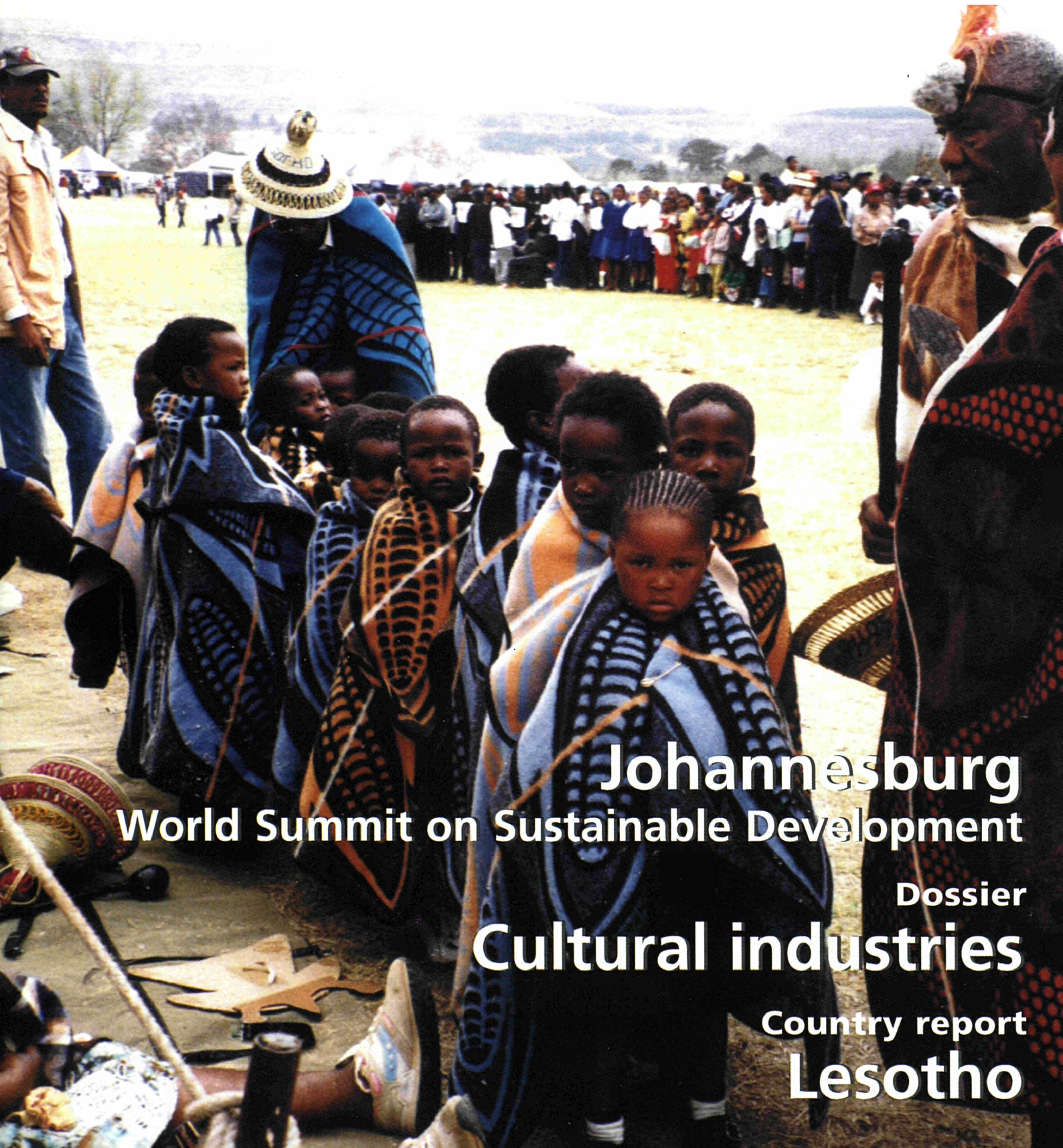


the Courier

the magazine of ACP-EU development cooperation

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**Johannesburg
World Summit on Sustainable Development**

**Dossier
Cultural industries**

**Country report
Lesotho**

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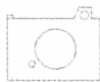


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The ACP-EU Courier

is the main publication of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP) and the European Union. The EU provides ACP countries with preferential access to EC markets and substantial development assistance (some two to three billion Euros a year). The ACP and EU cooperate at a political level and engage in a continuous political dialogue: in trade, to promote the integration of the ACP countries into the world economy and in development assistance, with the clear objective of promoting sustainable development and reducing poverty.

A democratic 21st century?

According to the United Nations Human Development Report 2002 – “Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World” – advancing human development depends as much on whether poor people have political power as on their opportunities for economic progress. The report, released in July, argues that democratic participation is a development goal in its own right.

