegates are perhaps less inclined to blow their own trumpets. Each camp appears to have gone through the results with a fine tooth comb searching for hidden meanings in every word, afraid perhaps that they had not been attentive enough and had let something slip. There were subtle nuances — a slightly curt tone from Holy See representatives *vis-à-vis* journalists whose coverage of the conference, it seems, was not greatly appreciated, and a hint of dismay from some feminists who saw in the outcome an anti-climax, as this major 'event' drew to a close.

Benazir Bhutto, Pakistan's Prime Minister.

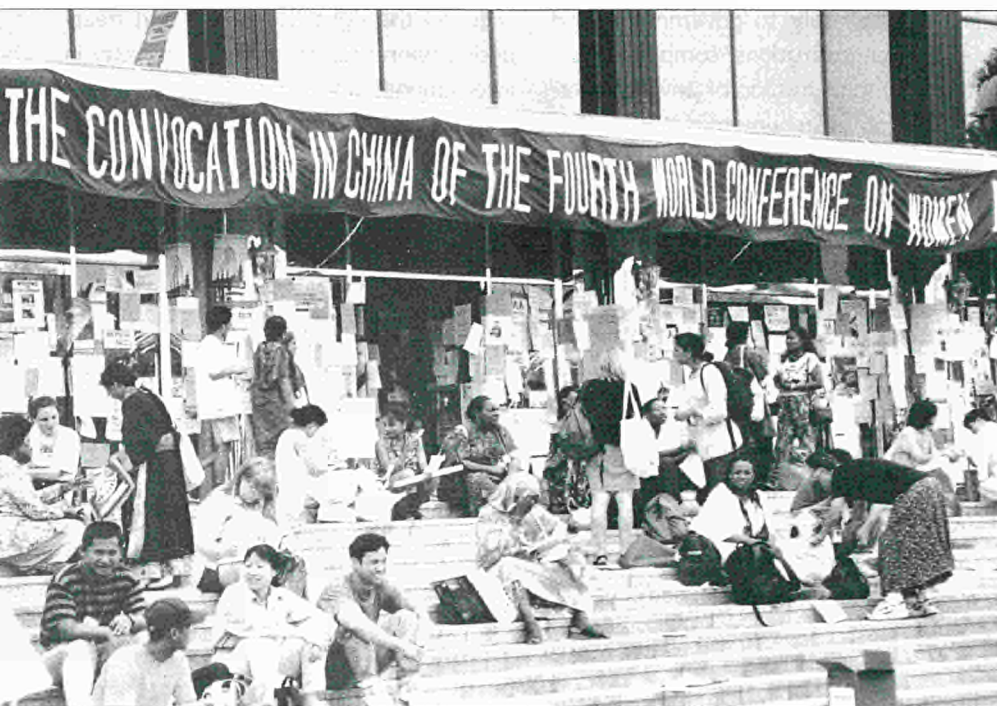
An alternative reading of the Koran; defence of Islam and a rejection of fundamentalism



Religious groups attacked the initial text for its feminist tone. And they won a sentence in the Platform for Action about the full respect of religious and ethical values, cultural backgrounds and philosophical convictions. Originally, this was just a footnote. The notion of 'sexual orientation' was taken out — another victory notched up for those rejecting the idea of full respect for homosexuals. However, the text adopted at the end of the day did condemn prejudice over sexual orientation. The reference to women's sexual rights had already disappeared some days previously.

Eleventh hour debate saw the removal, benefiting the other camp, of brackets which threatened 'women's human rights'. A provision was also included in the main text that couples or individuals should enjoy reproductive rights, including free and responsible choice over the number of children, the spacing of births, contraceptive information, and the sharing of responsibility for sexual behaviour and its consequences. It was clarified that women's fundamental rights include those of freely deciding upon their sexuality without constraint, discrimination or violence. At the same time, brackets around paragraphs calling for an end to violence based on sex, any form of sexual harassment, prostitution, pornography, sexual slavery and exploitation also disappeared. This provision condemned violations resulting from cultural prejudice, racism, ethnic cleansing, xenophobia, religious and anti-religious extremism and the international 'trade' in women and children, and represented an undoubted victory for the 'feminists'. A notable 'plus' for the South was the inclusion of the word 'additional' in front of the reference that resources be mobilised to eradicate poverty in general and that of women in particular.

In addition to these particularly sensitive clauses, the final conference text included other sections which were almost as controversial, relating, in particular, to equal rights to education for girls and strategies on achieving this goal, and the participation of women in economic life. Clauses adopted in the last two days called for the repeal of laws which penalise women for illegal abortions. They also



The NGO Forum in Huairou. Far from the diplomatic crowd in Beijing

defined a body of rights for girls. A great many injustices were condemned including sexual violence and the absence of educational opportunities, not to mention more insidious forms of discrimination involving prenatal selection and access to food.

Thanks to the Beijing Conference, rape in time of war will now be regarded as a war crime. Indeed, it will be treated as a crime against humanity and in certain cases, as an act of genocide. Hitherto, armies, and especially victorious armies, have never been called to account for this type of crime.

The authors of the draft Programme of Action certainly never predicted the storm that would break over what seemed, at the outset, a clear-cut issue — namely the right of young women to their inheritance. This proposal, however, did not find favour with some Muslim countries. The form of words finally adopted guarantees 'equal rights, including equal rights to inheritance' for girls, and is indeed a major concession. But a number of countries qualified their vote with a reservation over the aspects of this chapter which they will apply, 'insofar as they are compatible with the precepts of Islam'. Islamic law refers to a split inheritance, with a smaller share going to females. 1500 years ago, Islam was way ahead of its time in recognising equal inheritance rights for males and females,

but since then inequality of inheritance has prevailed. There was obviously more to this stormy debate than a mere question of semantics.

The shield of cultural traditions

Some subjects crystallised passions while others gave rise to timid skirmishes and subtle side-stepping, because no one dared to defend practices held widely in contempt. *Benazir Bhutto*, one of the most renowned conference delegates, who had the honour of being the first head of state to address the meeting, vigorously condemned genetic selection of the sex of foetuses and selective abortion. She went on to accuse some 15 (unnamed) countries in Asia of carrying out such practices. The ears of Chinese officials must have been burning, as she spoke. Such practices are widely assumed to occur there as evidenced by the fact that in 1994, there were 118 boys born for every 100 girls. A few years ago, the ratio was 106:100. And there is no doubt that science has aided and abetted those wishing to reduce the number of female births. Also targeted was India, which some argue has even fewer scruples in this area, both as regards selection, and in

respect of nutrition and education — which are not dispensed equally to girls and boys. This is not to mention the vexed question of arranged marriages and other related issues which affect women's lives. As for condemnation of sexual mutilation, none of the African or non-hardline Muslim countries defended such practices, but many hid behind the 'defence' of cultural traditions.

On top of such emotive matters, approval was given to a large number of measures, the effects of which will only become clear with the passage of time, but which already make up the international body of fundamental legal rights for women. To the consternation of some feminists, many passages in the basic text referring to 'women's rights' in addition to human rights were removed. They were, however, replaced by a formal declaration in the Programme of Action preamble proclaiming the universality, objectivity and non-selectivity of human rights. The reasoning here was that if women's rights are linked to specific situations it could follow that in other situations, such rights are not valid.

To guarantee these fundamental rights, governments are called upon to ratify the Convention calling for an end to all forms of discrimination against women. Those who have made reservations to this convention were asked to end all discrimination incompatible with international treaty law and to revise their national legislation irrespective of customary rules and legal practice. The Conference also called on governments to take all the necessary steps to enable women to participate in all aspects of decision-making in the political, economic, social, cultural and environmental fields, and in the fight against poverty. In the economic sphere, measures recommended to empower women were somewhat weak although there was one major step forward regarding access to credit. In particular, the Conference requested that the World Bank, and financial bodies in general, be more open towards women. After a hard-fought battle by developing countries, there was agreement to set up a fund to eliminate such discrimination, with a high-ranking official to be nominated as 'monitor' by the UN Secretary General.

A minor revolution: appreciating the value of non-remunerated work

Feminist groups throughout the world have long demanded that women's unpaid work be fairly recognised. In the run-up to Beijing, a number of UN agencies agreed to carry out in-depth surveys on the subject. These included the United Nations Development Programme (with its World Report on Human Development) and the World Health Organisation. Delegates at a preparatory meeting in Berlin undertook to place a figure on the enormous productive value of women's unpaid work. Trinidad and Tobago has even set an example by including such work in national figures, starting this year. The idea received unanimous support in principle, but the conference did not succeed in clearly defining every aspect to be included in the accounting procedure.

As for promotion of women in the economy, conference delegates add-

ressed all their calls to governments and international institutions, completely forgetting the male bastion of private enterprise highlighted in numerous studies. This omission is all the more inexplicable since economic liberalism is now the overwhelmingly dominant philosophy. In the private sector, only the press was targeted for criticism, being asked to present a more positive image of women and to integrate them more into the sector.

Carefully crafted compromises, the Beijing texts nonetheless contain a number of paradoxes. In education for example, teachers are asked to make young people more aware of the female condition and to respect sexual equality. At the same time, they are urged to respect cultural and religious diversity. The attitude to be adopted in the event of conflict between the two is not specified. Another example is that women have

acquired the right 'to control and freely decide upon their sexuality', (a novelty in international law), but the expression 'sexual rights' was actually dropped.

The Beijing Declaration: the conservatives hit back

The conference's second official text, the 'Beijing Declaration', was adopted by consensus, without any reservations, having been approved at the very end of the negotiations. Although intended to sum up the work of the platform, it blurred a number of the significant steps forward, such as the chapter relating to women's sexual rights.

As is always the case in this type of conference, the Declaration represented the lowest common denominator. Organisations defending women's rights and the progressive camp feared that it would be this text that the global press would quote and which the 'person in the street' would be most likely to remember. They were wrong on the first count.

The world's media paid little attention to the Declaration. Indeed, compared to the deluge of coverage from the Rio Earth Summit, and even the Cairo Conference on Population and Development, Beijing came up with little to tempt the newsgatherers initially. Instead, it placed the spotlight for several days on NGO brushes with the Chinese police. Less attention was paid to the actual subject matter of the conference and virtually nothing was said about the crucial issue of women's image in the media and their participation in the latter's management bodies.

However, at the time of writing (a fortnight after the close), media interest in the conference had rekindled. It may simply be that sufficient time was needed for the information, and a fuller understanding of what had happened, to filter through.

Commitments made... but will they be respected?

Rarely has a UN conference ended with so many reservations. These

The Beijing Opera.
Homage to female courage



The Courier



The Africa group press conference. *Stressing a firm commitment to continue the work achieved in Beijing*

related principally to women's sexual rights and the decriminalisation of abortion. At their final press conference, Holy See delegates were proud to emphasise that they had the backing of fifty or so countries for their 'moral position'. This, in their view, disproved the so-called 'isolation' of their position which attracted extensive coverage. Twenty-nine Muslim states expressed reservations on these two points.

The most hard-line (Oman, Djibouti and Qatar) even rejected the right of equal nutrition for girls and boys, and refused to condemn sexual mutilation. About a dozen Catholic countries in South America and Africa, plus the Philippines, had reservations regarding the decriminalisation of abortion and the diverse nature of 'families'.

The Conference organisers, however, consider the event to have been an overwhelming success because, henceforth, under the Platform of Action and the Declaration, sexual equality and women's rights are to be regarded as fundamental rights.

The UN itself paved the way by agreeing to establish parity between its male and female employees by the year 2000. This body, it should be noted, is hardly representative of the planet as a whole in this respect, given that 34% of its staff complement is currently female.

It might even be said that signatories to the Beijing documents looked at the world through female eyes, as demanded by the NGO Forum, requesting their integration or participation in areas as wide-ranging as credit, land ownership, science, communications, information, markets and training.

However, given that about 50 states, a quarter of the signatories to the official text, contest significant chapters of it, what is the value of the compromise that was reached? Similarly, it is pertinent to ask what has become of the commitments made at the first World Conference on Women in 1975? The texts adopted there have no coercive effect and their interpretation has been very varied. At the same time, despite the ill-effects of the economic crisis which has sparked a revival amongst traditionalists for women to stay in the home, the situation of women worldwide has evolved in recent decades. This has happened, above all, because women are demanding rank and position themselves: 'half the sky', as Mao Tse Tung used to say, to which they would add, 'half the earth and half the power'.

Beijing was the first true manifestation of female diplomacy. Never before

had a meeting of such size and importance been undertaken by women and the decisions emerging from it are at least as important as those of other UN gatherings. Beijing Conference follow-up groups have already been formed throughout the world to force leaders to respect their opinions.

'Take Beijing home' became one of the slogans of conference participants. And for legal minds, the reservations expressed by various countries do not mean that they can opt out of their duty to respect the undertakings made.

More specifically, however, the vote of the representatives from 189 states, observed by several thousands of people, exert a certain pressure.

In the wake of Beijing, there is currently a move in several countries against the decision of the United Arab Emirates to condemn to death the sixteen-year-old Filipino girl, Sarah, who, in self-defence, killed her employer as he raped her.

If this gathering has succeeded in saving Sarah's life, it will demonstrate that the Beijing papers are worth more than the parchment they are written on. ■

Hégel Goutier

The scales of justice are out of balance

The last ten years spanning the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s have been a trying time for women. Economic crises have caused men to feel their position is being undermined and this has prompted defensive instincts. This, at least, is the opinion of many who defend women's rights. The concrete issue is the threat to employment but there is also an ideological crisis regarding the post-war social theories which flourished until the 1970s alongside altruistic ideas of social solidarity and internationalism.

'Political correctness', which is making itself felt in some developed countries, is principally a question of language. But certain 'forbidden' expressions are also making a comeback: chauvinist or racist assertions are becoming increasingly common as the employment crisis worsens and scapegoats are required. It is no longer 'politically incorrect', for instance, for a US senator to state, in a plenary Senate session a few days before the opening of the World Conference on Women, that equality for men and women is an 'aberration'.

It could also be said that these are difficult times for the world's young people, in search of a first job, or for immigrant workers or the unemployed. But the discrimination that confronts each of these groups does not have the same universal nature as that faced by women. In no other situation is prejudice as persistent. The conclusion reached unanimously in hundreds of studies carried out by universities, international organisations, governments and NGOs prior to the Beijing Conference is that none of the world's states treats its women in the same way as it treats its men. In its 1995 Development Report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) came up with the innovative idea of a 'gender-specific indicator' to reveal how far a society takes women's rights and interests into account. An index figure of 1.00 signifies full equality of opportunity. Sweden is top of the class with 0.92 — very good, but not perfect.

Of all the studies carried out for this purpose, the UNDP one is probably the most complete. The statistical information is supplemented by comprehensive written analyses from both internal and external

contributors — including seven female heads of state or government. By way of an aside, the list of countries led by women has an interesting surprise in store: it shows that northern European and Islamic countries (represented by Pakistan, Bangladesh and Turkey) are on an equal footing. Perhaps a closer look at Islam is required and certain received ideas ought to be questioned.

'One in two men is a woman'

This was the title of an exhibition presented in Beijing by the European Commission on the evolution of the feminist movement since the nineteenth century. Of course, it is only a slogan and it takes more than slogans to change the reality of women's existence in many parts of the world.

In the past, inequality started at birth and, in its most brutal form, involved

Fewer girls in many countries since science has made it possible to choose the sex of children



the killing of female babies. 'Progress' has meant that the boundaries have been pushed back. In those societies which treat women fairly in terms of health, there are 106 women for every 100 men. This is a biological fact and any deviation from this ratio implies interference. In Africa, the figure is 102; in China and South and West Asia, there are 94 women for every 100 men. Currently, with the exceptions of Libya and French Guyana, for reasons which would merit further research, all those countries where the number of women per 100 men is under 95 are in Asia and the Pacific.

Although women are born with a biological advantage over the male of the species, in 13 countries of the world, infant mortality among females is higher than it is among males. Geography does not enter into the picture — the list includes Singapore, Jamaica, Pakistan and Peru.

Slightly fewer girls are born than boys, but this numerical difference is offset in nature by the fact that women live significantly longer. Indeed, this phenomenon should normally result in a higher female than male population overall.

In fact, there are 1% more men than women in the world as a whole. At the very least, this 1% difference is a reflection of the violence, prejudice, handicaps and misery suffered by the female of the human species. Only in the developed regions of the world and in Latin America, Oceania and South-East Asia is the balance in favour of women. The causes of the general imbalance are many and varied, but there is no dispute about the reasons behind the anomalies in the female-male birth ratio that have been identified in some countries.

The anomalies have been exacerbated, to the detriment of women, over the past ten years, as scientific advances have made it possible to determine the sex of the foetus early on, or even to swing the balance in favour of male embryos before conception. It is no coincidence that the statistical discrepancy first appeared in the technically advanced developing countries, namely China, the Republic of Korea, Pakistan and above all, India. In Korea, in 1982, 94 girls were born for every 100 boys. By 1989, the ratio had dropped to just 88:100. A similar distortion can be seen in China.

The stolen years of early youth

Prejudice in areas of education, nourishment, domestic work, and so on, endanger the health of female adolescents much more than that of their brothers. Africa is something of an exception here if one considers the indicators for severe malnutrition. 32% of male children suffer from this while amongst girls, the figure is a much lower at 17%. The proportions are reversed in the Caribbean. The absence of family protection if not outright coercion causes many adolescent girls to begin their sex lives at an early age. Thus, in Botswana, for example, 60% of girls aged between 15 and 19 will have had intercourse. This problem is not confined to developing countries of course. Indeed, in the United States, the average age of first sexual contact is two years lower. In high risk situations, it is these young girls who are least able to defend themselves. Risks include sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), teenage pregnancy, and abortions which take place under poor conditions. In the USA, more than one quarter of women suffering from STDs are teenagers. More than 10% of women worldwide first became pregnant when they were under 20, when they were still not fully developed biologically. This can give rise to a string of complications found much less frequently in adult women who are anatomically and physiologically mature. Risk levels range from 20% to 200% higher in the case of adolescent girls. Problems can be compounded because they are more likely to be anaemic and undernourished. Incomplete development of the girls' reproductive systems is the reason for one of the most serious obstetric complications and also for hypertension. Abortion is more frequent in young girls because they have less access to contraception.

Genital mutilation is symbolic of the violence perpetrated against girls in many countries. The aim is to prevent orgasm and even, in some cases, to make sexual contact impossible, through 'operations' which frequently involve amputation of genital organs. Enquiries into these outdated practices are extremely difficult to conduct. Victims are reluctant to speak and the perpetrators genuinely see themselves as benefactors enhancing their children's happiness. Their reticence when questioned is more likely to be due

to modesty about a practice they see as too intimate to discuss, rather than any sense of guilt. The countries that are involved tend to downplay the problem. In Beijing, representatives from only three of them dared to make explicit reservations to the provisions of the text condemning these practices. This 'wall of silence' erected by the majority represents an almost impenetrable shield which makes the struggle for the rights of the victim even more difficult. The number of works written by victims is also very small although movements against mutilation are becoming increasingly common in Africa, being composed mostly of health professionals. The issue is so sensitive that many activists are prepared to speak as professionals but not in their capacity as victims.

The statistics which have been published generally originate from small-scale, fragmented surveys. The figures to be found, for example, in the United Nations' study, *Women in the World 1995*, have been compiled from a wide variety of sources. These show that mutilation occurs in a number of African countries, in parts of Asia and in other parts of the world where migrants from these countries have settled. The problem is worst in Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Eritrea, Mali, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan. In these countries, more than 70% of women are said to be victims of this practice. Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Central African Republic, Chad and Togo have reported figures of between 50% and 60%. For Ghana, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal, the range is between 20% to 30%, while in Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire, it is less than 10%.

The injuries that are inflicted sometimes lead to the woman's death, particularly in the case of the more extreme forms of mutilation. The psychological consequences are obviously very serious as well. But the practice takes place under conditions of such secrecy that it has not been possible to mount a scientific study anywhere in the world into the resulting mortality rates. In those countries where mutilation commonly occurs, it also 'damages' those women who have not been subjected to it. They are often made to feel ashamed, and in some places, they will find it virtually impossible to marry. This obviously has severe social con-

sequences in regions where marriage is often the woman's only form of 'social security'.

In many places, domestic violence is regarded as a family matter. In most Latin American countries, a man has the right to kill his wife if he discovers her committing an act of adultery. By contrast where a woman kills her husband in the same circumstances, it is she who is treated as the criminal. Despite the evolution of legislation, people's attitudes do not always follow suit. In many European countries, women who have suffered violence or sexual assault at the hands of their husbands may report it to the police but they can still suffer humiliation and an unwillingness on the part of the authorities to recognise that an offence has been committed. In court, defence lawyers will frequently seek to discredit their claims with aggressive and hostile cross-examination aimed at showing that they are actually the 'guilty' ones.

As well as illnesses such as anaemia caused by the undernourishment of young girls, the debilitating consequences of pregnancy at a young age, abortions which take place under poor conditions, sexual mutilation, forced prostitution and so on, there are other evils resulting from inequalities in the provision of health services. A pregnant woman, for example, is more vulnerable to a number of diseases. However, the subject of inequality in health has not been sufficiently studied and the UN has expressed the view that research into the subject must be improved. Meanwhile, the statistics that are available reveal a number of curious phenomena. In general, violence and physical injury are more common causes of mortality among males. Overall, twice as many men as women die because of this. Two notable exceptions are China and India where the figures for the two sexes are comparable. As a result, these two countries 'top the chart' for female mortality due to violence and physical injury, with the world 'record' being held by China. The lack of screening for cervical cancer in sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and South America means that these regions currently have the highest mortality rates for this disease, which is becoming less common in developed regions.

More women at university, but more illiterate women as well

Although literacy programmes have been successful for many years, it will be a long time before illiteracy has been eradicated from the planet. This is particularly true for women. Nine hundred million people worldwide cannot read and two-thirds of these are female. Literacy levels are higher in women than men in only three countries: Uruguay, Jamaica and Nicaragua. In those countries with the highest illiteracy rates, the levels have dropped by between 10% and 20% over the last decade, but it remains unacceptably high. And there are no signs that the discrepancy between men and women is narrowing. Thus in 1995, illiteracy among women in sub-Saharan Africa was still recorded at above 50% as against slightly over 30% for men. In North Africa, the figures are 55% and 30% respectively. The situation is worst in rural areas. One of the major reasons for keeping girls out of the education system is the fear of giving them too much freedom, sexual freedom being implied. Many commentators regarded the debates on female sexual rights at the UN Conference in Beijing as anecdotal, not understanding that much discrimination against women originates from the sometimes unconscious desire to dispossess them of their sexuality.

More and more women worldwide are single parents. There are some advantages in this situation, however. For example, surveys conducted in five African countries, revealed that girls and boys, are likely to be better educated when the head of the household is female. It also appears that, in rural areas, the presence of a father may be a hindrance to the education of his daughters. Although illiteracy is still rife overall, it is nevertheless encouraging to observe that the level of education of children has progressed considerably and that at this level, discrepancies between girls and boys have become much less significant. Exceptions to this encouraging trend are found in North Africa, South Asia and, to a lesser extent, sub-Saharan Africa.

More good news. In terms of university education, women are catching up with men. Indeed, they are better represented in the universities of Latin



Wall painting in Port-au-Prince
Women's road to freedom

America, West Asia, the Caribbean and all developed countries (with the surprising exception of Western Europe which has 93 women students for every 100 men). In the Caribbean, the problem is actually the other way around with 140 women at university for every 100 men. At the other end of the scale, however, the female to male ratios for enrolment at universities are just 30:100 and 38:100 in Africa and South Asia respectively.

The last bastions: money and politics

Discrimination against women in the areas of health and education, although still considerable, has, to a significant extent, receded. The situation in these fields has greatly improved throughout the world and any deterioration in developing countries resulting from structural adjustment has not substantially hindered progress. The discrepancy between men and women in terms of education narrowed by 50% in developing countries during the 1970s and 1980s and the gap has closed further over the last five years. The same applies to health matters — vaccination programmes, the development of local medical facilities, advances in epidemiological studies, greater concern on the part of governments and wider publication of information have proved beneficial.

On the other hand, however, political and economic opportunities for women remain poor. Economics and politics are the last remaining male preserves and, although the number of women attending university is still increasing and, in many regions of the world, exceeds that of men, it is the latter who find the best jobs or who earn the highest salaries. The Nordic countries grant greater opportunities to women, even in the sacrosanct area of politics, but men and women still earn different salaries.

A man could be described as someone who works set hours in order to earn money, generally outside the house, and a woman as someone who works non-stop, even when she does not have 'a job', in order to earn much less. National accounting systems take no account of the greater part of work carried out by women. Activities which are essential for the survival of a country, such as transporting water, and harvesting food simply do not appear in the balance sheets. In the agricultural sector, where women are in the majority, they are rarely the land-owners, do not own the equipment and have no access to financing. Even when the majority of farmers in a country are female, it is usually men who are the agricultural extension agents. In vast areas of the world, women have no rights over the land they cultivate. If a study that was carried out some ten years ago is to be believed, they work more than the men, everywhere except in the United States (where men were recorded as working three hours a week more than women). Other than in Finland, the Baltic states and some Eastern European countries, women devote more time to so-called domestic tasks than to paid work.

Poverty: a feminine word

Women are becoming poorer. 70% of the 1.25 billion people in the world who live in poverty are women and their numbers continue to grow. In rural areas, for example, there has been a 50% increase over the last 20 years. Nor does this observation apply just to developing countries. In the USA, where in 1940, 40% of those living in poverty were women, the figure today is 60%. Expressed as a percentage of male salaries, women's

remuneration in the non-agricultural sectors reveals a few surprises. Tanzania comes out as the fairest country with females earning 92% of the amount earned by males, two points ahead of those 'paragons' of equality, Norway and Sweden. Bangladesh, perhaps less surprisingly, props up the league table with a figure of just 42%. It is worth noting, however, that the USA, Germany and Australia, where females earn roughly three-quarters of the amount earned by males in comparable jobs, trail behind Egypt. Another surprising fact is that Canada and Spain are well down the list. In short, there are a lot of preconceived ideas that are not borne out by the actual figures.

Although health and education for women have advanced by nearly 20% in 20 years, the female working population has increased by only 4%. The only area where the discrepancy in economic life between men and women has been substantially reduced is the Caribbean/Latin American region. And progressive social legislation does not necessarily have the effect of eradicating, or even revealing wage inequalities. The rules can be circumvented by the simple expedient of giving the same job a different name depending on whether it is done by a man or a woman. Nor can the law easily regulate promotion in a private company. Finally, it cannot do the job on its own. Laws can be passed to stimulate reforms but, in the final analysis, only a change in mentality will be effective. Cultural traditions continue to define which jobs are reserved for men and women and, even in the most egalitarian developed countries, integration is less widespread than might be believed. It is difficult, for example, to kill off preconceived ideas such as the one that absenteeism is higher among women.

Inequality before the law is even more glaring in other fields. In Botswana, Chile, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland, married women are regarded as minors for property purposes and have to be 'managed' by their husbands. In Bolivia, Guatemala and Syria, men can legally prevent their wives from working and, in many Arab countries, a married woman has to have her husband's permission to travel, the reverse not being the case, of course. In many Asian and African countries, women who are married to fore-

igners are unable to pass on their nationality to their spouses, unlike men.

It is not only in domestic work that women are underappreciated. In Europe or the USA, where there is broad parity in terms of university attendance, and where women obtain better results, the teaching staff is still mostly male. Furthermore, juries which award prestigious prizes appear not to take account of women. Fewer than 5% of Nobel laureates are female and most of these have been winners of the Peace and Literature awards. Of the six female Nobel prizewinners for chemistry and physics, four won jointly with men.

The informal sector remains the last refuge for women when they have been unable to make inroads into the economic circuit. They are over-represented in this sector which offers no job security or social protection. Their opportunity for success in business is slim, since they are frequently excluded from development programmes and credit systems. In African countries, where more than two-thirds of farmers are women and where women produce over three-quarters of the food, they receive less than 10% of credits.

The sacred cow for men is politics — the symbol of power — be this as leader of a country, a political party or an international organisation. The United

Nations Organisation, which is considered to be a 'model' example, with more than 30% female employees, has only 11% in executive positions. Two figures illustrate the low numbers of women in politics. Half of the world's electorate is female yet they hold just 10% of the parliamentary seats. And a mere 6% of ministerial positions are held by women. Nor would it be advisable for the established democracies to be too self-righteous. It is less than a hundred years since women gained the right to vote in these countries, and it was usually only granted after a bitter struggle by women's movements. Even in the Nordic countries, it was to take 75 years for women to occupy more than a third of the parliamentary seats. Today, these countries, (particularly Norway), are the only ones who can boast of virtual equality of opportunity between the sexes in politics, parity having almost been achieved in government posts as well. Indeed, the current Swedish government actually has slightly more women than men. Germany and the United States are also often regarded as having been in the vanguard of women's political rights. Yet in 1994, only 5% of places in the German government, and in the US House of Representatives were occupied by females: all this after three UN World Conferences on Women! The scales are obviously still heavily weighted in favour of men. ■

Hégel Goutier

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Women and natural resource management in sub-Saharan Africa

by Jennifer Mitchell*

For many women in the South, the process of modernisation has effectively severed their close ties to the environment. In the name of 'progress', traditional forms of natural resource management continue to be replaced with unsustainable practices. Lacking access or rights to such things as credit, information and land tenure, most women in developing economies are locked into a vicious poverty cycle as both victims of and contributors to environmental degradation.

This reality is particularly acute in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) where women provide the basic necessities for family survival. To this extent, SSA women are *de facto* managers of the natural resources surrounding them, including soil, water and forests. The World Bank estimates that women in SSA are responsible for 80% of all agricultural production. This figure not only includes staple food production, but also other agricultural activities, such as food processing, marketing, small-scale cash cropping and animal husbandry. Yet despite women's large contribution to food production, and water and fuel gathering, they are confronted with rigid socio-cultural barriers and a lack of access to the factors of production. They are ignored in most national policies. These omissions contribute to already serious natural resource depletion which, in turn, affect women by reducing household food supplies, the availability and quality of water, and domestic energy sources.

Socio-cultural barriers

An important socio-cultural barrier faced by many SSA women is the lack of intra-household transfers of agricultural knowledge. Many development planners make the false assumption that husbands will automatically pass on information they receive from extension services to their wives. Related to this is the fact that women have limited political participation in most sub-Saharan African countries. This

further hinders their ability to gain access to information services that could improve natural resource management.

Additionally, female illiteracy in SSA is almost twice that of males and gender-based educational discrepancies prevail. In an FAO study of agriculture extension services received by women farmers in five African countries, the vast majority of the women surveyed were found to be illiterate. This drastically limits their ability to comprehend technical information. In addition, females may speak only the tribal language whereas males are more likely to speak the official national language as well.

Factors of production

Although women make up the majority of food producers in SSA, they have little or no access to the factors of production. This imposes severe limits to effective and sustainable management of natural resources. Of primary concern to women farmers is land availability and tenure. For example, in Sierra Leone, recent trends in cultivation of export crops have seen much of the land previously used for upland rice and other food crops converted to other uses. This has reduced land access for women who practice subsistence farming, unless they belong to relatively wealthy households or hold senior status in polygamous households.

The lack of appropriate farm and household technology is a crucial factor for women who face labour-intensive and time-consuming tasks that further marginalise them from participating in sus-

tainable resource management. In many cases, even if new time-saving technologies become available, women cannot afford them — formal credit systems often bypass them because they lack land title and thus collateral. Compounding this is the growing trend towards female-headed households, as men migrate to urban centres in search of work. As remittances from spouses and sons often become less reliable over time, women are left with no access to even the most basic of agricultural services, including inputs, and processing and marketing facilities. The result can be intensification of agricultural practices on already exhausted lands until the ecosystem collapses, forcing women and children to seek refuge in swelling urban slums.

National policies

National policy-making has major implications for SSA women farmers and their sustainable use of natural resources. Contemporary examples include; privatisation of common lands and their accessibility to women; the negative effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes which emphasise cash crop production, shifting already meagre resources away from females; agricultural mechanisation, which often increases women's workload and creates health risks without boosting incomes, (for instance, cash crops require extra fertilisers which, in turn entails more weeding by women); and reduced availability of labour to households, as male workers move into cash crops and urban industries.

Cultivation in Niger.
Women produce most of the food in
sub-Saharan Africa



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The measures taken, however, to increase even basic information to SSA women on such topics as higher production yields, efficiency and income remain inadequate. Extension agencies, primarily staffed by men, give preference to large-scale and male farmers.

Women farmers, who are more likely to engage in subsistence production on smaller land holdings, have less access to credit and technology, and are therefore excluded from many extension programmes.

Overcoming constraints

No longer willing to tolerate these constraints, many women of the South have found creative and resourceful ways to maintain their links with the environment. For instance, women farmers have been quite successful in conserving soil resources by using traditional fallow techniques, allowing the land to rest between plantings. Other methods include rotating crops, intercropping and mulching. Women's groups, whether cooperatives or traditional gatherings, have become an excellent vehicle for sustaining and delivering agricultural extension information and resources.

Traditionally, women in Africa form groups to exchange labour, mobilise savings and credit, and for social and ceremonial reasons. In the Gambia, for instance, labour pooling is so common that women spend a third of their fieldwork time in other women's fields. Such groups provide immediately accessible channels through which information gathered from extension services can be translated into action.

The practical advantages of women's groups, for the purpose of agriculture extension outreach programmes, are seen in the increased number of farmers reached and a reduction in the time and expense incurred in travelling to meet individual farmers.

Studies from Kenya show that transmitting information through women's groups doubles the number of farmers reached at the same cost. Secondly, groups can facilitate the adoption of new techniques because they provide a setting in

Kenya's Green Belt Movement

In 1977, Kenya's first female professor, *Wangari Maathai*, gave up her job as head of the Department of Anatomy at the University of Nairobi and initiated a campaign to halt desertification in her country. From this initiative emerged the Green Belt Movement which has successfully mobilised women throughout Kenya to end desertification, fuelwood scarcity and soil erosion. Women in the movement plant trees and practice traditional soil and water conservation techniques. In the process of conservation, women have simultaneously raised the level of public awareness of environmental problems. As Professor Maathai states, 'The trees have been planted to meet immediate community needs — to provide fuelwood and material for fencing and building, and to give shade. Gradually, however, people are learning that trees also prevent soil erosion and the consequent loss of soil fertility. They have come to see the link between loss of soil fertility, poor crop yields and famine.'

The Movement is largely made up of women who experience environmental degradation first hand. Development experts are excluded from the programme, as Professor Maathai believes they tend to take problem-solving initiatives themselves and this discourages local self-reliance. A participatory approach is encouraged where women learn to plant and cultivate the seedlings and care for the trees themselves.

The seedlings are first grown in nurseries and then sold to the Movement which redistributes them free of charge to women for planting, on condition that they care for the seedlings under the supervision of a ranger. Every tree that survives past the second month of replanting is paid for by the Movement, with certain tree types fetching more money than others.

As one of the most successful women's environmental projects in Kenya, the group boasts more than 50 000 members and owns 1500 tree nurseries. To date over 10 million trees have been planted throughout Kenya. By emphasising self-reliance and tapping into local expertise and knowledge, women have redefined their physical surroundings. As Professor Maathai remarks: 'Many have no money and are semi-literate but we have managed to come together and achieve our goals because of our commitment to the environment.'

which women can learn and practice in a familiar context. Additionally, group decisions can carry more weight than individual ones and thus encourage the wider application of extension recommendations. Groups are also effective for reinforcing knowledge among illiterate women, as they can rely on the collective memory of the group.

The Association of Women of Niger, in the village of Kourfa, offers an example of the strong impact women's collectives can have in combating environmental degradation. The women have kept their village alive by gathering dead wood and dry grasses and selling them as fuel in the market.

Despite the few resources at their disposal, they use the proceeds to buy necessary provisions. In addition, the Association provides funds to drill wells and obtain equipment for market gardening and small-scale farming using traditional practices and knowledge.

Throughout sub-Saharan Africa, similar success stories are emerging. Women are becoming empowered as they take action on environmental issues that affect their families' well-being and their traditional links with the land. These women realise the importance of developing and maintaining adaptive, instead of reactive, techniques towards their physical environment. Their struggle is both ecological and gender-based as they attempt to regenerate and recreate their links with their natural surroundings. ■ J.M.

The new-found social conscience of the World Bank

It could be that the warning issued to the World Bank by the Heads of Government meeting in Copenhagen for the UN Social Summit in March 1995 was received loud and clear. Alternatively, we may believe the Bank when it insists that its policy shift on social issues is nothing new. If the latter is true, then it must be said that the effects of such a shift have been slow in making themselves felt. Whether coincidence or otherwise, the Bank did indeed don a brand new cloak of social awareness in the run-up to

the IVth UN World Conference on Women. So complete was the transformation that it left development NGOs, feminist movements, ecologists and the governments of developing countries — not normally ones to miss an opportunity to put the Bretton Woods institutions in the hot seat — completely nonplussed.

First, it was announced that the Bank was preparing to issue a new method of classifying nations which, in addition to economic factors, would take into account a country's natural wealth and human resources. Whereas with a purely economic classification, i.e. on the basis of *per capita* income, Switzerland always came out top, with the new method, Canada and New Zealand lead the field. Although the system would mean that poor countries remained poor because they do not invest sufficiently in human resources and do not protect their environment, the whole classification structure would be turned upside down: the US and France would find themselves in 14th and 13th places respectively, while some countries would move much higher up the list, either because they possess a wealth of natural resources, such as Gabon, or because they have made major investments in education or health, such as Tunisia.

Gender equality: a profitable investment

Making credit, especially small loans, available to women, might be seen

as a sensible approach. However, the Bank's new policy on the debts of poor countries, which envisages converting debt and even cancelling it in some cases, appears almost heretical in the context of the financial dogmas defended not so long ago by that venerable institution. Indeed, as recently as the Copenhagen Social Summit, the Bank, in concert with the IMF, was claiming that debt cancellation would lead to a loss of confidence among investors. This, they argued, would be to the detriment of debtor nations which would subsequently find it difficult to obtain new loans.

But as *Armeane Chomski*, Vice-President of the World Bank, quite rightly points out: 'Development involves investing in human resources so as to offer individuals a better future. It would fail if we were to ignore half the population'.

The Bank distributed two reports on gender equality in Beijing. The first 'Toward gender action: the role of public policy' expounds the sort of arguments that we are used to reading in the texts of UN social agencies such as the UNDP. It points out that discrimination against women represents a waste of a nation's economic resources. It urges governments and development organisations to invest more in education and health, and in areas where women are subjected to discrimination, such as land ownership, access to employment and financial services, in order to promote the general well-being of the people — which is vital to increasing productivity and controlling the population explosion. The poorest nations should in addition invest in sanitation, water, electricity and transport infrastructures. In other words, they should redirect available funds into the most socially profitable sectors and take a firm stand, through legislative measures where necessary, against inequalities of all kinds, including those barring women's access to credit, property ownership, information and technology. The only ingredient in the recipe which might be regarded as 'typical' of a financial institution is the emphasis on macroeconomic stability.

The second report is entitled 'Advancing gender equality: from concept to action', and it details the measures taken by the Bank to help women. These include, for example, small loans (of less than \$100) to Ugandan women on very low incomes (less than \$1 a day).

A five-year study carried out in Bangladesh shows that a woman who receives a loan of this type succeeds in doubling her family's income and, after five years, manages to climb above the poverty line. It also shows that women pay back their debts, having a greater respect for their commitments than do men. More particularly, they channel the profit from their enterprises into helping close relatives.

These small loans will be financed by the Bank to the tune of \$200 million, with three-quarters of this sum going to women. The loans will help 700 000 women a year and, indirectly, almost four million people. Of the estimated 1.2 billion poor people in the world, 70% are women. According to the Bank, the formalities required to apply for a small loan have been kept to an absolute minimum so as to make things easier for people who find red tape a real obstacle.

On a quite different scale, Bank officials have announced that one third of the Bank's portfolios are now committed to promoting gender equality, as compared to 10% a decade ago. This new policy also includes the Bank's recent programme aimed at intensively recruiting women among its staff. Currently, women account for 51% of the Bank's work force, but only 8% of management!

Adjusting to the modern reality

The Bank's change of policy on multilateral loans for the poorest countries constitutes a genuine 'updating', even if those who are to benefit from the reductions do have to pass the structural adjustment 'test', certified by an agreement with the Paris Club (the forum of state and institutional backers). Some commentators are talking of a cultural revolution. In fact the WB's policy shift is such that it seems to have parted company from its erstwhile *alter ego*, the IMF. The latter appears to be dragging its feet in comparison, showing no desire to follow in the Bank's footsteps. If the new policy

announced by the Bank is actually applied, then around 40 African countries which owe \$160 billion to the multilateral institutions, (essentially the WB and the IMF), will have genuine cause to celebrate. Although this figure represents only one fifth of the total owed (\$800 billion), the debt servicing involved is equivalent to about half of the total. Multilateral debt has lately been on the increase as the developed countries have become increasingly reluctant to grant bilateral loans to the poorest nations. The Bank's generosity to its impoverished debtors could, according to certain sources, be worth more than \$11 billion.

Nevertheless, these countries should be wary of rejoicing too prematurely. The Bank's backers — the wealthy nations and in particular the US and Japan — may well not follow it down this socially charitable path. The US Congress, which has a Republican majority, talks of reducing US contributions to this institution which has become so discredited in America that it recently resorted to advertising in the local press in an attempt to convince people that it really is run like a proper bank. Admittedly, it did add grist to the mill of its ultra-liberal detractors by acknowledging, in an internal report, that the results of almost 40% of the projects it

carried out in Africa in 1991 did not live up to expectations.

In the past, NGOs, ecologists and Third World supporters invariably took the opportunity of UN conferences to bombard the World Bank with criticism. This time, in Beijing, the tone was much less strident: they appealed, for example, for the Bank to be monitored through women's eyes to ensure that it fulfils the commitments made in the Chinese capital. A more muted response perhaps, but still a far cry from actually championing the Bank's cause. ■ H.G.

DOSSIER Investing in beauty

The self-portrait of a young woman with an ambitious vision: to produce and distribute beauty products for black skins.

My name is Marianne Ngoulla. I come from Cameroon, but now live in Belgium. I am currently developing a line of cosmetic products for black skins. I trained as a pharmacist, specialising in industrial pharmacy, and then took a further specialisation in pharmaceutical engineering and in cosmetology. I completed my university studies, which lasted almost 10 years, in 1993. At the end of my studies in industrial pharmacy, I worked as a consultant with a Belgian company. After that, I worked for almost two years as an independent expert for the European Community, at the Centre for the Development of Industry, working on a project to set up a veterinary medicine production unit in Mali.

My project involves preparing and marketing cosmetic products formulated specifically for black men and women. Black skins have special problems and there are few products available which target these problems specifically. The demand, therefore, is there.

I have been working on this project for almost six years. Initially, I had to do a lot of research, studying the literature, because although documentation about black skins does exist on a scientific and dermatological level, there is very little written from the aesthetic or cosmetic point of view. Then I moved on to the stage where the formulations needed to be tested in the laboratory. In order to

comply with current European directives, one has to prove one's claims. A moisturising product has to do just that. Products must not be in the slightest bit toxic and must not have any side-effects on the skin or on the body as a whole.

The line of products will comprise a range for women, with various face and body products, and a range for men, including a body lotion and body gel and face care products. The latter should help remedy the specific shaving problems encountered by black men, who tend to be more prone to spots, because of the structure and type of stubble growth, and to skin imbalance problems. Black people tend to have greasy skin on the face and dry skin on the body. In black men, facial skin is even greasier and thus reacts more violently to the onslaught of shaving. These will be luxury products, but 'an affordable luxury'.

In cosmetics, there is the product itself and then there is all the expensive packaging, distribution and advertising costs. Outside capital is required and needs to be sought from private investors, banks and finance companies. The financial backing aspect is always complicated. In the beginning my family helped me out. My business lawyers are in the process of setting up the financial arrangements and potential investors include a small number of Africans. In Africa, as elsewhere, cos-

metics have a good image and people assume that profits will be attractive.

I rent laboratory premises so that I can manufacture my products and I also employ staff. In the future, I plan to have my own production unit. If everything goes well, my products will be launched on the market in December 1996. The American market will be targeted first, then the markets in Africa, Europe and the Caribbean.

A particularly bold ambition? Not at all. I wanted to do something, and now I am doing it. In any case, in traditional African societies it is the women who are the 'go-getters'. It is a great shame that education does not emphasise the role model of the African woman — of the black female entrepreneur — strongly enough. Neither do the media. The foreign press we get consists of magazines such as 'Voici' which cover the lives of stars, not of black women who take risks and succeed in their goals.

Personally, however, when I undertake anything, I do not think of the advantages or disadvantages of being a particular sex. If I encounter difficulties — and there are obstacles everywhere — I do not think that it is because I am a woman. On the other hand, from the point of view of a foreigner living in Europe and trying to find funding in Europe, then yes, I am considered ambitious; a dreamer. In that case all I need to do is convince people. ■

Interview by H.G.

Why China?

Beijing: the divorce of the *yin* and the *yang*

Yin. The road between Beijing, the site of the official World women's conference, and Huairou, about 50 miles away, the venue for the NGO forum, is patrolled by a policeman every 100 metres. There is a charming hostess on each hotel floor, to note down each time you go in and out. You can play games by entering and leaving 10 times in quick succession. It's a good way of contributing to full employment.

Policemen stop your taxi to enquire about where you are going, a somewhat pointless precaution since the driver is only supposed to 'know' how to get to international hotels or places above suspicion. There are no foreign daily newspapers, apart from the Herald Tribune at the Sheraton and there is plenty of interference on western short-wave radio stations.

Yang. Forget the dull, grey appearance of towns from the Soviet era. In Beijing, capitalist mania is at least as overwhelming as the number of police checks: shops of all kinds are jam packed, bright neon signs glisten everywhere. New buildings are springing up like

Young Chinese woman. In comparison with the official dogma, the new way of thinking has a small but perceptible undertone of rebelliousness

mushrooms. And the cellular telephone 'epidemic' is more acute here than even in Rome. Businesspeople flock from all round the world. This is the China akin to Hong Kong.

Pushed to such extremes, the *yin* and the *yang* would appear irreconcilable. A vague undercurrent of rebellion can be felt in the sensuality of the young women, the waif-like aspect of many of the students, the carefree air of party-goers at the trendy 'Poacher Inn' nightclub and the stampede for money. These are all reprehensible according to the official dogma, but they reveal an underlying vibrancy which suggests that some quite extraordinary machinery has been set in motion.

In this Beijing, a city in metamorphosis, the Fourth World Conference on Women was held. Thousands of foreign men and women flocked here. Most of them are feminists and many are hostile to the policies of the host country which has been rather more accustomed to receiving friends. China is currently undergoing a transformation of such massive proportions that even the foreign correspondents living there seem wrong-footed. They are as stunned as anyone by the changes taking place before their eyes. Two months earlier, two men were among a group of 'criminals' to be executed. Their crime, for which they received the ultimate punishment was trafficking of licentious goods from Hong Kong: they had been carrying pornographic magazines in their attaché cases.

China: A female revolution despite everything

It was Mao Tse Tung who said that half of heaven belonged to women. Before his era, the feet of young girls were bound to fulfil the male fantasy of girls

with small feet. In rural areas, women could be abducted and sold into marriage. Prior to the Communist revolution, a woman was an object. With the revolution, she acquired the right to own property, to choose her husband, to divorce and even the right to her own name. Even if social indicators in China still classify it as a developing country, progress in women's health and education has been phenomenal.

China is one of the very few countries in the world where the ratio of women in the working population actually grew in the 1980s, reaching 47% of the total. They are represented in all sectors, albeit unequally.

The relatively low percentage of women engineers, for example, (20% of the total), still places China on a par with, if not higher than numerous developed nations. In the world of politics, the number of female Members of Parliament now tops 20% putting China fourth among the developing nations and twelfth worldwide. Women also now hold one third of political posts. One could always take the view of course that true political representation in a country without multi-party elections is merely an illusion.

Overseas participants at the NGO forum in Huairou were initially rather suspicious of the 2000 members of the Chinese NGOs taking part. However, like many of their sisters in Africa and elsewhere, who have been pushed artificially by their governments, the Chinese NGOs were extremely dynamic. Although not aggressive, the passion with which many of them defended women's rights and demanded that the government respect commitments was nevertheless impressive. After listening to a member of a Japanese NGO denounce the extent to which women are exploited in Japanese society, a representative from one of the Chinese NGOs at Huairou came out with a pithy remark to rousing applause: 'If I have understood it correctly, the United States exploits its immigrants, China exploits its peasants and Japan exploits its women.' Chinese NGOs are obviously not all naïve 'yes-men', or indeed 'yes-women'.



The Courier

Why Beijing?

For all these reasons China is well qualified to organise a conference on women's rights. So why not hold the Conference in Beijing? The question is perhaps a moot one now that the event has come and gone, but the fact that it was posed at all has to do with human rights.

Paradoxically, it was in deciding to implement one of the demands made by the international community (for population controls), that China has turned the champions of women's rights against her. The unyielding way in which the authorities force women to limit the number of children by any means possible, including by actively encouraging abortion, sends a shudder down the spines of even the most ardent advocates of demographic management. By reducing the average number of children per family from just under five scarcely 50 years ago to just over one today, China actually hoped to gain the world's approbation for its commitment to curbing the population explosion. As one walks around Beijing, a number of things are notable for their absence. One sees few babies, old people, disabled people or domestic animals. As regards the last-mentioned, we know that their eradication was swift within the towns and, it is believed, in most of the country, following a purge of dogs, cats and other 'furry friends'. The fact that babies are not much in evidence is probably an attempt to demonstrate the effectiveness of family planning programmes, but it is not at all clear why the elderly are not more visible. And although official figures suggest that China has 50 million disabled people, they are certainly not in evidence. Apparently they used to be found in a picturesque district of Beijing near the temple of Confucius.

The Chinese revolution is supposed to be able to move mountains but, while waiting for this to happen, it is probably easier to move the people. This is exactly what happened to most of the population of Huairou prior to the arrival of 40 000 foreigners with their 'strange customs' (this is what the inhabitants were led to believe in the propaganda circulated before the opening of the NGO Forum).



The Courier

Small children in the streets of Beijing. This is a rare sight in a country which advocates birth control

In fact, China received some compliments concerning its demographic policies, although these tended to be somewhat formal 'offerings' from UN agencies and official representatives. Even the harshest critics of the host country's apparently brutal approach might be forced to acknowledge that without it, the country would now have 2 billion people as compared to its actual population of 1.25 billion. *Yin and yang* would seem to come together at this point. On the other hand, less than two months before the start of the Conference, the Chinese government passed a law aimed at reducing the number of handicapped children. This goes as far as authorising doctors to prevent couples from marrying if the 'genetic test', which all will now have to undergo on top of the usual medical examination, reveals any problems. The law states that the partner of the person who is ill must be sterilised or must promise to use contraceptives or to agree to an abortion in the event of a pregnancy. The rules apply to people who have 'completely or partially lost their independence', and this can encompass relatively minor abnormalities. What is surprising is that the law, the like of which few nations would dare to enact, provoked such a low-key reaction from the NGOs meeting in Huairou and from the intellectuals and politicians who had criticised the choice of Beijing as the Conference venue. The protests which were made, some more scathing than others, came from a small number of scientists. These included the Association of Clinical

Genetics based at Newcastle University (UK), who compared the legislation to the ethnic cleansing carried out by the Nazis after they seized power. The Chinese official heading the Family Planning Committee was quoted in a Hong Kong newspaper as justifying the measure by stating that 'the absence of population quality control' could lead to serious consequences.

In Huairou, space was set aside — in the mud — for demonstrations to take place away from the gaze of the Chinese population. Despite this ploy, few dared exercise the right, fearful of police harassment, and cut off as they were, from the crowds. Any effort to get one's message across outside this reserved space was pointless and perhaps even foolhardy. Greenpeace tried it in Tiananmen Square using a small group of their national chairpersons — people who one might have expected to be protected by their high profile. They were seeking to protest against Chinese nuclear technology but their demonstration lasted just ten seconds — the time it took for the police to seize the banner with its anti-nuclear slogan. The participants were expelled from the country on the first available plane. There was a comic moment during this abortive protest just after the banner was confiscated, when one of the Greenpeace activists unfurled another banner. This bore the same message — but was only the size of a pocket handkerchief!

It took some time for the Chinese security forces to grasp the fact that the official conference site was UN territory for the duration of the meeting. Once they had stopped intervening directly, at the first sign of a demonstration developing, they turned to alternative forms of counter-attack. Amnesty International were the hapless victims of this tactic when, at the close of the Conference, their press attaché tried to hand a petition, calling for the release of two dissidents, to a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman who was taking part in a briefing. A squabble broke out when the official refused to accept the envelope. The technical department, which was supposed to be working for the UN, blotted out the voice of the 'trouble-maker' with music. At the NGO Forum in Huairou, there were several occasions



when the Chinese interpreters stopped translating speeches deemed too critical.

A domestic popularity exercise

Why was Beijing chosen? Indeed, why did China offer to organise and host an event which it seemed to find so distasteful? Again, we see the rift between *yin* and *yang*. China's candidature followed close on the heels of its diplomatic ostracism after the events of Tiananmen Square, and it needed to salvage its reputation, not so much with respect to the outside world, but more for domestic reasons. Chinese officials seem to attach little importance to international opinion, the suppression of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations being the most famous case in point. On the whole, we make a big mistake in attempting to interpret the diplomatic strategies of this country principally in the light of its international relations. To Chinese officials, the most vital thing is that the Chinese themselves believe that their country is held in high esteem — recognised, respected and feared. It also the case that when China submitted its offer, the authorities were under the impression that they would be hosting formal and somewhat dry meetings where there would be no place for anti-establishment protests or activities. Little did they realise that the Conference would bring a 'seditious' band of NGOs in tow. And even if some journalists chose to behave in an 'unconventional' way, they believed the Chinese people would be 'protected' from this. In fact, now that economic liberalism has been unleashed in China, young people are able to carve out small areas of independence in fields such as fashion and music. There has also been a resurgence of the old demons of drugs, prostitution and corruption not to mention increased interest in the ancient 'true' gods with a revival of faith. In the face of this, the powers-that-be claim to be

Tiananmen Square and the 'Forbidden City', the 'eternal' centre of power in China.

For China, the Women's Conference was, above all, an exercise in domestic popularity

adapting, for instance, in allowing pop music. This may not be such a bad thing although popular music is less a means of anti-establishment expression in China and more the 'opium' of the more prosperous citizens. The market, meanwhile, is becoming increasingly autonomous, without any real regulation. This is why some experts question the stability of the new wealth. It is wealth based on a complete reversal of an earlier Chinese 'miracle' which removed disparities between urban and rural areas (where three-quarters of the people live), between coastal and inland areas, and between rich and poor. The social structure has been disrupted to such an extent that there is already talk of a fragmented society. The new millionaires bring with them the new poor. Subsidies and tax breaks benefit the former and others in the privileged classes while penalising the latter. Within this social confusion, there are only two things which the authorities truly control — information and the armed forces.

The orthodox communist position was that it was suspect to learn a foreign language. In order to organise the conference, the language schools — the only places which could have provided translators and interpreters — had to be closed. Communication equipment, from cellular telephones, to tape recorders, is to be found in abundance, but there is no real communication, at least not with the outside world. The language barrier prevents this. So too does the alphabet barrier. The idea of transcribing Chinese characters into the Roman alphabet was mooted by Mao himself but the idea never really caught on — probably because of a continuing fear of contact with foreign concepts.

Between 1992 and 1995, NGOs, especially those with a feminist bent, succeeded in carrying out their own 'long march' through a series of UN-organised conferences on social themes. Beijing was to be the end of their journey; the place where they would finally gather the 'hundred flowers' of women's rights. China prepared itself for this much-heralded event in its own particular way. The first thing was to discourage the more 'undesirable' elements. The UN was asked to be extremely selective in issuing authorisations to NGOs and journalists. In fact, this was the first time that the departments which issue UN conference passes had been so strict. Tibetan NGOs, for example, who did not receive their passes, have accused the UN of 'kowtowing' to the Chinese authorities.

So why did the UN selected China as the conference venue? Firstly, and this may well bring a smile to the lips of the sceptics, because China is an example of the advancement of women within the overall context of restricted human rights. And after all, if China had been disqualified on the basis of a lack of respect for human rights, how many other countries would then also have to be barred from ever holding an international conference? There is another reason. China is a permanent member of the Security Council and therefore has the right of veto. Why alienate the goodwill of a country with such a powerful diplomatic weapon at its disposal just for the sake of a conference? And, of course, there is the economic argument. As former US President, Jimmy Carter is alleged to have said while in office, 'Imagine the size of the bill if every man and woman in China were to buy just one toothbrush from us.' Today, with the economic boom in that country propelling it towards the status of the economic giant of Asia by the year 2020, there is a lot more than mere toothbrushes at stake. Today, we are talking about factories, machine tools, cars, sophisticated electronic goods and computer equipment. The Chinese are buying all this and more from countries who are not at all fussy about who they sell to. In short, it is 'business as usual'. ■

H.G.

A story of women in Ethiopia

'Poverty is the opium of the people'

by Åsa B. Torkelsson*

'One person is born to work, another is born to be happy, another to enter paradise, while paradise is forbidden to still another. Those who seek pleasure from the world may never find it. God decides everything. That is what I think.'¹

The subject of female labour is a largely undiscussed element in the UN's commitment to the empowerment of women. While the Cairo summit concentrated on family planning and population control, and while women's participation in decision-making was a central element in Copenhagen, the conclusions reached in Beijing still include little about how women should be empowered. Alongside reproduction and community management, labour is one of the cornerstones of female responsibility in the Third World context. But women's labour has not yet been fairly recognised, even though it represents one of the main obstacles to their empowerment. This is because it is largely shrouded in mystery, taking place in the vaguely-defined informal sector, or as 'invisible' housework. We seek here to shed some light on the constraints to their empowerment by looking at the work carried out by Ethiopian women in the market places of Addis Ababa.

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. The average inhabitant has to survive on just \$100 a year according to the most recent World Bank estimates. Of course, poverty is a relative concept but nothing can hide the fact that most Ethiopians are absolutely and definitely poor. Life expectancy is just 46 years and fertility rates are very high.

Most people live in rural areas and earn their living in agriculture.

Observing the Ethiopian landscape as one approaches by air, one is struck by the apparent absence of human settlement — it is as if the population of 55 million is in hiding. In Addis Ababa, the picture is very different. 2.2 million people of various origins and ethnic groups rub shoulders there and the city is growing rapidly, at a rate of more than 5% a year. Much of the recent population influx is due to the settlement of demobilised soldiers who no longer have a 'job' now that peace has been restored in Eritrea. The wives and relatives of the 200 000 people who died or disappeared in the conflict, droughts and famines of the 1980s represent another major source of urban immigration. Tradition and religion exclude these women from basic agricultural work such as ploughing, and they are condemned to seek a living in the urban areas. Women, of course, take on the major responsibility for child-rearing. Their reproductive 'careers' start early and this is a major factor contributing to their low educational profile. It is also a key obstacle to their empowerment.

The situation in Addis Ababa creates serious difficulties for the authorities. Unemployment exceeds 40%, the cost of living is rising and the shortage of public services, notably clean piped water, is a major public concern. The number of female-headed households is growing (now 35% of the total), and it is recognised that these households are particularly vulnerable. The urban woman in question is likely to be less educated, and to be constrained by the multiple responsibilities

of home and family management. She will also probably not have the chance to earn an income in a formal setting. Living in the country, she could have sold or bartered her crop surplus to obtain things she didn't have. She can't do this easily in the city, where surpluses are hard to come by and cash is needed.

Selling on the streets

Her response to this is an invention called the *gulet*. This is a small piece of cloth which is used as a 'stall' to display agricultural products for sale. The term has come to be synonymous with a peculiarly female form of trading — the adaptation of a traditional African practice to an urban context. The enigma is how the women manage to survive on the meagre proceeds of a few pounds or potatoes or perhaps a couple of tomatoes. The life of the trader leaves no room for rest. For seven days a week, 13 (Ethiopian) months a year, and in rain or shine, she is to be seen on the roadside, wrapped in her *shamma* with her *gulet* open for trade. The ground is muddy on account of the rain that fell in the night. It is mud mixed with excrement and urine.

One girl, who is setting out her goods carefully, explains why she joined the *gulet*. 'I'm alone. My parents died when I was 13 and they left me nothing.' Others take to trading having dropped out of the highly competitive school system. The underlying reason is that there is no other way to survive. If the women want to live, they must trade — otherwise, they will die. In Maslow's famous hierarchy, they are indeed at the bottom of the heap. Work begins at sunrise when the woman goes to the wholesale trader and collects the goods she hopes to sell that day. It is a day-to-day existence. The income generated will usually be enough to buy basic foodstuffs for her and her dependants, but it certainly does not cover a visit to the doctor in the event of illness, far less sending the children to school.

Initial capital is the single most important factor for the profitability of the business. A mere 2 Ethiopian *birr* (US 30 cents) is enough collateral to obtain credit from a vendor — and few women can manage more than this. If unable to pay for their goods at the end the day, their

* This is an edited version of a text submitted by the author to the University of Gothenburg and the Swedish International Development Authority, and is the fruit of research carried out in Addis Ababa, June-August 1995.

¹ Mercha: An Ethiopian woman speaks of her life' in 'Life Histories of African Women', ed. P.W. Romero, 1988.

career as a trader comes to an end. It may be a flexible system but it is one characterised by chronic insecurity. Sometimes, the trader may earn a surplus above what is needed to feed herself and her family. There is a peculiar pattern here. The savings may be very short-term, the money being used to fund the next day's purchases. Alternatively, they will be invested in such a way that the woman will not enjoy the benefit in her lifetime — in the form of payments to a burial association. Very occasionally, the woman may spend the money to share refreshment with her friends. It is, quite simply, a 'hand-to-mouth' existence.



(Ava Torfesson)

The adaptation of a traditional African practice to an urban context

living. Despite their meagre earnings, their contribution to the Ethiopian economy is not insignificant. One of the few studies carried out in this area revealed that the *per capita* annual income of the informal household amounted to 467 birr (\$74). Sadly, however, the main 'contribution' is a negative one, expressed in terms of how little burden they place on public resources. Informal female trading has the effect of absorbing unemployment while, from the environmental standpoint, the attention given to utilising every available resource amounts in effect to a 'living recycling scheme'.

Among the 24 actions proposed by the African Platform for Action at the Beijing summit, there was one in particular that spoke of the need to recognise the importance of the informal sector in enhancing the economic empowerment of women.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to engender a democratic consciousness or enhance political participation where people are wholly engaged in the business of survival. Nor is it possible to talk of population control when a child may represent the last hope for future economic liberation. And how can one speak of a woman's labour rights when the tasks that she performs are neither identified nor acknowledged? If these women were able to organise themselves into political pressure groups, they could have a big influence, if only because they represent such a large segment of the population. But they won't organise because they don't have the time and they don't know how to go about it.

Simply by conversing with these women, however, we gave them a brief respite — a fleeting opportunity to reflect on their life situation. As they spoke about the hardships of their lives, tears began slowly to roll down their cheeks. Poverty may be indeed be the opium of the people. But consciousness, when it emerges, can be a dangerous thing! ■ A.T.

Official disapproval

Ethiopia's capital plays host to a number of international organisations and, anxious about image, the government is keen to clear informal traders off the streets. Police actions have led to some violence. As one woman comments, 'the policemen broke my nose once but mostly, they just beat me with their sticks and throw mud on my goods.' Informal payments to police officers enable some women to avoid this but shopowners also offer the police inducements to remove the unwanted competition. Women are also vulnerable to loss when they pay to have their goods stored overnight, only to find no trace of them in the morning.

Although they pay informal 'taxes', the women are denied the benefits offered to operators in the formal economy. There is clearly no job security in this kind of activity — no workers' rights to be enforced or maternity leave to be taken. When a baby is due, the woman stops work to have it (perhaps on the roadside) and a few days later, she returns to the market place with the baby at her breast. The term used for the women is *huguts* — people who are outside the law. These noble, courageous and beautiful Ethiopian women do not enjoy being depicted at their work. One tells me of her previous job as a distinguished seller of spices — before a fire in the market burned down her stall and forced her to start anew with a *gulet*. Her eyes avoid mine as she recounts her sad tale.

Despite the disapproval of the authorities, *Ato Esteranos*, who is Head of the Trade Bureau for Region XIV' explains to us that the work of the female trader is not exactly illegal. Everyone is poor in Ethiopia, he points out, and does what he can to survive. At the same time, the government does nothing to encourage or support the women traders. They are left to their destiny.

Most of the women are alone. Some had husbands who disappeared during the war. Others have been abandoned by their children's fathers who cannot face up to the responsibility and cost of rearing another child. A household may have as many 13 living in it — all to be supported by a single female breadwinner. The majority have no running water or toilet facilities at home.

Solving the impossible equation

When one looks at the equation, with the 'necessities of life' on one side and the identified 'means of survival' on the other, it is difficult to see how it can balance. But balance it does, although the question must be for how long?

As informal traders spend their income, save, and pay 'taxes' informally, the sector can be expected to experience dynamic growth. The vicious circle which is the pattern of life of the women in question creates interdependences. They are forced to buy products from others caught up in the same system thus generating more demand. More women can then turn to the market to earn a

Natali Prize journalist focuses on women's battles

The struggles of women in India to overcome poverty and authority, and in the process winning fundamental rights, better incomes and new found confidence through the smallest windows of opportunity, are themes of reknowned freelance writer, *P.Sainath*, winner of the 1995 Natali Prize for development journalism, awarded on September 14.

Bombay-based journalist, Mr Sainath, was attributed the ECU 5000 prize for his evocative descriptions of the very difficult situations of certain social groups in India, notably women, published throughout 1993 in a series, 'Face of Indian Poverty' in the 'Times of India'. The prize in memory of the late *Lorenzo Natali* who was the European Union's Development Policy Commissioner from 1985-1989, is awarded annually to the writer of an article or articles on a development and cooperation theme, in one of the EU's eleven official languages, published in a newspaper or magazine anywhere in the world.

Mr Sanaith began his journalistic career in the mid-1970s in the United News of India agency, moving on to the political tabloid 'Blitz' where he worked for 12 years' becoming Deputy Editor. He wrote the series under a fellowship awarded by the Indian daily, the Times of India.

The uplifting victory of women in Tamil Nadu's Pudukkottai district who succeeded in winning more control over their lives, is told in; 'A stone's throw away from slavery' published in the 'The Times of India' in June 1993. The women have made the most of a government loans scheme to become the successful managers of 170 stone quarries, employing their husbands as daily wage labourers.

In 1991, in a revolutionary move, 170 of Pudukkottai's 350 stone quarries were leased at nominal rates to extremely poor women from the lower 'castes', under a government-sponsored poverty alleviation scheme, 'Development of

Women and Children in Rural Areas' (DWCRA).

As Mr Sainath relates: 'The quarries were leased to groups of women usually 20 members (but sometimes more) who registered themselves as societies and not as cooperatives. This means over 4000 of the poorest women actually control the quarries they toiled in as labourers before. Their husbands work in the same quarries as daily wage labourers. Wages depend on productivity, but profits are shared equally among members of each society'.

His article speaks about the 'startling success' of the programme with women's groups maintaining their own accounts and doing their own paperwork having learnt to read and write in literacy courses, run to make them better quarry managers. The scheme has meant increased earnings. Before, one women described herself as a 'slave of the contractor' working from 6 am to 2 pm, for 6 Rupees per day. Her daily wage increased to 35 Rupees.

Mr Sainath cites one of the women coordinators, *Ms N Kannammal*: 'With the women and not the men in control, most of the money is being spent on the families, not arrack (an alcoholic beverage) and the women have proved better at fighting poverty.'

And he describes how the women have had to confront attempts to sabotage their societies, as well as their fight for the renewal of leases and an independent marketing system to by-pass middle men: 'Despite their record of success, the DWCRA quarrying societies have to fight for survival. A powerful coalition of contractors, politicians and corrupt officials stands arrayed against

them. When the groups were formed, contractors refused to allow trucks entry to the areas and even damaged approaches to the quarries.' He quotes one of the women quarry coordinators: 'After having tasted freedom these years, how can we ever go back.'?

Another article: 'Women wage war against arrack', published in the same newspaper in May 1993, describes women's campaigns against the distillation of arrack — which wrecked lives — in the Pudukkottai district. The anti-arrack move was spearheaded by a literacy group, the 'Arivoli Ivakkam' (Light of Knowledge Movement). 'In Thachankuruchi village of the poverty-stricken Gandravakkottai block, local women, many of them active in the Arivoli Ivakkam, decided they had had enough. The village had become completely unsafe for them not only due to high levels of alcoholism, but also because the illicit arrack, brewed locally, drew devotees all the way from Trichy, 40 km away, on the notorious Bus no. 63,' describes Mr Sainath.

The article tells of the case of *Malarmani*, a woman who was ostracised in her village because she spoke out against arrack. She had argued that it caused poverty in rural areas because many male labourers spent up to half their daily earnings on the drink. 'The arrack mafia in her village colluded with a few policemen to organise a social boycott of her family.' She told Mr Sainath that her new-found strength to speak in favour of prohibition came from her Arivoli classes.

According to the prize-winning journalist: 'The confidence that the literacy movement has given poor neo-literate women, the rationale it has provided them with, all promise a terrific battle at some point in the near future. Women like Malarmani have certainly set an example. It was very interesting to learn in villages far off from their own that their actions had been heard of and appreciated — even emulated. There was an undercurrent favouring the movement's spread. The arrack lobby has survived government after government, administrator after administrator. But in the poor neo-literate women of Pudukkottai, the lobby is finding tougher opponents. And the battle is only beginning.'

Putting the equality dimension into the mainstream

Padraig Flynn, European Commissioner for Social Affairs

The European Union came over in Beijing as the leading light in the 'feminist' camp. It was not surprising, therefore, that the religious 'tendency' chose to target it specifically — with claims that it was setting out to destroy the family. The Council Presidency, represented by Spanish Minister, Cristina Alberdi, and the European Social Affairs Commissioner, Padraig Flynn, kept a low profile in the face of these accusations. They refused to reply to the barbs issuing from the Holy See, doubtless keen not to alienate European Catholics — who in any case, were less than unanimous in their support for the proposals on women's rights advanced by the Vatican. In the negotiations, however, the Council and Commission representatives defended 'tooth and nail' the pro-women position of the Member State governments and of European NGOs who were closely involved in the preparation of the Conference. Moreover, it was a stance supported without reservation by three-quarters of the countries taking part in the Conference. Padraig Flynn took time off from his discussions to explain to The Courier what the EU hoped to see coming out of Beijing, stressing that the outcome would be crucial for future global stability.

■ *What is your general view of the aims of this gender conference?*

—Quite simply the advancement of women; the 'mainstreaming' of women's rights in all our policies and programmes. We have come here to promote equal opportunities and equalities in all areas of human endeavour. We want to highlight four priority areas for action. The first is respect for women's rights and here we are talking about fundamental rights. We want to see violence against women ended. We are fully aware of the serious violations that take place in certain parts of

the world — violence, harassment, abuse and even trafficking of women — and all of these have to be stopped.

The second priority is the participation of women in decision-making. We know that if they have a bigger and equal role to play in the decisions that affect their lives, there will be less discrimination. We want to see equality in political representation, in the public and private sector, and in the media.

The third area is the economic independence of women. We want equal access for women to economic resources and equal treatment of women in the labour market. We want to see access for women to credit and to management training so that they can provide for themselves the means of their advancement. We have always recognised that women make a huge economic contribution and in the future, with the globalisation of the world economy, they will play a crucial role in sustainable development. If we can improve their economic independence, it would help them to escape from poverty and violence, and lead to a huge improvement in the whole area of equity and equality.

The fourth area so important to us is the question of solidarity and partnership between women and men. Here we are talking about equal sharing of rights, responsibilities and power. That partnership should cover all fields of activity, both in the North and the South. The North-South gap is widening and the only way it can be overcome is by means of a true partnership. We also want to see it extended to Central and Eastern Europe. With the huge restructuring and resulting upheaval taking place there, it is important that there is a clear understanding of women's rights. And we must bring on

board non-governmental organisations — people who work at the grassroots level who can raise awareness about issues of discrimination and inequality.

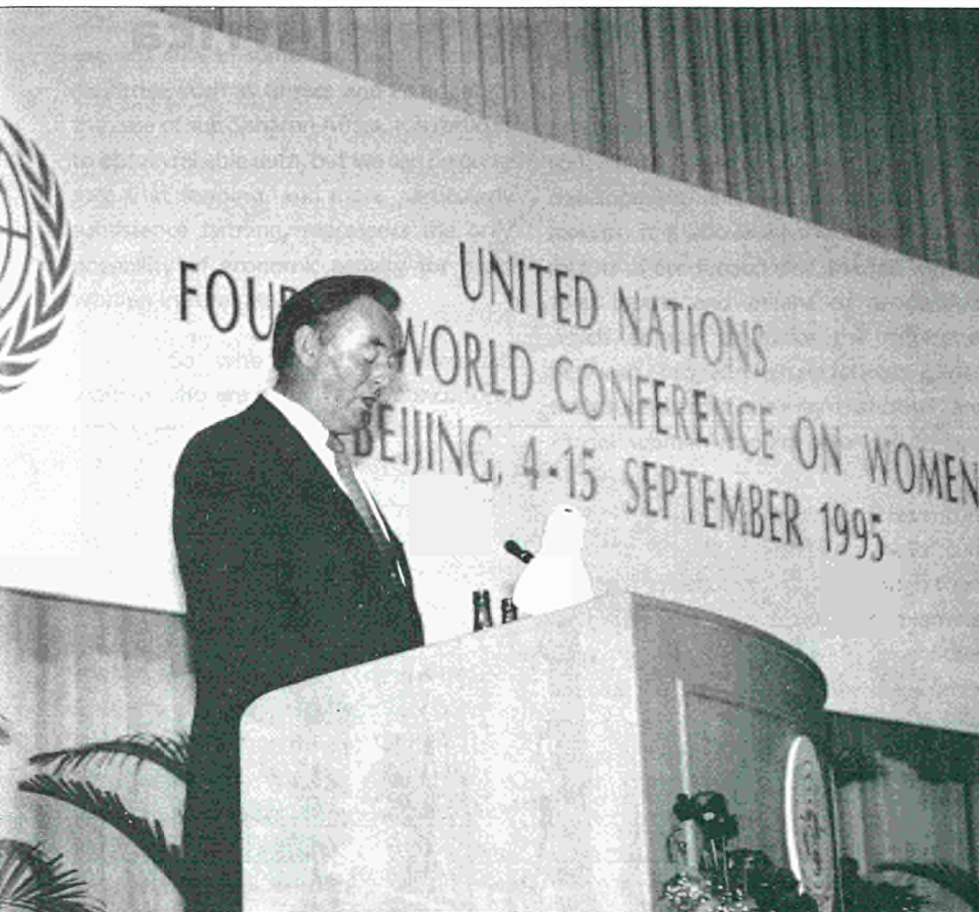
We want to see a gender perspective in development, with resources available to give a greater chance and better focus to women in the design and implementation of programmes necessary for all of these changes. We need a society that truly respects women's human rights and fundamental freedoms and leads to a perfect equality between women and men.

■ *The European Union says it is setting an example, but many of the activists here in Beijing argue that the past decade has been a bad time for women.*

— We have seen very great progress over the last few years in Europe — a big improvement as far as representation and women's rights in the labour market are concerned. But you're quite right. There's a lot still to be done. We have taken the opportunity of putting down what needs to be done in our Fourth Programme for Equal Opportunities that will run until the year 2000. We expect that to be agreed by EU Ministers before the end of the year. The overall objective is integration of the equality dimension in all our policies and programmes. We want to put the equality dimension into the mainstream. We intend to do that through the new partnership I have been speaking about: a new phase of integration combining resources of the EU, the Member States, local authorities, the social partners, the media and NGOs, to bring about a balanced society. We have a legislative and non-legislative programme to help achieve this and are getting a lot of support. We can look forward at the end of the century to having really reached a position where women will be involved in the decisions that affect their lives, in equal partnership with men.

■ *How does the EU's women's policy compare with policies of other developed nations such as the United States, Canada and others?*

— We want to see equality throughout the world. Europe has a very good record, but must not rest on its



Padraig Flynn addressing the Plenary Session of the IVth World Conference on Women

laurels. We have things to do. Our fourth programme shows where progress is most necessary. As the world's biggest development aid donor, contributing half of the total made available for this globally, the EU and its Member States want to use their influence better to direct aid into programmes and schemes that will improve the situation of women worldwide. In 1993, the EU contributed ECU 27 billion to development aid throughout the world and I want to see that better targeted. Women should have the right to design and implement programmes that will lead to a genuine improvement in their lives, irrespective of which part of the world they live in.

■ *Such ambitions naturally involve men and women working as partners. Do you agree that in the developing world, there are attitudes which are an obstacle to this?*

— There has always been a problem of attitude and this is one of the key things we have to change. I expect the Beijing platform to agree that there have to be commitments, not only from the European Union but also the United States, Africa, Central and Eastern Europe and the

rest of the world. But commitments are just one thing. It is implementation that matters and that is why we need a list of practical measures that have to be applied after this conference is over. We will get agreement here, I'm sure. But then, when we go back to our respective regions, we have to put in action what has been agreed and make sure the world knows that there is no more room for inequality; that women's rights are essential and the world cannot move forward to the benefit of mankind unless we have that agreed and understood universally.

■ *But can the mentality of the decision-makers in developing countries be changed?*

— Yes, it can. By merely being in Beijing, representatives of countries present have stated their willingness to support the commitments. If they sign declarations, it means an obligation to go back and take the necessary steps to implement what they have agreed. There's no point coming to Beijing or Copenhagen

or Nairobi to say nice things and express pious hopes unless, at the end of the day, commitments are adhered to. That is why we are here — to review progress since Nairobi and agree strategies on the advancement of women. This is why I have insisted, in my new programme on the equality of women, on an annual equality report, so that the world can see the progress made year by year. When we leave Beijing, we must all go home and, in the circumstances of our own countries, apply what has been agreed. Then we must come back in a few years and state what we have achieved. Yes, a change in attitude is required, but that has to be worked on through legislation and non-legislative programmes. That's what Beijing is all about — getting those practical steps agreed.

■ *Female migrants in Europe face a lot of problems. What can you do to help them?*

— Yes, there are a lot of immigrants and they suffer greatly from discrimination, particularly regarding working conditions and rates of pay. That is why I am anxious to get my proposal adopted which would give those in part-time work and on short term contracts equal rights to full-time employees. They would also get an equal entitlement to social security benefits. We have to get this agreed by EU ministers so that all those in lower paid jobs and short-term work — many of whom are immigrants and women — gain equal status with those in full-time jobs with full benefits. Also, I have a proposal that should be agreed this year on the reconciliation of family life, and professional and working life. This will greatly advance women's opportunities to get equality in the labour market. And under the Fourth Programme, I intend to introduce a framework on childcare. I believe if we have the right kind of services and right standards, women will be able to participate more freely and actively in the labour market and gain the economic independence that is the basis of real equality. ■

Interview by H.G.

Women in farming in Europe and Africa

Looking behind the differences

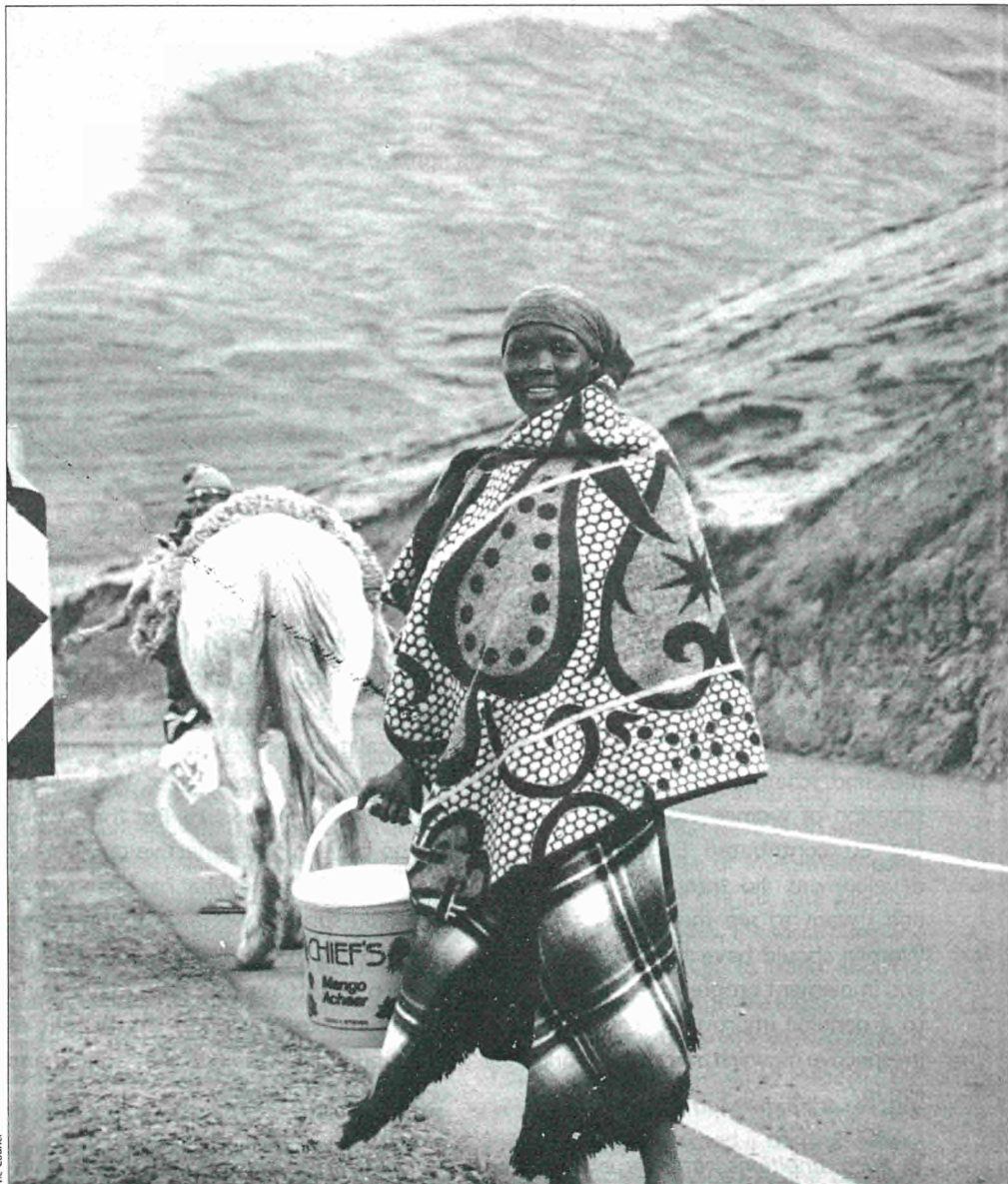
by Stelios Christopoulos*

The aim of this article is to examine a number of similarities between the situation of rural women in Europe and Africa respectively. Given the changes that have occurred since the 1980s in rural Europe, many of which have impinged on the situation of women, such an approach could be of practical use to those involved in development operations in Africa. Besides the importance of first consulting the women affected by the various programmes, this article also aims to highlight the need for better communication with women, leading to their systematic involvement in the planning and implementation of different projects in a rural environment.