Sakiko Fukuda-Parr¹, its lead author, talked to *the Courier* about the importance of politics and democratic participation for human development.

Dorothy Morrissey



There was a wave of democratisation in the 1990s. But this decade also corresponded with a period of decline, particularly with regard to developing countries. How can you explain that paradox?

The 1990s were indeed a decade of great progress, technological advancements, transformation of global markets, and a rush of democratisation. But it was also a period of terrible decline from a development point of view: the spread of AIDS, a modern age plague; the under-five mortality rate increased in 15 countries; hunger grew in 15 countries; and 52 countries ended the decade poorer. Inequality in income reached stupendous levels. The number of people living in poverty – excluding Asia and China – increased. Divisions are growing in the world between rich and poor and between powerful and powerless.

There was euphoria in the 1980s and 1990s when authoritarian regimes were overthrown in Africa. But now there is disillusionment with democracy – that it hasn't delivered schools, jobs that people expected. But democracy can't be created overnight. Political institutions have been captured by power elites. Democracy has stalled. Of 81 countries that took steps in the 1980s and 1990s, 47 can be considered fully functioning democracies. What is needed is a deepening of democracy. This requires reform and strengthening of democratic institutions.

In developing countries, we need to think about the quality of democracy. Let's take what you might call the “newly democratising countries”. Throwing out the old regime does not deliver immediately a fully functioning democratic regime overnight. You have to create the institutions, make

them function, extend democratic values, deepen democracy in order to improve the quality of real democratic processes. Democratic deficits essentially come from the fact that elites control power in all these processes. So you may have very good democratic institutions but if they are controlled by economic or power elites you have democratic deficits. That becomes clear when you look at the industrialised countries with long established democracies. Today in the US we have this huge debate about the behaviour of corporations – about whether our governing processes are really defending public interests, or whether they are overly influenced by money. You may have the laws, but they are implemented in different ways. We have an example in the report about the US that shows that even though there are all kinds of laws that control corporations, the rate of implementation is not perfect. That paradox of democracy and poor economic and social performance has to be explained by the fact that political institutions are still controlled by power elites and you still have to battle that.

Even in developed countries with long-standing democracies, isn't there a problem also with legitimacy in the sense of participation, low voter turnout? How can we push this model of democracy when it has these weaknesses?

Democratic deficits exist in developed countries too. But what is the alternative model? You have to realise that democracy only works as long as people use their freedoms to demand accountability and to participate. It's like muscle – if people don't speak up, don't use the press, engage in civic associations, then democracy will be controlled by power elites. Another name for this report would be: “Democracy – use it or lose it”.

Another name for this report would be: “Democracy – use it or lose it”

There is nothing automatic about these democratic processes, but the alternative is probably worse. As far as economic growth is concerned, there really is no evidence to believe that democracy is going to produce economic growth. But there's no evidence that there's a trade-off either. You don't have to sacrifice freedom for growth. At the same time, you don't have to justify authoritarianism on the basis of growth. You cannot say that poor countries are too poor for democracy. These are two projects you have to pursue in parallel. There are mutual compatibilities between democracy and growth. There is a lot of evidence that when you have higher incomes, democracy is more likely to endure and there is less of a threat of reversal.

Democracy also has many benefits for people in terms of protecting them against abuses of power. For instance the argument that Amartya Sen makes about when you have elections and a free press you cannot have governments that continue in power indefinitely. When you look at North Korea, you see what he means. They have lost 10 per cent of their population. I read a BBC report that quoted an MP from Malawi saying that if his government didn't handle the food crisis well, it would be difficult to persuade voters in the elections coming up in 2004 to vote them back in. So democracy has a lot of benefits but it's not an automatic relationship.

I've been looking at the difference between Malawi and Zimbabwe, in their reaction to famine. There is a lot of debate and controversy in Zimbabwe, which is increasingly authoritarian, over handling of food aid: who should control it, whether it should be civil society, government... donors are asking for more of a role for NGOs in the distribution of food. Malawi, which is more democratic, has been quicker to recognise that there was a food problem, and there's been less controversy about things like who controls food distribution, and they have taken more proactive steps.

Would you also see this crisis that is emerging in Southern Africa as linked to governance issues?

Yes, I think so. Democracy does help restrain the more extreme abuses of power. In Zimbabwe critics say that government action has exacerbated the food crisis, and it has not done enough. Obviously floods, droughts and other climatic conditions are at the root of the food crisis, but the way the government handles it makes a difference.

What would you see as the essential features of democracy?