Some similarities give cause for concern

Firstly, a warning: a systematic comparison of women working in agriculture in the two regions (Europe and sub-Saharan Africa), however elementary, is of only relative value. In both cases, there may be considerable differences between countries or zones in the same geographical region. When, however, the decision was taken in 1958 to set up the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which was the first common Community policy, Member States effectively chose to address the situation of women in agriculture as a whole. Their situation, although variable throughout Europe, is still governed by a standard set of rules. Similarly, in sub-Saharan Africa, and despite very considerable differences within and between countries and regions, agricultural policy, under the influence of the FAO and

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The Courier

international donors, often exhibits common characteristics.

In both Europe and Africa, agriculture and the rural environment are closely bound up with each other. In Europe, however, agriculture is not necessarily predominant in the rural economy. In 1990, 35.3% of those employed in agriculture were women, a higher level than in

The level of domestic food security is determined by the behaviour of women

industry (23.6%) but lower than in service occupations (48.4%). This distribution is obviously a reflection of the level of development in European countries which makes employment in other economic sectors possible. Nonetheless, the propor-

tion of women working in agriculture exceeds 40% in some southern European countries, such as Greece and Portugal. In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, it is difficult to obtain reliable data, but we can be quite sure that farming, and more particularly subsistence farming, represents the only possibility of economic activity for most women in rural areas.

So who are these European women who are employed in agriculture, and who is a 'rural woman'? The stereotype is of a traditional and conservative mother who is largely occupied with household tasks and activities on the farm or in the vegetable garden. She was born and brought up in the region and has a strong attachment to her traditions and environment. In Europe, women take on primarily manual tasks, whilst men are responsible for work requiring technical knowledge and the use of agricultural machinery. Does this profile equate with that of women farmers in sub-Saharan Africa? If so, what difference is there between the European female farmer and her African counterpart?

Actually, the difference is not that great. In both cases, women are the centre of domestic life and it is often their ability to satisfy the food requirements of the household that enables men to seek more profitable but also more precarious employment elsewhere. For example, mechanising the means of production, or turning to services, industry or export and cash crops is commonly regarded by the population as financially more worthwhile. It also coincides with the objectives of economic development policies. This outlook, common to Europe and sub-Saharan Africa, if not to the entire planet, means that job-seeking in these sectors tends to be reserved for men. Consequently, the level of the household's food security is determined by the behaviour of women. The difference in behaviour between men and women in agriculture reveals the importance of the role of women in the rural environment. Although, in Europe, this role is often decisive in terms of the family's welfare, in Africa it is often vital to the latter's survival. In this respect, the figures speak for themselves: 3500 calories per person are available per day in Europe

as against 2100 calories in sub-Saharan Africa.

However, if we compare factors affecting female productivity in the two continents, leaving aside the level of development and sophistication of the market, it is above all the quality of the factors of production (soil, rainfall, agricultural inputs and means of production) which appear to make the difference between European female farmers, generously subsidised in one way or another, and African women who are often left to fend for themselves.

In other respects, problems confronting female farmers on both continents are comparable, even though there is a difference of scale. For example, domestic activities and caring for children are part of their daily lot. In rural Europe and Africa, it is women who produce the greater part of subsistence food, process it, prepare it and serve it whilst taking care of the children and doing other domestic tasks. Another problem they have in common, although the scale of it differs, is that of inadequate education, and even illiteracy.

Women and food security

European experience has shown that in several sectors of the rural environment, if one wishes to be effective at the 'micro' development level the focus must be on women. Similarly, if one wishes to be effective at the 'macro' level and not allow large-scale projects to spawn side-effects that could alter the appearance of the region, or of the rural environment in question, consideration must be given to any repercussions such projects might have on the situation of women.

In rural areas, whether in Europe or Africa, illiteracy among women is more common than in the population at large. In Africa, given the role of women in food security, training should concentrate on the dissemination of farming methods. Whereas in Europe, education may sometimes have the perverse effect of encouraging women to migrate to urban centres, in Africa this risk is small when compared with the benefits. Thus, for example, the more education women

receive, the more they are inclined to use contraception and to plan their families.

However, women must not be seen solely as subjects for education and training. Their role in the education of their children must also be examined. In the context of school feeding programmes in sub-Saharan Africa, and other countries characterised by a precarious nutritional situation, the women — as 'guardians' of the family's food security — are more likely than the men to send their children to school in order for them to bring back food.

As part of their responsibilities for domestic food security, women are also more involved than men in food aid operations. Programmes where food is given in exchange for work have, *inter alia*, the effect of encouraging recipients to remain where they are. A rural exodus is usually motivated by food insecurity and 'cash' programmes can sometimes have the effect of exacerbating this. They give recipients the means to move and spend their money in urban centres. Consequently, food-for-work programmes can be a good way of reaching women in rural areas and at the same time enable work of value to the community as a whole to be carried out, thereby perhaps playing a part in considerably improving their situation.

Food security at a local level and on a small scale is therefore an area where it is sensible to involve women at all phases of the project. In this respect, the Resolution of the Council of European Development Ministers, of 25 November 1994, on food security, is clear: 'Given the different responsibilities of men and women as regards food security in households, the Council emphasises that the respective roles of men and women must be systematically examined when setting up programmes intended to guarantee food security'.

Lines of action

What, then, can national legislators and others who are involved do to help women in rural areas? Target women, certainly. The answer is both simple and complex since to target women does not mean that men are of no consequence. Often all that is required is to



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Child-minding is acknowledged as a major problem directly affecting opportunities for training and alternative employment for women in rural areas

reliable data on their situation. In Europe, major efforts have been devoted to this for some time. In sub-Saharan Africa, virtually everything still remains to be done. This work could be greatly facilitated by the presence of women in the national departments in question and within the relevant departments of the international donors.

Next, when planning and implementing projects, a systematic examination of their impact must be made, anticipating their side effects in terms of whether the recipients or the objectives in question relate more to men or to women. In Europe, it is now widely acknowledged that infrastructure or local service networks, when they target women (such as child-minding services), can contribute to increasing productivity on the part of women and preventing migration to the towns and cities. In fact, in rural Europe, child-minding is acknowledged as a major problem directly affecting opportunities for training and alternative employment for women in rural areas. In Africa, if progress is to be made in our efforts at involving women more in the various actions taken in the name of rural development, infrastructure projects must be adapted further to their needs.

In order to prevent the rural exodus and impoverishment of the population, rural employment outwith agriculture takes on strategic importance. We have seen that in Europe, the possibility of working in the industrial and service sectors does, in fact, exist. In sub-Saharan Africa, non-agricultural jobs in rural areas represent less than 20% of total available employment and this is all but monopolised by men. The adoption of specific measures at local and decentralised levels, to lighten the burden of women, is therefore a prerequisite to enable them to benefit from opportunities available in other, currently male-dominated sectors.

Promotion of legal reforms to ease the situation of women in their various roles is another aspect of strategic importance for African countries. Provided that traditions and cultures are respected, the donors should give greater priority to the technical assistance which is vital for assisting the countries concerned in im-

proving the legal and institutional environment in which women have to live.

Access to training and education is a major element in policies for improving the situation of women. Offering more immediate returns, easier access for women to credit and, in particular, rural credit, is one of the conditions for the emancipation of African women. It would also make a considerable contribution to food security in the countries concerned.

Adapting training to specifically female activities in agriculture is also one of the keys to the success of such reforms. They must therefore be consulted during information campaigns and brought in at all stages, for although women often have a better idea than men of the characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of the crop varieties grown, decisions relating to pilot projects or changes in crops are taken without any prior consultation of the women who will implement them.

By way of conclusion, the setting-up of good channels of communication with women, in order better to learn what they have to tell us, is, in our opinion, one of the keys to the success of rural projects. Although it may be difficult, in practice, to involve women in the various projects or options being studied, attempts should be made to adapt communications, consultation or training procedures so as to get alongside them. Where necessary, they should even be given time off from their other daily tasks, or have activities organised at their place of work. ■ s.c.

set up lines of communication to enable women to be heard on the subject of their needs and their perception of their needs.

One must also be aware that anything that offers financial advantages — for example state subsidies provided in the framework of their development policies for particular crops, agricultural processes, industries or service activities — is, in practice, addressed almost exclusively to men. Such policies often induce them to abandon growing both food and substitute crops. This is true in Europe and in Africa. This method of progressing, by promoting the development of an economic sector with advantages which can benefit only men is, however, not in accordance with the new trend of giving greater priority to human resources. It amounts to discrimination against women and, in many cases, endangers the very survival of the households in question.

Although the priority is to set up good means of communication with women, the first area where they should be targeted should be in the collection of

The future of European development policy

1995 has been a critical year for European development policy with the conclusion of negotiations for the second five-year phase of Lomé IV and new initiatives in respect of other developing countries. In this Special Feature, we look at these developments in more detail with the help of three European Commission officials who have been reflecting on the present state of the policy and where it might be heading. The Courier would welcome any external contributions (whether in the form of articles, or letters for our 'Mailbag' page) on this subject.

1995 — a watershed between two eras

by Stelios Christopoulos

The European frameworks for cooperation with several groups of developing countries have recently been undergoing extensive review. Examples are the mid-term revision of Lomé IV, and the strengthening of ties with Mediterranean and Latin American countries. Trade links with certain Asian countries are also being re-examined. The proposed changes take account of the economic progress of the developing countries in question and also reflect underlying geopolitical changes that have taken place in recent years, as well as developments in Europe itself.

Then there is the Inter-Governmental Conference (IGC), which will be the main event of the post-Maastricht period. On the development front, the questions most likely to be discussed at the IGC include certain shortcomings identified previously: problems in coordinating the policies of the EU Member States with Community policy, and problems in linking these to the Union's other common policies.

Do we still need an EC development policy?

1995, then, is a year of preparation and gestation — one of those years which is likely to have a profound impact on the future of development cooperation. But what are the major questions which might influence the form and content of EC cooperation with the various groups of developing countries? In the light of Maastricht's advocacy of 'additionality' (Community action can only be

justified where it 'adds value') and in view of the shortcomings that have been identified, is there really any place today for a Community development policy?

Europeans, even if they acknowledge the significance of Community development policy, often have trouble in grasping its real scope and dimensions. The continent has recently been hit by recession and monetary upheaval. Europeans are still perplexed by the war in the former Yugoslavia, and their complete inability to end the continuing slaughter taking place on their doorstep. Nor have they had time to assimilate the upheavals in Eastern Europe. So, even when they claim to be convinced of the importance of development aid, they cannot help wondering whether the concept needs updating. This impression, no doubt, is heightened by the relative failure of development efforts during the 1980s and the economic stagnation of most ACP countries. Despite all the efforts, the last ten years have seen the share of the European market taken by ACP exports fall from 7% to below 5%.

Europeans perceive the various aspects of external policy in the light of their own everyday concerns. As a result, domestic priorities are the main influence on their attitudes to external events. In five EU countries — Germany, Greece, Spain, France and Italy — immigration increased sharply between 1991 and 1993. Social injustice, unemployment, poverty, security and health top the list of European

concerns, acting, as it were, as filters through which other issues are judged. When talking of the EU's external policy — whether it be trade, future enlargement of the Union, or development cooperation — this is something which needs to be borne in mind.

Development is an operational component of external policy. So, too, is humanitarian action. But the results of development cooperation are not immediately apparent. Even when it is efficient and produces results, development cooperation will never have such an immediate and visible impact as humanitarian operations.

In 1994, the Community and the Member States, which together represent the world's largest source of development aid, devoted ECU 23.7 billion (0.41% of their GNP) to ODA. The share of the Community in its own right is 15% of this total. If productivity were taken as the sole criterion, and leaving aside certain Asian countries, few Europeans would regard the results as good enough to justify maintaining the same level of finance for cooperation policy in future years. Since the early 1990s, there has also been a steady decline in development aid from the United States. Total US aid in 1993 was just ECU 8 billion, or 0.15% of their GNP, which is half the OECD average. In 1994, the USA actually slipped to third place behind Japan in the aid 'league'. With Congress dominated by the Republicans,

this trend is likely to become more marked in the coming years.

Even today, as the EU economy begins to recover, it is clear that the deadline for convergence of national economies, and the budgetary discipline inherent in the objective of a single currency before the year 2000, leaves little leeway for substantial spending increases. In these circumstances, the EU Member States may be particularly tempted to try to recover some of the Union's development cooperation funding, currently managed by the Community. For the governments of the 15 Member States, this could be seen as a way of exercising more control over expenditure, especially as regards developing countries where things are not going so well. After all, many Europeans will see nothing wrong in having substantial differences in living standards between different countries, or groups of countries, throughout the world. Even within Europe, standards of living in the most prosperous regions are five times higher than in the poorest ones.

The current context

What are the main changes to affect relations between the various groups of developing countries and the EU, and which are likely to have an impact on redefining the EC's development cooperation? In the last few years, the 'interdependence' which had long conditioned North-South relations has undergone profound changes. Freed from the political ties that bound them to one or other superpower, several southern countries have, at the same time, lost the advantages they derived from their strategic position. This 'liberation' has often released other forces, hitherto subdued by the fear of some potential impact on the world order. The result has been a new outlet for previously suppressed animosities. Unfortunately for them, during the same period, several ACP countries also lost their strategic importance as suppliers of raw materials.

At the same time, national economies are becoming increasingly interdependent. Direct foreign investment, greatly assisted by the globalisation of financial mechanisms and communications,

is playing an ever more vital role in national economies. This trend is not necessarily favourable to the development efforts of the most disadvantaged countries, though they are named as priority beneficiaries of the Union's development cooperation (in Article 130U of the Maastricht Treaty). The pressure to achieve results in external relations may sometimes prove incompatible with the immediate development priorities of these countries. Unfortunately, the many conflicts that have sprung up since the end of the Cold War have done nothing to improve the situation. One of their effects has been to increase insecurity and drive away crucial foreign investment.

The globalisation of the economy and trade, and the worldwide importance of issues such as the environment, health, population and security, are now leading to the emergence of new interdependences which are likely to affect cooperation policy in the future.

Main trends

The Union's cooperation policy is not conceived or applied in isolation. The new interdependences mentioned above are also crucial for the EU, and imply closer coordination with other major donors than in the past. Community policy is guided partly by its own common experience and partly by general trends which have affected all development cooperation protagonists.

For all developing countries, advances in democratisation or human rights are now prerequisites for continuing active cooperation with the Union. These are fundamental and mandatory aspects, requiring a political commitment on the part of the states which receive the aid and, through them, on the part of the Union. Of course development cannot be divorced from politics. But there are ways of strengthening the democratic function without prejudicing the sovereignty or specific cultural features of the countries in question. With this in mind, the principal donors began some time ago to support efforts to increase the sense of responsibility among beneficiary populations, involving them as directly as possible in aid

management. The synergies produced by this cooperation ought to be sought at the most varied and decentralised levels possible. This kind of participatory development is not incompatible with increasing the sense of responsibility of the political and democratic institutions in the beneficiary countries. On the contrary, it has to act as a two-way mechanism for sending regulatory signals between the EU and the beneficiaries.

The decentralisation of decision-making will also help to establish the climate of confidence necessary to bolster the private sector, and will help attract direct foreign investment. Those countries which demonstrate this kind of receptiveness are likely to benefit from the 'confidence capital' they need to qualify for the various special funds and programmes and derive real gains from the advantages which thus become available to them.

As regards ACP countries more specifically, it now seems clear that aid will increasingly be planned in tranches, and that the actual level of aid will depend on the success of previous efforts. The effect will be to reward countries which demonstrate their commitment to sustainable development and penalise those which are more inclined to live from hand to mouth or whose priorities are not such as to persuade international donors that the aid is worthwhile.

In addition, donors will have the use, not only of traditional bilateral or multilateral aid channels, but also of other forms of sector-based cooperation. One example of this is to allow over-indebted countries to swap their debts for development efforts in certain priority areas. The environment is one area where such cooperative approaches can usefully be exploited, and no doubt education and health are others. Swaps, of course, are one of the most direct forms of conditionality in relations with developing countries. This is a field where the aid operators of the industrialised countries, the UN agencies and — why not? — the NGOs, can find new fields to explore.

Relations between the Union and the countries bordering the Mediterranean are determined by geographical and cultural proximity. Consequently, improving

the terms of access for Mediterranean produce to Union markets and reducing illegal immigration are essential elements in cooperation between the two sides.

The new Generalised System of Tariff Preferences is already providing better terms of access to the EU market for products from Latin America and Asia. Investment aid and support for small and medium-sized enterprises is currently vital for a number of countries in both these groups if they are to consolidate the progress they have made. The advances already achieved by several countries in this zone offer the Union a wide range of new opportunities for cooperation, including an increasing number of features involving a genuinely equal partnership. Examples include technology exchanges and common investments.

A permanent place for the Community

So, given the profound changes of the past decade, is there still a place for a Community development policy? If so, what needs should it cover in the field of cooperation, relative to the policies of the individual Member States? Which groups of countries should it cover, what should it do, and how should it do it?

Suppose we were to turn the question round and address it not to the European Commission, as the Union's executive, but to the Member States? In other words, given the present context of globalisation of production and trade, and new interdependences, and taking account of the changes which have occurred, is the action of the individual Member States sufficient to meet present-day needs in cooperation and development? The answer seems to us clear enough: the new context of international relations, the need to adapt policy to the specific features of different groups of developing countries, and the new trends in development cooperation, exceed the individual response capabilities of the Member States. Even the largest EU countries will have difficulty covering all aspects of cooperation in an effective way: aspects which include implementation, monitoring, as-

essment and above all coordination with the many other interested parties.

The regionalisation and globalisation of relationships point to a confirmation, and indeed, strengthening of the Union's role in cooperation in the future. Community action seems a more suitable response to the needs of development cooperation, taking into consideration the priorities which concern Europeans in their everyday lives. However, it is also true that Community policy is not above reproach, especially as regards coordination with the Member States and consistency with other Union policies. These are matters which will have to be examined closely at the Inter-Governmental Conference.

Lomé IV obstacle race

The sum of ECU 12 billion was allocated for the European Development

Fund and other commitments under the first financial protocol of Lomé IV (covering 1991-1995). Following the Cannes Summit of EU leaders in June, the amount for the second five-year phase — including EIB capital — was finally set at 14.625 billion ECU. The increase of 22% must not, however, be overstated. It is less than the amount recommended by the Commission to take account of the accession of three new Member States. The significant difficulties which marked this agreement seemed to confirm a trend in some EU countries towards 'renationalising' development aid. It may be that behind this approach is a desire on the part of some Member States to subordinate more of their development aid to national policy objectives — by favouring some beneficiaries rather than others or by imposing unfavourable conditions. This trend towards bilateral aid could increase in the

Mediterranean partnership: a natural reflex

In March 1995 the Commission also approved a proposal for strengthening the EU's Mediterranean policy. Quite apart from its geographical, historical and cultural proximity, the Mediterranean region is one of the Community's leading trading partners. Additionally, there are more than five million immigrants within

the Community from that region. The new Commission proposal aims at setting up a global cooperation framework to cover all aspects of relations between the partners. In the past, cooperation was based primarily on reinforcing infrastructures, trade, industry and agriculture. The three priority aspects proposed for this partnership are support for economic transition, support for a better socio-economic equilibrium, and helping in the process of regional integration.

The purposes of aiding in economic transition include bringing about a Euro-Mediterranean free trade area, creating a dynamic private sector in the countries concerned, and improving economic and social infrastructures. As regards supporting the socio-economic equilibrium, the Commission proposals include improving social services, especially in urban areas, contributing to the harmonious development of rural areas, the development of fisheries, and environmental protection. In the same context, the Commission will take steps to strengthen democracy and respect for human rights. Again, there will be a focus on developing human resources. One of the key areas in this respect is technical assistance aimed at reducing illegal immigration. The Community also intends to provide technical assistance to combat drug trafficking, terrorism and international crime. As regards regional integration, the Community plans to supply appropriate technical assistance for the establishment of regional cooperation structures and to participate in financing economic infrastructures essential for increased regional trade — especially in high-technology sectors such as transport, communications and energy.

In 1991-95, Community aid to the Mediterranean region — excluding EIB loans — was less than ECU 1.5 billion. The figure approved for the period 1995-1999 is ECU 4.685 billion. The increase is confirmation of an increasing consciousness in the EU that the problems of its neighbours are of strategic concern to it. If Europe does not make the effort to collaborate now in solving the problems facing the Mediterranean states, sooner or later it will face the same or similar problems within its own frontiers. The next step is planned for Barcelona in November. The aim is to bring almost all the Mediterranean countries together with their EU partners to sign the 'Barcelona Charter', thus formalising a new partnership between the Union and its closest neighbours to the South.

years to come if, in the meantime, Community aid does not produce more tangible results in terms of sustainable development of the beneficiaries.

The mid-term negotiations also confirmed the emphasis already placed on developing human resources in the first phase of the Convention. Additionally, the fact that the current climate favours increasing globalisation of trade — as witnessed in the conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round — left its mark on the negotiations to some extent. The two sides accordingly agreed that ACP-EC cooperation should centre on trade. Thus, the rules of origin for products from ACP countries have been made more flexible and additional advantages are granted to the ACPs in respect of virtually all agricultural produce (the exceptions being olives, wine products, and lemons). Moreover, under the Uruguay Round, the Lomé Convention has been granted a waiver with regard to the tariff preferences which are granted unilaterally by the Community to the ACP countries. Will these advantages be sufficient to guarantee better access to the European market for ACP products *vis-a-vis* the products of their competitors? The latter may receive less favourable treatment from the EU but they often export products of superior quality and at lower prices. With this in mind, the provisions aimed at increasing ACP exports will be backed up by other measures designed to strengthen their competitiveness.

The ACP States have also accepted the 'two-tranche' principle for their NIP appropriations. Finally, other provisions relating to the promotion of private sector development, strengthening industrial cooperation, and regional and decentralised cooperation have also been agreed.

So although the process of agreeing the financing of Lomé IV 'bis' among the Fifteen may have been painful, the agreement as a whole, which absorbs almost half of EC development aid, now seems much better equipped to face the future development challenges of the countries in question.

In parallel with the Lomé IV mid-term review, the negotiations for a new

cooperation framework with South Africa are likely to have a significant impact on the future of the Lomé Convention. In March 1995, the Community proposed a two-tier approach to its relations with South Africa. These are an additional protocol to Lomé covering the specific conditions for South Africa's accession to the Convention, and a separate trade and cooperation agreement between the EU and South Africa. Whatever form the final agreement takes, the accession of this complex country to the ACP Group is sure to have significant effects on the competitiveness of countries in the region and, perhaps, on the competitiveness of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

We might also cite an example of where development policy is linked to Community policies in other sectors. The new Council Regulation on generalised tariff preferences for 1995-1998 (Regulation 3281/94 OJ L 348, 31 December 1994) envisages graduating tariff preferences in accordance with the level of development of the beneficiary countries and by means of a 'solidarity mechanism' which takes account of the relative importance of the share of exports in a given sector.

Today's priorities

In addition to achieving a sustained rhythm of economic activity, the overall concept of development presupposes harmonious political and social development in parallel. By definition, therefore, there can be no question of donors focusing aid on just a few 'favoured' sectors in the ACPs. However, given that aid planning since the beginning of the 1990s has been increasingly based on performance criteria, the main donors have to some extent been forced to concentrate their efforts more on areas of strategic importance which are fundamental to the success of wider development efforts.

Of course, the strategic areas chosen vary from one country or region to another, as well as over time. The selection is based on an assessment by both beneficiaries and donors of those areas regarded as vital for sustainable develop-

ment. Changes in priorities over time are dictated primarily by practical experience of previous periods, and by looking at the relative development of the sectors in question. Thus, during the 1970s, the key priority was major infrastructures. The focus then shifted to agriculture. The distinctly modest achievements of these first two phases, and the emergence of new interdependences, led development practitioners, from the early 1990s onwards to take a greater interest in the strategic importance of institutional and financial equilibrium and in the development of human resources.

Today, the indisputable priority is support for institutional reforms, favouring decentralisation and liberalisation of production and marketing systems. Alongside this comes support for structural adjustment aimed at balancing the books of the countries concerned. The ECU 1150 million provided for structural adjustment during the first Lomé IV period (1989 to 1994) reflects the importance that has been attached to this. The private sector is another area likely to enjoy continuing support from the main donors. On top of the direct help given to private projects, financial structures and institutions offering collective services — such as chambers of commerce and industry — will undoubtedly be targeted.

In a world with more than a billion people living on less than one Ecu per day, the campaign against poverty will always be a priority in development aid. This, we feel, is part of the Community's vocation and role. This point is illustrated in EC programmes to support institutional reform and structural adjustment, which are designed to reduce the impact of budgetary austerity. It is widely recognised that in the initial phases of implementing such reforms, broad sectors of the population can find themselves impoverished. While the number of undernourished people in Asia and Latin America has tended to stabilise over the past 15 years, the trend in sub-Saharan Africa remains upwards. The number of people suffering from malnutrition in this region has risen from 112 million in 1975 to 175 million in 1990. This increase illustrates the risk of recurrent famine in Africa, and underlines

Latin America/Asia: moving towards 'parity'

During the first half of the 1990s, the Community provided ECU 2.9 billion in development funding to more than 30 Latin American and Asian countries. This figure excludes EIB loans which were available up to a further ECU 750m.

During the same period, the relevant cooperation instruments were integrated to produce a more consistent approach. Community cooperation with Latin America and Asia takes account of the advances in industrialisation in many of these countries. It is based principally on consolidating economic and industrial development, including support for introducing credit mechanisms or for starting-up SMEs, and encouragement of joint ventures. It also attaches high priority to technology transfer programmes and training exchanges.

In April 1995 the Commission proposed that a free trade area should be set up with the MERCOSUR countries, (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay). The Union's intention is to establish a community of interests based on mutual economic and commercial advantages. In addition, the Community is to renew for a further four years, the financial instrument known as 'EC Investment Partners' (ECIP), first launched in 1988 to promote joint ventures between Community and Latin American/Asian countries. Projected ECIP funding for 1995-99 is ECU 250 million.

the need for structural responses to the problem of an insecure food supply.

Contrary to those who unconditionally favour trade globalisation and multilateral solutions, strengthening regional cooperation among developing countries may, in the long run, do more to accelerate trade liberalisation. It may indeed serve as a preparatory stage for the countries involved. It is sometimes easier to identify tangible and more immediate advantages in regional cooperation in specific fields. The advantages of a multilateral agreement are more complex to unravel. In this period of uncertainty, regional structures are also likely to offer important advantages in terms of geopolitical stability. They can contribute, for example, to the effective prevention of regional conflicts. People who have acquired the habit of working together and finding solutions to shared problems are less likely to take up arms against each other. This is why support for regional cooperation in the ACPs, which received ECU 1250 million in 1991-95, will continue to be seen as an area of strategic importance.

Development is greatly influenced by the attitudes of those involved in it at all levels. With this in mind, training and education will continue to be viewed as priority areas. Closely associated with this is the issue of family planning, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Economic growth rates which appear satisfactory are often found

to be misleading when one learns how often they are outstripped by demographic trends. This is clearly another key 'sector'. In a related area, the role of women and the encouragement of their involvement in development activities are increasingly becoming a central consideration for development operators.

The total aid allocated to health development activities in the ACP countries has increased spectacularly, from ECU 125 million in 1980-1985 to almost ECU 300 million for 1993 alone. Although a relatively large proportion of this has been devoted to combating AIDS, big increases have been recorded elsewhere as well. While it may be difficult to point to tangible results as yet, the figures bear witness to the importance of the health issue and reflect the Community's awareness that this is one of the new global interdependences referred to earlier.

Protecting the environment is another crucial area with activities in this field already absorbing more than 10% of the Community development budget. This is another aspect of the new interdependence between industrialised and developing countries and the sums allocated reflect the importance that the Community attaches to it.

These, in brief, are the areas that have been identified as strategically important for development policy in the second half of the 1990s. At the same time, development cooperation is in the process

of filtering the lessons of the past in order to refine its approach. It is gradually moving away from traditional development aid towards a 'contract approach'. In future the Community's relations will increasingly be based on a contract of trust, with terms that are binding on the parties. This is already the case with those countries that have recently made significant advances, and with which the EC is beginning to deal on the basis of genuine partnership, in pursuit of mutual interests. But it also applies to the most disadvantaged countries, where aid will increasingly be tied to an obligation to produce results. The new approach is designed to reflect the concerns of people both in the developing countries and in Europe — whose fates are becoming increasingly linked. ■ s.c.

Complementarity between EU and Member State development policies

Empty rhetoric or substantive new approach?

by Marc Jorna*

Together, the European Union and its Member States provide more than 50% of global development aid. They are, however, rarely perceived as being the world's largest donor. This is because the development policies of the EU (representing about 15% of their collective funding) and of individual member countries have tended to operate independently. With the passage of the Maastricht Treaty on European Union in 1993, this situation is now gradually changing.

Although the EU has been involved in development cooperation since 1957, European development policy has only recently been given a specific legal basis. The new Title XVII of the EC Treaty formalises the existence of such a policy, operating alongside those of the Member States. It also recognises their interdependence, establishing policy objectives and providing instruments to achieve them. In this context, Article 130u states that the EU's development policy 'shall be complementary to the policies (of) the Member States' while Article 130x requires the EU and its Member States to coordinate policy in this area. The term 'complementarity' first cropped up in Council Resolutions on development during the 1970s and 1980s but its exact meaning only began to be seriously debated after 'Maastricht'. The reasons included the fact that development aid was coming under growing criticism and new funds had to be found for EU cooperation with developing countries. There was also, of course, the fact that the policy had obtained a more formal status in the European framework, and in this connection, some EU countries were keen to define more closely the border between bilateral and EU development cooperation.

At the Council's request, the Commission issued a communication on

complementarity and in June 1995, the Council adopted a Resolution on the same subject ('Complementarity between the development policies and actions of the Union and those of the Member States'). The Parliament is presently preparing its own report.

Misconceptions

The concept of complementarity has obviously been discussed at length by the various parties. With development budgets under pressure, a number of Union members sought to justify a possible diversion of funds from the EU to bilateral aid. There was a concern that complementarity might result in the Commission gaining control over national programmes. Others, by contrast, feared a 'renationalisation' of European development cooperation. The interpretations of 'complementarity' that emerged from this process included the following:

— specialisation of tasks between Member States and the EU, whether based on the existence of comparative advantages or not;

— a 'one way street' whereby only the EU would have to 'complement' Member State activities, without any reciprocal obligation;

— that it should be considered in the light of the subsidiarity principle, as set out in Article 3b of the EC Treaty.

On this last point, it should be noted that complementarity and subsidiarity are two very different concepts. Subsidiarity relates to the *division* of competences, and entails decisions being taken at the most appropriate level. Complementarity relates to the *use* of established competences and requires that decisions taken by different participants within the field of their own powers, are consistent with each other. As the Commission has stated, there can be no complementarity if the basic philosophies, objectives and policies of the EU and its Member States diverge. Complementarity requires, moreover, that shared objectives are translated into common sectoral policies, that a common view is reached on the needs of the developing countries, and that activities are closely coordinated. Accordingly, it cannot be seen as a 'one way street' and must involve active Member State participation — with possible consequences for their own bilateral policies.

Complementarity thus involves a partnership of equals. EU countries cannot force the Commission to support or participate in national schemes, although such participation is not excluded. Similarly, the EC Treaty provides for Member States to 'contribute if necessary to the implementation of Community aid programmes' (Art. 130x). Nor does complementarity entail specialisation involving a formal division of tasks between the various actors, although one should clearly take advantage of the strengths of the different parties. If a certain Member State or the Commission, for example, has particular experience in education in Tanzania, why not let it take the lead in that area?

What complementarity is about

Despite the EU's leading role in global aid provision, the advantages of this critical mass have not so far been reaped. The results of operating largely independently have included unnecessary overlaps, work duplication and even conflicting

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activities. There is general agreement that the objective of complementarity is to achieve *greater collective effectiveness* through coordination, as foreseen in the aforementioned Article 130x (which gives the Commission the role of initiator). The potential advantages are numerous. For example, duplication could be reduced through joint studies, evaluations or projects. There could be more efficient resource allocation through the effective use of specific expertise, and economies of scale could be achieved. Policies decided jointly would be easier to implement. The EU's collective position vis-a-vis recipients and other donors would be strengthened. Finally, the administrative burden on developing countries would be reduced — instead of dealing with 16 separate donors, they can deal with them as one.

What has happened since Maastricht

Since 1992, there has been some progress in achieving coherence between EU and national policies. In 1992, the Member States issued a Declaration on 'Aspects of Development Cooperation Policy in the run up to 2000' which accepted that the principles established for EU development policy in the EC Treaty applied equally to their own bilateral policies. They also agreed to enhance coordination at the policy and operational levels as well as in international fora. A number of sectoral policies have since been harmonised, providing guidelines which are applicable both to the Commission and to national development agencies. In the area of operational coordination guidelines have been agreed and six 'pilot' countries have been chosen with a view to gaining practical experience.

Structured coordination

Considering that Member State/EU coordination was still too *ad hoc*, the Council agreed with the Commission on a more structured approach. Following the procedures for coordination between the Community and its Member States laid down in December 1993, the Resolution of 1 June 1995 on complementarity details ways of achieving this.

Policy coordination

In the past, Member States meeting in Council established EU sectoral policies which were only applicable to the Commission. This is now changing, with recent guidelines also applying to national development agencies. So far, common guidelines have been agreed in four areas: poverty alleviation, health, education and food security. Although these guidelines are applicable to all developing countries, a number of pilot countries' were selected to gain experience with their coordinated implementation. The results should benefit coordination in all developing countries. In the Resolution of 1 June, Member States expressed satisfaction with this process, and indicated that it should continue. The Commission will identify further sectors for that purpose.

Coordination in forward planning

The establishment of country strategies (NIPs under Lomé) is an important phase in the process. These provide guidelines for action in a specific country over a certain period of time. To achieve complementarity at a country level, the individual approaches need to be coherent; something which implies coordination. EU strategies have always been discussed with Member States in the management committees. However, to ensure consistency and complementarity between EU aid and that of the Member States, bilateral strategies ought to be considered in that context as well. The Commission therefore proposed that these should also be looked at within the framework of discussions on EU strategies. The Council endorsed this in its Resolution of 1 June.

Coordination of country strategies has particular significance given the forthcoming programming phase for the 8th EDF. The first step is the drafting of a document by the Commission delegate in each ACP state setting out the strategy for the EU's cooperation with that country. The main purpose is to determine areas where the EU might usefully make a contribution, taking account of the activities of other donors (including, in particular, the Member States). The Commission has issued instructions to its

delegates to coordinate with Member States on the spot in order to establish a common view on the development strategy of the country concerned and on the major constraints, as well as to identify the most efficient way in which the EU can intervene.

Coordination in international fora

In contrast to the common commercial policy (where the EU has exclusive competence), development cooperation is an area where the EU and Member States enjoy parallel or 'mixed' competences. This means that, while the Commission normally represents the Member States in international trade discussions, they operate, in principle, side by side in the development cooperation area. Indeed, the Treaty stipulates at Article 130x that Member States and the Commission should also coordinate their activities in international organisations and at international conferences. This is designed to ensure that they take the same position, thus facilitating their work at these meetings. More importantly it ensures coherence between what has been decided within the Union and the positions to be taken outside. Progress is being made in this area, in the sense that positions for international conferences such as the recent Beijing, Rio and Cairo summits were coordinated in advance. The same approach is used for Consultative Group and Round Table meetings. Unfortunately, in some Member States', the political will to coordinate is still lacking in some areas — notably where the Bretton Woods institutions are involved. Those EU countries with direct representation in the World Bank and IMF show little enthusiasm for coordination, although there are a few exceptions. Thus, for example, effective coordination does take place in the Special Assistance Programme for LDCs in sub-Saharan Africa.

Given the importance of the Bretton Woods institutions (notably, the World Bank) in the development field, the positions taken by the EU Member States in these fora ought to be closely coordinated, and to follow policy lines jointly established in the Union. Currently, EU countries have about 28% of the votes on the Executive Board of the World Bank.

Germany, France and the UK (all permanent members) have roughly 13% while the others pool their individual voting rights, mainly with third states. The Netherlands, for example, 'shares' a seat with Armenia, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Georgia, Israel, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. It would seem logical, however, for EU countries without a permanent seat to pool their voting rights as far as possible with each other.

In addition, the Commission only has observer status on the World Bank's Board of Governors and advisory development committee. Given that the EU is (collectively) the largest donor, consideration should perhaps be given to giving it representation in its own right. This is already the situation at the equivalent level of the FAO.

Operational coordination

Operational coordination relates to the *implementation* of policies and strategies. In its Resolution of December 1993 on 'procedures for coordination between the Community and its Member States', the Council stated that extensive coordination was desirable. As with sectoral policy coordination, the Council selected a number of countries to gain experience in this area. A progress report on operational coordination in these countries has been submitted by the Commission to the Council. The conclusions in the final report, due by the end of the year, should help to achieve more effective operational coordination in all developing countries. Initial experience points to only limited interest on the part of some Member States, in participating in this coordination. This appears particularly to be the case in those countries where coordination is already taking place in a wider context, including non-EU donors. Also, follow-up of coordination on the ground, at the level of the national capitals, has not always been satisfactory.

In certain countries, some coordination already takes place, albeit usually limited to specific sectors (for example, the Sub-Saharan Africa Transport Programme). This often includes donors from outside the EU. These efforts are worthwhile and should be continued. So long as they work efficiently, the purpose

of specific EU coordination may appear limited. There are, however, three key reasons why the latter should happen. First, coordination is required to put into practice the common guidelines agreed in Brussels. Second, the Member States and the Commission are in a stronger position if they work collectively rather than as 16 individual players. Third, the fact that the 16 speak with one voice will obviously help facilitate wider coordination in the donor community.

Responsibility for coordination on the spot, in specific sectors, is presently being divided between Member States and Commission. The reason for this is a practical one, namely a shortage of suitable personnel. From an institutional standpoint, however, it is the Commission that has the task of coordinating (Article 130x of the EC Treaty) and if it is effectively to fulfil its role as initiator of proposals, it is important that it should be able to exercise its responsibility in the field. Thus, while for practical purposes, coordination in specific sectors can be delegated to individual Member States, the overall coordination should, in the final analysis, be the job of the Commission.

Evaluation and working methods

Learning from experience is important in improving collective effectiveness. With this in mind, the Commission proposed joint evaluations of EU and bilateral Member State development policies. EU countries agree on the importance of evaluation, but some have been less enthusiastic about bringing their bilateral aid into the process. The utility of such evaluations has, however, been recognised by the Council (in its Resolution of 1 June 1995).

The new approach described above should eventually have consequences for Member State and EU working methods. If increased coordination is to function well, the decision-making structures of Member States and the Community have to be compatible with each other. Coordination in the field, for example, loses much of its impact if those on the ground have no effective input into decisions taken in their capitals. At national

level, there also needs to be effective coordination or, better still, integration, between those involved in EU policy-making, and those responsible for bilateral programmes. Similarly, bilateral strategies should be discussed more openly within the EU framework. The recent Council Resolution, which also suggests greater compatibility between the decision-making powers of national and EU delegations, offers a step in this direction.

The adaptation of working methods is always cumbersome. In the area of development cooperation, it will certainly demand time and effort. Such adaptations are possible, however, as Sweden recently illustrated when it integrated three services — responsible for development cooperation, industrial cooperation and technical assistance — into a single service.

Conclusion

The Member States and the EU have only just begun the process of increased coordination — which should ultimately lead to a coherent development policy in Europe, implemented by the Commission and the Member States. The process is necessarily lengthy and must be undertaken one step at a time. It requires, in particular, an extra initial effort from all those involved. Because political commitment is needed, there is always the possibility that things will be held up. Some people, perhaps fearing a loss of control over policies, may be reticent. But there appears to be no viable alternative. Closer coordination is the logical consequence of continuing EU integration and few would dispute the desirability of the aim — which is to achieve greater collective effectiveness in development policy. This is surely something which both the European taxpayer and our developing country partners have a right to expect. ■ M.J.

Some thoughts on cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa

by Luís Nunes de Carvalho*

In the early 1960s, the prevailing view of sub-Saharan Africa was characterised by what some experts dubbed 'Afro-optimism'. This contrasted with 'Asia pessimism', the latter continent being seen as condemned to destitution under the burden of many apparently insoluble problems — from rural overpopulation and land tenure conflicts to peasant poverty and recurring famine. Africans, who had cast off the colonial yoke, looked to the future with optimism. This was an attitude shared by many Westerners, who had the impression that most African countries were effectively starting to develop. At a time when Europe was booming, no one could foresee the coming crisis in Africa; a crisis which has still to be overcome.

It was assumed at that time that the international economy would experience sustained growth and that development would be the general rule, though even then, it was evident that the fruits of progress were distributed very unequally between regions, political regimes and economic systems. Often, the benefits of progress would only be felt indirectly by the general population. And in many cases, mechanisms created under colonial rule formed the basis for more subtle, but no less effective ways of continuing economic dependence.

In overall terms, however, a process of development was clearly taking place. It extended even to Latin America, although pride of place seemed destined to go to black Africa. *René Dumont* was almost a lone voice when he produced a very different analysis in his book whose prophetic title was 'Black Africa has made a Bad Start' (*l'Afrique noire est mal partie*).

It has now become clear that while the situation of some Asian countries is comparable to that of most African nations, many others have experienced spectacular growth. They have achieved a 'green revolution' in terms of food production, and have developed manufacturing industries which export their products all over the world. By contrast, it is rare to find an African manufactured product outside

Africa. It is revealing in this connection to compare Côte d'Ivoire with Thailand — two tropical countries with more or less the same natural resources. In the 1960s, people spoke of the 'Côte d'Ivoire miracle'. In the 1970s, this country's growth rate fell below that of Thailand. By the 1980s one might have been more justified to refer to the 'Côte d'Ivoire catastrophe'. During the same decade, Thailand experienced an extraordinary boom. Indeed, it managed a 50% GNP increase in just four years, despite the troubled political situation.

One is forced into recognising that black Africa not only began badly, but has continued in that direction. It seems to be sinking into irreversible decline punctuated by disasters that include drought, famine, economic conflicts, tribal wars, and the AIDS pandemic. Meanwhile, the international community appears paralysed by the scale of the various disasters, not knowing where to concentrate its efforts.

All the indicators underline the extreme seriousness of the situation. Both gross domestic product and production per head are decreasing from one year to the next, while monopolisation of resources is proceeding apace. A report produced by the World Bank in April 1994 emphasised that, in the preceding decade, GNP per head had fallen in 28 of the 46 countries for which statistics were available. The Bank also estimated the economic cost of AIDS in the 10 worst affected countries, predicting that this will have the effect of reducing

growth by 0.6% a year up to 2003. Over the past 25 years, Africa's share of world trade has fallen from 2.4% to 1.7%. The standard of living has fallen by a quarter in the last decade while the demographic explosion, which sees populations doubling every ten years, has prompted an unprecedented exodus to the industrialised countries. Europe is the main destination of the people involved and the host countries are no longer able to absorb the influx. Some experts predict that the numbers will double by the end of the century.

At the recent Cairo Population Conference, United Nations projections suggested that population growth rates would decrease in all parts of the world except Africa. There, the prediction is for the population to rise by 132% between 1994 and 2025.

Of course, it would be wrong to give in to the prophets of doom. Neither Africa as a whole, nor the part of it that lies south of the Sahara, should be seen a monolithic block. There are considerable differences within and between countries and regions. However, the seriousness of the overall situation can hardly be disputed. There is a need for far-reaching changes in strategy even if these can only have a gradual effect.

Europe cannot wash its hands of Africa

Historically speaking, Europe bears a certain responsibility for the situation in sub-Saharan Africa. It is scarcely necessary to recall the effects of the slave trade, which made the major ports on the Atlantic seaboard rich while draining Africa of its life force. French, British, Portuguese, German and Belgian colonisation had the effect of rupturing traditional structures. Hasty and ill-conceived withdrawals — which looked very much like desertion — did not help either. States were left with colonial borders leading to conflicts which still bathe the continent in blood.

One might also point to the consequences of an imbalance in the process of economic integration. This accelerated the destruction of traditional subsistence crops in favour of export staples such as cocoa and coffee, thus

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accentuating the economic dependence of the new states. It also speeded up the process of desertification by undermining nature's balance and causing deforestation. These trends can hardly be dissociated from the growing number of famines that devastate Africa.

Nonetheless, Europe still enjoys a level of prestige and influence in black Africa which it does not have anywhere else in the world. The peoples of Africa turn to Europe, African élites are still, to a great extent, educated in the old centres of learning, and French, English and Portuguese remain official languages. Indeed, they are usually the *linguae francae* of these countries, which attach great importance to their membership either of the Commonwealth, the community of Francophone nations or the Portuguese-speaking community.

History and geography have resulted in the formation of close links between the two continents so that they still need one another. What Africa can gain from Europe hardly needs underlining. But Europe, too, needs Africa for geopolitical, social and economic reasons. These may be classified in terms of three main concerns:

— It cannot be denied that, as part of its geopolitical strategy to limit the growth of Islamic fundamentalism and the population explosion in the Maghreb countries, Europe (to a great extent encouraged by other international powers) would like to be able to set up bases, intermediaries and mechanisms for handling disputes in black African countries;

— From a more humanistic standpoint, there is good reason to believe that a high level of understanding between Europe and sub-Saharan Africa will have a positive effect on the former's relations with other regions of the world, helping, in particular, to bring harmony to relations between Europe and the Maghreb;

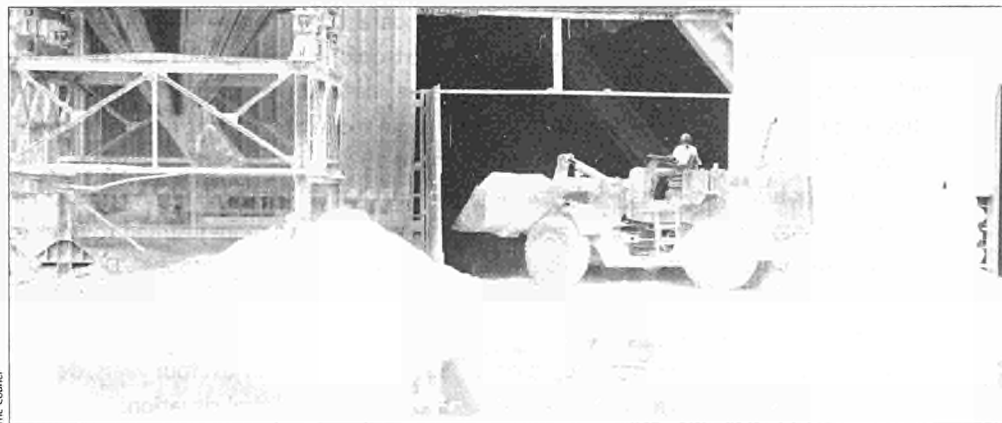
— At the trade level, Europe's need for raw materials remains considerable. These are plentiful in Africa, which has already done much to assist European economic growth, and it still has a contribution to make in this area. By way of illustration, Guinea has two-thirds of the world's bauxite reserves while Uganda is rich in

copper, sulphur, phosphates and iron ore. This is not to mention the primary resources of countries such as Zaire, Angola or South Africa.

In addition, the frantic struggle to capture markets in the industrialised countries is forcing producers to spend increasing amounts on advertising, thereby placing a strain on the price of goods. These are being produced in response to an increasingly artificial demand. At the same time, the number of people on the margins in the rich north is growing. Each of these is a lost consumer. This is not to mention the enormous waste they represent in terms of untapped physical and human resources. A vicious circle has been generated which may, in the long term, place democracy at risk. Now, more than ever, it is not just a question of creating jobs, but of defending

Looking at it from a sociocultural standpoint, within its frontiers, Europe is imploding. It already has huge, urban conurbations from Manchester to Milan. And it has an ageing population which means that the continent has lost the virtues of youth. Many Europeans have lost contact with the large, open, natural spaces that Africa still has to offer and which have a rejuvenating effect.

Europe must therefore initiate a genuine policy of cooperation with black Africa, based on responsibility, consistency, fairness and effectiveness. Only Europe is really in a position to achieve this. Indeed, such cooperation is part of its historical responsibility as well as being in line with its geopolitical interests. What is needed is a well-thought-out policy which does not encourage childlike dependence, or amount to economic or cultural neocol-



the right to perform useful work and to engage in rational production of essential goods. Black Africa is a huge potential market for such goods.

The fact that our planet faces serious and global ecological threats is now generally accepted. People are becoming aware of this too slowly, however. The climate is becoming hotter, plant and animal species are disappearing and soils continue to deteriorate. Africa is not immune from these ills. The continent suffers, among other things from drought, desertification, locust invasions, dumping of waste produced by industrialised countries and deforestation. It has become clear within what is now our 'global village' that the continuing decline of the African environment will have and indeed is already having consequences on the balance of nature in Europe.

Bauxite mining in Guinea, a country which has two thirds of world reserves of this ore.

Europe's need for raw materials remains considerable

onialism. Nor must it be a 'leap forward' powered by imposed external models. It should be a true cooperation policy, by which I mean a joint operation which takes account of the real needs of Africa and its suffering people, and which is implemented in a context of sustainable international development.

With the EU seemingly paralysed by its own internal growth problems, and its strong emphasis on the two 'new frontiers' (Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean — where the Maghreb countries raise particular concerns), now would not seem an auspicious moment to advocate such an approach. But time waits for no man. The situation is all the more pressing

when an entire continent appears to be heading for disaster, because its course cannot be deflected overnight. If nothing is done, Africa will not be the only continent to go under. It may not be able to survive without Europe but, in the long term, the reverse is equally true.

Refocus on local capacities and real needs

And yet there has been no lack of financial assistance. Unfortunately, too often it was diverted. A significant proportion was swallowed up by the scourge of corruption as, in the absence of checks, people felt encouraged to line their own pockets. Too often, aid served the short-term interests of the former colonial powers and the state systems they supported. The real interests of the continent, and the need for a framework of sustainable development, were neglected.

Diversion of funds aside, the greatest single cause for concern is probably related to the identification of real needs and the most effective ways of providing assistance. If no thought is given to these questions, all the support in the world will be useless. Indeed, it may have a negative impact over time.

Over the past few decades, Euro-African relations have been based on methods and concepts which are now proving to be increasingly inappropriate. What is the point of passing on tools if they are unsuited to the social and cultural environment where they are supposed to be employed? The connection between tradition and modernity is of fundamental importance and means that administration must be on a very decentralised basis in countries dominated by traditional types of organisation. To take one example, in attempting to copy the Northern educational system, black Africa has accentuated its faults. These include the devaluation of manual work, quantitative and qualitative shortfalls in technical training and undervaluing of technical culture. They have also set up a 'race' for qualifications, usually acquired abroad and frequently inappropriate to the African context.

The same can be said of the 'off-the-peg' models which some are trying to

impose on the people of Africa from outside. These take the form of democratic regimes which, when taken out of context and poorly understood, frequently become debased and capable of giving rise to unforeseen consequences.

By the same token, we should not underestimate the continuing impact of traditional African attitudes and economic systems. These are based on a 'duality' whereby wealth, which is seen in some way as external to society, comes in the form of a rent or royalty (whether granted by Mother Nature, gained by one's own efforts or secured from abroad). Alongside this comes the principle of sharing and redistributing the income to increase the welfare of the community. This helps to explain why the vast majority of rural people still work using obsolete methods. Their aim is simply to survive, though survival becomes increasingly difficult as the amount of available land decreases. The actions of the authorities are aimed at capturing this 'rental income' or at creating shortages and artificial rents (such as those resulting from 'cooperation'). This allows them, through distribution, to reinforce their control and power over society. And most of the urban population is organised so as to benefit either directly or indirectly from such distribution. This, in turn, provides a better understanding of why African politicians tend to expect salvation from outside. It may come in the form of improved terms of trade, more aid, better trade preferences, external technical cooperation or debt write-offs. Criteria include the rational and transparent administration of local human and physical resources, the fair distribution of wealth, respect for human rights, participation by the people in decision-making and so on.

The result is a demonstration of how black Africa has inherited organisational systems and administrative methods which were not conceived by it and are inappropriate to its wide range of cultures. Our present approach to cooperation must therefore be abandoned. It has shown itself to be inappropriate to the actual circumstances and needs of the people of Africa. It also tends to undervalue their cultures. In its place, we need something which allows the 'cross-fertilisation of

ideas' to develop. This is the only way of ensuring both that development remains possible and that essential identity is preserved. Obviously, identities are continuously evolving but this approach avoids sharp breaks which lead to disorientation.

A more coherent and pragmatic form of cooperation which has greater respect for the environment and is more active at a local level must be conceived. A fresh look must be taken at ways of intervening, developing human resources and conducting analyses leading to the formation of governmental, industrial and commercial strategies. This is necessary, not just to take account of their African setting but also, as already pointed out, to encompass a concept of development which is sustainable at a global level.

A new approach to cooperation, leading both to an adaptation of the tools used and to mutual and responsible enrichment must therefore be implemented. We must encourage the evolution of new attitudes and of a willingness to accept the modern world in a way which genuinely increases the capacity to act but does not lead to a culture breakdown for the people benefiting from it. We must create conditions under which abilities and initiative at a local level are encouraged. At the same time, individual communities and forms of management need to be respected and allowed to expand at their own pace.

It is evident that Europe's historical responsibility and its own interests point in the same direction, namely that of encouraging the development of sub-Saharan Africa and pursuing an active cooperation policy with that continent. But the failure of cooperation over the past few decades has been such that there needs to be a fundamental rethink of the principles on which it is based. There is not much time available for this exercise in redefinition to take place. But there can be little doubt that, while Eurocentric models of inter-state cooperation may have proved themselves elsewhere, they do not work in sub-Saharan Africa. There, they have had pernicious effects including the encouragement of corruption and nepotism among ruling élites, and the reinforcement of less than democratic regimes. ■

L.N.d.C.

The media and democracy in Southern Africa

by Francis Caas*

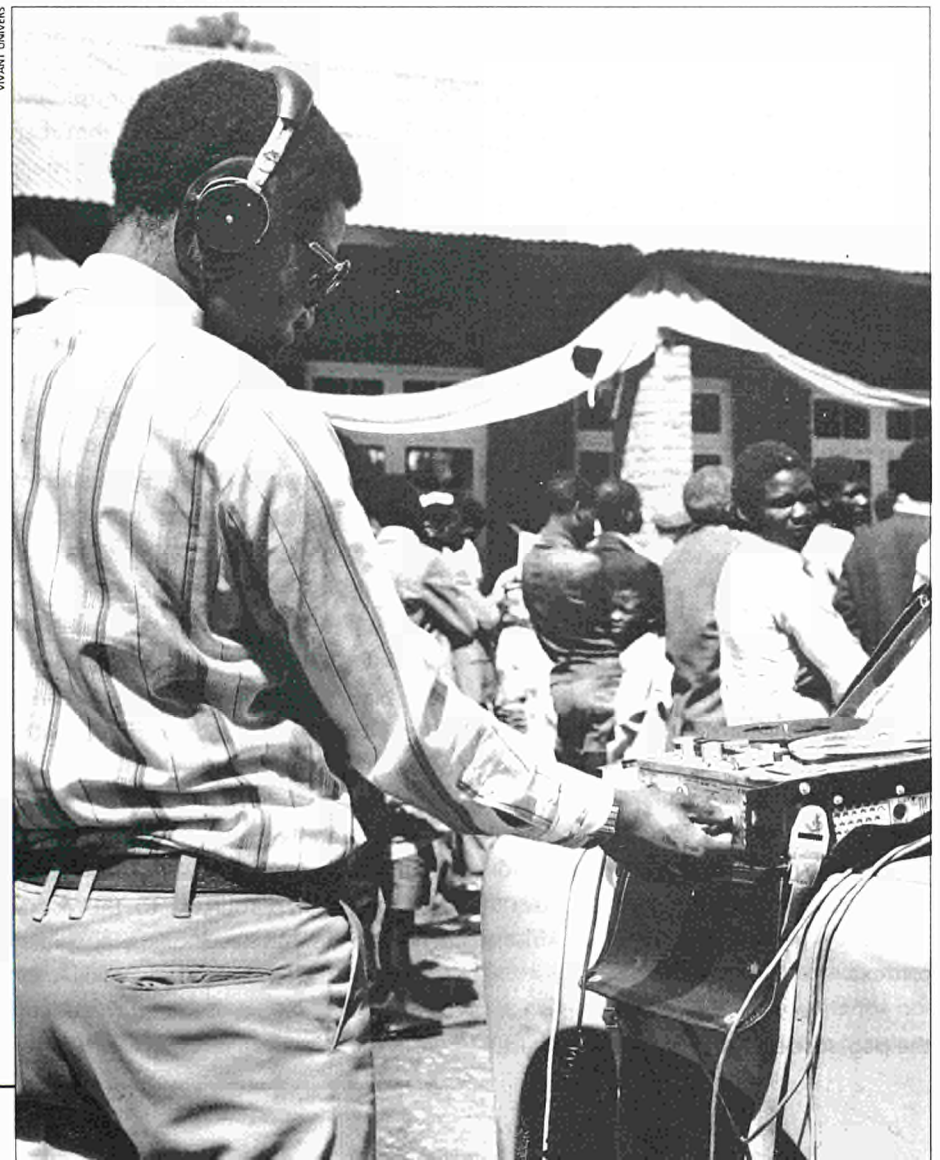
Most Southern African countries have set out on the road to democracy since the beginning of the 1990s. This process, while remaining fragile, has enabled journalists and the media in the region to exercise rights and freedoms hitherto denied them. The advent of political pluralism has — partially — put an end to decades of censorship, disinformation and strict media control by the state. Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go before the journalists can be said to be fully benefiting from the freedom which is their's by right. In 1994 alone, the *Media Institute of Southern Africa* (MISA) noted 70 violations of media freedom in the region. These included, at one extreme, the murder of journalists as well as arbitrary arrest of reporters, and also encompassed more (or less) subtle means of censoring freedom of expression and opinion.

The media plays a central role in upholding and reinforcing a democratic system. Often, they facilitate the very advent of democracy. In their role as mouthpiece, they prevent humanly and morally inadmissible situations from going unnoticed or being forgotten. Thus, if it did not precipitate the end of apartheid, the considerable media coverage of the tragic events in South Africa at least prevented the Pretoria regime from pursuing its racist policy with impunity. An independent press and a broadcasting sector which are impartial and dynamic are effective defences against the excesses of the political, economic or legal authorities. Freedom of expression and opinion, and the right to information, are fundamental elements of any society which claims to be democratic. Defenders of democracy and international legislators had the right idea when they

drafted Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The article states that all individuals are entitled to freedom of opinion and of expression which implies the right not to be harassed for one's opinions. It also sets out the right to seek, receive and publish information and ideas, without consideration of frontiers, by any means of expression whatever. The 1991 Windhoek Declaration drafted under the aegis of UNESCO also emphasises the importance of a free and independent press in developing and safeguarding democracy in Africa.

According to *Aidan White*, General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), media operating in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies, such as those in Southern Africa must, without discrimination, reflect the diversity and wealth of these societies in order to create the conditions required for peaceful coexistence and mutual understanding. Some authoritarian regimes have long applied a policy which is in total opposition to this principle. For example, the *Malawi Broadcasting Corporation* (MBC), a public radio station, was unable, from the beginning of the 1960s, to broadcast in Tumbuka, the language spoken by most of the people in the north of the country. All radio broadcasts were in English or Chewa, the former president's own tongue. However, these two lan-

A technician from Malawi radio making a recording during a village festival. The installation of a democratic regime in 1994 enabled the MBC to begin broadcasting in all languages spoken in that country.



VIVANT UNIVERS

* Journalist and former trainee with the ACP-EU Courier.

guages are spoken by barely 50% of the population. This discriminatory policy certainly contributed to deepening the abyss which already separated the various ethnic groups in Malawi. The installation of a democratic regime in 1994 enabled the MBC to begin broadcasting in all languages spoken in the country. However, the new government will have to demonstrate a great deal of good will and understanding in order to rectify past errors and modify the feeling of injustice still much in evidence amongst the targets of ethnic discrimination.

Old habits die hard

Before the wave of democratisation began to sweep over Southern Africa, the regimes in power regarded the media as a very useful and highly effective instrument for propaganda. An independent press was virtually nonexistent and the official press was content to reproduce the authorities' directives and reflect the party line of the existing regime. In Zambia, before the 1991 elections, there

were only two dailies being published in the country, the *Zambia Daily Mail* and the *Times of Zambia*. Both belonged (and still belong) to the government. These days, however, with the installation of a democratic regime, the press has diversified. A number of independent magazines and newspapers have come into existence, particularly the *Post* which conducts investigative journalism and is ready to criticise the government if given cause. The numerous revelations made by the *Post* on the subject of corruption and embezzlement within the administration, and its criticism of presidential policy, have caused it a number of problems. According to the MISA, several *Post* journalists were arrested for 'defamation', equipment was confiscated and the editorial staff was subjected to physical, verbal and legal intimidation. The democratic government in Zambia, like others in the region, had trouble accepting the idea of a free and independent press, particularly when con-

fronted with repeated attacks in the media.

A similar situation prevails in radio and television. Before the recent multi-party elections which have taken place virtually throughout Southern Africa, these two media were, first and foremost, state institutions under the direct control of the government, usually through the Ministry of Information. Although they were presented as public institutions serving the population, radio and television often served the interests of the ruling party. In Mozambique, before independence, the Frelimo government defined *Radio Moçambique* as the 'advance battalion' of the regime in promoting socialism. In Zimbabwe in July 1993, President Robert Mugabe was still declaring his opposition to any radio station not answerable to the state. ('You don't know what propaganda a non-state radio station might broadcast'). He added that the general public had to be protected against any form of subversive and irresponsible journalism. On the other hand, Namibian President, Sam Nujoma, quoted in 'Who Rules the Airwaves', has stated that tolerance of a sometimes irresponsible press is perhaps the price to be paid for a young democracy. In fact, democracy has a price and this price includes freedom of expression in all its forms, a price which governments must be prepared to pay, even if it is sometimes uncomfortable for them.

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The media: political gambling for high stakes

It is easier to understand governments' desire to have strict control of television and, above all, radio if one is aware that the latter is the principal means of communication and information in the region. Given that illiteracy rates are often very high (Mozambique: 66.5%, Angola: 57.5%, Tanzania 45%, Zimbabwe: 31.4%), the press often remains inaccessible to a large part of the population. Moreover, newspapers are usually distributed only in urban centres while some three-quarters of the people still live in rural areas. A television set, meanwhile, remains beyond the financial means of most households. Finally, as in the case of the press, television

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Arsonist gaoled

Own Correspondent and manslaughter, by the Francistown High Court. The accused was discharged and acquitted on count three of attempted murder contrary to section 217 (a) of the penal code. He pleaded guilty on both count one and two but pleaded not guilty on the murder charge. He was represented by Attorney Phadza Kgalemang. On count one of arson the accused was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for three counts of arson, unlawful wounding



Participants at the recent Teacher Management and Support Programme on gender sensitisation training workshop.

is principally confined to towns and areas with an electricity supply.

Nowadays, many recently elected governments have shown reluctance to relinquish the control their predecessors held over the media. Although there has been an upsurge in independent publications on the press side, the same has not occurred in the field of television and radio. South Africa and Namibia and, to a lesser extent, Mozambique and Tanzania, have viable commercial TV and radio channels. In other countries of the region the airwaves remain occupied almost exclusively by public institutions.

Governments have been slow to allocate the frequencies which are available while the often archaic infrastructures, combined with the limited purchasing power of most people, make it difficult for private stations that must rely heavily on advertising revenue. Finally, although South Africa and Namibia have bodies (the Independent Broadcasting Authority — IBA, and the Namibian Communications Commission — NCC) which have been set up, among other things to guarantee editorial independence and freedom for the public channels, in other countries, strict control of public bodies is still the norm. According to the IFJ, a public institution such as the *South African Broadcasting Corporation* (SABC) may currently boast of being genuinely independent of Pretoria, but the same does not apply to the *Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation* or the *Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation*. These have to answer to their respective governments.

If one takes the general proposition that public broadcasters exist to inform and educate the wider population, it is worth recognising that few media in the region currently fulfil this function in a satisfactory manner. This is due not only to political constraints but also to a lack of funds' and technological and technical resources.

The media's equipment is often obsolete and gives low performance. According to two London-based bodies (*Index on Censorship* and *Article 19*), *Radio Tanzania* now reaches only 50% of the population as against 80% a few years ago. This reduction in radio coverage is due to the shortage of spare parts and the

deplorable state of the transmission equipment. Major investment would be needed to purchase modern equipment but, for the time being, money is sorely lacking.

Democracy's new challenges

Another big problem confronting the media in Southern Africa lies in the very diversity of the peoples who live there. *Radio Moçambique* is obliged, for example, to broadcast in the country's 13 languages and one can easily imagine the cost and complexity of such a task. The same applies to the SABC in South Africa which broadcasts in 11 national languages. South African public radio and television, however, has financial and technical resources which are markedly superior to those of its neighbours. Compared with the SABC, the other television channels and radio stations are media dwarfs.

In addition, South Africa has a relatively diversified and active press. Nevertheless, since the end of apartheid, it has been possible to witness two closely linked phenomena: first, the alternative press, spearheading the fight against the former regime's racist policy, has virtually disappeared, a victim of economic realities. Second, new press monopolies have been formed. In this way, the Irish magnate, *Tom O'Reilly*, currently controls 72% of English-language publications in the country. The formation of such monopolies could have adverse consequences for journalistic freedom and the editorial diversity of the press.

Having fought long and sometimes successfully against political interference, the media in the region risk, in the long term, falling into the hands of another power, this time economic. *John Manyarara*, a judge in the Zimbabwe Supreme Court, summed up the situation neatly at an IFJ-organised conference in Maputo. 'The media', he said 'cannot play their role if they are entirely or largely in the hands of an economic or political power.' This, he explained, was 'because normally, it is only a small number of individuals who control such power and, in most cases, it is the same individuals who hold the reins of political and economic power'.

People in Southern Africa have recently had what is often their first experience of democracy. This is also the case for journalists and the media. Long gagged by the political authorities, journalists sometimes find it hard to accept the responsibilities which go hand in hand with their recently-acquired freedoms. Self-censorship, the lack of a critical outlook and an absence of professionalism are still widespread.

The training of competent journalists must be a priority if the media are to be rejuvenated and their credibility restored. The MISA, IFJ and even the European Union are among those working to this end.

Whether part of the public or private sector, or working for television, radio or the press, a journalist's task is to inform the people as objectively as possible. He can thus help ethnic, religious, political or cultural differences to be accepted as a heritage from which everyone can benefit and not as a basis for division. The authoritarian regimes which, for several decades, held power in Southern Africa, tried to destroy, curb or compartmentalise this diversity. The policy was often implemented in the name of narrow-minded nationalism or socialism. Alternatively, it was founded on the highly doubtful premise that people of different race have an innate inability to live together in harmony. These days, according to John Manyarara, the media must join with the other forces of democracy to promote tolerance, freedom of expression and opinion, and a critical and humanistic outlook. All these qualities will strengthen and enrich democracy and allow us to look to the future with confidence. ■

F.C.

Restructuring economic cooperation in Southern Africa

by Rosalind Thomas*

The advent of a new and democratic South Africa marked the turning point for political and economic relations in Southern Africa. Soon after the establishment of the government of national unity, a decision was taken to renegotiate and democratise the 100-year old Southern African Customs Union (SACU). In addition, South Africa acceded to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in August 1994 and was subsequently given responsibility for the newly-created Finance and Investment Sector. It also declined to join the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). The government has stated clearly that South Africa's foreign policy begins with Southern Africa and that the region is of paramount importance. What was the rationale behind these policy initiatives? This paper seeks to address the critical issues and articulate a vision for South Africa in the Southern African region.

South Africa's approach to Southern Africa is propelled by a desire to develop its own economy in harmony with those of its neighbours. There is a fundamental realisation that South Africa cannot develop in isolation from Southern Africa because its economy is inextricably linked to the region. However, South Africa has a relatively developed industrial sector, which could, if allowed, dominate and indeed decimate substantial sectors of its neighbours' economies. In the medium to long-term, South Africa's domestic growth prospects are tied to her ability to export manufactured goods. While the country's goods are uncompetitive globally, they are certainly competitive regionally. South Africa could therefore pursue a free trade regime with the rest of the region, but in the short term, this is not in its or the region's economic interests.

Over the last two years, South Africa has witnessed a sizeable increase in exports of manufactured products to the region and the rest of Africa. Southern Africa accounts for some 70% of South Africa's total exports to the continent and about 20% of the country's global exports. But currently, South Africa's exports to the other SADC countries are four times more than her imports from the region. This 'one-way' trade pattern is clearly not sustainable. It is trade in a static market. South Africa would end up impoverishing her neighbours — against its own long-

term interests. These are, therefore, better served within a framework of cooperation with its Southern African neighbours leading to sustainable economic development for all. Closer interaction between the countries of the region would allow a more efficient exploitation of regional comparative advantage in the long run. Economic cooperation leading to integration enhances efficiency by increasing competition within an enlarged market. The whole region could benefit from an arrangement that allows it to improve efficiency over a range of goods and services in preparation for penetrating international markets. Therefore, rational and jointly-developed policies, as reflected in the study into a regional industrial location strategy (RILS — see below) are seen as essential. This is in line with World Bank research findings published in 1994 which show that simultaneous policy changes made by a group of neighbouring countries would have an effect on growth that is 2.2 times larger than if a single country had acted in isolation¹.

Thus, in a paper delivered in December 1994, William Easterley argued: *'One or more leader economies could provide a strong demonstration effect in Africa of the potential for achieving rapid growth through market-oriented policies. This is not to say that a country need wait for others to act, since one's own policies always have the strongest effect on one's own growth. But if almost all countries improve their policies, sooner or later, the*

continent will get more growth 'bang' for its policy 'buck.'"

It is much easier for a small group of like-minded countries to come to agreement on trade and investment liberalisation policies and on industrial development strategies. South Africa has also recognised that its long-term growth prospects will eventually be hampered by a lack of natural resources, particularly water and energy. It is therefore sensible to establish links with richly-endowed neighbours and to help the region harness those resources. This will benefit South Africa while contributing to the development of her partners in the region. This motivates South Africa's approach to both the SACU and SADC.

South Africa realises that it cannot be an 'island' of wealth in a neighbourhood of poor countries. The problems of the region are already being visited upon the country in the shape of migration by the region's citizens to South Africa in search of economic empowerment. If South Africa is to stem this tide and indeed turn it around, it must become involved in the region's development. And it is only by generating jobs in neighbouring countries that South Africa will be able to deal with this problem.

Renegotiation of SACU

Dating from 1889, when a customs union was established among the territories that currently comprise South Africa, the customs union was extended in 1895 to what is now Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland (the 'BLNS' states).

* Abridged version of an article provided in connection with our Dossier on Southern Africa (issue 153). Rosalind Thomas is a lawyer and Senior Policy Analyst with the Development Bank of Southern Africa's Centre for Policy and Information.

¹ Easterley, William R. and Levine, Ross: 'Africa's Growth Tragedy', World Bank mimeo, December 1994.

The present SACU agreement, which came into force in 1969, provides for the duty-free circulation of goods (other than agricultural products) within the Customs Union, the fixing of a common external tariff, the establishment of a common revenue pool and arrangements for revenue sharing.

SACU was, in many ways, a system by which South Africa acquired captive markets in the 'BLNS' countries in return for a disproportionate share of the revenue pool. South Africa was guaranteed duty-free access to its neighbours' markets and the 'BLNS' were brought in behind her protective tariffs. For the other SACU countries, the major benefit of the arrangement has been its significant contribution to state revenue (See chart). The system, however, has come under increasing pressure from all sides. South African officials say that the revenue-sharing formula has become 'increasingly unaffordable'. The 'BLNS' countries, for their part, argue that the 'price-raising effects' of diverting trade from cheaper international suppliers to more expensive South African ones have outweighed whatever compensation they have received from the revenue-sharing formula. The latter have also complained that the two-year delay in disbursing funds amounts to an interest-free loan to South Africa, for which they receive no compensation.

The advent of democracy in South Africa provided the impetus for the 'BLNS' countries to seek new negotiations on democratising the SACU, and setting up an autonomous institution, separate from the Pretoria government, where the smaller members could have more say in tariff setting and other policies. Currently, it is the South African Board on Trade and Tariffs that administers tariff policies. Negotiations for a reconstituted and democratised SACU began in November

1994. Member states aim to make the system more democratic by setting up an independent secretariat, providing a more equitable distribution of the revenue pool and allowing for more balanced industrial development. A 'Customs Union Task Team' comprised of officials from the five member states was established and mandated to negotiate on behalf of the SACU Ministers. Three working groups were set up, covering institutional matters, technical and investigative questions and policy issues.

An issue of importance to the working group is the relationship between SACU and SADC bearing in mind that the former is a customs union with its own common external tariff. Arguably, any proposed SADC trade regime would have to be concluded with SACU as a single entity. Alternatively, an association agreement would need to be concluded between SACU and SADC.

Economic cooperation in SADC

Established by treaty in August 1992, SADC supersedes the former Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). The new treaty is very broad and does not impose any specific economic obligations on member states. These are to be spelt out in a number of protocols of which the proposed protocol on trade cooperation is the most significant. Earlier drafts suggested that a free trade area (FTA) would be established almost at once. South Africa, however, has argued that this is not in the immediate interests of the other SADC member states, and has called for the establishment of a regime that would lead to equity and provide mutual benefits for all.

The immediate establishment of an FTA is considered to be inimical to the sound development of SADC member states, given the current trade imbalance in the region. An analysis by the Industrial Development Corporation, a South African institution, has revealed that an FTA would have immediate benefits for South Africa alone and would result in de-industrialisation in the rest of the region. Consequently, South Africa has called for a

joint SADC study to analyse the impact of a free trade regime on Southern Africa. This would include a survey of the strategic industries in each member state as well as an analysis of foreign trade patterns.

It is anticipated that, on the basis of this study, an asymmetrical system of selective preferential access agreements would be established as a first stage in a process eventually leading to a free trade regime. This would be in keeping with the current economic realities in the region, and in line with GATT article XXIV which allows the establishment of 'interim agreements' leading to the formation of a free trade area. It would also conform to the variable geometry, multiple speed approach to trade advocated by the African Development Bank in its recent study entitled 'Economic Integration in Southern Africa' (1993).

South Africa has also launched two major studies to develop a regional industrial location strategy (the RILS study) that will target policy makers in SACU and SADC respectively. Each study will look at potential industries for the domestic (SACU and SADC) markets and for export. Interlinkages will be investigated within an integral 'cluster' concept, so that infrastructure and services become important. The studies will go beyond the identification of industries with static comparative advantage and attempt to identify future 'possible' industries with dynamic comparative advantage. The aim is to produce a list of viable targets for each country that would fit into a broad industrial strategy for the region — based upon international competitiveness, employment generation and resource beneficiation. The SADC study will also analyse SADC country trade and investment regimes in relation to those of SACU, with a view to possible harmonisation. It will also investigate parameters for outward investment from South Africa into the rest of SADC and recommend measures to facilitate such capital flows.

In the light of this, an important development in SADC has been the allocation of the Finance and Investment sector to South Africa. In July, SADC Finance Ministers met to develop draft terms of reference for that sector. These were due to be tabled for approval at the

Share of government revenue provided by SACU receipts

Botswana	14.5%	(1990-91)
Lesotho	57.7%	(1990-91)
Namibia	43.8%	(1991-92)
Swaziland	32.0%	(1989-90)

SADC summit at the end of August. Within this sector, Ministers agreed to cooperate on financial matters including, *inter alia*, investment and trade financing, capital movements in support of cross-border investment, monetary matters, regulation and supervision of financial institutions, development of payment and clearing systems, and human resource development. The sector will, in addition, address investment promotion, macro-economic stability and the setting up of a database for the region.

Bilateral agreements, COMESA and the EU

South Africa has also begun a study into existing bilateral trade agreements among SADC states, and between SADC members and third countries. This will provide guidance on the type of preferential access arrangements to be put in place so as to ensure both GATT/WTO compatibility and mutual benefit for all parties. At another level, South Africa is under pressure from Zimbabwe to revive a bilateral agreement, dating from 1964, which was terminated by the former South African government. Similarly, a new bilateral trade agreement is being sought by Zambia. This puts pressure on the negotiators of the SADC Trade Protocol to finalise their agreement so that preferential arrangements can be concluded without falling foul of the WTO and the GATT's 'most-favoured-nation' principle. It also implies pressure on the Customs Union Task Team to make progress in renegotiating the SACU agreement as this will have a bearing on trade relations with the non-SACU members of SADC.

In December 1994, the PTA was transformed into COMESA, following ratification of the treaty by the 16 PTA members. Soon after, South Africa came under pressure to join the institution. Its decision not to accede was based on its own investigations of the issues at stake — which resulted in a recommendation against joining. This was also in line with the decision made at the 1994 SADC Summit calling on SADC countries that were party to the PTA to relinquish their membership of the wider grouping. Be-

cause of its membership of and commitment to SACU, the South African government views membership of COMESA as problematic. Article 56 of the COMESA Treaty provides that any advantage granted to a third party under another agreement should be extended to other COMESA members on a reciprocal basis. In essence this means that SACU countries should be ready to offer duty free treatment to all the members of COMESA². There are also potential conflicts in the fields of agriculture and transport. The COMESA Heads of State have called for a joint summit of Heads of State from both SADC and COMESA to resolve the issue of dual membership.

Finally, South Africa is currently negotiating a trade agreement with the European Union. The EU mandate directs the Commission to negotiate a free trade agreement with South Africa. South Africa, for her part, would prefer 'Lomé minus' status, essentially seeking access to the EU market on the same terms as ACP states. In South Africa's view, an FTA with the European Union would have repercussions both domestically and, more importantly in the context of this discussion, for her Southern African neighbours.

South Africa believes that this latter element should have a bearing on the nature of the agreement reached between South Africa and the EU. Lomé grants its ACP members (including all SACU and SADC countries other than South Africa), preferential, non-reciprocal access to the EU's markets. This is clearly in line with the relevant GATT provisions. Given that South Africa is in customs union with a group of developing and least-developed countries, a free trade area with the EU would have the effect of eroding the current 'non-reciprocity' that SACU and SADC members enjoy *vis-à-vis* the EU.

This is not in line with the EU countries' stated policy of support for the economic development of Southern African. It also makes a mockery of any preferences granted under Lomé and places an onerous burden on South Africa to set up internal policing mechanisms

² Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland were parties to the PTA under a special protocol which allowed substantial derogations from the obligations set out in the Treaty. The COMESA Treaty continues this tradition.

within the SACU to prevent seepage of EU goods, which have entered at a preferential rate, into the BNLS domestic markets, to the detriment of the latter.

At the same time the EU seems to view South Africa as the powerhouse of the sub-continent, with expectations that it will play a leading role, both economically and intellectually, in making Southern Africa a viable economic region. While it is acknowledged by the EU, through its support for the Reconstruction and Development Programme, that South Africa has massive economic and social problems to address domestically, it nevertheless expects the country to play a leading role in the development of the SADC area.

There is an inherent contradiction here in that they are proposing an economic relationship with South Africa that would work against such a role. The EU's expectations for South and Southern Africa will be unrealistic if the European side fails to lend credible support to South Africa's domestic and regional policies.

If South Africa fails domestically, this will have an impact on the region. If the region fails, this will affect South Africa. Supportive strategies must be developed in tandem with the EU and other cooperating partners of SADC, if their (and South Africa's) vision for the region is to become a reality. This requires that the EU, in particular, view its relationship with South Africa as a 'special case' allowing for non-reciprocity. Not to do so would be to handicap any efforts from the beginning and doom them to failure. South Africa is preparing itself for asymmetrical trading relations with its neighbours. The EU and other partners should emulate this in their dealings with South Africa to help it in its regional approach to development. ■

R.T.

Humanitarian aid: quality, not quantity wanted

by Eva Kaluzynska*

Quality, not quantity should be the watchword for humanitarian aid from now on. That was one of the key messages at a European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO) workshop held at the College of Europe in Bruges in September. Entitled 'The hidden face of humanitarian aid', the workshop closed this year's intensive programme for students beginning a one year post-graduate course organised under the auspices of the Network on Humanitarian Assistance (NOHA)¹.