There is no single formula, and democracy can vary from country to country. But there are essential common features. Democracy is a regime that gives assurances, that has built-in incentives to act in the interests of the people. Three factors are inherent in democracy: first, the contest for power and voting; second, the participation of people; and thirdly the right to hold decision-makers accountable. It's a system of checks and balances, so that those who are vested with power and authority can't be arbitrary in what they do. In the formal structures of democracy you have direct elections, representative govern-

ment, and that is the channel through which citizens are able to influence decisions – by accountability.

The problem is that these are very blunt instruments. That is why there is an opening up of greater participation through alternative lines. What also happens is that these formal structures of participation and accountability have become bureaucratized, institutionalised, and therefore subject to influence by power and economic elites, whereas the smaller civil society organisations are much more accessible for people. Women are conventionally kept out of these established structures, but they are able to participate more in the newer, civil society organisations.

Is democracy as we know it in the West pertinent to the needs of developing countries? This model was introduced in Africa at independence fifteen or twenty years ago. But, overall, it hasn't brought the expected results of participation, an organised opposition, accountability?

The urge that everyone feels to have a say – to speak their mind – starts in the family, and that's why women struggle against patriarchal family structures. The struggle for democracy is a natural, universal human urge. The basic principles of equality of people, right of free speech, are naturally and instinctively what people want. We have to be flexible as to what we mean by democracy. There are different systems of democracy, different phases of democratisation. So you can be differently democratic. Remember that democratisation is proceeding in China, or Vietnam, starting with local village government. In China they have introduced elections at the village level. Similarly in Vietnam they are trying all kinds of reforms to enlarge participation at the village level. So, different countries are trying to find different ways of democratising. It would be wrong to say that Africa is not ready for democracy, that it's some kind of cultural clash. We

need to think through the different processes, the adaptations that different countries should make.

Issues relating to governance are prominent in the development strategies of most international institutions. Do you think that making aid conditional on good governance is effective or necessary?

I think it is very ineffective and totally unnecessary. It would be naïve to say that extremely corrupt and authoritarian governments are likely to use aid efficiently. Donors have a legitimate concern that their money should be used effectively. If you don't have a minimum level of efficiency and a minimum level of controlling corruption, then obviously you are going to have to worry about how effectively the resources will be used. However, I think that there are larger issues, where the temptation to use governance conditionality for aid is going to undermine development. I think first of all that ownership is at the heart of development efforts. If your objective is to improve governance, you are not going to do that with a stick. It's a bad strategy.

“Democratic governance can trigger a virtuous cycle of development – as political freedom empowers people to press for policies that expand social and economic opportunities, and as open debates help communities shape their priorities”

UNDP Human Development Report 2002

What can you do where there is an authoritarian regime?

When you say “authoritarian regime”, are you talking about China, Uganda? Do you mean the choice of regime, choosing your government... whether they have multiparty elections? By that criterion both of these governments are authoritarian. But at the same time, both governments are doing something about trying to enlarge participation. Both have effective programmes for promoting social and economic programmes. Countries with governance structures that are able to do

that, even though they may not have multiparty elections for example, are certainly going to be helped in this process. Let's take the example of Congo under Mobutu, in a historical flashback. The people of Congo had neither the ability to choose their government nor had they a government with a serious programme in place for promoting economic and social progress. That's a very different situation. I think donors have to approach these two categories of countries very differently.

International institutions are often criticised as not sufficiently inclusive. Is this criticism justified and, if so, what needs to be done to increase participation?

Absolutely. Imbalances of power between powerless and powerful states – between rich and poor states – influence the way international institutions arrive at decisions. It's not right to say that developing countries are not represented at the World Trade Organisation (WTO), because each country has a vote. But that also shows you the real workings of these decision-making processes because, even though in the WTO it's one country one vote, decision-making is done by consensus.

So it is the quality and power of the voice, not the vote that determines decision-making. The voice is very much determined by whether you have enough people in your delegation. There are many meetings going on, and there are some African countries that don't have any delegation at all in Geneva. They don't have enough people, they don't have the money to have an office, whereas the US comes with delegations of dozens of people, with well-researched papers, with armies of lawyers and economists.

Given the realities of power, I think you have to make special efforts to give poorer, smaller countries a greater voice. That is also true of the World Bank and IMF: the five most influential countries, with about 10 per cent of the population of the world, have nearly half of the voting rights of the IMF and World Bank. And by the way, the IMF doesn't have a single woman on the board. It's also urgent for the world to



Ulta Abildrup/Peter Raitmann

An electoral system that guarantees free and fair elections as well as universal suffrage, is key to democratic governance

re-think participation at international level, and review the structure of these organisations that were created after the Second World War and have remained fixed for 50 years.

What is the likelihood of that happening?

I think international organisations are evolving, partly by the creation of new international organisations like the International Criminal Court (ICC). The pressures for reform are mounting. Also, civic engagement is taking off, and there is an increasing number of associations and NGOs. There are now 30,000 internationally-registered NGOs – and one-fifth of those were created in the nineties. They have growing influence and they are behind many development movements such as Jubilee 2000, which made a dent in the way debt relief is approached; the ICC was propelled by the work of NGOs; the international campaign to ban landmines was due in a large measure to NGO work – these are some examples. NGOs are using new tools and alliances, working with national governments.

Unlike the IMF and World Bank, which focus on economic indicators, for the UNDP social indicators are equally important. Are the concepts different, and has there been interchange between them?

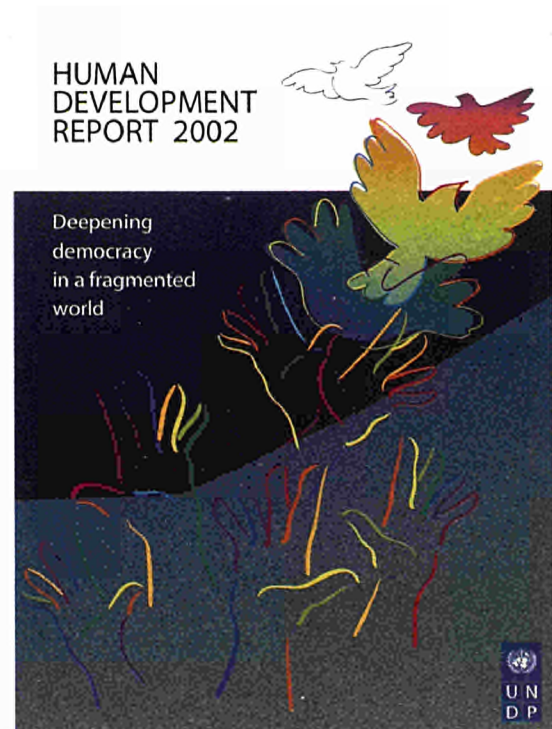
The idea that development is about improving people's lives, and the idea that people themselves move development, which is what human development is all about, has become more broadly accepted. As you say, the World Bank has more of an economic focus in development, but they have also done a lot of work on issues of voice and participation. So I think that the development debate and understanding about these processes is becoming much more multi-sectoral, multi-disciplinary. So there has been a beneficial interchange. On the other hand I think the World Bank has not focused so much on political issues. Their work on governance tends to

be much more dominated by having efficient institutions, whereas we are also concerned with institutions that are equitable, just, and that deliver fairness in society.

This is the first time the report focuses on governance and democracy, spelling out clearly what it means. Did you have any difficulty in getting the subject accepted?

No. One of the most interesting things was that democracy is an ideal that is really accepted everywhere. So, although UNDP is an intergovernmental organisation, no government protested. The 1990s was really a period of growing divisions in the world, and the divisions really have to do with the feeling people have that the world is dominated by the powerful, who are not just powerful because they are rich, but because they control institutions and decisions – and that's at both the national and international level. Political reform is going to be very important. Democratisation is in trouble, because people are becoming disillusioned with democratic institutions. What we need to do in today's world is innovate and nurture these new forms of political participation, through new organisations, new strategies, and new tools such as gender budgets and participative budgets. ■

1. Sakiko Fukuda-Parr has been director of the Human Development Report Office of the UNDP since 1995. She is an economist who has worked for over 20 years on development politics and operational programs, particularly focusing on Africa, agricultural development, poverty-oriented rural development, policy dialogue for aid coordination, aid management, capacity building and technical assistance effectiveness.



Human Development Report 2002 "Deepening democracy in a fragmented world"

Every year, since 1990, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) commissions the Human Development Report, which is written by an independent team of experts. The purpose of the Report is to assess the state of human development across the globe and provide a critical analysis of a specific theme each year. The reports make a valuable contribution to international debate on development issues.

Each edition contains a Human Development Index (HDI), which ranks countries based not just on a measure of economic trends, but on a composite of life expectancy at birth, adult literacy, combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment, and GDP per capita. In the 2002 report, Norway heads the index, followed by Sweden, Canada, Belgium, with the US in sixth place. Sierra Leone is bottom, preceded by Niger and Burundi. The lowest 27 countries are all in sub-Saharan Africa.

The 2002 Report also analyses which countries are on track to meet the targets for development and poverty eradication (Millennium Development Goals) by 2015. At the current rate, it says, only 55 countries, with 23 per cent of the world's population, are on track to achieve even three-quarters of the targets. And 33 countries are failing on more than half of the targets. The report warns that a lack of data makes monitoring difficult in poor countries.