Peter Walker of the International Federation of Red Cross Societies, set the scene. 'The amount of humanitarian work we are doing has risen dramatically in the last five years. Add to that the realisation that growth in resources is not going to be sustainable. The need isn't going to fall, so we will have to be more effective in the way we use our resources.' Spending on humanitarian disasters, particularly man-made, has escalated beyond all expectation. EC funding in this area has risen from just ECU 5m in 1975 to an ECHO budget of ECU 765m in 1994.

Professor Volker Nienhaus of the University of Bochum, proposed giving disaster victims a far greater role in deciding how to manage their crises, at least in the medium or longer-term activities. 'You have overfunding for spectacular actions, so you can afford inefficiencies, and it is in the interests of aid-providing institutions to have these inefficiencies,' he said. Given the chance, they indulge in job creation and employ oversophisticated equipment. If aid producers had to get their funds from beneficiaries, rather than donors, victims would get better value for money, he argued. The capacity of those on the spot to find solutions was badly under-estimated. 'They know what they need and where to get it. The only problem is they don't have the funds.'

Dr John Seaman, of 'Save the Children' said the need for careful, thoughtful organisation was often eclipsed

as NGOs rushed in at spectacular disasters. 'There's a tendency to throw money at highly publicised disasters, and we're doing a worse job because not enough attention is paid to organisation or information.' The handling of the cholera epidemic in Goma was a case in point, he said. 'If you look at the (mortality) figures, it isn't actually possible to see in the abstract that there was any intervention at all.' John Seaman and Peter Walker also called for higher

Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross, the Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief

- 1 The humanitarian imperative comes first.
- 2 Aid is given regardless of race, creed or nationality of the recipients and without adverse distinction of any kind. Aid priorities are calculated on the basis of need alone.
- 3 Aid will not be used to further a particular political or religious standpoint.
- 4 We shall endeavour not to act as instruments of government foreign policy
- 5 We shall respect culture and custom.
- 6 We shall attempt to build disaster response on local capacities
- 7 Ways shall be found to involve programme beneficiaries in the management of relief aid.
- 8 Relief aid must strive to reduce future vulnerabilities to disaster as well as meeting basic needs.
- 9 We hold ourselves accountable to both those we seek to assist and those from whom we accept resources.
- 10 In our information, publicity and advertising activities, we shall recognise disaster victims as dignified humans, not hopeless objects.

professional standards in humanitarian action and for more quality control of NGOs. 'To create an NGO is easy,' said Dr Seaman. 'You don't have to demonstrate any knowledge, experience or competence in the area in which you're working. And disaster tourism does happen.' Donors should step up measures to stop the worst excesses, he said. He also called on them to be more assertive with the media. 'Watching TV, one might easily have got the impression that the only disease in Goma was cholera,' he noted. And television, he added, was driving actions that were 'possibly inappropriate'.

Mr Walker said that the IFRC had launched a 'Code of Conduct' as a foundation for improving standards. 'We feel there is a need to put in place some basic standards, because it's a very unregulated business.' Seven major humanitarian organisations sponsored the project, and about 60 NGOs have registered their support. The code will be presented to the Red Cross conference in Geneva in December. 'It's a bit like the basic codes doctors and lawyers have — thou shalt do no harm,' said Peter Walker. The idea was not to have organisations adopting it *verbatim*, but to influence the way in which they work. He called on ECHO to join the movement. 'As one of the world's largest donors, ECHO has an opportunity to champion better standards.'

For *Antonio Donati* of the UN Department of Humanitarian Assistance, demand for humanitarian aid has hijacked 'development', in cash terms and at the level of international consensus. 'Development' no longer seems to be a mobilising paradigm, but a new one has yet to emerge,' he said. He was not convinced of the merits of 'privatising' aid. Professor *Debarati Guha-Sapir*, of the Catholic University of Louvain chaired the workshop. She said she was encouraged at the way speakers had come with practical suggestions. She welcomed the IFRC's Code of Conduct, the call for aid that went beyond charity, and the idea of reviewing mechanisms with donor institutions. The subject of the seminar was inherently pessimistic, she acknowledged, but 'we have got past the litany of miseries to take a rather optimistic approach.' ■ E.K.

* ECHO information officer.

¹ Five European universities are associated with the NOHA project. For more details, contact NOHA at ECHO, European Commission, Rue de la Loi, 200, 1049 Brussels.)



Mediums of Change

Conference of African artists in London

As part of Africa 95, a season of African cultural events being organised throughout the United Kingdom from August to December, The Royal African Society convened a two and a half day conference under the title *Mediums of Change* at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London at the end of September. Aimed at discussing the role of the artist and the arts in contemporary Africa, the event brought together 26 writers, playwrights, visual artists, musicians, film-makers and scholars from Africa and the African diaspora. It was also attended by more than 250 scholars from across the UK and the European Union.

It was the biggest gathering of its kind outside Africa, and the organising committee achieved the almost impossible task of maintaining a regional and linguistic, not to mention religious balance, reflecting the complexity and diversity of the continent. Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern Africa were all represented. There was a small but effective French-speaking presence from areas of the creative arts where they either excel or are prominent, notably music and film-making. The Christian, Moslem and animist traditions were also represented. The organising committee was chaired by Professor Stuart Hall of the Open University who was also the overall conference chairman.

The presumptuousness of the artist as a catalyst for change, implicit in the title of the conference, received an early damper from the Tanzanian novelist, *Abdulrazak Gurnah*, when he expressed his reluctance to accept that the artist is necessarily 'a good person'. This was a theme that would be echoed later in the discussions when the spotlight fell briefly on art critics who, by the nature of their profession, are themselves artists. The most dangerous person, it was pointed out, is the interpreter of the artist's works

and some of these people are at the service of the forces of oppression and regression.

The general definition that emerged of the artist, however, was that he or she is a communal spokesperson, a guardian of the conscience of society. The art is his or her medium of communication, enlightenment and conscience mobilisation. To most participants this places the artist in a unique and sometimes dangerous situation, because his vision is often in total conflict with that of the politician. He is automatically in a kind of permanent opposition.

No African artist embodies these principles more than the Noble laureat, Professor *Wole Soyinka*, who gave the keynote address to the conference. In a speech entitled *Ritual as medium: a modest proposal*, which was characterised by irony and humour, Mr Soyinka described how societies renew themselves through rituals whether consciously or unconsciously. These cleansing exercises, he said, are directed by divinely chosen 'masters of ceremony', who must follow the precepts laid down by supernatural powers. Although this oblique reference to the role of the artist was well understood, Soyinka's humorous application of the ritual principle in analysing Africa's current political and economic situation, as well as British cultural, socio-economic and political life, amazed participants. He turned one of Africa 95's objectives 'on its head', according to Professor Hall. Soyinka's effort was not so much aimed at making the British understand Africa better as making them understand Britain better through an African eye, he said.

'State funeral'

Professor Soyinka's discourse had, of course, a much deeper meaning. Wondering why dictators always cling to power after so many years in office, and despite having acquired everything im-

aginable on earth, he thought he had found the solution in the dictator's disregard for human lives — and his fascination with death, as seen in his hankering for the rituals of the 'state funeral.' Soyinka's 'modest proposal' is for a state funeral to be organised for him while he is still alive — an expensive ceremony in which he could himself participate and possibly direct!

In passing, it is worth noting the unexpected appearance, at the end of Soyinka's lecture, of another African Nobel laureat, *Nadine Gordimer*. She had come specifically, she said, to pay tribute to Wole Soyinka for his courage as a writer and 'for what he has done'. She cited his work *The man died* and his retort to the early proponents of 'negritude' in African art that *'the tiger does not have to proclaim his tigritude'*.

Although the appearance of the now internationally renowned Wole Soyinka and *Chinua Achebe* on the African creative scene marked a particular period in African literature, the terms 'post Soyinka/Achebe and post-colonial' often associated with them caused considerable controversy. While all agreed that they emerged at a period far more conducive to creative writing than at present, a number of participants felt that these authors are still very much active and that today, Africa is not so much 'post colonial' as 'neo-colonial.' Others argued passionately against the dichotomy between the traditional and the modern in African creative arts in the debate over authenticity. These diversities and differences in perception are, of course, reflected on the contemporary African literary scene.

Literature

What the organisers were, in fact, seeking to determine were ways in which the post Soyinka/Achebe generation of writers are addressing the realities

of today in Africa with its changing political and cultural landscape. To this end they chose the Nigerian poet, Professor *Niyi Osundare* of the University of Ibadan, whose country has been independent for over 30 years, and South African novelist, *Miriam Tlali*, whose country has only recently shaken off the yoke of apartheid, as speakers in the first group discussion on *African Literature Today*. Not surprisingly, Professor Osundare's rather gloomy analysis of how the serious political and socio-economic situation in Nigeria and many other African countries inhibits creative writing contrasted somewhat with Ms Tlali's optimism about the emerging literature of South Africa. The professor spoke of 'yellowing manuscripts' which cannot find publishers, of aspirant authors who have difficulties making ends meet, of censorship and of empty libraries. 'In contemporary Africa,' he added, 'those who want to write are denied the necessary space and means; those willing to read cannot find the book.' The obvious conclusion is that literature is severely constricted as a medium of change. Miriam Tlali, by contrast, was optimistic about the role of literature in her country. She spoke of the enthusiasm of discovering African literature which was denied to the black population of South Africa for decades. 'In South Africa today,' she said, 'there is a rebirth — a renaissance — not only in the consciousness of the people, but also in art, learning and expression. New myths are being created, and codes of conduct are being redefined. The search for a new beginning — and perhaps for a new image — is on.'

Beyond this divergence, Niyi Osundare's assertion that there has been a change in the writer's perception of the hero struck the right note with the audience. Whatever the writer's form of expression (whether novel, poetry or theatre), he said, he has moved from the 'gods, goddesses, kings and nobles who populated the African stage... to the common woman and man' who are the real makers of history.

Abdulrasak Gurnah, one of the 'discussants' took issue with the professor's use of the term 'African literature' in referring to what he saw as essentially Nigerian literature (Northern, Eastern and

Southern Africa featuring little in the latter's exposé), but he agreed with fellow discussant, Egyptian writer, *Ahdaf Soueif*, that despite the differences in language and culture, there are similarities.

The visual arts

The same complaints were made and the same conclusion reached during the debate on the *Visual Arts* chaired by *Pitika Ntuli*, the South African sculptor and poet who is Associate Professor of Fine Art at the University of the Witwatersrand. The main speakers here were the Nigerian artist and art historian, *Uche Okeke* and Senegalese artist and philosopher, *Issa Samb*. The 'discussants' were Sudanese art historian, *Salah Hassan*, Assistant Professor of African Art History at Cornell University and Cameroonian editor-in-chief of *Revue Noire*, *Simon Njami*. While Okeke traced the career and pioneering role of Aina Onabolu in Nigeria's visual art, Samb presented a surreal picture of the relationship between the arts and politics in Senegal, a country which he said was left artistically an 'orphan' by its first president, *Sedar Senghor*. The discussion which followed was an opportunity to emphasise the immense problem of communication between African artists, their access to information and the danger of generalisation.

Visual creativity was recognised as springing from the inner recesses of the mind, a reflection more often of the artist's beliefs, but a form which transcends the forces of tradition and modernity, and regional and continental boundaries. Visual creativity can be perfected through learning. It may be ethnic but it is certainly universal which renders the debate over creative works which are geared towards tourism and the market academic.

Music

Of all African creativities none is more universal, indeed none has had more impact on the world in the past ten years, than African music. Its growth has been phenomenal. Mirroring the diversity of the continent, music is one art form that links Africans at 'home' with Africans in the diaspora. Not surprisingly, this was the session participants found most interesting. It was punctuated by both live demonstrations and the playing of recordings. In the chair was none other than *Salif Keita*, the Malian composer and singer. The speakers were *Kazadi wa Mukuna*, Associate Professor of Ethnomusicology and Historical Musicology at Kent State University, Ohio, in the USA, and Moroccan musician and composer, *Hassan Erraji*.

Making a distinction between traditional and urban music, Kazadi wa Mukuna, who is Zairean, traced the development of the latter in Africa to what he called the 'reflux and dissemination of Latin American music' on the continent since the 1930s. Latin American music itself is the result of an encounter between Spanish and African concepts of musical organisation — an encounter which produced a variety of forms: the *cumbia* in Puerto Rico, the *columbia*, the *mambo* and the *guaguanco* in Cuba, the *samba* in Brazil, the *tango* in Argentina, and the *merengue* in the Dominican Republic. Mr wa Mukuna noted that the degree of survival of the African concept of instrumentation and rhythm in these musical forms depended on the style of slavery.

From left, Professor Stuart Hall, Hassan Erraji, Toumani Diabate, Claude Deppa and Kazadi wa Mukuna



Kaye Whitman

Unlike in the United States, African slaves in Latin America were encouraged by the European ruling class to form social brotherhoods which provided them with forums for 'organising and promoting the observance of fundamentally necessary social and religious festivals and rituals.' It was quite natural that Latin American music appealed almost instantly to Africans when the reflux began. Most of the forms 'served as models for urban music and dances by being compatible with existing local forms.'

The availability of Western instruments such as the guitar and the saxophone enabled African musicians to adapt these new forms to African taste. The advent of the radio, the setting up of recording studios in certain towns as well as live concerts given by travelling New York-based Latin bands helped boost their popularity. Zaire was and still is where the impact has been most significant.

Moroccan musician and composer, *Hassan Erraji*, outlined the development of music in North Africa pointing out the increasing influence of the Berbers. He observed that Morocco shared a common musical heritage with the rest of the African continent, particularly in the predominance of the drum. Islamic fundamentalism, he warned, is becoming a threat to musical experimentation. 'Rai music has been singled out by the so-called fundamentalists as a corrupting influence, leading to permissiveness, drug use and loss of identity. It is no worse than other forms of pop music,' he said. 'The mosques are still open for free worship, and no individual is forced to "jive".'

This concern over corrupting influences is not restricted to North Africa. African music as a whole is being seen as pandering increasingly to western tastes under economic pressures. As that music becomes internationally more popular, the controversy is getting worse and even bitter. However, this was not the case at this conference. The debate, if anything, was nipped in the bud by Salif Keita while opening the session when he called on participants to ponder what he called 'music and the pocket', because 'when one speaks of music, one speaks of the heart, but the musician has to choose between his heart or soul and his pocket', he explained.

Mr Mukuna's distinction between traditional music and urban music, however, was also crucial in diffusing criticism: Urban music is commercial but it draws constantly from the immense reserves of the traditional.

Salif Keita's music has a high western rhythmic content and he is often criticised for it. But that is the way African music is going, some claim. New technologies, like synthesisers and computers mean new ways of doing things. The concern at the conference was not so much western influence (after all everyone is for cross-fertilisation) as the control of the production and dissemination of African music. The recording industry in Africa is disappearing and studios in Europe are imposing their music on African musicians, the conference was told.

Pride of place was given to traditional music with the presence as a discussant in this session of the leading Malian kora player and composer, *Toumani Diabate*, who explained the cultural role of the kora in Malian society. He was to give a memorable solo acoustic concert later in the evening.

The conference discussed the role of African music as a medium of change — music as a means of protest, music as a political tool, etc — as well as its therapeutic powers.

Theatre

No other creative art serves more as a tool for socio-economic transformation and political mobilisation than theatre. As *Jack Mapanje*, the Malawian poet, who was one of the discussants on the topic *The Language of Change in Theatre/Performance* put it: 'Theatre is politics and politics is theatre'. This was clearly illustrated by *Femi Osofisan*, Professor of Drama at the University of Ibadan when, like his compatriot Niyi Osundare, he touched on the current political situation in Nigeria and the role writers and playwrights are playing in opposing dictatorship. These artists, he said, run enormous risks in the exercise of their profession. The effectiveness of theatre as a medium of change in Nigeria is seriously

undermined. However, the theatre of 'surreptitious subversion' is alive and well.

Tanzanian playwright, *Penina Mlama*, who is Professor of Drama at the University of Dar es Salaam, gave an account of how theatre (grassroots theatre in particular) has been used over time to effect social and economic changes in Tanzania. The potency of this art form as a medium of change is indisputable. As a subtle medium, though, the impact of theatre generally is difficult to quantify, especially under abnormal political conditions. Theatre can only have a big impact if all the means of communication are used: radio, television, playhouses, videos, travelling troupes and so on.

Film

Because African cinema was featuring prominently elsewhere within the framework of Africa 95, the organisers of the conference focused on film-making in documenting changes in Africa. The main speakers were the documentary film-makers, *Haile Gerima* of Ethiopia and *Jean Marie Teno* of Cameroon.

In the opinion of Mr Gerima, African documentary film-making is really non-existent. The documentaries that there are on Africa are made by foreigners. Although the films are good, they invariably do not show the true image of Africa since they are from the perspective of outsiders. African documentary film-makers like himself, who seek an independent observation of the continent, are hamstrung by finance. Foreign media houses are unwilling to bankroll them, preferring instead to put the resources at the disposal of their own nationals. The situation, he said, is compounded by the fact that the documentary films made by foreigners, as well as those made during the colonial era, are kept in foreign film archives, and African documentary film-makers wishing to make use of footage from these films are either denied access or obliged to pay exorbitant prices. The history and the image of Africa, as a result, continue to be distorted.

Mr Gerima sees the documentary film industry in Africa as a battleground. He praised, however, the achievements of African film-makers like Jean-Marie Teno

who operate on shoe-string budgets, often secured from international organisations.

Mr Teno's film *Têtes dans les nuages* (Heads in the clouds) was shown to the conference before he presented his paper entitled *Film-making: working against despair*. In this, he spoke of his choice of genre and his experience of working in Cameroon. If anything, the paper served to drive home the points made by Mr Gerima, not only regarding the difficulties of finance but also the fact that an African can see his continent in a more profound and critical manner than a foreigner. In *Têtes dans les nuages*, for example, Mr Teno deals with the condition of women in Cameroon. Set against the background of the country's harsh economic difficulties and misgovernment, he shows how women, through their own associations, not only maintain solidarity and their sanity, but also overcome some of their financial problems, educate their children and provide them with modest capital for business. The film shows the invasion of Yaounde by heaps of rubbish, a symbol of what he called the 'politics of the garbage in Africa'. To him African leaders are turning the continent into one huge rubbish heap.

The conference ended with a visit to the Royal Academy of Arts for a preview of its exhibition on African arts (scheduled to open to the public on the following day — 4 October 1995 — and to run until 21 January 1996). It is the biggest ever exhibition of African art with collections from every part of the continent.

As participants left, the message of the conference was that African culture must project itself into the world. While retaining the essentials, it must change because the world is changing. ■

Augustin Oyowe

African and Caribbean style graces European catwalks

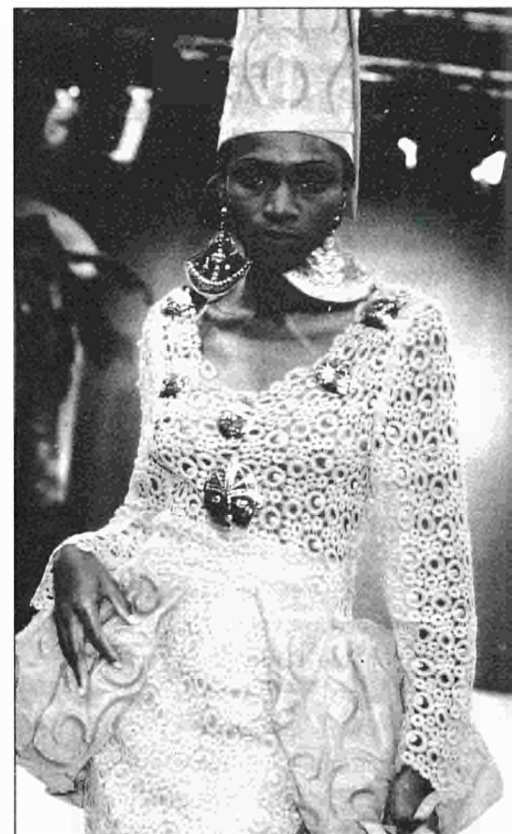
The best of fashion from Africa and the Caribbean stepped out on the catwalks of Paris and Dusseldorf this September, seeking to catch the buyer's eye in an increasingly competitive European market. Many of the African stylists cut traditional cotton cloth into European style garments with an African accent, whereas Caribbean designers lit up the shows with brightly dyed garments imprinted with typical Caribbean motifs. The potential in the regions for transforming raw materials into garments which can fetch more in international markets, was put across in style.

This is the fourth year that the European Union has put up funds for designers from Africa and the Caribbean to exhibit at the 'Salon International du Prêt-à-Porter Féminin' in Paris, which ran from September 1-4 and the second time in Dusseldorf, on September 10-12. The German-based firm, 'Protrade/GTZ' is preparing a study on the potential of and obstacles facing African and Caribbean creators in selling to European markets.

Money to enable participants to travel and hire costly floor space and stands was drawn from Article 138 of the Lomé IV Convention which promotes regional trade, and from the participating countries National Indicative Programmes (NIPs). This year's crop of designers from eight African nations; Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and three Caribbean countries; Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago, twirled their Summer 1996 collections alongside the stars of the international scene; *Valentino, Armani and Christian de la Croix*.

Best known designer at the shows was *Alphadi*, now with outlets in Niamey, Paris and Washington. This stylist from Niger successfully pioneered the marriage of European style — avant-garde womenswear and ready-to-wear classics in his range of slim trousers, long skirts and alluring short waisted jackets — and African prints. In setting up the 'Federation Africaine des Createurs', a syndicate of stylists across Africa, Alphadi is helping set up local production in Africa since many traditional small-scale factories are unable to meet bulk orders for the ready-to-wear market.

Alphadi — Niger





Colle Sow Ardo — Senegal



Moon and I — Jamaica



Sara — Ethiopia

Raw cotton

Recent private ownership in Senegal has brought new potential to the country's cotton industry, with a target of producing more textiles. *Abdoulaye Diaara Diop* combines European styles and self-dyed African fabrics.

With an annual crop of 147 000 tonnes, Mali is second to Egypt as the largest cotton producer on the African continent. Mali's two textile mills produce quality fabrics, but the country does not have a big clothing industry.

Two of the Malian designers who put on shows, *Traore Dikourou* and *Sibide Amy Maiga*, do have the equipment to meet bulk orders.

Dikourou's two-piece ensembles, dresses, coats, bermuda shorts and blazers, combined undyed damask, known as 'bazins', and 'bougalsans', hand woven cotton strips printed in exclusive patterns.

Ivorian designers combined local cloth thanks to a 103 000 tonne annual cotton production, the fourth biggest in Africa, with European fabrics and design. *Pathe Doedraogo*, owner of a large manufacturing company in Abidjan, mixes traditional weaving patterns with extravagant styling.

Caribbean colour

Unlike Africa, the absence of a domestic cotton industry in the Caribbean has meant that the bulk of cloth is imported. The Caribbean's tourist industry has been the driving force behind the growth of designer labels in the region, popular for their creative use of fabric and colourful hand-painted textiles.

Jamaican *Ritula Frankel* who set up the company, 'Moon and I' in 1993 uses hand-printed cloth in soft pastels and bright tropical colours for her womenswear collection, featuring her own drawings of Caribbean flora and fauna.

Trinidad & Tobago's, *Heather Jones*, imports cotton and silk fabrics from the United States, printing her babydoll and long dresses with her own designs. One Caribbean company, 'The Galt', set up five years ago, imports leather from Italy to produce uniquely designed belts, handbags, rucksacks and purses.

Simple look for summer 1996

Congolese designer, *Bernadette N'Sounda*, keeps it simple for Spring/Summer 1996; skirts, trousers and combinations in linen with indigo and medium blue batiks. Baggy tops with skirts and

pants and slim-line suits in shaded silks also feature in her collection.

One of Ethiopia's most creative designers, *Sara Abera*, also suggests a natural look with her hand-woven white cottons. She co-ordinates wide trousers with waistcoats and short wrap round skirts teamed with a sleeveless top. Her collection also includes wide dresses with splits and square cut dresses with embroidery around the armholes.

Next year, regret EU officials, will be a 'sabbatical' for the event since the EU is between Lomé protocols and the reserve fund will be short. But they hope that funds will flow for bigger and better support in 1997, by which time Lomé's second financial protocol should be on stream. ■

D.P.



Food aid and rural communities in developing countries

I found the thoughts of Michael Pickstock in the article 'African dilemma — few options, little time' in issue No. 148 extremely interesting. Despite various forms of development aid, rural populations in ACP countries are always affected by chronic impoverishment. In my opinion, this poverty trap is a good illustration not only of an unsuitable development aid policy but also of the lamentable unwillingness on the part of ACP governments to alleviate it. In fact, it is the urban populations which benefit from development aid to the detriment of rural areas which are, admittedly, isolated and disorganised, but which produce the food supplies on which the nation's survival is based.

For example, instead of supplying enormous quantities of food aid, couldn't this be converted into financial and technical support to encourage the production of food in rural areas.

This could take the form of supplying or modernising agricultural equipment, donations of transport equipment for removing produce which often perishes *in situ*, thereby creating food shortages in towns and cities, and encouraging processing of foodstuffs where they are actually produced.

Food aid can be useful, even humanitarian, in countries where the environment is hostile to agricultural activities but, in the case of a country like mine — the Congo — where the soil and climate are favourable to the promotion of the rural economy, we need financial and technical support. It is difficult to under-

stand, for example, how we can receive donations of groundnut oil when we are capable of producing plenty ourselves.

All that is needed are the incentives to cultivate more groundnuts in the south west of the Congo (particularly in the Ngoua II zone which is one of the country's main groundnut-producing areas).

In my opinion, therefore, food aid should be converted and allocated directly to the rural economy, for the benefit of the mass of people who live in the country. This could be done through their own associations and community NGOs, with the necessary supervision by donor representatives.

Ferdinand Mapity, Mossendjo, Congo

European Union aid to ACP countries

I trained as an economist and worked for over 15 years in rural areas of Africa. What follows is not a criticism but rather a field observation of the risk of European Union aid to ACP countries slipping out-of-phase.

I feel there is a lack of coordination between the Union and national cooperation bodies such as the AGCD (General Development Cooperation Agency) in Belgium. In fact, the same project (and I mean the same project) can sometimes be financed several times when funds could have been put to another use. By way of example, I would cite some farmers I met in 1989 who were seeking financial aid or a loan to purchase a truck.

They wanted to be able to transport their produce (yams) to Niamey

in Niger where there was heavy demand. The lack of a means of transport forced them to reduce their harvest so as to avoid being left with an unusable surplus. Here is just one simple example of where we missed an opportunity to encourage South-South trade.

Alain Termont, Brussels, Belgium

For a viable world of hope, harmony and bread

As we approach the third millennium, we find a wide range of opinions about the new world order — which promotes human rights in developing countries — being expressed in your columns. The writers offer sound advice and give a sensible outline of the kinds of approach that need to be adopted in the face of violent social upheaval and instability, notably in respect of land-tenure.

Africa provides a living picture of social disintegration. It faces formidable problems, ranging from pollution and poverty to chronic civil wars. In your ambitious coverage of the refugee issue (Dossier, April 1995), however, you make a major contribution to the debate on solving these problems.

If international organisations continue on the same lines, with an active and vigorous approach, this will help enormously to build a viable world of hope, harmony and bread.

Nzongang Bertin Désiré and Simon Inou, Douala, Cameroon

The Courier is pleased to receive readers' letters on topics dealt with in the magazine. In view of the amount of mail we receive, we may have to shorten or summarise these letters, but we aim to retain the overall spirit of the text.

THE CONVENTION AT WORK

EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT FUND

Following, where required, favourable opinions from the EDF Committee, the Commission has decided to provide grants and special loans from the 5th, 6th and 7th EDFs to finance the following operations (grants unless otherwise stated). Major projects and programmes are highlighted:

Economic and social infrastructure

Angola: ECU 3 million for the rehabilitation of basic infrastructures (health, education) and the restoration of productive activities, to help residents and displaced people in the rural of areas of Huambo province.

Central African Republic: ECU 50 million for a transport sector programme, for the upkeep of the routes linking the country with the outside world.

Madagascar: ECU 750 000 for phase II of the conservation and integrated development programme in Bemaraha (Centre West) to avert the degradation of natural resources and provide for local management of the programme.

Malawi: ECU 1.57 million for the Road Maintenance Initiative towards the management and upkeep of the road network.

Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda: ECU 4.85 million for technological development and agro-forestry to boost agricultural production in East Africa's high plateaux.

Zaire: ECU 90 million for a 4 year rehabilitation programme. Its implementation is conditional on the evolution of political reforms and human rights.

Trade promotion/structural adjustment

Ghana: ECU 21.4 million for a 1995 general import programme as structural adjustment support.

Zambia: ECU 16.8 million for phase III of structural adjustment.

Agriculture

Namibia: ECU 3.75 million to improve livestock marketing through the refurbishment of existing quarantine farms and building of new establishments. The aim is to increase the area available for livestock-rearing.

Togo: ECU 1.986 million to make available accurate and up-to-date agricultural statistics.

Dominica: ECU 2.25 million ECU for an agricultural diversification programme.

Health

Madagascar: ECU 1.85 million to set up a medicines purchasing unit to reduce costs and improve product quality.

Mozambique: ECU 5 million to support an anti-STD/HIV/AIDS programme, notably for the most vulnerable groups (young people and pregnant women).

Environment

Mali: ECU 760 000 to protect forests in Macina and Baraoueli (Segou region) through a local management scheme.

Institutional support

Botswana: ECU 300 000 to help government institutions in the fight against drug trafficking.

Mali: ECU 500 000 for a national computer system to improve management of EU funded projects and contribute to regional integration through West Africa's Economic and Monetary Union.

Mozambique: ECU 1.5 million for the National Tourism Directorate (Dinatur) to develop tourism.

Chad: ECU 500 000 to support the electoral process through education.

Haiti: ECU 2 million to set up UNAPON (support unit for the national authorising officer).

Miscellaneous

Botswana: ECU 1.9 million ECU for a geological study in Ngamiland.

Belize: ECU 750 000 to support MASDP (Maya Archaeological Development Programme) to promote tourism.

African ACP states and OCTs: ECU 1.99 million for participation in regional tourism trade fairs in 1996.

All ACPs and OCTs: ECU 10 million to finance cultural events.

EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK

Loans

Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso: ECU 13 million (ECU 6m for Cote d'Ivoire and ECU 7m for Burkina Faso) for modernisation and rebuilding of the Abidjan-Ouagadougou-Kaya railway line.

Senegal: ECU 15 million to augment drinking water supply, improve sewers and install water treatment for water recycling, notably in Dakar.

Tanzania: ECU 300 000 for hotel repairs and extensions.

Antigua & Barbuda, Grenada: ECU 5.2 million to mount a regional disposal scheme for solid waste, respecting environmental norms.

St. Christopher & Nevis: ECU 2 million to improve Nevis airport.

New Vice-President

Rudolf de Korte (Netherlands) was appointed as Vice-President of the management committee from July 1. A former member of the Dutch Parliament, Mr de Korte has

held the posts of Interior Minister, Economics Minister and Deputy Prime Minister (1986-1989) in his own country. He replaces Mr Corneille from Luxembourg whose mandate has expired.

The other members of the management committee are Sir Brian Unwin (President), Messrs. Roth, Gennimata, Ponzellini and Marti and Mrs Obolensky. A new Vice-President from one of the EU newcomers — Austria, Finland or Sweden — will be appointed shortly.

Loans to South Africa

The Bank has announced a ECU 300 million two-year loans package to help finance South Africa's reconstruction and development programme. EIB President, Sir Brian Unwin, signed the deal with South Africa's Finance Minister, Chris Liebenburg, on a recent visit to Pretoria.

The extension of loans to South Africa was approved by the bank's governors and is part of a cooperation agreement signed in October 1994 between South Africa and the European Union. Basic infrastructure, small and medium sized enterprises, environmental protection, production, energy and telecommunications are all earmarked to receive loans.

VISITS

President Trovoada of São Tomé & Príncipe

Miguel Trovoada, President of São Tomé & Príncipe held a working session with President Santer and Development Commissioner, Professor Pinheiro on September 27.

His visit was part of a surprise tour to Europe following the attempted military coup in the middle of August. Mr Trovoada was able to participate in the ACP/EU Joint Assembly held in Brussels on September 25-29.

Speaking at the Assembly, the President of São Tomé underlined his commitment to democracy and called on European nations

to support the small island republic (130 000 inhabitants living on 1000 km²) which has, since 1990, had an exemplary transition to democracy.

President Santer welcomed the return of legality, at the same time recalling the EU's firm condemnation of the attempted coup. He congratulated President Trovoada for the determination and courage he had shown during those events.

Professor Pinheiro said that the Commission would take account of recent events in São Tomé in programming the eighth European Development Fund (EDF). He also recommended quick disbursement of 7th EDF funds still in the kitty.

President Trovoada was given the EU's all-round backing for São Tomé's legitimate constitution and institutions.

President of the West Africa Monetary Union

Ousmane Seck, President of West Africa's Economic and Monetary Union, paid his first visit to Brussels as head of the organisation on October 2-4, where he outlined the organisation's priorities. He was accompanied by Togolese Commissioner, Mr Adodo.

Priorities, he said, included the creation of a customs union, common sectoral policies and a multilateral surveillance mechanism. He also expressed an interest in benefiting from the EU's experience in economic integration.

For their part, EU officials gave full support to the process and raised the possibility of medium-term support for the body under future regional cooperation, once the mid-term review has been ratified. Such a programme might include:

- improved management;
- support for regional structural adjustment programmes;
- an expanded private sector role in a wider regional market.

The Union's Treaty was signed on January 10 1994 on the eve of devaluation of the CFA Franc by the seven WAMU member states (Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo). The Ouagadougou-based Commission, set up on January 30 1995 to implement the Treaty, has seven members, with Mr Seck

currently in the rotating Presidency chair.

During the Brussels visit, the Union's representatives were received by Development Commissioner, Professor Pinheiro, and Mr de Silguy, Commissioner for Financial and Monetary Affairs. Working sessions were also held with senior officials from the various Directorates-General; Development, Budget, Regional Policy, Customs and Indirect Taxation, and with the Commission's Secretary-General.

Structural adjustment focus of Niger PM's visit

Development Commissioner Pinheiro met Hama Amadou, the Prime Minister of Niger on October 12. The government's negotiations with the Bretton Woods institutions for future funding of a structural adjustment programme were the focus of talks.

Independent since 1960, Niger held its first democratic elections in 1993. The country has been suffering from balance of payment problems and a lack of public funds since the beginning of the 1980s. Current structural adjustment measures have encountered serious difficulties and there are particular worries about their effects on the population.

The European Commission declared its willingness to continue to support the government's restructuring efforts, given the positive economic results, which had restored creditor confidence. An initial sum could be provided in November once talks with the IMF and the World Bank are under way, with a further, more substantial sum to follow at the beginning of next year, once an IMF agreement has been agreed.

The Prime Minister invited the EU to attend a donor Round Table to be held at the end of October on the 'rehabilitation of the Northern rural zone', an area of the country which has particularly suffered in the Tuareg conflict over the past few years. Its economic development is foreseen in the April 1995 peace accord. Professor Pinheiro confirmed EU participation at this Round Table and pointed out that the Commission had already funded large projects in the region, notably ECU 18 million for a socio-economic development project. He added that the EU would continue to

give assistance in order to bolster the long-awaited peace accord.

EUROPEAN UNION

COUNCIL

On October 5, the Social Affairs Council, meeting in Luxembourg, adopted a resolution firmly condemning all forms of racism, xenophobia and anti-semitism, violations of individual rights and religious intolerance.

An initiative of the Spanish Presidency, the resolution requests the Commission to prepare a report detailing past EU measures to stamp out racism and xenophobia and sets out future plans.

At the end of 1995, the Commission is expected to publish its action plan against racism, including the designation of 1997 as 'European Year Against Racism.' It is also seeking specific powers to allow it to tackle racial discrimination from the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference.

The Council's text proposes that Member States enact the following policies in their respective national legislation:

- protection of individuals against all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, religion or national or ethnic origin;
- promotion of employment and professional training to integrate those legally residing in an EU Member State;
- measures to combat discrimination in the workplace for legal residents;
- promotion of equal opportunities for groups most vulnerable to discrimination, notably women, young people and children;
- promotion amongst young people and European public opinion of respect for fundamental human rights, democracy, and religious and cultural diversity;

— improved cooperation and debate between Member States on ways and means of promoting social cohesion.

Practical measures suggested to the Member States include promotion of respect for human diversity and equality in all educational establishments, teacher training programmes and courses run for civil servants and managers. The Council also stresses the need for tolerance, and advocates cooperation with organisations and groups fighting racism and xenophobia. For the media, it proposes effective means of self-regulation.

The support of the social partners is also sought by the Council in the fight against racism and xenophobia.

COMMISSION

Young experts in developing country delegations

Under the 'Young Experts' training programme, the Commission has just established three new agreements with France, Luxembourg and Austria to send nationals from these countries to developing country delegations.

On top of the 'Young Experts' programme financed out of the Commission's budget, there are further bilateral programmes with certain governments/ministries which have budgets to send young experts to developing country delegations under agreements between the Commission and the Member States.

Six such bilateral agreements are currently running, involving a total of 43 young experts. Four of these are with Germany, Denmark, Spain and Italy respectively while there are two agreements involving France. A total of 29 young people received training under the 1994-1996 scheme.

Population policies in developing countries

The Commission has recently set out the rules governing the budget line relating to

assistance for population policies and programmes in developing countries.

It wants to tailor this budget line to the recommendations of the Cairo Population and Development Conference (1994). Programmes funded under this heading will be 'pilot' measures, but are also intended as catalysts for other operations funded from the EDF, EU programmes for Asia, Latin America and the Mediterranean (ALAMED) and specific budget lines relating to human rights, women in development and NGOs.

It should be recalled that the Cairo action plan foresees the Commission providing appropriate assistance to the national governments, insofar as the latter are responsible for the design and implementation of programmes.

COMMON FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

Within the framework of its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Union has recently issued a number of statements, details of which are set out below:

Guinea elections 'free and fair'

Declaration of 28 July 1995

The European Union is pleased at the manner in which the first free, multi-party general election since independence was held in Guinea on 11 June 1995.

Although the electoral process seems to have revealed certain shortcomings, the European Union supports the opinion of the many on-the-spot observers who considered that the June 11 elections proceeded in a generally acceptable manner and that the outcome of the ballot reflected the will of the people. The EU considers that the high turnout and commitment shown by the electors under occasionally difficult conditions are indicative of the profound desire of the people of Guinea to be act-

ively involved in the democratic development of their country.

The EU hopes that the newly-elected Parliament will play a leading role in consolidating the formation of a democratic society and calls upon all political forces in the country to commit themselves in earnest to that path in order to secure stability, prosperity and peace for Guinea.

Central and Eastern European countries associated with the Union align themselves with this declaration.

EU salutes return to legality in São Tomé & Príncipe

Declaration of 18 August 1995

The European Union welcomes the happy outcome to the crisis which occurred in São Tomé and Príncipe on 15 August.

It pays tribute to the mediation of the Angolan Foreign Affairs Minister, backed by the international community.

The EU is delighted to see the restoration of constitutional legality and the reinstatement of the democratically elected President as well as of the National Assembly, which will allow European cooperation with São Tomé and Príncipe to continue.

Release of political refugees in Sudan

Declaration of 11 September 1995

The European Union welcomes the decision of President Bashir to release 32 political detainees and people already sentenced for political crimes as important steps towards respect for human rights and democracy in Sudan.

The EU hopes that these initiatives will soon be followed by steps towards peace, tolerance and reconciliation which improve relations between the EU and Sudan.

Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Rumania and Slovakia associate themselves with this declaration.

Peace pact between main factions in Liberia wins approval

Declaration of 14 September 1995

The European Union welcomes the agreement signed in Abuja, Nigeria, on 19 August by the various factions in the conflict, which opens the way to hopes of peace and stability in Liberia.

The EU asks the parties involved to make a big effort to ensure that the agreement is applied, and stresses the need for the international community to provide political and financial support for the peace process in Liberia.

The EU confirms that it intends to give political and financial support to the peace process, and to continue its humanitarian assistance for the people of Liberia, as it has done since 1990, having paid out nearly ECU 150 million in assistance for war victims. However, in future all political and financial aid hinges on sustained progress applying the agreement reached in Abuja between the principal factions of the conflict.

The European Union congratulates ECOWAS, and particularly its President, President Rawlings of Ghana, on their efforts and commitment to bringing peace to Liberia.

More reform urged in Ethiopia

Declaration of 26 September 1995

The election of the President and Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the formation of a new government marks the end of the transitional period in Ethiopia which began in 1991.

Recognising this important step in the country's history, the European Union conveys its best wishes to the new authorities and assures them of its commitment to continue and further develop relations of cooperation and political dialogue.

The EU has taken note with satisfaction of the renewed commitment of the Ethiopian authorities to govern the country in conformity with democratic principles and respect

for human rights enshrined in the constitution.