The 2002 Report – the 13th in the series – also contains an analysis of how politics plays a role in development. It looks at political institutions and processes, and how politics shapes social and economic outcomes. It sees politics as the third pillar of the human development strategy – the other two being economic growth, and expanding social opportunities.

Chapter 1 gives overall trends in human development in the world, with a country-by-country assessment of trends towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals: 33 countries are behind (one quarter of the population of the world). Chapter 2 gives an overview of the conceptual framework, explaining why democracy is of primary importance for development, and the links between democracy, economic growth and social progress. Chapter 3 is on policies to deepen democracy by tackling democratic deficits. Chapter 4, entitled "Democratising security to prevent conflict and build peace", explains that establishing democratic control over security forces is a priority, as otherwise security forces can undermine personal security and peace. Chapter 5 deals with democracy at the global level. It calls for reforms to increase the role of developing countries in international institutions and make them more accountable and open to the people whose lives they affect. It urges the world to deepen democracy as the only way to guarantee political freedoms.

The 2002 Report sets out the arguments and will fuel discussion at an international level on the importance of politics in development. Democracy has proved to be the system of governance most capable of mediating in and preventing conflict and of securing and sustaining well-being. It is the only system that guarantees political and civil freedoms and the right to participate. By expanding people's choices about how and by whom they are governed, democracy brings principles of participation and accountability to the process of human development.

For further details see www.undp.org/hdro

Alexandra township, and, in the background, the Sandton Centre, which hosted the World Summit on Sustainable Development



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The World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg Turning the Summit's action plan into reality on the ground

The World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), held in Johannesburg from 26 August to 4 September, brought together representatives of more than 190 countries, more than 50,000 delegates and a huge number of NGO's and companies in the commercial satellite city of Sandton. They set a very specific agenda to relieve poverty by action in five key areas: water, energy, health, agriculture and biodiversity.

Debra Percival

While the ten days of marathon negotiations cannot be deemed a total success, given the urgency of the situation and the declarations made prior to the Summit, progress was made in Johannesburg on certain issues. Multilateralism continues, the concept of sustainable development is taking definite shape, the Kyoto Protocol looks set to come into force and the countries made firm commitments on issues such as the provision of water and sanitation, control over chemicals and the restoration of fish stocks.

"Deeds rather than words" or "better words and bigger deeds" – the European Commissioner for Development, Poul Nielson, was not alone in putting the emphasis on concrete achievements not promises. He and many others

recalled missed targets following the Rio Earth Summit 10 years earlier and the failure to come up with enough financing to carry out Rio's action plan, Agenda 21.

High expectation

"A global human society based on poverty for many and prosperity for a few, characterised by islands of wealth surrounded by a sea of poverty, is unsustainable," said South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki at the opening ceremony. The Secretary-General of the Summit, Nitin Desai, asked delegates to fight against this "international apartheid" with the same vigour they fought apartheid in South Africa. There was a sense of the world expecting Johannesburg to deliver.

The five key areas singled out for action at the WSSD were described by Jan Pronk, special advisor to the UN and instrumental in the summit's preparation, as "lifelines between people and our future, between people and possibilities." He said these were all "crucial areas enabling countries to combine protection of the environment and poverty eradication."

So, after ten days of intense negotiations what has been achieved? The Action Plan, a document supposed to set out measures for implementation of the commitments made in Rio, and the final Declaration, both drawn up as a conclusion to the Summit, could be accused of not going far enough. However, as Olivier Deleuze, Belgian Minister for Energy and Sustainable Development, stressed, "The most one could hope for from a meeting such as this is a minimum consensus between 190 countries, and these countries did manage to reach agreement." At any rate, Johannesburg has shown that the international community, despite internal differences, has managed to agree to work together to find joint solutions to global problems. In addition, according to the President of the European Commission Romano Prodi, "This relaunch of multilateralism has firmly placed sustainable development on the international agenda". No mean feat, considering the current international context and how each paragraph of the final document was literally thrashed out by the major groups at the Summit.

Water for Life

"When I return to my native village, what strikes me most is the lack of water," Nelson Mandela told those gathered as he opened the WaterDome, an immense structure hosting one of the most important side events of the Summit, devoted exclusively to water resources. The issue of water was also declared a priority by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

In Johannesburg, the Millennium goal of halving, by 2015, the number of people without access to safe, clean water and sanitation – currently over one billion – was agreed without any difficulties.

However, the European Union wanted to go further, adding to this the objective of also halving the number of people living without sanitation facilities (over 2.4 billion). The Danish Home Secretary, Carsten Stauer, also pointed out that "lack of sanitation causes the deaths of 2.2 million children per annum – mainly from diarrhoea". After intense debate, the EU managed to achieve agreement not to separate the provision of water from that of sanitation and to approve the dual objective of reducing the number of people who do not have either of these by 2015. The current President of the EU Council, Danish Premier Fogh Rasmussen, underlined that "reaching the sanitation target was the most effective way of improving health."