In this regard, as the Prime Minister himself has recognised, further progress needs to be made, and the EU appeals:

- to the government, which now has all the necessary powers at its disposal, to do its utmost to achieve these goals;
 - to all political forces, including the opposition and all elements of civil society, for peaceful participation in this process.
- The EU takes this opportunity to reaffirm its desire to see Ethiopia fully and definitively embarked on this path and will follow its development closely.

The EU is furthermore of the view that the pursuit of liberal economic policies open to both domestic and foreign private sector investment, is vital for the rapid socio-economic development of the country.

The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the Union align themselves with this declaration.

Condemnation of attempted coup in Comores

Declaration of 29 September 1995

The EU strongly condemns the coup d'état which took place in Moroni, 28 September and expresses its concern about its repercussions on the functioning of democratic institutions.

The EU urges the democratic institutions to fully resume functions and calls for constitutional guarantees to be re-established, whilst reiterating its support for human rights and the rule of law, which are the pillars of democratic order.

The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the Union align themselves with this declaration.

Positive developments in Nigeria welcomed

Declaration of 2 October 1995

The European Union welcomes the Nigerian Head of State's decision to commute all death sentences in respect of those alleged to have been involved in coup plotting as a positive and constructive first step. The EU is looking forward to receiving further in-

formation on the fate of those involved and remains concerned about those whose sentences are still awaited.

The EU welcomes the Head of State's commitment to a process of return to civilian democratic rule. However, it believes that a transition should be achieved within three years.

The EU recalls the concerns it has previously expressed about the need to address the human rights situation in Nigeria generally.

Nigeria remains an area of priority engagement and concern for the EU. It will closely follow the implementation of the commitments made public by General Abacha and will adapt the future of its cooperation with Nigeria in light of the evolution of this process.

Murder of Italians in Burundi condemned

Declaration of 5 October 1995

The European Union has learnt that three Italian nationals, two Jesuit priests and a lay worker, were murdered on 30 September 1995 in the parish of Buyengero, Bururi province.

The EU strongly condemns this murder of innocent people, whose only desire was to contribute to the country's development and the improved welfare of its people.

The EU also expresses its keen concern at the assaults being carried out on foreign nationals in Burundi.

The EU requests the government of Burundi to mount an investigation without delay to identify the murderers and bring them to trial, and calls on the Burundi authorities to do everything in their power to guarantee the safety of foreigners living in Burundi.

The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the Union align themselves with this declaration.

GENERAL INFORMATION

UNCTAD warns about trade protectionism

Cheap imports from the South are not to blame for a 34 million long dole queue in developed nations, asserts the 1995 report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), published on September 11 1995*.

One of the conclusions to this year's report is that to counter unemployment at home, industrialised nations could misguidedly erect protectionist trade barriers such as demanding that Third World governments enact tough labour standards in order to qualify for preferential access to markets in the North. UNCTAD economists thus attempt to drive home a few home truths about the root causes of unemployment whilst recommending some unorthodox measures to create new jobs in the North.

The report says: 'Fingers have been pointed in the wrong direction, mainly at cheap developing country imports and rigid Northern labour markets. Calls to cut wage costs in industrialised countries are no answer to rising productivity in developing countries. The real culprit for job losses in industrialised countries is their monetary and fiscal policies.'

UNCTAD economists put forward a package of measures to lower unemployment in the North, such as a one-time wealth tax to bring down budget deficits, lower interest rates to spur investment and taxation of foreign exchange trading to stabilise markets. The report warns: 'In the absence of a strategy for tackling unemployment by raising growth all round, governments may find it difficult to resist pressures in favour of protectionist solutions.'

The report forecasts a 'mixed and uncertain' economic outlook for Africa, going on to say that much will depend on the one hand, on the evolution of commodity prices, and on the other, stable climatic conditions, and avoidance of political conflicts and civil wars.

* UNCTAD Trade and Development Report, 1995, 212 pages, New York & Geneva, September 11 1995.)

It continues: 'Africa's share of world output and trade continued to shrink (in 1994), while its share of world population continued to rise. Its productivity is low and management inefficient. African countries have failed to diversify their economies, reduce their dependence on commodity exports and mitigate their vulnerability to external economic factors.'

In contrast, Asia's growth is expected to accelerate to 6% in 1995 from 5.3% in 1994, thanks to increased intra-regional trade and investment. The one exception is China whose growth will slow to 9.6% after increases of 12% in each of the past three years.

As for Latin America, the impact of the Mexican financial crisis threatens short-term prospects for the region's growth, which is expected to slow to 2% in 1995 from 3.7% in 1994. On the other hand, nations of Central and Eastern Europe will see an upturn in their economic fortunes where, barring the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), average growth rises of 4-5% are anticipated. But in the CIS, a 7-8% decline in output is possible, say UNCTAD economists. At 2.8%, Western Europe will have steady growth whilst in Japan, recession will mean a contraction from 0.6% to 0.5%.

Other highlights of the report are a study of the financial derivatives market and a glance at the prospects for some West African countries in the wake of the devaluation of the CFA franc on January 12 1994. These appear brighter for Burkina Faso and Mali, with a much less clear future for Benin, Niger and Togo: 'In some countries such as the Central African Republic and Chad, prospects are uncertain due to the termination of financial support from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in view of their failure to abide by agreements with the Fund on the accompanying devaluation measures.'

Last but not least, there is a call for 'serious attention' to be given to debt reduction, notably that owed to multilateral bodies by low income nations. UNCTAD suggests that 'urgent and sympathetic consideration' be given to the sale of a portion of IMF gold reserves, a new SDR allocation, a portion of which would be used to alleviate

multilateral debt, and drawing on reserves and loan loss provisions of multilateral financial bodies. D.P.

Mauritius joins SADC

The Southern Africa Development Community, SADC, now has 12 members following the accession of Mauritius on August 28.

Mauritius becomes the sole French-speaking state in the regional organisation whose other members are; Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa. Established in 1980 by the Southern Africa front-line states neighbouring South Africa, and the Nambian and South African liberation movements, at the outset, SADC's focus was to build up an economic bloc in Southern Africa in order to lessen dependence on South Africa.

Today, due to political changes in South Africa, SADC wants to expand its horizons beyond the economic sphere and to build up its political institutions.

South Africa: free trade talks progress

Rounds two and three of talks on a first-time bilateral agreement between the European Union and South Africa took place respectively in Pretoria on September 11-12 and Brussels on October 12-13.

Following the Pretoria talks, Director General for Development, *Steffen Smidt* welcomed: 'a favourable response to the EU's invitation to work towards a free trade area with South Africa.' He continued: 'This can be considered as a major breakthrough and an important *de-facto* move on their side.' After the Brussels follow-up meeting, South Africa's Ambassador to the European Union, *Neil van Heerden*, declared that his country was: 'not opposed to a free trade agreement in time.'

After the October talks, Mr Smidt said that the World Trade Organisation's 10-year time frame for concluding a free trade pact with a third country would be 'considered' in drawing up the draft. But he reiterated in a briefing to reporters that the Commission is willing to offer South Africa an 'asymmetrical' agreement where the EU would open its market at a faster pace to

South Africa's goods and produce than *vice versa*.

But a report adopted overwhelmingly by the European Parliament on October 9, drawn up by MEP *Alex Smith* (S-UK), urges the EU to be as flexible as possible with WTO rules in South Africa's case. 'There is no doubt that a free trade area could backfire in South Africa. A sudden increase in competition on its own market from highly competitive EU products would certainly lead to closures and job losses in labour intensive sectors of South Africa's industry,' Mr Smith told fellow MEPs. He added: 'In a country where present levels of unemployment are already near 50%, this would amount to political suicide.' When talks were launched on June 30, South African trade minister, Trevor Manuel, indicated that his country was seeking non-reciprocal Lomé-type trade preferences to allow South Africa's industries, isolated from international competition during the years of apartheid, to find their feet.

Talks will be most difficult over relaxing entry restrictions for South Africa's fruit and vegetables to the EU market. South Africa is also said to be hesitant over other features of a bilateral pact notably; opening trade in services, and talks on a fisheries pact which would allow EU boats to cast their nets in South African waters. At the same time, South Africa is negotiating 'qualified membership' of the Lomé Convention, allowing the country to participate in all Lomé institutional meetings — ambassadors, ministers and joint assemblies — and offering some perks such as eligibility of South African firms to tender for European Development Fund works and supplies contracts. The arrangement would also include extension of Lomé 'cumulation of origin', enabling South African companies to participate in the processing of products fabricated in a neighbouring state, yet retain the Lomé preferential access to the EU market.

The Commission would like both the bilateral agreement and the Lomé link to come into force at the beginning of 1997. D.P.

SADC journalists in Brussels

Twenty-two journalists from the 12-nation Southern Africa Development Community

(SADC) got together on October 3 with European reporters accredited to EU institutions in Brussels, for a round table discussion on 'EU-SADC — a working model for regional co-operation'. An opening presentation was given by European Director General for Development, *Steffen Smidt*. Other participants included the Head of the Commission's Southern African Unit, *Francisco de Camara* and *Alexander Dijkmeester*, Head of Unit for South Africa and the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

The round table was just one event on the journalists' agenda during their visit to Brussels — the last stage of a media 'grand' tour which also took in a number of SADC countries. The tour was sponsored by the non-governmental organisation, AWEPA (European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa). At the round table, both SADC and European journalists were keen to learn as much as possible about the EU's likely future relations with South Africa and how these might affect relations with the region more generally. One issue of particular concern was the possible effect of an EU-South Africa agreement on the South African Customs Union (SACU) and its revenue sharing system. The SACU members are Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, South Africa and Swaziland. The EU is currently negotiating with South Africa for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) as well as 'qualified' membership of Lomé IV.

Many of the SADC journalists present voiced their fears over the EU placing all its eggs in the South African basket to the detriment of neighbouring countries. But European journalists suggested that a good trade deal with South Africa, attracting investment and promising better cooperation in other spheres from fishing to culture, would be beneficial to Southern Africa as a whole. Their image of South Africa was reflected in the terminology employed, with the country being variously described as a 'powerhouse', 'beacon' or 'torch' for the region.

European journalists listened eagerly for news of how the talks are going on the bilateral deal and they were not disappointed. The Director-General revealed that a first draft of the agreement would be submitted to EU Ministers on December 5. He said it would: 'set out the way in which the European Union will establish the

gradual liberalisation of trade with a view to establishing a Free Trade Area.' He added, significantly, that 'it will propose measures by which the gradual liberalisation can be achieved on an *asymmetric* basis.'

Mr Smidt stressed that the Commission was taking any negative effects of its trade plans on SACU into account. One element in the equation, he said, would be SACU's own internal reforms (negotiations are also taking place at the moment with a view to revising SACU). Looking further ahead, one European official suggested that there could eventually be a free trade area between the EU and the entire SADC region.

D.P.

ACP-EU relations discussed at Rimini 'Meeting for Friendship among Peoples'

'The annual 'Meeting for Friendship among Peoples' in Italy brings together NGOs and private enterprises of Catholic persuasion. Organised by the 'Associazione Compagnia delle Opere', this year's gathering took place in Rimini on 20-26 August. Daily attendances exceeded 40 000 and those participating had the opportunity to take part in a range of cultural activities and seminars organised by specialists in various fields.

One of the seminars — attended by more than 300 people — was on ACP-EU relations, with a special focus on Uganda. This is a country where a number of the Association's members are actively involved in EDF-funded actions (notably the West Nile Rural Health Programme) and projects co-funded under the NGO budget line. The seminar was addressed by *Giovanni Livi*, the EC Commission's director for East and Southern Africa, who spoke about ACP-EU relations in the context of recent global changes and the outcome of the Lomé IV mid-term review. He also dealt with the evolving role of NGOs in the system and the need for them to adapt to new challenges and responsibilities. *George-Marc André*, the Commission Desk Officer for Uganda, offered participants a summary of the country's recent history, explaining the changes that had taken place since 1986 with the accession to power of President Museveni. He also outlined the actions

supported by the Commission in Uganda over the last two decades and explained the new challenges identified by the country in the field of decentralisation and poverty alleviation. The seminar, which was designed to address the interests and concerns of both NGOs and the private sector, concluded with a lively question and answer session.

'Voices of Women' (Voix de Femmes) Festival in Liège, Belgium

The third 'Voices of Women' festival will be held in Liège, Belgium from 26 December 1995 to 7 January 1996. The event has a dual purpose — artistic and educational. It includes music, theatre and dance, and will bring together female singers, actors, dancers and choreographers representing a range of cultures and nationalities.

The artistes will perform in concerts and recitals, but will also be invited to lead or take part in workshops on a wide variety of themes including gospel music, traditional and contemporary sounds, the Afro-Haitian ritual chant, the classical Arab chant, dance theatre and the griot tradition.

Numerous professionals are expected to attend from Europe, Australia, Japan, the USA and Canada, but artistes from Africa and the Caribbean will also have an important input. Music and chants from Mauritania (*Dimi Mint Abba*), folk tales from Haiti (*Mimi Barthélémy*), African stories (*Sophia Leboutte*), songs from Madagascar (*Njava*), salsa dancing from Cuba (*Son Damas*) and classical Arab chants (*Aïcha Redouane*) are among the many attractions.

On 2 January, there will be a round table discussion bringing together about a hundred authors, dramatists, directors, choreographers, musicians and journalists. The theme of the discussion will be 'the development of cultural identities.

(Third 'Voix de Femmes' Festival. *Cirque Divers*, 13 rue Roture, B-4020 Liège, Tel. 3241-410244, Fax 3241-423723)

HUMANITARIAN AID

The Commission has recently taken the following decisions in the field of humanitarian aid (including emergency aid and food aid).

ACP countries

Guinea: ECU 100 000 against the cholera epidemic affecting the local population and refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone currently residing in Guinea.

Sierra Leone: ECU 840 000 in food aid for 52 000 people who have fled the Kenema region because of the civil war.

Sierra Leone: ECU 730 000 for an emergency food aid programme for displaced people in Freetown and Bo.

Somalia: ECU 505 000 in food and medical aid for the tens of thousands of refugees in camps in the capital.

Somalia: ECU 1 million to provide dry foodstuffs and seeds for 13 000 families affected by food shortages in the Juba valley.

Caribbean (ACPs and OCTs): ECU 900 000 in medical aid and basic equipment for those made homeless in the wake of cyclone 'Luis'.

Non ACP countries

Latin America: ECU 13.3 million for an anti-cancer information campaign (information, education, training) and an early screening programme for certain cancers. This is being cofinanced with the Spanish Association Against Cancer.

Colombia: ECU 1 million for a vaccination campaign against cholera, and to supply drinking water to the Pacific coast populations.

Guatemala: ECU 569 000 for the reintegration of formerly exiled families in the Quiché region.

Nicaragua: ECU 1 million for a cholera and malaria prevention programme in eight hospitals in Managua

Peru: ECU 200 000 to buy primary health care and sanitary equipment for displaced people who have fled the zone of conflict where the 'Shining Path' guerilla group operates.

Ex-Yugoslavia: ECU 15 million for basic products for refugees in Serbia-Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Ex-Yugoslavia: ECU 4.6 million in emergency medical aid and essential goods for 282 000 homeless people throughout the territory.

West Bank/Gaza: ECU 2 million in medical assistance to minimise the risk of a cholera and hepatitis epidemic.

Iraq: ECU 3.7 million to purchase and distribute medicines and medical materials, set up a food programme, establish a demining programme and train local personnel in demining work. The aim is to help some 2 million people who have been displaced by war.

Lebanon (Palestinians): ECU 1.3 million for medical aid, and to improve drinking water and public hygiene for Palestinian populations in refugee camps.

Afghanistan: ECU 300 000 to assist the capital's health services to bring down the exceptionally high mortality rate. The aid covers a six-month period

Sri Lanka: ECU 320 000 for a medical programme for victims of the civil war.

Thailand: ECU 1.52 million for food aid and survival equipment for the Karen, a Burmese ethnic minority, living in refugee camps on the Burma-Thai frontier following the collapse of their political movement 'Karen National Unity'.

Disaster preparedness programme

ECHO (the European Community's Humanitarian Office) has launched a programme to prepare against catastrophes, which to be funded to the tune of ECU 5 million year.

It aims to use less costly know-how and technology in responding to disasters.

ECU 2 million has already been earmarked for 16 initial projects.

These cover the training of local personnel in preparedness and aim at boosting the resources of institutions and administrations. Other criteria set for the projects are that they must be sustainable, environmentally friendly and targeted at the most vulnerable groups in the event of a catastrophe.

FOOD AID

1994 Report

For the first time, the Commission has published a report on 'European Community Food Aid', covering the year 1994. Managed by the Directorate General for Development, EU food aid donations came to ECU 1 billion for 1994, representing 53% of total world food aid pledges. The United States provided 44% and Japan 3%. Whilst a share of this food aid goes to alleviate emergencies, a substantial part is longer-term aid (ECU 531 million in 1994).

The aims of publishing the report include to increase the 'visibility' of EU food aid operations, to highlight the differences between short term aid for emergencies and longer term assistance, and to correct the myth that food aid is given just to rid the EU of big agricultural surpluses.

Decisions

The Commission has recently taken a decision to finance food aid as set out in the chart which follows:

Country/ Organisation	Cereals (tonnes)	Vegetable oil (tonnes)	Vegetables (tonnes)	Sugar (tonnes)	Other (tonnes)	Budgetary allocation (ECUm)
WFP I.E.F.R.	25 000	1 800	8 196	900		12,70
WFP P.R.O.	25 000	2 750	7 655	2 250		13,70
UNHCR		128			6 695	11,70
FAO						5,95
Burkina Faso						1,50
Haiti						5,03
Total	50 000	4 678	15 851	3 150	6 695	50,58

Corrigendum

The Royal Tropical Institute (Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen) in Amsterdam kindly granted us permission to reprint their map of Suriname, which first appeared in their publication *Landenreeks Suriname* (1993), in issue 151 of *The Courier*. We regret that we inadvertently failed to give an indication of the map's origin.

According to Professor Pinheiro, EC Development Commissioner, 'food aid is, above all, an instrument to promote long-term food security at all levels — families, nations and wider regions. It also helps to prevent conflicts.' He adds: 'It aids the economic and social development of countries and populations. This is particularly true when structural operations, local purchases and triangular operations aimed at promoting local and regional agriculture and trade are built into the programmes.' The report can be obtained from the Office for Official Publications of the European Community, L-2985 Luxembourg (No: CF-89-95-519).

PARTNERSHIP

Information Bulletin from the Centre



for the Development of Industry

Leather and footwear industries in Southern Africa

Industrial Partnership Meeting in Zimbabwe

At this meeting organised by the CDI from October 15th to 20th last, some thirty companies from the leather and footwear industry in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia, South Africa and various member countries of the European Union examined the major commercial potential of this sector, especially since the opening-up of the South African market.

Designed to encourage the creation of commercial, technical or other forms of partnerships between local promoters and European companies, this get-together comprised not only discussions between participants and experts but also visits to local firms and individual business meetings.

The following themes were on the programme: establishment of technical and commercial contacts, agreements and partnerships at the regional market level, including South Africa; production of footwear and shoe uppers intended for the European market; use of local hide



The COURTNEY BOOT COMPANY (Zimbabwe) produces footwear of the highest quality from buffalo skins: 60% of its production is exported to European and American markets.

and skin resources; and finally, the specialised safety footwear market for the very important mining industry in Southern Africa.

In the preparations for this meeting, the CDI had given a mandate to a British leather industry expert and two other consultants to visit the countries concerned and identify those firms with potential from the point of view of production and exporting on a regional scale or for the European market. Following a trip to the area in spring 1995, the experts concluded that there was a significant potential both for the regional market and for

exports of shoe uppers to Europe - an activity already under way in fact - together with special safety footwear (see Dossier on page 2).

Following personal visits, these consultants also selected and invited local firms with a certain level of professionalism, quality guarantees and sufficiently solid expansion prospects for them to become serious potential partners for motivated EU promoters.

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ACP Participants

Mozambique: 2 companies
Namibia: 2 companies
South Africa: 1 company
Zambia: 1 company
Zimbabwe: 8 companies

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The Shoe, Leather Goods and Leather

by Anthony Clothier*

As part of the preparations for the industrial partnership meeting on the leather and footwear industry in Southern Africa (meeting organised by the CDI in Zimbabwe from October 15th to 20th last - see p. 1), Mr Anthony Clothier, a British expert, carried out a study highlighting the assets of the region and also the obstacles to be overcome by the different countries in order to make optimum use of the potential of this growth sector.

Until recently it was thought that the leather and leather using industries in Southern Africa (with the exception of South Africa) had little or no future. Elsewhere in the world, the shoe industry had been one of the earliest spears of industrialisation in the developing countries. It was generally thought that this was not likely to be the case in Africa. There were various reasons for this, including the political instability of some of the countries and some well publicised flops of over-large and over-ambitious factories in East and Central Africa. Even today we do not think that anyone believes that, when labour costs become much higher in a few more Far Eastern countries, the shoe industry will migrate across the Indian Ocean to Africa.

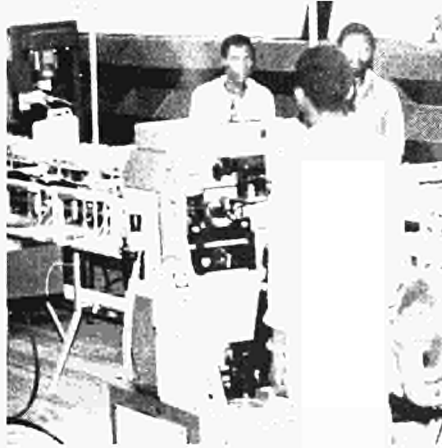
What we are likely to see in Southern Africa is the development of a healthy regional tanning and leather using industry which will supply an increasingly prosperous regional market and be capable of exporting a proportion of its production to areas such as Europe. These exports will not be the cheapest of the cheap - I am sure that this business will remain in China.

Raw material supply

Let us take a look at the forces that are likely to make this happen.

Firstly, we can consider one of the long term advantages of the region but one that up until now has not been fully exploited. This, of course, is the natural raw material supply.

Many of the countries in the area have large quantities of livestock of all kinds. Much of this produces meat not only for



The facilities at FABRICA DE CALÇADO NELEA's factory in Mozambique manufactures footwear for men, women and children, as well as shoe components.

the domestic market but for export. Some of the skins are unconventional and highly prized, such as ostrich skins. In the past, output of hides has been restricted by war and drought. Furthermore, the percentage of skins collected was not good. Two things are changing, however. The first is an increase in output of exotic skins such as ostrich, since the meat is now highly regarded; the second is a much better collection percentage of conventional hides in some countries.

Another problem has been the structure of the hide trade which has often been a monopoly of the state abattoirs who had little ambition beyond achieving a high price for the hides either exported as raw hides or in the wet blue state. This blockage is now starting to break up: the leather industry in Zimbabwe is changing quite fast as fresh sources of skins open up and in Namibia the wet blue operations are moving down stream.

There is also now a general realisation that the whole field of exotic skins

represent a very under-used resource. Obviously exotic skins are the product of livestock farming but there are also substantial amounts of legally available game-skins from the regular culling programmes. Out of these can be made attractive and often luxury articles. This involves a lot of labour and can supply both the tourist and export markets.

Inter-regional trade

The second major area of change is on the political side. The significance of the end of apartheid in South Africa on the economies of the countries cannot be under-rated. There is the long term possibility of a free trade area in Southern Africa but even now there is a rapid increase in the inter-regional trade. There is every likelihood of Southern Africa becoming a viable trading bloc on its own. Some countries in the area have suffered from many of the worst man inflicted ills such as civil war and misguided economic policies. But today, the end of the war in Mozambique is bringing about a rapid restoration of normality.

There is also an increasing realisation among many of the countries that sound economic policy is important. In Mozambique, mass nationalisation was economically almost as big a disaster as the civil war. However, to allow full development of the leather and leather using industries in the area will require free movement of both exports and imports of hides, leather and components. In some countries this is already the case, though with some unhappiness on behalf of established local manufacturing interests.

Industries in the Southern Africa Region



The production lines of RK FOOTWEAR MANUFACTURING in Workington (Zimbabwe) comprise every stage in the manufacture of men's, women's and children's footwear: Zimbabwe has the most highly developed leather and footwear industry in all Southern Africa.

Naturally, as both apartheid in South Africa and the civil war in Mozambique end, there is likely to be a substantial increase in the purchasing power of the area's consumers. In terms of per capita GDP there are already big differences between the countries. But the main thing is that the area has strong mineral and agricultural potential which under more normal political conditions will allow an increase in the wealth of the whole population. As in most of the developing world the increase in local consumption of consumer goods is likely to provide as big an opportunity in the future as exports. This is the point that was so clearly made in a recent study on the shoe industry for the EU. We come now to the local leather and leather using industry and its future development which is where the current CDI initiative comes in. In the past, various international organisations have given funds and advice to assist industry in the region and some companies have been able to carry out quite substantial re-equipment as a result. I have spoken of the valuable work carried out by other institutions on improving hide supply and providing help with marketing.

Involving European companies

CDI feels that the next stage is to get European companies involved which will give a more long term commitment to progress in the area. But to understand just what the possibilities might be we need to know something of the leather and footwear industry in the area and to understand that because the industry is very different in the various countries, the potential is also different.

ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is the only country with a fully organised leather and leather products industry. It has four or five big tanneries, some smaller exotic leather tanneries, ten or so reasonable size shoe factories and a number of smaller ones. In addition, the shoe factories are almost self sufficient in component making. Even before independence there was a reasonable shoemaking industry in the country - the effect of the years of a siege economy was to encourage the further development of the shoe industry and the rapid growth of finished leather tanning.

This has resulted in some disadvantages, however, as the companies now make too wide a range of products, make their own components - which is not really viable under free market conditions - and are finding the new economic freedoms hard to cope with.

There are already signs of big changes, for example:

- an independent component-making company has been set up;
- there are already some very good specialised companies and others are moving fast in that direction;
- many companies are exporting significantly to countries in Southern Africa and are starting to export elsewhere;
- the opportunities in luxury products are starting to be exploited;
- considerable investments in tanning are contemplated and are taking place.

These are moves in the right direction. The involvement of European companies as purchasers of products of all kinds and in technical and marketing co-operation is likely to make things happen faster.

MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique had a substantial and successful shoe industry under Portuguese rule. This was gradually destroyed or left in a badly run-down condition by nationalisation and the civil war.

There is no reason why this industry should not be restored and rebuilt. Already one factory in Tete making leather and shoes has made great progress with UNIDO assistance. There is a good possibility that Portuguese shoe companies will once again become involved and provide the support for a rapid development of the industry.

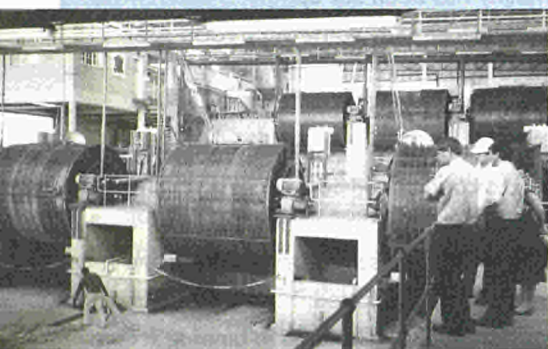
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** Views expressed are those of Mr. Clothier and not necessarily those of CDI.*

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It is probable that Mozambique has the best long term prospects as a serious exporter of shoe uppers and shoes to Europe and other parts of the world. This is because the existence of some long term skills is combined with the likelihood that labour will be plentiful and

Exotic skins: an underexploited potential



The MEATCO tannery in Namibia is soon to extend its activities to the processing of ostrich skins. In fact, processing exotic hides and skins is one of the non-traditional activities with the greatest growth potential.

The countries of Southern Africa offer numerous opportunities and facilities for the production and preparation of mainly two sorts of exotic skins: crocodile and ostrich skins. In some of these countries, particularly South Africa, the processing of these skins into quality products (leather goods, footwear) is already a reality.

But, with the exception of South Africa, the production capacities of the region as a whole are grossly underused and resources badly inventoried. The potential for technological transfers is high and most producers are open to joint venture proposals.

cheap for a long time. In addition, the country is likely to have a good logistical situation.

BOTSWANA AND NAMIBIA

We can look at Botswana and Namibia together: both countries are large, sparsely populated and not very industrialised. Both countries have reasonable real GDPs per capita and the infrastructure in both is good. They are both part of a Customs Union with South Africa. They also have considerable resources of livestock production of all kinds but up until now neither country has had much in the way of plants for processing hides and skins beyond the wet blue state to finished leather.

Until recently, Botswana had a few shoe factories which supplied the South African market, these were mostly set up to take advantage of certain political and customs situations. Since the end of apartheid the 'raison d'être' for these companies has disappeared so most of them have closed down.

In Namibia there are a number of quite small factories processing local materials into leather goods and shoes. Some of the products are of a high standard and are exported. In addition, in Namibia the main wet blue tanner is moving into finished leather.

These countries possess large quantities of conventional and unconventional raw material. A lot of this is sent out of the country for processing. There is a need for processing facilities, however. For example, Botswana produces a lot of ostriches but does not have an abattoir for them.

Considerable opportunities exist in developing tanning of both conventional hides to the finished leather stage and also completing the job by making high quality leather goods and possibly shoes. There should be no reason why some tanneries might not develop downstream into shoe upper making which has been the key factor in the development of the Indian leather industry.

ZAMBIA

The Zambian leather and leather products industry is different again. Thirty years ago it was probably little different from that of Zimbabwe. In the past Zambia had a reasonable supply of hides, some tanning capacity and a number of leather processing units. Today the structure still exists but much of the tanning and leather goods and footwear industry is now running at only part capacity as a result of two factors. Firstly, the drop in the supply of hides due to drought and the low general level of economics activity; secondly, the lack of foreign exchange to allow imports of raw material.

However there are factories in Zambia which are well equipped (thanks to various aid programmes) as well as factories which are dynamically managed. There is therefore considerable scope for those who can see their way around the problems.

Conclusions

So we are looking at a region which needs to think about how to make use of an excellent under-used and under-exploited area of natural wealth. The CDI tries to show European Leather and Shoe Trade professionals that all good things are not found in the East and that it may be possible to find some excellent things by flying South and avoiding the time change!

Finland: a New Partner for the CDI

Following the enlargement of the European Union to take in three new States (Austria, Finland and Sweden), the CDI is extending its network of contacts in these countries with a view to identifying potential partnerships, expertise and investment resources for ACP companies. The first in a series of three profiles, Partnership presents the opportunities offered by Finland.

A CDI mission comprising Mr F. Matos Rosa, Deputy Director, and Mr P. Baldan, CDI's expert staff dealing with institutional relations in Europe, went to Finland from August 28th to 30th last.

It allowed contacts to be established with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, FINNFUND (Finnish Fund for Industrial Cooperation), the Finnish Central Chamber of Commerce, the Confederation of Finnish Industrialists and Employers and the Finnish Foreign Trade Association, together with the Nordic Development Fund and the Nordic Investment Bank, two finance institutions jointly set up by the Nordic countries and based in Helsinki, the Finnish capital. All these organisations are involved in supporting industrial partnerships with the developing countries.

Mrs Satu Santala, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will be the CDI contact in this country, and a cooperation agreement between the CDI and the Ministry is currently being drafted. An agreement with FINNFUND is also under examination. At the end of November, a seminar presenting the CDI's services will be organised in Helsinki for Finnish businessmen and consultants, who will be able to meet up individually with the Centre's representatives.

Wood and paper

Finland, straddling the Arctic Circle, is one of the most northerly countries of Europe. With a population of five million, it shares borders with Sweden, Norway and Russia.



Finnish expertise in the wood industry will strengthen the CDI's intervention potential in ACP countries for this priority sector.

The vast wooded areas covering 65% of the territory make timber one of the country's main resources, as can be seen from the breakdown for exports in 1993: metal products and machinery (35.9%), paper and graphical industries (27.9%), chemical industry (10.6%), primary metal-working industry (8.8%), wood industry (8.1%), other goods (8.7%).

Finnish know-how connected with the wood industry is reflected in other fields. For example, a substantial proportion of the production and export of machinery is derived from this sector: saws, paper-making machines, pulp digesters, forestry equipment, etc.

Since the wood industry in the ACP countries is one of the sectors that the CDI wishes to develop as a priority, the Cen-

tre hopes to be able to provide ACP promoters who are active in this field with the top-level industrial expertise that Finnish companies have at their disposal. Most of the development aid programmes in Finland are aimed at the least developed countries. Of the ten countries that are priority recipients of this aid - and with which Finland has signed various economic, industrial and technological cooperation agreements - six are ACP countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania and Zambia. The sectors concerned are agriculture, the wood industry, water supplies, energy, transport, health and education.

In 1993, most of the financial resources allocated under the technical and support cooperation programme for the private sector went to the forestry sector, the wood industry and the energy sector. Finland mainly finances expert assistance, training and feasibility studies by Finnish companies wishing to set up a partnership with promoters in the developing countries.

FINNFUND can acquire holdings in these companies or grant loans for the creation, expansion and/or rehabilitation of industrial companies in which one of the investing partners is Finnish.

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Pacific: Identification of New Projects

The ACP countries in the Pacific account for 6% of CDI interventions, a proportion that the Centre would like to increase. Following the signature on May 3rd last of a cooperation agreement between the CDI and the "Forum Secretariat" - a regional cooperation body bringing together 15 States - a working visit by the CDI's Geographical Officers for the Pacific allowed 23 industrial projects to be identified, some of which have already received approval for assistance.



Top quality outdoor furniture marketed in Germany by the BULA company is produced in Fiji by STAREST FURNITURE AND JOINERY Ltd. The mahogany used comes from environmentally friendly plantations. This company has received approval for design and technical assistance from the CDI.

Mr Peter Alling and Mrs Vana Catsica, CDI Regional Coordinator and Geographical Officer respectively, for the Pacific, recently toured the ACP States in the region. In a busy schedule, they had meetings in each country with policy-makers at the highest level and representatives of local and international development organisations and finance institutions. The two Officers also visited companies already receiving assistance from the Centre or likely to be given such assistance in the future. In addition, they took advantage of this opportunity to work with the Centre's local antennae in preparing the ground for their Promotional Attaché Programmes and a meeting of the CDI regional antennae and network, both initiatives planned for the beginning of 1996.

A special CDI associated consultant for the Pacific, based in Fiji, will assist the antennae in Tuvalu, Kiribati and Vanuatu with the identification and substantiation of projects which could benefit from CDI assistance.

At a regional level, an Industrial Partnership Meeting on tuna fishing and canning is planned by the CDI for early 1996.

FJI

After meeting up with officials from the Fiji Trade and Investment Board and the

Forum Secretariat, Mr Peter Alling visited some fifteen local companies in order to discuss the possibilities of assistance being obtained from the Centre: Ranjit Garments (clothing), Ram Kara Davam (medicinal plants), United Apparel (clothing), Rups Investments (furniture of wood and polyurethane foam), Tucker Group (foods), Mark One Apparels (clothing), Pacific Produce (coconut products), Savusa Marina (boat repairs), Che International (furniture), etc.

KIRIBATI

The Ministry for the Development of Natural Resources submitted to the CDI and the EIB a joint venture project for long-line fishing of tuna for joint assistance. At the annual conference of the ADFIP (Association of Development Financial Institutions in the Pacific), organised in Kiribati at the same time, Mrs Catsica presented CDI's activities and described the complementary role played by the Centre alongside the finance institutions.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The network of contacts in this country will be expanded with the appointment of the Investment Promotion Authority as a CDI correspondent. The companies visited included RAM Business Consultants

and various firms in the poultry, furniture-making, timber industries and other sectors. A meeting with the local representative of the CDC (Commonwealth Development Corporation), a British development institution which has a cooperation agreement with the CDI, allowed an analysis to be conducted of various possibilities for joint interventions in the region. Visits to companies in the furniture and timber industries laid the ground for a diagnostic mission which was underway in October.

SOLOMON ISLANDS

The CDI's local antenna presented the mission with a joint venture project between local and Danish promoters in the dairy sector. The EU Delegate in the Solomon Islands submitted a project for technical assistance with a view to helping Solomon Taio Ltd (canned tuna) to meet the quality and health criteria which would enable the company to export its products to the European market.

Among the firms having requested assistance from the Centre which were visited by the mission were Quality Foods, ice-cream manufacturers wishing to increase their production capacity and replace imported raw materials by local ones, and Soltrust, a company which manufactures portable saw-mills marketed at half the price of equivalent imported products.

The Federation of Furniture Manufacturers has requested training assistance from the Centre, with a view to improving the design and quality of furniture for the local and regional market.

TONGA

A follow-up to the training seminar devoted to the wood sector, jointly organised by the CDI and the Tonga Development Bank, was one of the possibilities

considered with the Bank's representatives. In fact, this seminar has had positive spin-offs for local industrialists: better utilisation of local coconut palm timber, reduction in imports, acquisition of new equipment, etc.

Interventions by the Centre were also envisaged in the agri-foodstuffs (kava and cassava flour), coconut timber, printing, craft and fishing sectors.

TUVALU

The CDI provided assistance for the participation of two representatives of the Tuvalu Philatelic Bureau at two world stamp exhibitions (Jakarta and Singapore). The possibility of providing the Tuvalu Women's Handicraft Centre with training and marketing assistance is currently being discussed with its manager.

VANUATU

The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce was selected to become the CDI's local antenna. The Director of the Department, Mr. Japin Tari, was nominated as the contact person.

Two local companies submitted requests for assistance: Vanuatu Coconut Products (perfumed soaps for export) and Vanuatu Beverages Ltd.

WESTERN SAMOA

Mr J. Keil, a member of the CDI Executive Board, provided the introduction at an information meeting on the CDI's services for the members of the Western Samoa Manufacturers Association. Twenty-one people attended, most of them industrialists. Mr Alling also visited various companies including the SPIL soap works, the Wilex cocoa processing plant and Aegis Oil (recycling of waste oil). Wilex is currently receiving start-up and training assistance.

Contacts at the CDI:

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Mrs Vana Catsica: Kiribati, Tuvalu, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu

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■ Comoros

On August 14th last, an open day organised by the tiling promoter SOCOREV was attended by many of the country's officials and representatives of foreign missions and international bodies, together with entrepreneurs, architects and potential clients. They had all been invited to a presentation of the company's products, in the presence of the expert sent out by the CDI on a three-week technical assistance mission.

Apart from attending this open day, the aim of the mission in question was to check the application of the recommendations made during the previous mission a year earlier to train a new plant manager and improve the company's performances.

This event, held under the high patronage of the Prime Minister, was a resounding success as regards not only the attendance and the media cover but also the impact on the visitors, who were delighted to discover a quality product "made in Comoros". In fact, the motto of Socorev is "Comorien Production and Comorien Consumption".

■ ANUGA exhibition

At the Anuga exhibition, one of the world's leading trade fairs in the food sector, which took place from September 30th to October 5th last in Cologne (Germany), the CDI sponsored the participation of two groups of producers from the agri-foodstuffs sector in the Caribbean, one producing sauces and condiments and the other exotic fruit juices, two ranges of products in great demand at the moment on the European market. Five Caribbean companies manufacturing sauces and condiments were present, together with Esquiz Dominicana, a commercial consortium of Dominican companies in the exotic fruit juices and pulps sector. There they were able to display their products in highly professional conditions to many European importers and wholesalers. Most of these firms have already received technical or training assistance in the past from the CDI, which also cofinanced their trip to Cologne. This participation in the Anuga fair was painstakingly prepared to ensure a maximum commercial spin-off.

But the operation went beyond simple attendance at the exhibition: the CDI had also arranged two "partnership meetings" on the spot, laying

on a more personalised get-together for these ACP producers and potential European buyers identified in advance and invited by the CDI.

These European buyers - and the visitors to Anuga in general - greatly appreciated the products on offer, which should lead to trial orders which the CDI is prepared to support financially.

■ ITECH'MER exhibition

The CDI successfully accomplished another operation similar to that at the ANUGA exhibition (see above), within the framework of the fishing and sea products trade fair ITECH'MER which took place in Lorient (France) from September 20th to 23rd 1995. The operation targeted lake fish (tilapia and Nile perch): despite their recent introduction, sales of these species are growing constantly on European markets. Five ACP companies (from Uganda, Tanzania and Jamaica), already well on the way to bringing their products into line with European standards, were invited by the CDI to participate in ITECH'MER. Here too, a "partnership meeting" had been prepared with potential European clients: some 25 EU companies took part, representing the whole distribution network for fish in Europe.

■ CDI leaflet on its four facilities

The CDI has just published a leaflet setting out its intervention possibilities. With a very clear and practical layout, it describes in the form of a table the different types of assistance offered by the Centre according to four major "facilities" (identification of projects and partners; operations prior to implementation of the project; financial and legal structuring of the project; start-up and development of the project). It also explains the procedure for submitting a request for assistance through the different services on offer. Finally, it gives a list of all the members of the CDI's European institutional network and all the Centre's ACP antennae, with their full particulars. This leaflet is available on request from the CDI (in English or French).

■ MITEX

Corrigendum: contrary to what was mistakenly published in the previous issue of Partnership, the MITEX trade fair for the clothing industry did not take place in Milan but in Mauritius, last October.