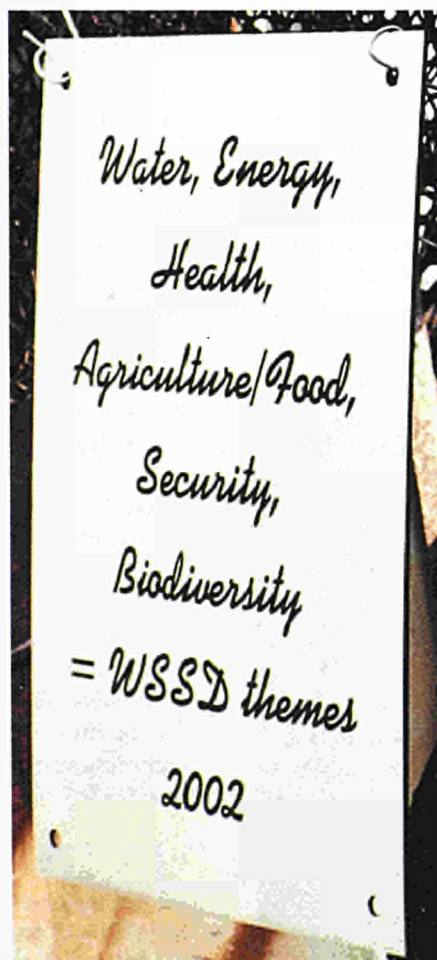
With a view to converting the Summit agreements into concrete undertakings, many partnerships between the public and private sectors were launched, such as the world-scale EU partnership initiative. The EU already finances projects in the water sector to the tune of €1.4 billion per year and intends to channel even more money into this by virtue of partnerships with the private sector. The initiative is aimed at all interested partners and all regions. It seeks to enhance the efficiency of existing finance mechanisms by improving coordination. An agreement between the EU and Africa was signed at the Summit, and a partnership with Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia is soon to be finalised. Furthermore, the countries of the Mediterranean and South America expressed a desire to participate in such an initiative in the near future.

Clashes over energy

As the Summit progressed, energy was at the centre of a number of clashes. The EU proposed that the proportion of renewable energy used should be raised to 15 per cent by 2015. Given the fact that many poor countries depend on wood as their principal energy source, the European proposal included as "renewables" wind, hydroelectric, solar and marine power and energy from biomass (wood, dung and agricultural waste).

During the discussions, the EU found itself facing a wall of opposition from the United States, Japan, China, Canada and G77 oil-producing countries. Despite the support of many non-member states such as Brazil and Norway, who also advocated the development of clean energy, the European proposal was not carried and the action plan confined itself to mentioning the agreement between the countries to undertake joint actions in terms of access to energy and increasing the proportion of renewables.

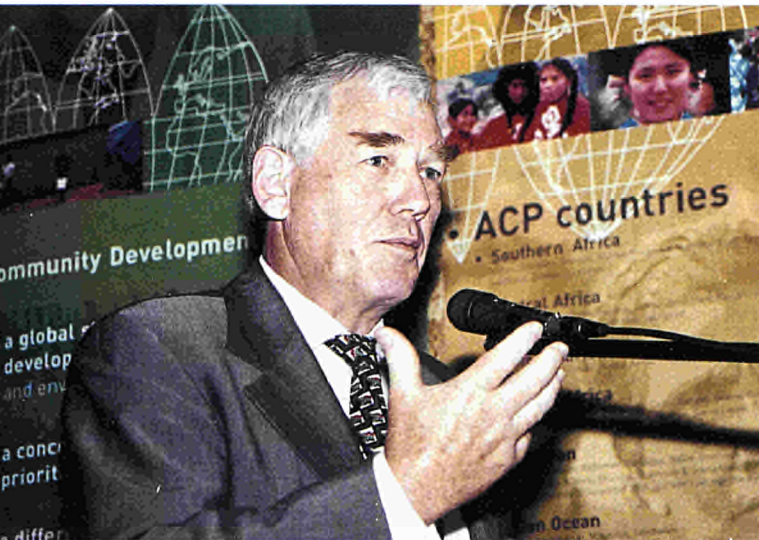
Having failed to procure quantified, timetabled commitments, the EU announced the formation of a "coalition of the willing" to work together to increase the use of renewables using targets and timetables. Margot Walstrom, European environment Commissioner, said "the initial response to our (new) initiative from those with whom we have already discussed it has been extremely positive. African, Latin American, Caribbean and other European Countries have all shown interest, and we will be talking to others in the coming days. I am extremely pleased to see that many are interested in forming a 'coalition of the willing'."



The Courier

A very specific agenda was set in Johannesburg to relieve poverty by action in five key areas: water, energy, health, agriculture and biodiversity

The Courier



"Deeds rather than words" or "better words and bigger deeds" – the European Commissioner for Development, Poul Nielson, was not alone in putting the emphasis on concrete achievements not promises

Although the provisions regarding energy in the concluding documents were somewhat lightweight, some definite progress was made. For example, no fewer than 32 national and regional public sector/private sector partnership initiatives were launched during the Summit, including that of the EU. Announced by the Danish Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen and Commissioner Nielson, the European initiative envisages setting up partnerships for access to energy with the inclusion of many private sector and civil society representatives. The European Union, which already provides €700 million in assistance per year to this sector, hopes to be able to provide even greater sums with the support of the private sector.

Double success: Kyoto and the public sector/private sector partnerships

In the wake of the launch of the European initiatives for water and energy, many voiced their fear that public sector/private sector partnerships might stray from their original course. In other words, there was concern that governments would scale down their involvement and that

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From left to right: Former South African President Nelson Mandela and his wife Graca Machel, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and South African President Thabo Mbeki at the Sandton Convention Centre

resources might be privatised. Speaking on behalf of the EU, Danish Environment Minister Hans Christian Schmidt stressed that the purpose of these European initiatives was to support government pledges, not replace them – a comment directed particularly at the United States. He added that a "robust and credible monitoring mechanism needs to be put in place" to ensure that these partnerships really achieve the results expected.

Undoubtedly one of the greatest coups of the Johannesburg Summit centred on the Kyoto Protocol. Despite appearing to have sunk without a trace during the talks, this issue nonetheless resurfaced. Not only did it clearly feature in the action plan, but the announcement of its ratification by China, Canada and Russia opened the way for its implementation as the minimum quorum has now been reached. It looks like combined pressure from the EU and NGOs will finally get the better of stubborn opposition from Washington.

Fishing and Biodiversity

Accords on less contentious issues were reached from day one. A fisheries agreement to "halt the decline in fish stocks and restore them to sustainable levels no later than 2015" was rapidly netted. Niti Desai said: "This agreement provides us with the crucial underpinning for government action. Overfishing cannot continue. The depletion of fisheries poses a major threat to the food supply of millions of people."

Commissioner Nielson said the EU was already taking measures to give this teeth. He acknowledged that traditional EU agreements – with funds to developing nations in exchange for fishing rights for EU boats – had not encouraged sustainable fishing practices. New pacts were "taking into account the social and developmental aspects" and monitoring would "become an obligation of the host country."

The Secretary-General of the Summit, Nitin Desai, asked delegates to fight against this "international apartheid" with the same vigour they fought apartheid in South Africa

Countries also gave commitments to halt the general loss of biodiversity by 2010 and to draw up 10-year frameworks on sustainable consumption and production. They further agreed to "minimise the harmful effects on human health and the environment from the production and use of chemicals no later than 2020."

The Doha – Monterrey – Johannesburg continuum

Right from the beginning of the Summit, many G77 countries called for a reduction in Western export subsidies and tariff barriers, mainly as regards agricultural products. Indeed, many consider such aid to be a form of protectionism in disguise. Developing countries also called for a substantial increase in Official Development Assistance (ODA). Both issues were the focus of discussions at the Doha (trade) and Monterrey (finance) Conferences.

Action Plan

Water and sanitation

Halve the number of people who do not have access to safe drinking water or sanitation facilities by 2015.

Renewable energy

Calls for a "substantial increase" in the proportion of renewable energy used.

Poverty

The creation of a new international fund to eradicate poverty is envisaged, with funding coming from voluntary contributions.

Biodiversity and fishing

Calls to drastically reduce the number of endangered species by 2010. Restore fish stocks by 2015.

Climate change

Reference to the Kyoto Protocol urging countries that have not yet ratified it to do so.

Trade, globalisation and the WTO

Calls for subsidies to be withdrawn from industries that are harmful to the environment. Statement of the opportunities and risks of globalisation. Reminder of the need for consistency between environmental policies and the WTO.

Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Calls to "make a concerted effort" to reach the target of 0.7 per cent of GDP.

Principle of precaution

Changed to "approach of precaution". Like environmental agreements, this approach is not subject to WTO rules.

Agricultural subsidies

Confirmation of the aim to reduce these in the long term in line with the Doha process

International governance

The UN Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) has been given the task of evaluating progress made with implementation of the action plan.