The YANDA Footwear Factory Officially Inaugurated

The financing of this new company, set up thanks to the determination of a few Portuguese industrialists, was made possible by a substantial loan of ECU 1 million from the European Investment Bank - representing 64% of the total investment. The CDI assisted the mounting of the project from the very beginning, following up the request for financing and monitoring the installation of equipment, the training for the newly recruited staff and production start-up.



Mr Fernando Matos Rosa, Deputy Director of the CDI (on the left), visited the YANDA plant for its official inauguration at the end of September 1995.



The leather and footwear sector is one of the strong points of Portuguese industry, and its know-how in this field has led to numerous investments abroad, particularly in various ACP countries.

YANDA is a joint venture project between private promoters in Guinea-Bissau and the Portuguese enterprise CAVEX, a commercial and technical assistance company in the footwear and footwear components sector. Thanks to an investment of 1.3 million ECU, once it is on full stream the factory will be able to produce 140,000 pairs of leather sandals a year and 130,000 pairs of closed shoes. Leather belts (capacity of 17,000 units a year) will complete its manufacturing range.

In creating this production unit, the promoters of the project are taking up a major challenge, not only at national level but also for the entire West African region, where the market is largely supplied by imported footwear. This regional commercial strategy is essential to the success of the project, because the national markets are limited given the restricted

purchasing power of domestic consumers. If it is to survive, YANDA must develop its exports to neighbouring countries (Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Conakry, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire) and to Angola. Another prime objective is to step up the local production of quality products with a high value-added, whilst at a more advanced stage YANDA intends to set about exporting footwear components to Europe.

The reception for the first YANDA products leaving the production lines during the start-up period has been very encouraging. To consolidate this penetration of

both the domestic market and those of neighbouring countries, the CDI plans to provide further support, at the request of the promoters, in establishing distribution channels for YANDA products.

As regards raw materials, the local tanning industry cannot offer leather of a satisfactory quality. But to reduce the proportion of imported leather, CAVEX also hope to bring about improvements in the products of small existing tanneries. Furthermore, to ensure quality supplies on a regular basis, YANDA has already undertaken its own production of the glues necessary for its footwear manufacture. This diversification also involves another branch of the country's economy, the manufacture of plywood and wood products. So this project, apart from directly creating some 70 jobs, will also have a positive knock-on effect in other fields.

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Operational Summary

No. 89 — November 1995

(position as at 9 November 1995)



EC-financed development schemes

The following information is aimed at showing the state of progress of EC development schemes prior to their implementation. It is set out as follows:

Geographical breakdown

The summary is divided into three groups of countries, corresponding to the main aspects of Community development policy:

— the ACP countries (Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific), which signed the multilateral conventions of Lomé I (28 February 1975), Lomé II (31 October 1979), Lomé III (8 December 1984) and Lomé IV (15 December 1989), plus the OCT (overseas countries and territories) of certain member states of the EC, which get the same type of aid as the ACP countries;

— the Mediterranean countries (Maghreb and Mashraq), which signed cooperation agreements with the EC since 1976 and 1977;

— the ALA developing countries of Asia and Latin America, beneficiaries since 1976 of annual aid programmes.

The information within each of these groups is given by recipient country (in alphabetical order).

Note

As the information provided is subject to modification in line with the development aims and priorities of the beneficiary country, or with the conditions laid down by the authorities empowered to take financial decisions, the EC is in no way bound by this summary, which is for information only.

Information given

The following details will usually be given for each development scheme:

- the title of the project;
- the administrative body responsible for it;
- the estimated sum involved (prior to financing decision) or the amount actually provided (post financing decision);
- a brief description of projects envisaged (construction work, supplies of equipment, technical assistance, etc.);
- any methods of implementation (international invitations to tender, for example);
- the stage the project has reached (identification, appraisal, submission for financing, financing decision, ready for implementation).

Main abbreviations

- Resp. Auth.: Responsible Authority
Int. tender: International invitation to tender
Acc. tender: Invitation to tender (accelerated procedure)
Restr. tender: Restricted invitation to tender
TA: Technical assistance
EDF: European Development Fund
mECU: Million European currency units

Correspondence about this operational summary can be sent directly to::

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Please cover only one subject at a time.

DESCRIPTION SECTOR CODE

A1	Planning and public administration	A5B	Industrial development banks
A1A	Administrative buildings	A5C	Tourism, hotels and other tourist facilities
A1B	Economic planning and policy	A5D	Export promotion
A1C	Assistance to the normal operations of government not falling under a different category	A5E	Trade, commerce and distribution
A1D	Police and fire protection	A5F	Co-operatives (except agriculture and housing)
A1E	Collection and publication of statistics of all kinds, information and documentation	A5G	Publishing, journalism, cinema, photography
A1F	Economic surveys, pre-investment studies	A5H	Other insurance and banking
A1G	Cartography, mapping, aerial photography	A5I	Archaeological conservation, game reserves
A1H	Demography and manpower studies		
A2	Development of public utilities	A6	Education
A2A	Power production and distribution	A6A	Primary and secondary education
A2Ai	Electricity	A6B	University and higher technical institutes
A2B	Water supply	A6Bi	Medical
A2C	Communications	A6C	Teacher training
A2D	Transport and navigation	A6Ci	Agricultural training
A2E	Meteorology	A6D	Vocational and technical training
A2F	Peaceful uses of atomic energy (non-power)	A6E	Educational administration
A3	Agriculture, fishing and forestry	A6F	Pure or general research
A3A	Agricultural production	A6G	Scientific documentation
A3B	Service to agriculture	A6H	Research in the field of education or training
A3C	Forestry	A6I	Subsidiary services
A3D	Fishing and hunting	A6J	Colloquia, seminars, lectures, etc.
A3E	Conservation and extension	A7	Health
A3F	Agricultural storage	A7A	Hospitals and clinics
A3G	Agricultural construction	A7B	Maternal and child care
A3H	Home economics and nutrition	A7C	Family planning and population-related research
A3I	Land and soil surveys	A7D	Other medical and dental services
A4	Industry, mining and construction	A7E	Public health administration
A4A	Extractive industries	A7F	Medical insurance programmes
A4Ai	Petroleum and natural gas	A8	Social infrastructure and social welfare
A4B	Manufacturing	A8A	Housing, urban and rural
A4C	Engineering and construction	A8B	Community development and facilities
A4D	Cottage industry and handicraft	A8C	Environmental sanitation
A4E	Productivity, including management, automation, accountancy, business, finance and investment	A8D	Labour
A4F	Non-agricultural storage and warehousing	A8E	Social welfare, social security and other social schemes
A4G	Research in industrial technology	A8F	Environmental protection
A5	Trade, banking, tourism and other services	A8G	Flood control
A5A	Agricultural development banks	A8H	Land settlement
		A8I	Cultural activities
		A9	Multisector
		A9A	River development
		A9B	Regional development projects
		A10	Unspecified

ACP STATES

New projects are printed in italics and offset by a bar in margin at left

Projects under way are marked with an asterisk and with words or phrases in italics

ANGOLA

Rehabilitation of the Tchivinguiri Institute. Estimated total cost 9 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ANG 7014 A6b

Reconstruction support programme. 55 mECU. Relaunch of economic and social activities. Improvement of basic social services and living conditions, poverty alleviation, increase of production and of basic communication possibilities, amelioration of basic infrastructures, participation in mine-clearing operations, support for demobilisation. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing November 95.* 7th EDF. EDF ANG 6036 A7,A8

Rehabilitation in rural areas of Huambo province. 3 mECU. To repair health and education infrastructure and help to get farming and other productive activities up and running again. Project managed by Save the Children (UK), OIKOS (P) Concern (Ireland) and Halstrust (UK) for mine clearance operations. Project in execution. 7th EDF. EDF ANG 7255/012 A3a

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

Livestock development. Phase II. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Agriculture. 0.130 mECU. Supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF AB 5003 (7001) A3a

Upgrading and expansion of Antigua Hotel Training Centre. Construction of and equipment for part new and part renovated and upgraded facilities. Estimated cost 2.200 mECU. Works, supplies, design and supervision, T.A. and training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF AB 7001 A6d

BELIZE

Maya Archaeological Site Development Programme (MASDP). Resp. Auth. Belize Tourist Board (BTB) and Dept. of Archaeology (DOA) 0.750 mECU. Works, supply of equipment and T.A. *Date financing October 95.* 6th EDF. FDF BEL 6006 A5c

BENIN

Fish breeding. Applied research and popularization actions. Resp. Auth.: MDRAC. Estimated cost 2 mECU. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF. EDF BEN 6009 A3d

Rural structures programme in Mono Province. Resp. Auth.: Ministère du Plan et de la Restructuration Economique. 6.500 mECU. Work construction, rehabilitation of water systems, roads, schools, markets, warehouses, Works by acc. tender, supplies by local manufacturers. T.A., evaluation. Participation NGO AFVP (F). *Project in execution.* 7th EDF. EDF BEN/6003/001 A3a

Improvement works on the Sémé-Ports Nova road. (12.711 km). Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics et des Transports. 20 mECU. Infrastructure works and installation of road signing. Work

supervision by KFW (D). Works by int. tender. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF REG 7132 A2d

BOTSWANA

Vocational Training Programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Education. Estimated total cost 15,100 mECU. Construction and equipment of a new Vocational Training Centre in Gaborone to provide ±800 training places. Expand existing schools. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing December 95.* 5th, 6th and 7th EDF. EDF BT 7004 A6d

Aeromagnetic Geological Survey of Western Ngamiland. Resp. Auth.: Dept. of Geological Survey, Ministry of Mineral Resources and Water Affairs. 1.900 mECU. Tender launched. *Date financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF BT 7001/001 A1g, A4a

Strengthening of Government's capacity for policy formulation and drugs control. Resp. Auth.: Regional Office of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP). 0.300 mECU. T.A. Training, supplies, external evaluation. *Date financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF BT/7007 A8c

SYSMIN - Support to base metal industry (Copper - Nickel - Cobalt). Resp. Auth.: BCL Ltd. 34.400 mECU. To deepen the shaft of the Selebi-North mine, to reach a new ore-body, equipping it and carrying out new prospective drilling to identify new ore-bodies. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF SYSMIN BT 9999/001 A4q

BURKINA FASO

Tougan — Ouahigouya — Mali border road. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics. Modern earth-road. Supervision: short-list done. Estimated cost 13.5 m ECU. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing 1st half 95.* 6th and 7th EDF. EDF BK 7004 A2d

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme. General Import Programme. 95-96. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EC goods, with negative list. 25 mECU. T.A. for starting and follow-up. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF BK 7200/002 A1c

Sectoral Adjustment Programme — Agricultural — Cereals. 6.100 mECU. Support for institutional reform, works, supply of equipment, T.A., lines of credit. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF BK 7009 A3a

Sectoral Adjustment Programme — Agricultural — Environment. Estimated cost 1.950 mECU. Soil map and inventory, soil management and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF BK 7010 A3a

Periodical maintenance programme. Ouagadougou-Ghana, Bobo-Côte d'Ivoire, and Bobo-Mali. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics. 29 mECU. Works, super-

vision, T.A. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF BK 6017 A2d

Support project for the reform of the pharmaceutical sector. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de la Santé — Direction des Services Pharmaceutiques (DSPH) and CAMEG. 1.6 mECU. Line of credit, works, equipment and T.A. *Project in execution.* 8th EDF. EDF BK 7017 A7c

Geological cartography. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Energie et des Mines. 15 mECU. Aerial geophysical survey for the middle west, creation of a national geophysical data bank, geological mapping 1/200.000. Works, equipment, T.A. Tender dossiers preparation: short-lists done. *Date financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF BK SYS 9999 A1g, A4

SYSMIN - Rehabilitation of the Poura mine. Resp. Auth.: I.G.R. International Gold Resources Corporation. 11 mECU. Works by direct agreement. Supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing November 95.* 7th EDF. EDF SYSMIN BK 9999 A4a

BURUNDI

Ruvubu Game Development. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Aménagement, du Tourisme et de l'Environnement. 4 mECU. Supervision and management. Works, supplies, T.A., training and awareness-raising. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF BU 6029 A5i

Support project for micro-enterprises. 10 m ECU. Support to prepare technical dossiers, management follow-up. T.A., training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF BU 7004 A4, A5

Health rehabilitation in the provinces of Bubanza, Cibitoke, Rutana, Ruyigi and Cankuzo. 5.500 mECU. Works, equipment, T.A. and evaluation. Project in execution. 7th EDF. EDF BU 7003 A7

CAMEROON

Integrated rural development programme in the North-East and North-West Benoué regions. Resp. Auth.: Ministère du Plan et de l'Aménagement du Territoire. Estimated cost 13.350 mECU. Works, equipment, T.A., training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF CM 6002/7001 A3a

General Import Programme. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EC goods with negative list. 20.200 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF CM 7200/001 A1c

Lagdo fishing project. Resp. Auth.: MINEPIA. Estimated cost 3.500 mECU. Preservation and improvement of the social-economic situation around Lake Lagdo. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF CM 6002/002 A3a

Protection and sanitation for Kousseri town. Kousseri road network. Resp. Auth.: MINTP. Estimated cost 4 mECU. Dyke rehabilitation works along the Logoni river, road works and rain water

drainage. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF CM 6022 A8g, A9a

Access road to the Tikar Plain. Resp. Auth.: MINTP. 14 mECU. Road works over the Kakar-Sabongari-Atta-Sonkolong road.
★ **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF.
EDF CM 6037 A2d

Tikar Plain development. Resp. Auth.: MINAT. Estimated total cost 8 mECU. Social-economic improvement. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF CM 6004 A3a

CAPE VERDE

Rural electrification - Praia. Resp. Auth.: Municipalité de Praia. Estimated cost 1.457 mECU. Works and supply of equipment for the electrification of 3 centres in 'rural Praia'. (Diesel power station and LT/MT distribution network). Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF CV 7005 A2ai

Solar Regional Programme. 3rd part. Resp. Auth.: Cellule nationale de réalisation du P.R.S. Estimated cost 0.507 mECU. Construction, rehabilitation, equipment, support mission, awareness-raising. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF CV 7006 A2b, A3e

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Support for Structural Adjustment. General Import Programme. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EC goods with negative list. 10 mECU. T.A. foreseen. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
CA 7200 A1c

Support for the transport sectoral programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Transports et des Travaux Publics. 50 mECU. Road rehabilitation. Works, supervision, supply of equipment. Project on appraisal.
★ **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF.
EDF CA 6008 A2d

COMOROS

Sea-access to Moheli island. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Équipement — Direction Générale des Travaux Publics. 3.250 mECU. Works, by int. tender. T.A. for further investigations, tender dossier and works supervision. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF COM 6006/7003 A2d

Development of cultivation for export. Vanilla and Ylang Ylang. Resp. Auth.: Ministère du Dev. Rural. 1.900 mECU. Vanilla and improvement of quality (laboratory, management, marketing). Supply of non-wood ovens. Crop diversification. Equipment, T.A. and training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF COM 7004 A3a

Support for the establishment of the 'Centre National de l'Artisanat Camorien'. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Économie, du Plan, de l'Industrie et de l'Artisanat. 0.300 mECU. Works, equipment and T.A. **Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
★ EDF COM (REG) 6502/001 A4d

CHAD

Re-launch of the fishing sector. Estimated cost 2.500 mECU. Sectoral study: short list done. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF CD 7011 A3a

River Chari embankment protection. Estimated total cost 5 mECU. To improve

living conditions in N'Djamena. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF CD 5027 A8f,g

Support for the electoral process. Resp. Auth.: UNDP (PNUD). Estimated total cost 0.500 mECU. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF
EDF CD 7015 A1c

COTE D'IVOIRE

Support programme for the 'pineapple market'. Estimated cost 7.780 mECU. EDF 6.100 mECU. O.C.A.B. (Organisation Centrale des Producteurs - Exportateurs d'Ananas et des Bananes), 1.680 mECU. Works, supplies, T.A., training, studies, line of credit. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF IVC 6016 A3a

Support for the establishment of a service company. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Industrie et du Commerce. Estimated total cost 5 mECU. Support structure for SME's. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF IVC 7012 A5d,e

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme. Phase IV. Estimated cost 20.500 mECU. T.A. foreseen. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF IVC 7200/003 A1c

Emergency rescue centre in ABOBO. Estimated total cost 2 mECU. Medical and fire rescue centre for the North-Eastern zone of Grand Abidjan. Building, vehicles and equipment. Identification study for the centre: short-list to be done. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF.
EDF IVC 6019 A1d,A7d

DJIBOUTI

Fight against desertification and development of livestock husbandry in Western-Djibouti. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Agriculture et du Développement Rural. 1.665 mECU. Supply of equipment, studies, T.A. Project suspended. 7th EDF.
EDF DI 6008 A3a

DOMINICA

Eco-Tourism Site Development. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Trade, Industry and Tourism (MTIT). Estimated total cost 0.558 mECU. EDF 0.500 mECU, local 0.058 mECU. Works, equipment and training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF DOM 6002/001 A5c

Agricultural Diversification Programme. Resp. Auth.: Diversification Implementation Unit (DIU). 2.250 mECU. *Production Credit Scheme, Abattoir Project, Citrus Processing Study, Shipping and Transportation System Project, Quality Assurance, Market Information Service, Export Credit Programme, Monitoring Evaluation, T.A. Works by acc-tender. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing end 95.* 7th EDF
EDF DOM 7002 A3a

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Los Toros Hydroelectric project. Construction of a hydroelectric power station. Civil works, supply of electromechanical and hydromechanical equipment. Capacity 9.2 Mw. Annual output 57.27 Gwh. Estimated cost 25.4 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF DO 7005 A2ai

Support programme for the private sector. 7 mECU. EDF 4.2 mECU, local 0.950 mECU, local private sector and SME'S 1.4 mECU, C.D.I. 0.450 mECU. EDF part: ★ line of credit and T.A. **Project in execution.** 7th EDF.

Cold stores in airports and ports. Estimated total cost 4.5 mECU. To increase flowers, fruits and fresh vegetables export. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF DO 7017 A5d, e

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Essential goods import programme. Resp. Auth.: Presidency of the Republic. Estimated cost 1.5 mECU. Hard currency allowance to import essential goods. Project on appraisal. 5th and 6th EDF.
EDF EG 0000 A1c

Conservation and rational utilisation of the forest ecosystems. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock farming, Fisheries and Forests. Directorate General for Forests. 5.070 mECU. Land Classification and Use Master Plan — National System of Conservation Units — Forest Training and Research Centre. T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF.
EDF EG 6001 A3c, e, i

Rural development programme in the South-East. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Agriculture. 4.500 mECU. Works, supplies and T.A. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF EG 6005 (7001) A3a

ERITREA

Rehabilitation Programme. 3.7 mECU. NGO projects for health, veterinary services, water supply and demobilization of soldiers. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF ERY 7255 A7,A8

Sector study on national water resources and irrigation potential. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Energy, Mines and Water Resources. 4-5 mECU. Assess the various demands on those resources, determine the potential for their sustainable development, present strategies for their development and lay the foundations for their management. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF ERY 7002 A2b

ETHIOPIA

Rehabilitation of the Addis-Ababa - Modjo - Awasa Road. Resp. Auth.: Ethiopian Road Authority. Estimated cost 40 mECU. Works and supervision. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF ET 7005 A2d

Reintegration of displaced Ethiopian nationals from Eritrea. Estimated cost 2 mECU. Works, training, line of credit, T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF ET 7255/001 A8b,e

SME development programme. Estimated total cost 25 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF ET 7003 A5

FIJI

Rural Health Infrastructure, Naitasiri. Construction of a new hospital in Vunidawa, construction, modification and upgrading of various health centres and

nursing stations. Estimated total cost 4.315 mECU. Study: short-list already done. Project on appraisal. 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th EDF. EDF FIJ 7007 A7a

GAMBIA

General Import Programme. Support for Structural Adjustment. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EC goods, with negative list. 1.400 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GM 7200/002 A1c

GHANA

Human resources development programme. 5 mECU. Supply of equipment. T.A. and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GH 7003 A6

Western Region Agricultural Development Project. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Food and Agriculture. 15 mECU. T.A., buildings and training, supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GH A3a

Woodworking Sector Development. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning. 4.5 mECU. Equipment, T.A., overseas training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GH A3c

Transport Infrastructure Programme. Phase II. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Roads & Highways. 70 mECU. Works, supplies, supervision, training. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing December 95.* 6th and 7th EDF. EDF GH 6001 A2d

General Import Programme 95. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning. 21.4 mECU. T.A. for monitoring. *Date financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF GH 7200/004 A1c

Small towns water supply project. Resp. Auth.: Ghana Water and Sewerage Company. Estimated total cost 15 mECU. Construction of water supply systems. Strengthening of institutions responsible for operations and maintenance. Works, T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF 7006 A2b

GRENADA

Microprojects programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Labour, Social Service, Community Development. 0.220 mECU. Water supply, road improvements, repairs and extension of schools, medical and community centre and sports grounds. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GRD 7102

Rehabilitation of the Bellevue-Grenville Section of the Eastern Main Road - Grenville - Mama Cannes portion. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Works. 2 mECU. Works by direct labour, small T.A. and supply of equipment for repairs. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GRD 7002/001 A2d

GUINEA

Development of secondary towns. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Aménagement du Territoire. Estimated cost 7 mECU. Buildings, market, railway stations, roads, T.A. and training, management, work supervision, supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GUI 7008 A8a,b

GUINEA BISSAU

João Landim bridge construction. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics. Estimated cost 23 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GUB 7013 A2d

Livestock development. Resp. Auth.: Ministère du Dév. Rural. Estimated cost 1.200 mECU. Zootechnical actions, privatisation, veterinary profession. Supply of equipment and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GUB 5007/003 A3a

Support to create environmental legislation. Resp. Auth.: National Council for Environment. (CNA) 0.500 mECU. T.A., seminars, training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF GUB 7011 A8f

Conservation and rational use of fragile eco-systems. Resp. Auth.: Secrétariat d'Etat au Tourisme, Environnement et Artisanat. 1.350 mECU. Buba region and Cufada region. Works, supply of equipment and T.A. Project in execution. 7th EDF. EDF GUB 7011/001 A8f

GUYANA

Pouderoyen water supply system. Resp. Auth.: Guyana Water Authority (GUYWA). 6 mECU. Raw water supply, treatment process, storage reservoirs, site work, transmission main, distribution main, T.A., supervision, evaluation. *Project in execution.* 7th EDF. EDF GUA 7003 A2b

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme - G.I.P. III. Resp. Auth.: Bank of Guyana. 2.100 mECU. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EU goods with negative list. T.A. foreseen. *Date financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF GUA 7200/002 A1c

HAITI

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Finances. 23 mECU. General Import Programme with negative list. Different T.A. *with individual experts. Project in execution.* 7th EDF. EDF HA 7200 A1c

Support Unit for the National Authorizing Officer (UNAPON). 2 mECU. Experts, supplies, training. *Date financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF HA 7005 A1c

JAMAICA

Credit scheme for micro and small enterprises. Resp. Auth.: Planning Institute of Jamaica. Implementation by Apex Institution and Coordination and Monitoring Unit. 7 mECU. Line of credit, T.A. and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 5th, 6th and 7th EDF. EDF JM 5020 A4,A5

Institutional strengthening programme. Resp. Auth.: National Water Commission (NWC). Estimated cost 3 mECU. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF JM 7005 A8a,b,c

Agricultural sector support programme (ASSAP). Resp. Auth.: Ministry of

Agriculture - Rural and agriculture dev. Auth. (RADA). 5 mECU. More sustainable farming systems, soil conservation, reafforestation and community education. Works, supply of vehicles, equipment, T.A. studies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF JM 7004 A3a

KENYA

Farming in tsetse infested areas. Estimated total cost 14.600 mECU. Refine the techniques to trap the tsetse fly and develop better technologies to prevent infections. Monitor the environmental impact of the techniques. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF KE 7011 A3a

Emergency Repair of Nairobi-Mombasa Road. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Public Works and Horning (MoPW&H). 1.966 mECU. Works, by acc. tender. Supervision. Project in execution. 7th EDF. EDF KE 7010/001 A2d

Family Health Programme. Estimated total cost 28.710 mECU. Reproduction health status of Kenyans family planning services broadened. EDF 14.810 mECU, ODA (UK) 13.900mECU. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing November 95.* 6th and 7th EDF. EDF KE 7015 A7b

Technical Education. Estimated total cost 5 mECU. Raising the level of performance of existing teaching institutions. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF KE 6005/001 A6b

Trade Development Programme. Resp. Auth.: Export Promotion Council and a Special TDP Committee composed of private and public sector members and the European Commission. 4 mECU. Trade Promotion and Marketing Programme, Training, Equipment, T.A. and Monitoring and Evaluation. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing November 95.* 7th EDF. EDF KE 7008 A5d

Small scale and informal sector enterprises. Estimated total cost 6 mECU. Development of micro-enterprises and informal sector of the economy. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF KE 7009 A5e, f

Sultan Hamud -Mtito Road rehabilitation. Estimated total cost 30 mECU. To rehabilitate priority roads and establish sustainable maintenance organization. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF KE 7010/002 A2d

Mai-mahiu/Naivasha Road rehabilitation. Estimated total cost 25 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF KE 7010/003 A2d

Strengthening of the Public Investment Management Capacity within the Ministry of Planning and National Development and Office of the Vice President. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Planning and National Development. 1.467 mECU. Staff, consultancies, training and T.A. adviser. Project on appraisal. *Date foreseen for financing October 95.* 7th EDF. EDF KE 7017 A1c

Community development. Poverty alleviation. Estimated total cost 12.500 mECU. Financial facility aimed at priority activities identified by local communities. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF KE 7018 A8b

LESOTHO

Lesotho Highlands Dev. Authority. Community Forestry Project. Resp. Auth.: L.H.D.A. Estimated total cost 1.741 mECU. Establishment of Pilot project, staff recruitment, orientation and training in participatory forestry extension, support to people with advice, training and tree seedlings research and demonstration of new models, monitoring and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF LSO 7001 A3a

Urban Water Supply and Sanitation. Resp. Auth.: Water and Sanitation Authority. Estimated total cost 4 mECU. Implementation of urgent water supply and sanitation systems in the urban and peri-urban areas. Feasibility study and contract document. Preparation for urgent water supply and sanitation intervention. Short-lists to be done. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF LSO 7002 A2b, A8a

Third Structural Adjustment Support Programme (SASP 3). 95-96. Resp. Auth.: Central Bank of Lesotho. 4.100 mECU. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EU goods or from RSA with negative list. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. 7th EDF
EDF LSO 7200/002 A1c

MADAGASCAR

Kamolandy bridge reconstruction. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics. 1.540 mECU. Submersible-type bridge. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF.
EDF MAG 6027 A2d

Road infrastructure rehabilitation. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics. Estimate 72.500 mECU. Rehabilitation works, supervision. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing 2nd half 95. 6th and 7th EDF.
EDF MAG 7004 A2d

Support programme to rehabilitate social and economic infrastructures. Interventions after cyclones. EDF part 17.500 mECU. Railways and road rehabilitation, small hydraulic works. Social infrastructure rehabilitation. Technical expertise study to be done for roads. Works, supplies, supervision and control, evaluation. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF MAG 7009 A2, A8

Bemaraha Project. 2nd phase. Resp. Auth.: Ministère d'Etat au Dév. Rural. 0.700 mECU. Training and awareness-raising for the protection of cultural and environmental wealth of the 'Tsingy de Bemaraha' region. Classified world property site by Unesco.
★ Supply of equipment and T.A. **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF.
EDF MAG 7020 A3a

First decentralized cooperation programme. Resp. Auth.: National Authorising officer and Head of EU Delegation and authorized NGO's. 1.900 mECU. Works, purchase of equipment by direct agreement, restr. tender or int. tender. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAG 7022/000 A7,A8

Support for the Essential Drug Central Procurement Unit. 1.850 mECU. Building, vehicles, T.A., evaluation. Co-financed by World Bank and France. **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF
EDF MAG 7014 A7e

MALAWI

Poverty Alleviation Programme-Agroforestry component. Resp. Auth.: MOALD. Estimated total cost 47 mECU. EDF 22 mECU, local 2 mECU, counterpart funds from food aid 94 23 mECU. Water supply, sanitation, supply of fertilizers, T.A. and training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAI 5001/002 A3a

Structural Adjustment Programme 1995. Estimated cost 26.100 mECU. General Import programme. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing June 95. 7th EDF.
EDF MAI 7200 A1c

Information, education and communication population programme. Resp. Auth.: NAO-Ministry for Women and Children's Affairs, Community and Social Services - Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Estimated total cost 4 mECU. Increase awareness and promote behaviour change as regards reproductive health, including disease prevention. Supply of equipment and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAI 6009/001 A7b,c

Support for the Forestry Department. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Natural Resources. Estimated total cost 4 mECU: T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF MAI 5001/003 A3a

Studies and Institutional Support for the Road Maintenance Initiative. Resp. Auth.: RMI Secretariat and Working Committee. 1.570 mECU. Operating costs, consultancy studies. **Studies: short-lists to be done.** **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF
EDF MAI 6021/001 A2d

MALI

Support to develop rural credit. Resp. Auth.: Banque Nationale de Développement Agricole. BNDA. EDF part 1.910 mECU. T.A. and line of credit, training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 6001/002 A5a

Better use of surface waters in the 5th region. Consolidation. Resp. Auth.: Gouvernorat de Mopti. EDF 4.300 mECU. Works, irrigation, supply of pumps, inputs, T.A., follow-up and evaluation, training, research. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 6005/002 A3a

Support for the decentralisation programme. Estimated cost 0.600 mECU. T.A., studies, communication campaigns, equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 7009 A1b

Support for 'Crédit Initiative - S.A.' Resp. Auth.: Crédit Initiative S.A. under control of Ministère des Finances. 3,750 mECU. Credit to SME's, management, project studies. **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 6001/006 A4d,c-A5

Support for the Ministry of External Affairs. Resp. Auth.: Ordonnateur National. 0.500 mECU. Support for the ACP/EC cooperation unit and for the delegation for African integration. **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 6007/001 A1c

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme 95-96. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Finances et du Commerce. 25

mECU. General Import Programme with ★ negative list. T.A. foreseen. **Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 7200 A1c

Support for HIV/AIDS programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de la Santé - Centre National de Transfusion Sanguine (CNTS). 1.410 mECU. Works, supply of equipment, T.A., training T.A.: CRTS Anger (F). Medical equipment, equipment procured by CRTS Anger (F). Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MLI 7015 A7b,c

Shared management of the classified forests in the Macina and Baraoudi circles - Ségou Region. Resp. Auth.: Direction Regionale des Eaux et Forêts - Ségou. Supply of equipment by restr. tender, T.A. for follow-up and evaluation. **Date financing October 95.** 7th EDF
EDF MLI 6001/005 A3a

MAURITANIA

Second Road Programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics. 7.350 mECU. Supply of equipment and materials by int. tender. Studies, auditing, T.A. and training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAU 6004-7004 A2d

National measures to support the Solar Regional Programme. Estimated cost 2.520 mECU. Infrastructural works (tanks, wells, pipes) and awareness-raising, training and follow-up for the recipient communities, works and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAU 6116/001 A2a,ai,b

Support for farmers in Gorgol and Trarza regions. Resp. Auth.: Ministère du Développement Rural et de l'Environnement. 1 mECU. Equipment, T.A. evaluation, follow-up. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAU 7015 A3a

MAURITIUS

National solid waste management project. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Environment and Quality of Life. Estimate 8.650 mECU. EDF 7 mECU. Construction of a fully engineered landfill to cater for about 600 t of solid waste per day. Works and supplies by int. tender. T.A. for supervision and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MAS 6017 A8b,c,f

MOZAMBIQUE

Socio-economic reintegration of young people. Estimated cost 1.950 mECU. Supplies, T.A. and pilot actions. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF.
EDF MOZ 7017 A8b

Supply of voting material. Estimated cost 13 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF MOZ 7004/001 A1c

Rehabilitation of the rural health system. 22 mECU. Rehabilitation and renovation of 3 rural hospitals and 2 health centres. Supply of essential medicines and equipment, T.A. Project on appraisal. **Date foreseen for financing October 95.** 7th EDF.
EDF MOZ 7018 A7a,e

Support for the development of an environmentally friendly tourism sector (foundation phase). Resp. Auth.: DINATUR, EC Delegation in Maputo - Ministry for the Coordination of Environmental Action. 1.500 mECU. Two T.A. teams

for Institutional support and for Physical Planning. Date financing October 95. 7th EDF
EDF MOZ 7020 A5c

Social reintegration in Zambezia and Niassa provinces. 5.600 mECU. Health, education, rural life (farming, fishing, setting-up of micro enterprises), urban economic development. The project, will be carried out by NGOs, and the provincial authorities. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing and 95. 7th EDF
EDF MOZ 7255/06 A6, A7, A8

Support for the Mozambican STD/HIV strategy within the health system. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Health - National Directorate of Health. 5 mECU. Services (T.A. training supervision), supplies (educational materials, drugs, laboratory reagents, condoms) and equipment (laboratory equipment, medical equipment) Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing end 95. 7th EDF
EDF MOZ 8000/001 A7b, c

NAMIBIA

Namibia Integrated Health Programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Health and Social Services. 13.500 mECU. Infrastructures, equipment, training and T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing 2nd half 95. 7th EDF.
EDF NAM 7007 A7

Expansion of NBC transmitter network and production facilities for educational broadcasting. Resp. Auth.: Namibian Broadcasting Corporation. Estimated total cost 5.7 mECU. EDF 5 mECU, local 0.700 mECU. Works, supply of equipment, technical training and technical consultancies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF NAM 7005 A6i

Rural Development Support Programme for the Northern Communal Areas. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Development. 7.7 mECU. Strengthening of the agricultural extension service, training of extension officers and establishment of a rural credit system. Supply of office equipment, vehicles, agricultural inputs, T.A., training, evaluation. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF NAM 7011 A3a

Rural towns sewerage schemes. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Local Government and Housing. 1.880 mECU. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF NAM 7015 A8c

Namibia Tourism Development Programme. (Foundation Phase). Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Environment and Tourism. 1.882 mECU. Establishment of a Tourism Board and commercialisation of the Government resorts (Namibian Wildlife Resorts). Staff training. T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF NAM 7010 A5c

Co-operative Services Support. Resp. Auth.: Division of Co-operative Development (DCD) - Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural Dept. (MAWRD). 1.749 mECU. Two co-operative experts, one with specific skills in cooperative management and training acting as team leader, the other in co-operative accounting and auditing. Establishment of a Revolving Loan Fund. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF NAM 7019 A5f

Livestock Marketing Project. Resp. Auth.: Directorate of Veterinary Services - Ministry of Agriculture, Water and Rural

Dept. 3.750 mECU. Construction of buildings, water and road infrastructure, provision of equipment materials, tractors for quarantine farms in the Northern Communal Areas. All by acc. tenders or restr. tenders. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing end 95. 7th EDF.
EDF NAM 7020 A3a

NIGER

Fishery development in the southern Zinder zone. Resp. Auth.: NGO under control of Ministère de l'Hydraulique et de l'Environnement. Estimated total cost 0.500 mECU. Professional sector organisation, strengthening of fish marketing. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF NIR 7014 A3a

Environmental protection programme in the lower Tarka Valley. Estimated total cost 10 mECU. To stop ecological and economical destruction of the zone. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF NIR 6002/002 A3a

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

E.U. Programme Management Unit in support of the National Authorising Officer (NAO). Estimated cost 1.200 mECU. T.A., training and auditing. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF PNG 6001 A1c

SENEGAL

St-Louis regional development programme. 22.5 mECU. Job creation, lines of credit, T.A. to the S.M.E's, training, studies. Health centres, clinics, medical equipment and consumables, training, information. T.A. to the Direction Régionale in St-Louis and to the Service des Grandes Endémies in Podor. Drainage network, sanitation. Environmental protection with wind-breaks. T.A. Study of a water-engineering scheme in Podor. Works by acc. tender. Supplies by int. tender. T.A. by restr. tender. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF SE 6002/7002 A3a

Support for the economic development of the Ziguinchor region. 1.990 mECU. Line of credit for SME's and support for artisanal fisheries. Supply of equipment, T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF SE 5024/7001 A3a

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme. General Import Programme with negative list. 20.100 mECU. T.A. foreseen. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF SE 7200/002 A1c

SIERRA LEONE

Improvement of Freetown - Conakry road link. Estimated cost 30 mECU. Reconstruction of about 120 kms of road from Masiara in Sierra Leone to Farmoreah in Guinea. Works and supervision. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF SL 7004 A2d

Sierra Leone roads authority (SLRA) support programme. Resp. Auth.: SLRA. 22.500 mECU. To strengthen SLRA's management capacity, support maintenance operations, rehabilitate 160 km of road, provide training and equipment to enable local private contractors to increase their role in road works. Rehabilitation works, equipment, T.A. to SLRA. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF SL 7002 A2d

SURINAME

Tourism development programme. Resp. Auth.: Suriname Tourism Foundation. Estimated total cost 0.849 mECU. Institutional strengthening, statistics and research, product upgrading and development, tourism awareness programme, marketing and promotion, human resource development. Supply of equipment and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF SUR 7003 A5c

SWAZILAND

Technical Cooperation programme. Resp. Auth.: Government of Swaziland (N.A.O.) 1.860 mECU. T.A. 12 person-years to selected agencies in the public and parastatal sectors. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF SW 7001 A1f

Science and Mathematics Advice and Regional Training (SMART). Resp. Auth.: The University of Swaziland - Training Dept. 0.720 mECU. Supply of equipment and materials by int. tender. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF
EDF SW 6101/7 A6b

TANZANIA

Support for Aids Control in Tanzania. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Health. 4 mECU. To strengthen health and other support services. Supply of equipment and T.A. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 08000/000 (7001) A7c

Mwanza-Nyanguge Road Rehabilitation. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Transport and Communications. Estimated cost 35 mECU. Rehabilitation of 62 km of trunk roads (Nyanguge-Mwanza and Mwanza airport) and rehabilitation of Mwanza sewerage system (main works). Design study ongoing. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 6021 A2d

Mwanza Water Supply. Phase II. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals. Estimated cost 11.100 mECU. Works, pumping equipment, studies and supervision. Short-list done. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 5005(7) A2b

Iringa Water Supply. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals. Estimated cost 9.100 mECU. Pumping, treatment, storage and distribution. Works, equipment, design and supervision. Short-list done. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 7009 A2

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme. General Import Programme. Phase III. Resp. Auth.: Bank of Tanzania. 30 mECU. T.A. foreseen. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 7200/002 A1c

Assistance for the 1994-95 electoral process. Estimated cost 1.700 mECU. Supply of voting material and equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 7017 A1c

Ruvuma-Mbeya Environmental Programme. Resp. Auth.: Regional Development Authorities. Estimate 10 mECU. Improvement of forest conservation and use. Supplies, T.A., studies, training, management. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF TA 7018 A3c

Support for coffee research. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Agriculture. Estimated

total cost 1.98 mECU. T.A. and supply of equipment for the research centres, training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF TA 6001/002 A3a

Road rehabilitation and maintenance (Ruvuma and Iringa Regions). Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Transport and Communications. Estimated total cost 15 mECU. EDF 12 mECU, local 3 mECU. Road rehabilitation, support to regional and district engineers' offices, training of local contractors, T.A. and supplies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF TA 7011 A2d

Rehabilitation of Bagamoyo to Wazo Hill junction road. Studies and supervision. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Works. Estimated total cost 13 mECU. EDF part 1.750 mECU for design studies and tender documents and supervision services for the rehabilitation of the ± 45 km road. Short-list to be done. Rehabilitation works funded by Italy: 11.250 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF TA 7020 A2d

TOGO

National Agricultural Census. Resp. Auth.: DESA - Direction des Enquêtes et Statistiques Agricoles - Ministère du Devpt. Rural. Estimated total cost 2.39 mECU. EDF 1.986 mECU, local 0.226 mECU. F.A.O. 0.178 mECU. Project managed by the F.A.O. Date financing October 95. 7th EDF. EDF TO 7004 A3q

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Training project for young farmers (AYTRAP). Assistance for the young farmers to create rural enterprises. Estimated cost 7.300 mECU. EDF 5 mECU, local 2.300 mECU. Line of credit, T.A. and monitoring. Project on appraisal. 6th and 7th EDF. EDF TR 7002 A3a

Support for the Structural Adjustment Programme II - General Import Programme II. Resp. Auth.: Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago. 4.300 mECU. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EU goods with negative list. T.A. foreseen for short term missions by an international consultant and counterpart local consultant, who should be trained in order to help monitor the programme, as well as with the organization and follow up of the missions. Date financing October 95. 7th EDF. EDF TR 7200/001 A1c

UGANDA

Support to the Uganda Investment Authority. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Finance. 1.950 mECU. Supply of equipment and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF UG 7005 A5e

Animal water supply in Karamoja. To establish water retaining structures in selected strategic areas. 1.950 mECU. Works, equipment, T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF UG 7008 A2b

Support for Parliamentary and Presidential Elections. Resp. Auth.: UNDP. Estimated total cost 1.950 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF UG 7009 A1c

ZAIRE

Rehabilitation Support Programme. Resp. Auth.: Coordination and Management Unit. Estimated total cost EDF 84 mECU and an indicative amount of 6 mECU from the Commission budget under heading B7-5076 'Rehabilitation and reconstruction measures for developing countries'. Regions selected: Kinshasa's economic hinterland, the Greater Kivu and the two provinces of Kasai. Rehabilitation and maintenance of roads and farms access roads. Support for production and marketing, support for basic social infrastructure. T.A. and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 6th and 7th EDF. EDF ZR 6033 A1c

ZAMBIA

Forestry management for sustainable woodfuel production in Zambia (along the railway line). Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Environment. Estimated total cost 2 mECU. Training, supply of equipment, studies and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZA 7009 A3c

Rehabilitation of the Kabwe-Kapiri Mposhi and Chisamba Road. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Works and Supply. Estimated total cost 15.360 mECU. Works and supervision. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZA 6014/001 A2d

Structural Adjustment Facility Phase III. Resp. Auth.: Bank of Zambia. 16.800 mECU. Hard currency allowance to import ACP and EU goods with negative list. 2 mECU will be reserved for Trade and Enterprise Support facility. T.A. foreseen. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZA 7200/001 A1c

ZIMBABWE

OMAY Kanyati and Gatshe Gatshe land use and health programme. Resp. Auth.: A.D.A. 4.6 mECU. Raising the standard of living of rural populations. Conservation and improved utilisation of the wildlife resources, support to agriculture and improvement of social infrastructure. Road network, water, sanitation, building of a district hospital, equipment and supplies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZIM 6004/7002 A3a

Support for the Faculty of Veterinary Science of the University of Zimbabwe. Resp. Auth.: Faculty of Veterinary Science. 9.1 mECU. Supply of vehicles and equipment. T.A., University link, fellowships, scholarships. For Zimbabwe and SADC region. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZIM 5004/7001 A6b

Wildlife Veterinary Project. Resp. Auth.: Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management. EDF 1.500 mECU. Increase of wildlife population, particularly of endangered species: black and white rhino — tourism development, works, supplies, T.A., training and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZIM 6018 A5c, A8f

Gokwe north and south rural water supply and sanitation project. 6.100 mECU. Rehabilitation of existing water-points, new domestic water-points, latrines, maintenance, health education, T.A., training, evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZIM 7001 A2b

Minefield clearance in N.E. Zimbabwe. Rural development. Clearance of landmines. Zimbabwe minefield, survey. Short-list to be done. Estimated total cost 10 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ZIM 7004 A3a

Overseas Countries and Territories (OCT)

ARUBA

T.A. for managerial training. EDF 1.900 mECU. A training unit will train private and public executives and will advise companies on demand. Supplies T.A. and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF ARU 6006 A6b

NETHERLANDS ANTILLES - ARUBA

Tourism development programme. Estimated total cost 6-6.5 mECU. EDF 4-5 mECU, local 0.100 mECU, local private sector 1.400 mECU. Training, T.A., marketing in Europe. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF REG 7835 A5c

NEW CALEDONIA

Nouméa Aquarium reconstruction. Resp. Auth.: Administration Territoriale - Province Sud. Estimated total cost. 5 mECU. EDF. 4.350 mECU. Prequalification launched for architects. Works foreseen 2nd quarter 95. Project in execution. 7th EDF. EDF NC 6009 A5c

TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS

Water and sewerage in Providenciales. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Works. 3.700 mECU. Water supply works and pipes. T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF TC 7001 A8b,c

ST. HELENA

Wharf improvement project. Resp. Auth.: Public Works + Service. Department. Estimated total cost 1.743 mECU. To increase the safety and efficiency of Jamestown Port by upgrading wharf facilities for passenger and cargo handling. Works, supplies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF SH 7001 A2d

BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS

Hamilton Lavity Stouff Community College Learning Resource Centre. Resp. Auth.: Chief Minister's Office, Ministry of Finance and Development, Ministry of Education for maintenance, staffing and operations. 2.484 mECU Works by acc. tender. Date financing October 95. 7th EDF. EDF VI 7001 A6b

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

Holo-Fakato Road in Wallis (RT2). EDF 0.600 mECU. Bitumen road. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF WF 7001 A2d

Construction of territorial road n° 1 in Futuna. 0.840 mECU. Works and rehabilitation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF. EDF WF 7003 A2d

Regional Projects

UGANDA - RWANDA - KENYA

Agro-forestry network for East African Highlands. Provision of vehicles and motorcycles, audio and office equipment, weather stations and various laboratory and field equipment. Training, workshops, monitoring, evaluation. Project on appraisal. 4.850 mECU. 7th EDF
EDF REG 7309 A3a

EAST AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Statistical training centre for Eastern Africa in Tanzania. Resp. Auth.: Secretariat of the centre. 5 mECU. Widening of capacity. Construction of class-rooms, offices and housing. Project on appraisal. 5th EDF.
EDF REG 5311 (7) A6b

CAMEROON - CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Bertua-Garoua Boulai Road. Resp. Auth.: Ministère des Travaux Publics (Cameroon). Rehabilitation and improvement of transport infrastructures between Douala and Bangui. Estimated total cost 50 mECU. Project on appraisal. 6th and 7th EDF.
EDF REG - CM - CA - 7002/001 A2d

MALI - GUINEA

Flood forecast and control, hydrological simulation for the Niger upper basin. Estimated total cost 6 mECU EDF 5.175 mECU, France (foreseen) 0.375 mECU, Denmark (foreseen) 0.150 mECU, Mali-Guinea (foreseen) 0.300 mECU. Flood forecast system, hydrological model of local simulation with parametric regionalisation. Warning system via telecommunication and satellite teletransmission. Statistical studies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 6181 A8f, A8g

CENTRAL AFRICA

CIESPAC - Public Health Education Centre in Central Africa. 1.980 mECU. Student accommodation, equipment, scholarships, T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7205 A6b

ECOFAC II - Forest ecosystems. Resp. Auth.: Ministère du Plan. République du Congo. Estimated total cost 12.500 mECU. To develop national and regional capacities for good management of forest resources. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 6203/001 A3c

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF I.O.C. - INDIAN OCEAN COMMISSION COMORES - MADAGASCAR - MAURITIUS - SEYCHELLES

Integrated Regional Programme for Trade Development. (PRIDE). Resp. Auth.: I.O.C. Secrétariat. EDF 9.3 mECU. Equipment. T.A., training, management. **★ Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7503 A5

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF CBI

Support for the Technical Working Groups and Policy Implementation Committees under the Initiative to facilitate Cross-Border Trade, Investment and Payments in Eastern and Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean (CBI). To improve regional economic coherence in the areas of trade, investment and macro-economic policies. 2 mECU. T.A. **★ Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
EDF REG 70012/001 A5c

Standardization and quality assurance. Resp. Auth.: COMESA Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa). Estimated total cost 2.543 mECU. To develop harmonized standardization and quality control practices. T.A. and training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7321 A5e

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF ECOWAS

Guarantee Fund for Private Investments - Financing in Western Africa. FGIPAO - Lomé. Creation of a Guarantee Fund to cover partially credit risks given by banks to the private sector. Total estimated cost 22.5 mECU. EDF 3.8 mECU - Others: France, Germany, E.I.B., Commercial Banks (E.U.). Development Agencies. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7115 A5

Consumer price index in the UEMOA countries. Resp. Auth.: EUROSTAT & EUROSTAT 1.620 mECU. T.A., training, **★ supply of equipment. Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
EDF REG/ROC/7106/001 A1c

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF IGADD

IGADD Household Energy Programme. Resp. Auth.: IGADD Executive Secretary. Estimated total cost 1.900 mECU. T.A. to initiate pilot project, in the area of household energy, define the role and organise the setting up of a regional unit to coordinate activities, and develop working relationships with national and sub-regional institutions in IGADD's member countries. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG A2a

BURKINA FASO - CAPE VERDE - GAMBIA - MALI - MAURITANIA - NIGER - SENEGAL - CHAD

Regional environmental training and information programme. Resp. Auth.: Institut du Sahel in Bamako. 16 mECU. T.A. **★ training, supply of equipment. Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
EDF REG 6147/001 A6/A8

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF P.T.A.

Regional integration in East and Southern Africa. Assistance to PTA Secretariat. (Preferential Trade Area). Short and long-term. T.A., studies, training. Estimated cost 1.500 mECU. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7316 A1b

PACIFIC ACP STATES

Pacific regional agricultural programme. Phase II. Resp. Auth.: Forum

Secretariat. Fiji. 9.265 mECU. Improvement and dissemination of selected crops, agricultural information and techniques to farmers. T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 6704/001 A3a

Cyclone Warning System Upgrade. Resp. Auth.: Forum Secretariat. Project coordinator at the Tropical Cyclone Warning Centre in Nadi-Fiji. 1.950 mECU. Supply of specialized equipment, T.A., training evaluation. Project in execution. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7709 A8g

NAMIBIA - ZAMBIA

Trans-Caprivi Highway. Resp. Auth.: Department of Transport of the Ministry of Works, Transport and Communication. 23 mECU Upgrading of a portion of 100 km gravel road. Supervision of works. Works int. tender (conditional) launched in June 95. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95. 7th EDF
EDF REG 7414 A2d

SADC

Regional training programme for food security. Resp. Auth.: Food Security Technical and Administrative Unit (FSTAU) in Harare. 5 mECU. Training and T.A. Supply of equipment by int. tender. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 6420/7 A6ci

S.I.M.S.E.C. - SADC Initiative for Mathematics and Science Education Cooperation. To establish a professional unit, called SIMSEC Unit for information exchange, teacher training curriculum development, staff development, research cooperation and support for teachers' organisations. Project on appraisal. 5 mECU. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 6428 A6b

BENIN - COTE D'IVOIRE - GHANA - GUINEA - GUINEA BISSAU - TOGO

Regional programme to increase awareness in western coastal African countries of natural resources protection. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Environnement-Togo. Estimated cost 10 mECU. Priorities: fight against bush fires and deforestation and for soil protection. Project on appraisal. 6th EDF
EDF REG 6113 A3e

KENYA - UGANDA - TANZANIA

Lake Victoria Fisheries Research Project (Phase II). Project headquarters in Jinja-Uganda at FIRI-Fisheries Research Institute. EDF part 8.400 mECU. T.A., supplies, training, monitoring and evaluation. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.
EDF REG 5316/001 A3d

CARIBBEAN REGION

Regional Tourism Sector Programme. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. 12.8 mECU. Marketing, Promotion, Education, Training, research and statistics, product development and protection of cultural heritage. Works, equipment and T.A. **★ Project in execution.** 7th EDF.
EDF REG 7601/001 A5c

Regional Trade Sector Programme. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. 14 mECU. Access of Caribbean firms to identified markets, strengthen the competitiveness of export oriented firms, improve the availability of trade information and support institutional development. Supply of equipment and T.A. **Project in execution.** 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7601/002 A5d,e

University level programme. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. 21 mECU. To train a critical mass of Caribbean ACP nationals at masters degree level in development economics, business administration, public administration, agricultural diversification, natural resources, management and architecture, works, educational equipment, T.A., scholarships. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7604 A6b

Caribbean Postal Union. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. 0.500 mECU. T.A. and other action necessary for the creation of the Caribbean Postal Union. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7605 A2c

Caribbean Telecommunication Union. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. 0.500 mECU. T.A. for the accomplishment of the C.T.U. and the harmonisation of legislation on Telecommunication within the Cariforum member states. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7605/001 A2c

Education policy and dialogue. Resp. Auth.: Cariforum S.G. 0.450 mECU. T.A. for regional common policies in three education areas: basic education, technical and vocational training, language teaching. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7607 A6a,d

Cultural Centres. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. 1.500 mECU. Promote cultural identity and foster mutual knowledge of the rich cultural panorama. Restoration of buildings, supply of equipment, T.A. in artistic fields and management. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7610 A8i

Tertiary level programme. Estimated total cost 5 mECU. Upgrading tertiary level education and teacher training. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 6628/001 A6b

Cariforum Regional Environment Programme. Resp. Auth.: S.G. Cariforum. Estimated total cost 11 mECU. Environmental management action, programme for protected areas and community development, management and expansion of marine and coastal park and protected areas. Terrestrial parks. Project on appraisal. 7th EDF.

EDF REG 7613 A8f

Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA), Ministry of Environment for Israel and Aqaba Ports Authority for Jordan with a representative from the EC. EC 2.900 mECU, Egypt 0.200 mECU. Procurement of the equipment, development of local infrastructure, training and T.A. Project in execution. SEM EGT 1171/94 A8f

Gulf of Aqaba Protectorates Development Programme (GAPDP). Resp. Auth.: Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency (EEAA). Estimated total cost 12 mECU. EC contribution 10 mECU, local 2 mECU. T.A. to the EEAA Division for natural sites protection. Supply of equipment, T.A. for a specific training programme: natural sites protection. Works, supplies, T.A. **Project in execution.**

SEM EGT 537/95 A8f

Agricultural Sector Development Programme. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reclamation (MOLAR). 75 mECU. Provision of T.A. training, supply of equipment and vehicles, credit and guarantee scheme. Project on appraisal.

SEM EGT 846/95 A3a

Bustan Agricultural Development Project. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reclamation (MOLAR) 15 mECU. Land and buildings, equipment and vehicles, drainage, irrigation T.A. and evaluation. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.

SEM EGT 1025/95 A3a

JORDAN

Support for Structural Adjustment. Phase III. Hard currency allowance with negative list. 20 mECU. **Project in execution.**

SEM JO 279/95 A1c

Private Sector Development Programme. Resp. Auth.: Business Service Team in Amman. 7 mECU. Business upgrading, business collaboration and investment promotion, information and data services. T.A., monitoring, evaluation and audit. Project on appraisal.

SEM JO 861/95 A5d, e

MALTA

Strengthening educational and economic relations with the Community. 1.7 mECU. Scholarships and traineeships, establishment of a Euro-Information Centre, integrated marketing programmes and tourism promotion. Different T.A. and purchase of equipment. Project in execution.

SEM MAT 91/431 A5c, d

MOROCCO

Support for Mother and Child Care. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de la Santé Publique. 9 mECU. Works by int. tender, studies, T.A., evaluation. Supply of equipment. Project in execution.

SEM MOR 930/94 A7b

Private sector development programme. 30 mECU. Provision of consultancy and training services to private enterprises delivered through a business centre in Casablanca 'Euro-Maroc Enterprise' staffed by expatriate and local consultants. A small office will also be established in Tangiers. Credit line for small enterprise creation in north Morocco. T.A. and training. **Project in execution.** 7th EDF.

SEM MOR 299/95 A4/A5

Drinking water supply and sanitation for small centres (II). Resp. Auth.: OWEF-Office National de l'Eau Potable. 20 mECU. Production and distribution of drinking water in 14 small centres. Planning and/or technical detail studies for a further 48 centres. Works, T.A. evaluation. Project in execution.

SEM MOR 696/95 A2b

Soil conservation measures in the Sidi Driss catchment area. Resp. Auth.: Administration des eaux et forêts et de la conservation des sols. (AEFCS). 5.5 mECU. Investments and works, equipment, T.A. and studies, training. Project on appraisal.

SEM MOR 789/95 A8f,4

Support for priority sectors in the training system. Resp. Auth.: OFPPT and ISTA - Marrakesh, ITHT Saïdia, IREP. Supply of equipment and T.A. 6 mECU. Project on appraisal.

SEM MOR 847/95 A6d

Micro Enterprise Support Programme. Micro entreprise programme management and Micro entreprise support fund (FAME) Fonds d'Appui aux Micro-entreprises. 15 mECU - 5 mECU 95 - 5 mECU 96 - 5 mECU 97. Expatriot T.A. and local T.A. Project on appraisal.

SEM MOR 868/95 A5e

SYRIA

Private Sector Development. Resp. Auth.: Syrian-European Business Centre. 7 mECU. To improve the performance of indigenous business in local, regional and international markets. Establishment of the SEBC. T.A., monitoring, evaluation and audit. Project in execution.

SEM SYR 1189/94 A5d,e

TUNISIA

Support for Structural Adjustment Programme. Hard currency allowance with negative list. Management Central Bank of Tunisia. 20 mECU. **Project in execution.**

SEM TUN 518/95 A1c

Private Sector Development Programme. 20 mECU. Creation of Euro-Tunisie Entreprise. External consultant will be appointed as Euro-Tunisie Entreprise director. Aid programme for firms, institutional development, investment/trade promotion, consultancy, training, joint ventures. Follow-ups, evaluation and financial control. **Project in execution.**

SEM TUN 526/95 A1/A5

Water and Soil conservation (II). Resp. Auth.: Direction de la Conservation des Eaux et des Sols - Ministère de l'Agriculture. 20 mECU. Works, supplies and equipment, T.A. Project on appraisal.

SEM TUN 788/95 A2b,A8f,4

Rural Development Project in the Sfax area. Resp. Auth.: Ministère de l'Agriculture. 5 mECU. Boreholes, irrigated areas, drinking water supply network, water and soil conservation, T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.

SEM TUN 987/95 A3e

TURKEY

Programme to broaden relations between EC and Turkey. EC contribution 3.6 mECU. Scholarships, supply of equip-

MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

ALGERIA

Support for the Algerian rural sector. 30 mECU. Project in execution.

SEM AL A3a

EGYPT

Upper Gulf of Aqaba Oil Spill Contingency Project. Resp. Auth.: Egyptian

ment for the Universities of Ankara and Marmara. Training centre and language laboratory in Marmara. Establishment of a Euro-Turkish 'Business Council'. Project in execution.
SEM TU A6b

WEST BANK AND GAZA OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Municipal Support Programme, Gaza and West Bank. EC Contribution 25 mECU (Budget 95: 10 mECU - Budget 96: 15 mECU) Municipal infrastructure rehabilitation and expansion within the road, water supply, building and sewage sectors. Supply of equipment for infrastructure maintenance and solid waste management. Municipalities: Rafah, Khan Younis, Gaza, Hebron, Ramallah, Nablus and Jenin. T.A. will include full-time secondment in 95/96 and half time in 97 of municipal engineers with a project manager and short-term specialist input. Works by acc. tender. T.A.: short lists done. **Project in execution.**
SEM OT 95/96 - 300/95 A1c

Gaza Hospital. Resp. Auth.: Ministry of Health. EC contribution 7.500 mECU. To meet the final completion date of January 96, further financing is urgently required. This financing will cover the execution of the utility connections, the remaining construction works, the provision of the main medical equipment and T.A. for the initial operation. Operation initially by UNRWA. Expatriate T.A.: short list done. Medical equipment by **Project in execution.**
SEM OT 302/95 A7a

Private Sector Development. Resp. Auth.: Palestinian Business Services Centre (PBSC) in Ramallah. EC contribution 6 mECU (1995 Budget 3 mECU - 1996 Budget 3 mECU). Programme of consulting information and training services. Consulting services by EC consultants. T.A.: short lists done. **Project in execution.**
SEM OT 95/96-342/95 A4,A5

T.A. for the institutional support of the Palestinian Authority and for the implementation of the Community assistance programme to the Occupied Territories. 5 mECU. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
SEM OT/95/06 A1c

EGYPT - PALESTINE - JORDAN - ISRAEL

Middle East Peace Projects. 33 mECU (Budget 95: 13 mECU, Budget 96: 20 mECU). Planning and consulting support measures for major regional investments: water infrastructure projects on the Jordan and Yarmouk, development of Gulf of Aqaba area, transport infrastructure and the inter-connection of electricity grids, integrated economic development of Gaza, Sinai and parts of Israel. Regional veterinary cooperation and the establishment of an integrated water data system. Feasibility studies, detailed plans, engineering designs. T.A. by **Project in execution.**
SEM REG 95-96/298-95 A9a,b

ISRAEL - PALESTINE - TUNISIA - MOROCCO - FRANCE

University of tourism for peace. Community contribution 1.2 mECU to cover the Palestinian part (University of Bethlehem). Equipment and running costs. Project on appraisal.
MEDA 37-410-629/95 A6b

MED-CAMPUS

Multiannual support programme for development cooperation actions between European universities and higher education institutes from Mediterranean non-Community countries. EC contribution for 96-98 35 mECU. Training courses for managers, university teaching staff and post-graduates in MNC. Practical training in EC and MNC. Applied research. **Project in execution.**
SEM REG 521/95 A6b,c

MED-MEDIA

Programme to support co-operation between media professionals, institutions and organisations in the Mediterranean non-member countries and in the European Union. EC contribution 16 mECU. Call for proposals published in May 95, closing date 14 September. **Project in execution.**
MEDA B7-410 854/95 A5g

MED-TECHNO

Programme to support technological co-operation between local authorities, universities, research institutions and industries, in particular SMEs in the E.U. and in the Mediterranean Partners. 7 mECU. The MED-TECHNO 1996 initiative will focus on the development and application of appropriate technologies for the exploitation of municipal and/or industrial waste water as an additional source of water in the Mediterranean Partners. MED-TECHNO call for proposals will be published in November 95. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
MEDA B7-410 928/95 A2b,A8b

MED-URBS

Programme to support co-operation in networks between local authorities in the E.U. and those in the Mediterranean Non Member Countries (MNC). 24 mECU for 1996 and 1997. End of the call for proposals on September 14, 1995. **Project in execution.**
MEDA B7-410 855/95 A8a

A.L.A. developing countries ASIA and LATIN AMERICA

ARGENTINA

Integrated development Ramon Lista. EC contribution 5.500 mECU. T.A. Support for indigenous populations. **Project in execution.**
ALA ARG B7-3010/94/152 A3a

Integrated support scheme for the socialization of marginalized minors in Greater Buenos Aires. EC contribution 9.300 mECU. Supplies and equipment and expatriate T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA ARG/B7-3010/95/154 A8b,c

Support for rural sector - Phase II. 0.475 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal.
ALA ARG/B7-3011/95/160 A3a

BANGLADESH

PROMOTE* Female Teachers in Secondary Schools. (*Programme to Motivate, Train and Employ). 36 mECU. **Project in execution.**
ALA BD 95/7 A6a

GSS-Phase III: Education and Social Mobilization. EC contribution 9.4 mECU. Resp. Auth.: Gonoshahajjo Sangskha (GSS) Bangladeshi NGO. Office equipment, transport equipment, external T.A. support. Date financing October 95.
ALA BD 9511 A6a

BOLIVIA

Ministry of Development and Environment. T.A. to support the execution of programmes. 0.950 mECU. Project on appraisal.
ALA BOL B7-3010/94/42 A3a

Rural development in the Mitzque and Tiraque valleys. 16.410 mECU. Different T.A. for bridges, canals, improvement of cultivated soils. **Project in execution.**
ALA BOL B7-3010/94/49 A3a

Support for artisanal fisheries and aquaculture. T.A. to improve know-how. 0.932 mECU. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing 2nd quarter 95.
ALA BOL B7-3010-94/53 A3a

Job promotion. 3 mECU. Project on appraisal.
ALA BOL B7-3010/95/25 A5

Seeds integrated development project. 3.900 mECU. Increase of the national productivity by improvement of seed quality. Project on appraisal.
ALA BOL B7-3010/95/070 A3a

BRAZIL

Action group for telecommunications. Studies, seminars. Short-lists to be done. 0.570 mECU. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing September 95.
ALA BRA/B7-3010/95/125 A2c

Support for underprivileged populations in Rio and Sao Paulo regions. 12,6 mECU. Housing, health, education, training, support for micro-enterprises. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA BRA/B7-3010/95/115 A8c

CAMBODIA

Support for the agricultural sector and primary education. EC contribution 49.800 mECU. Supply of equipment, different T.A. studies. Project on appraisal.
ALA CAM 94/14 A3a

CHINA

EU-China Technical and Commercial Co-operation within the Dairy and Food Processing Sector. Resp. Auth.: Central Dairy Project Office (CDPO) of the Ministry of Agriculture and European Project Management Unit based in Beijing. EC contribution 30 mECU. Equipment and T.A. Date financing October 95.
ALA CHN 9517 A3a

EU-China Higher Education Cooperation Programme. EC contribution 9.750 mECU. Professorships, fellowships, collaborative research, T.A., workshops. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA CHN 9519 A6b

EU-China Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) Cooperation Programme. 4.8 mECU. Training and T.A. in the fields of patents and industrial design; trademarks; copyrights; geographical indications; enforcement. Date financing October 95. ALA CHN 9520 A5c

EU-China Water Buffalo Development Project. Resp. Auth.: Department of Livestock Production of the Ministry of Agriculture. EC contribution 2.787 mECU. Equipment, training, T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA CHN 9522 A3a

CHILE

★ **Study to create a technological centre in Santiago.** 0.607 mECU. Short-list to be done. Project on appraisal. ALA CHI B7-3011-94/172 A6b

Integrated programme to combat urban poverty. EC contribution 9.660 mECU. Communication and research, education and training, developing production and employment, town planning and environmental improvements, justice and human rights. Project in execution. ALA CHI/B7-3030/95/067 A8b,c

Management centres for farmers. 0.990 mECU. T.A. to set up 10 centres. Project on appraisal. ALA CHI/B7-3011/95/069 A3a

Training for the tourism sector. 0.928 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal. ALA CHI/B7-3011/95/203 A5c

Business development in the biotechnology sectors. 0.912 mECU. Exchanges between Europeans and Chilean industries. Project on appraisal. ALA CHI/B7-3011/95/219 A4g

COLOMBIA

★ **Basic social services in Ciudad Bolivar.** 7.5 mECU T.A. to the local services. Training. Project in execution. ALA COL B7-3010/94/101 A8b

Support for the creation of basic technological enterprises. 0.900 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal. ALA COL B7-3011/94/41 A5c

"Sistema Nacional de Capacitación Municipal". EC contribution 6.036 mECU. To support the decentralization process. Training and T.A., documentation and information centres. Equipment and supplies by int. tender. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA COL B7-3010/95/158 A1b

ECUADOR

Rehabilitation of the Paute zone. 12 mECU. T.A., training, supply of equipment. Project in execution. ALA ECU B7-3010/94/44 A3a

Environmental impact of oil exploitation in the Amazone region. 7.313 mECU. Project in execution. ALA ECU B7-3010/94/130 A8f

Ministry of External Relations modernization. 0.400 mECU. T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. ALA ECU B7-3011/94/161 A1c

Improvement of crop production and use of phytogenetics products. 0.995 mECU. Training research promotion, T.A. Project in execution. ALA ECU B7-3010/94/103 A3a

EL SALVADOR

Health and basic health programme in the western region. EC participation 10 mECU. Drinking water, sanitation, health centres, infrastructures, training, T.A. Project in execution. ALA ELS B7-3010/93/91 A7c

Support for the Informal Sector. Phase II. EC contribution 7 mECU. Project in execution. ALA ELS B7-3010/94/83 A5e

★ **Support for the productive process in the San Vicente department.** 13 mECU. T.A., line of credit, integration of ex-servicemen. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95. ALA SLV/B7-3010/95/88 A9b

GUATEMALA

Support for the informal sector. 7.500 mECU. T.A. training, line of credit. Project in execution. ALA GUA B7-3010/94/47 A5

Episcopal Conference and Broadcasting Institute. 0.890 mECU. Training and T.A. Project in execution. ALA GUA B7-3010/94/95 A5g,A6

★ **Support for reform of the health sector.** EC contribution 11.300 mECU. Infrastructure, equipment, teaching materials, expatriate T.A. Project on appraisal. ALA GTM B7-3010/95/086 A7

Geothermal energy in San Marcos zone. 0.350 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal. ALA GTM B7-3011/95/176 A2a

★ **Strengthening project for the health sector reform.** 0.975 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal. ALA GTM B7-3010/95/179 A7

HONDURAS

Programme to support SME's and farmers in the Olancho area (PRO-LANCHO). Resp. Auth.: National Planning Ministry (SECPLAN). EC contribution 9.860 mECU. Supply of equipment by int. tender, T.A., monitoring. Project in execution. ALA HON B7-3010/94/124 A3a

★ **Support for vocational training.** 5 mECU. T.A. to improve technical training. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95. ALA HND/B7-3010/95/79 A6d

T.A. to promote specific projects for electricity production. 0.700 mECU. T.A. for management. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing end 95. ALA HND/B7-3010/95/80

T.A. to develop the institutional programme for a legal framework and energy saving. 0.500 mECU. To develop a specific programme for efficiency and energy saving. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing 2nd half 95. ALA HND/B7-3010/95/81 A2ai

★ **Preventive health care programme aimed at adolescents.** Resp. Auth.: Public Health Department. EC contribution 5.9 mECU. Setting up of the project, production of teaching materials (print and video) and setting up of the network. Training, equipment and European T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA HND B7-3010/95/117 A7b,c

INDIA

Ravine stabilization, Uttar Pradesh. EC contribution 7.9 mECU. Prevention and stabilization of soil erosion through land conservation works, reforestation, horticulture and livestock development. Works, supplies and T.A. Date financing October 95. ALA IN B7-3000/95/10 A3a

★ **Haryana Community Forestry Project.** EC contribution 23.3 mECU. Infrastructure, equipment, training, T.A., monitoring and evaluation. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA IN B7-3000/95/15 A3a

★ **Tank rehabilitation Project, Pondicherry.** EC contribution 6.65 mECU. Works, T.A., monitoring and evaluation. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA IN B7-3000/95/16 A3a

★ **Cross-cultural programme EU-India.** EC contribution 30 mECU. To promote and develop cultural co-operation and mutual understanding. Media and Communication, University and studies, entrepreneurial networking, mobility and training. T.A. for Management Agency. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA IN B7-3001/95/23 A6j

INDONESIA

Gunung Leuser development programme. Resp. Auth.: Indonesian Planning Ministry-BAPPENAS. EC contribution 32.5 mECU. Works, infrastructures, supply of equipment, T.A. training, monitoring evaluation. Project in execution. ALA IND 94/26 A3a

★ **South-Central Kalimantan Production Forest Programme and Forest Liaison Bureau.** EC contribution 33 mECU. Works, supplies, T.A. monitoring and evaluation. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA IND B7-3000/95/18 A3a

LAOS

★ **Micro-projects in Luang Prabang.** Phase 2. 12.800 mECU. Project in execution. ALA LAO 95/8 A3a

MEXICO

★ **Improving living conditions for children and young people.** 0.717 mECU. T.A. and training. Project on appraisal. ALA MEX B7-3010/95/23 A8c

★ **Support for trade and export towards EU.** 0.982 mECU. T.A. seminars. Project on appraisal. ALA MEX B7-3011/95/026 A5

NEPAL

★ **Irrigation Development Project - Mid Western Region.** EC contribution 8.1 mECU. Feeder roads, irrigation schemes, training. Supplies, T.A. monitoring and evaluation. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95. ALA NE B7-3000/95/24 A3a

NICARAGUA

Housing construction in Managua. 9 mECU. Works, supervision, equipment and T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA NIC/B7-3010/95/90 A8a

Support for vocational training. 5.200 mECU. To improve technician and teacher training. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA NIC/B7-3010/95/109 A6c

Support for the electricity sector. 7 mECU. T.A. equipment, monitoring and evaluation. Date financing October 95.
ALA NIC/B7-3010/95/65 A2ai

PAKISTAN

Post-flood rehabilitation and protection project. 20.5 mECU. T.A., road works, dam construction. Works by acc. tender. Project on appraisal.
ALA PK 94/04 A8g

Palas conservation and development project. 4.800 mECU. Project in execution.
ALA PK 95/05 A3a

PANAMA

Support for rural SME's in the central region. 5 mECU. Supply of T.A. and line of credit. Project in execution.
ALA PAN B7-3010/94/137 A3a

Promotion of equal opportunities in Panama. 9.800 mECU. Institutional support, direct training, support for NGO's, fund for small-scale products. T.A. and equipment. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA PAN/B7-3010/95/100 A8c

PARAGUAY

Durable development of the Paraguayan Chaco (protection of the indigenous zones and ecosystem). EC contribution 14.800 mECU. T.A. and training. Project in execution.
ALA PAR 93/40 A3a

Training programme. 0.850 mECU. Project in execution.
ALA PRY/B7-3011/94/012 A6e

Support programme for the Eastern Region development. 0.900 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal.
ALA PRY/B7-3011/95/146 A3a

Rural development in San Pedro and Caaguazú. 2 mECU. Works, supplies and T.A. Project in execution.
ALA PRY/B7-3010/95/150 A3a

PERU

Support for export promotion. EC contribution 3.774 mECU. T.A. Short-list done. Project in execution.
ALA PER B7-3010/93/175 A5d

Colca valley development programme. EC contribution 5 mECU. T.A. and supply of equipment. Short-list to be done. Project on appraisal.
ALA PER B7-3010/94/33 A3a

Women in rural situations. EC contribution 5 mECU. Piura and Ayacucho regions. Improvement of the women's con-

ditions. Social services. Project in execution.
ALA PER B7-3010/94/106 A3a

Vocational training programme. 9 mECU. T.A. training technical qualifications for non qualified young people. Project in execution.
ALA PER B7-3010/94/55 A6d

Street children. 7 mECU. Project in execution.
ALA PER B7-3010/94/127 A8c

Framework programme for vocational, technological and pedagogical training. 7 mECU. To improve secondary education quality and support teacher training. Project on appraisal.
ALA PER/B7-3011/95/004 A6c

Sustainable development of the Manu National Park and Biosphere Reserve. 6.600 mECU. Project on appraisal.
ALA PER/B7-5041/95/128 A8f

Standards and quality. 0.400 mECU. T.A. Project on appraisal.
ALA PER B7-3011/95/048 A4e

Training in economics - Ministry of External Relations Staff. 0.500 mECU. Project on appraisal.
ALA PER B7-3011/95/108 A6e

Poverty alleviation programme. Lima's peripheral urban area. 12 mECU. Project on appraisal.
ALA PER B7-3010/95/130 A8b,e

PHILIPPINES

Partnership for Women's Health and Safe Motherhood (P-WHSM). 17 mECU. Project in execution.
ALA PHI 95/4 A7b,c

Central Cordillera Agricultural Programme, Phase II. (CECAP II). EC contribution 23 mECU. Technical support, advice and training. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA PU B7-3000/95/28 A3a

SRI LANKA

Mahaweli Consolidation Project. EC contribution 5.98 mECU. Works, supplies and T.A. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA SRI B7-3000/95/03 A3a

URUGUAY

Integrated development programme for rural communities. 5.150 mECU. T.A. and housing construction for poor families. Project in execution.
ALA URU B7-3010/94/39 A3a

Cooperation Programme for Aromatic Plants and Essential Oils. 1 mECU. T.A. for production development, industrialisation and commercialization. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA URY/B7-3011/95/72 A3a

VENEZUELA

Support for the Health Sector. 9 mECU. Improvement of the health systems, T.A. and supply of equipment. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA VEN/B7-3010/95/56 A7e

Articulation and development of social economy. 7.5 mECU. T.A. training. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA VEN/B7-3010/95/57 A5f

VIETNAM

T.A. to the State Planning Committee - Support for the Country Information Systems for Economic Planning. EC contribution 3.8 mECU. Long and short-term T.A., training and scholarships equipment. Project in execution.
ALA VIE B7-3000/95/12 A1c

Returnee Assistance Programme (RAP). EC contribution 10.5 mECU. T.A. and financial assistance. Training and educational support. Equipment. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA VIE B7-3000/95/26 A1c

LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Cooperation programme with European Union towns, regions and local collectivities. 14 mECU. T.A., training. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA AML B7-3010/94/168 A5

Fight against cancer. 13.332 mECU. Project on appraisal.
ALR B7-3010/95/03 A7

B.I.D. Special fund for small production projects. 15 mECU. T.A. in the framework of B.I.D. activities. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA AML/B7-3010/95/113 A5b

ALURE: Optimum use of energy resources. 7 mECU. Support Unit-financing of action to modernize institutions and specialized companies. Date financing October 95.
ALA ALR/B7-3011/95/42 A2a,i

AL-INVEST - Consolidation phase. 41 mECU. Liberalization of the economic structures and market integration. (Commercial exchanges promotion, technology transfer, direct investments, joint-ventures). Date financing October 95.
ALA AML/B7-3011/95/138 A5e

Special Funds for European T.A. in Latin American countries. 4 mECU. T.A. in the framework of B.I.D. activities. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing October 95.
ALA AML/B7-3010/95/114 A5b

ASEAN

Junior EU-ASEAN Managers (JEM) Programme. 15 mECU. T.A. for executing agencies, monitoring and evaluation. Date financing October 95.
ALA ASE B7-3001/95/064 A5

ASIA-URBS

Programme supporting co-operation between EU and Asian local authorities. EC contribution 30 mECU pag. 96, 97, 983 T.A. for Asia-Urbs agency. Project on appraisal. Date foreseen for financing November 95.
ALA - ASIA URBS B7-3000/95/21 A8a

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Publications received

Annuaire des Communautés européennes et des autres organisations européennes — 14ème édition (1994-1995)

Directory of the European Communities and other European organisations — 14th edition (1994-95)

Edited by Georges-François Seingry. Published by Editions Delta SA, 55, rue Scailquin, B-1030 Brussels. 1995. 611 pages. BFR 5900. ISBN 2-8029-0114-1.

This is a trilingual work (French/English/German) listing in a single volume all the public and private organisations which are working towards European integration. A first section describes the structure, operation and activities of the institutions and bodies of the European Communities and other governmental organisations (European Council, CERN, WEU, etc.). The second section consists of a list of governmental and non-governmental organisations, diplomatic corps accredited to the EC and universities providing a European-oriented education.

The directory also includes a wealth of practical information and an index of the approximately 7000 bodies mentioned.

Le processus démocratique en Afrique subsaharienne: une approche bibliographique

The democratic process in sub-Saharan Africa: a bibliographic approach

Compiled by Pierre Dandjinou. Published by the International Centre for Bantu civilisations, B.P.770, Libreville — Gabon, with the assistance of the French Mission for Cooperation and Cultural Action. 1995. 120 pages.

This bilingual booklet (French/English) is presented in the form of a research tool for use by anyone interested in the process of democratisation in Africa. It consists of two main chapters: the first highlights the characteristic features of the process of democratisation which has been taken place in sub-Saharan Africa since 1989 and analyses, among other topics, the historical context of this process, certain key concepts, the reasons behind the boom in democracy and the results which have already been achieved thereby. The second part of the work is purely bibliographical, list-

ing references in connection with each of the countries which make up sub-Saharan Africa.

L'Afrique veut vivre

Africa's struggle for life

A collective work. Published by CIIP (Inter-peoples Information Centre, Maison des Associations, 6bis, rue Berthe de Boissieux, F-3800 Grenoble). 1995. 189 pages. FFR 60. ISBN 2-9509373-06.

Compiled jointly by Africans and non-Africans, this work is a very readable synthesis of the most important aspects of sub-Saharan Africa which will appeal to a wide reading public and bring home the challenges faced by the peoples of this region in their everyday lives.

Afrique — Beaucoup d'atouts trop d'obstacles

Africa — A land rich in assets faced with too many obstacles

Published by Oxfam Belgique (39, rue du Conseil — B-1050 Brussels). 1995. 133 pages. BFR 125.

This is a reworked and updated version of a report on Africa, first published in 1993 by the same NGO, which pleads for an increase in the resources made available to Africans. It defends the idea that these peoples should be given a margin for manoeuvre, so as to enable them to control their own economic and demographic growth.

Investissement étranger direct en Afrique

Direct foreign investment in Africa

A study published by UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, New York and Geneva). 1995. 120 pages. \$25.00. Sales No. E.95.II.A. ISBN 92-1-104447-2.

This study provides a complete panorama of the measures taken by African countries to attract direct foreign investment and analyses those measures which it considers expedient to improve the investment climate. According to UNCTAD experts, there is a need to reform and simplify authorisation procedures and other regulations, expand privatisation linked to direct foreign investment, improve schemes aimed at promoting investment, reduce restrictions on transfers of capital, improve measures aimed at encouraging competition between companies and ensure that the

recipient country is promoted in the right way, with the right image.

L'Union économique et monétaire ouest-africaine: un traité pour l'avenir

The West-African economic and monetary union: a treaty for the future

Booklet prepared on behalf of the Commission of the WAEMU with the support of the EDF and produced by the ADE ((Assistance with Economic Decision-making), 6, rue Charlemagne, P.O. Box 201, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). 1995. 28 pages.

This booklet provides a range of information and analyses aimed at clarifying the origins, content and provisions of the WAEMU Treaty. Since 1 August 1994, this agreement has forged ties between Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo and now sets the seal on their common policy to expand the cooperation which they have had for over 30 years within the monetary sector to other spheres of economic policy.

Management of wildlife, tourism and local communities in Zimbabwe

By Chris Mclvor. Published by UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10). Discussion papers Series. 1994. 48 pages. ISBN 1012-6511.

In this booklet the author discusses the importance of adequately managing national parks with respect to the people who have settled in the areas surrounding them. 12.7 % of Zimbabwe's land area surface has been given over to reserves, and tourism is the third largest source of foreign currency after agriculture and mining. ■

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Back cover:
The mountains of Lesotho – a country which still has economic heights to scale (The Courier)

Lesotho