Women's rights

Assertion of the right to medical care that respects cultural and religious beliefs, in accordance with human rights and fundamental liberties.

Implementation

Confirmation of the definition of national development strategies for sustainable development for 2005.

Consumption

Future launch of action programmes to change methods of production and consumption.

Corporate responsibility

Referred to in the document, but in a general, non-restrictive manner.

In Johannesburg, the commitments made at Doha and Monterrey were reaffirmed, although European delegates stated that they did not want to re-open those negotiations. The European Union must deal with dissension between its Member States as regards these two issues. Nevertheless, the Commission's President Romano Prodi did recognise the importance of agriculture for developing countries. In his view, substantial reductions in domestic aid and export subsidies were needed. He stated that this was an integral part of the Doha agenda, negotiations which are set to run for another three years. Moreover, the Commission has already proposed a reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and the Common Fisheries Policy in favour of a reduction in aid, although some Member States are opposed to this. Commissioner Nielson recalled the "Everything but Arms" initiative launched in 2000, which grants the 49 least developed countries free access to the European market for all goods with the exception of arms.

As regards financial aid, the EU acknowledged that the target of 0.7 per cent of GDP was as yet a long way off, but did stress its position as the main donor, providing half of all world aid as opposed to the United States' 21 per cent, Japan's 19 per cent and Canada's three per cent. In addition, the EU agreed at Monterrey to reach 0.39 per cent GDP by 2006 (currently 0.33 per cent for the EU, 0.11 per cent for the US, 0.23 for Japan and 0.23 for Canada). This increase means that an extra €22 billion will be added to the budget by 2006, with the allocation of a further €9 billion per year to development assistance after that date. This funding will strengthen the initiatives launched for water and energy.

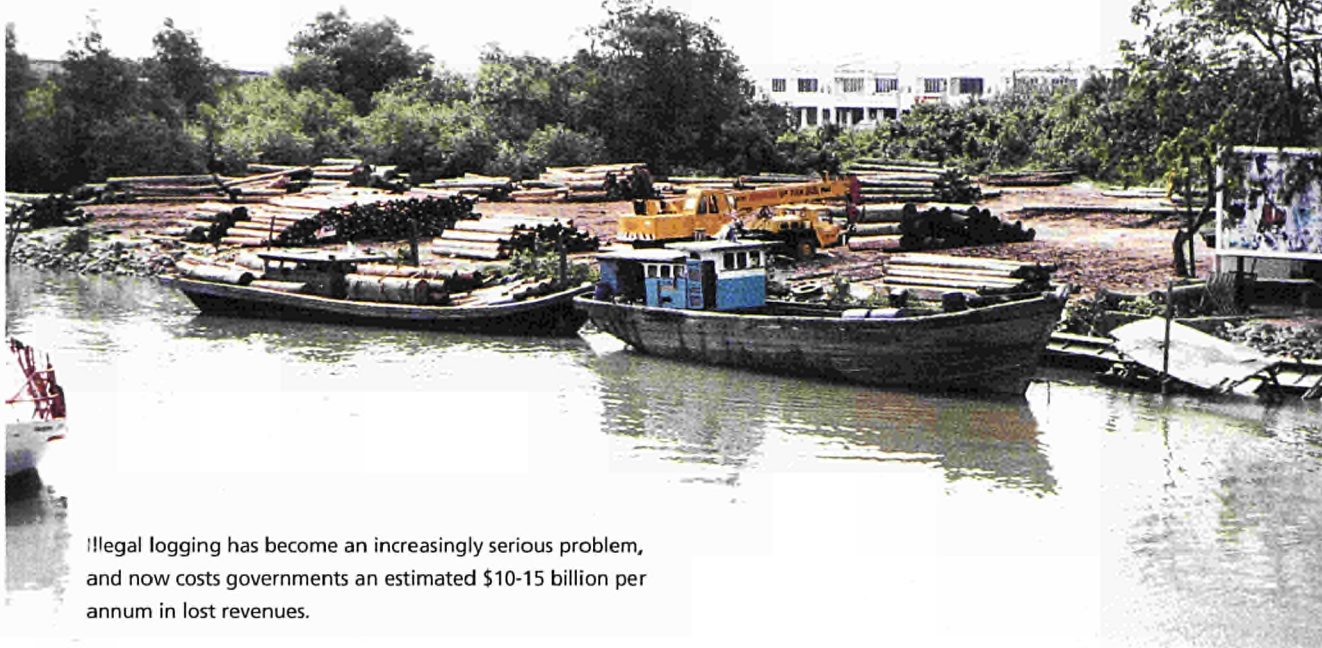
Unfulfilled expectations and moderate satisfaction

As the Summit drew to a close, disappointment was evident among many NGO delegates who lamented the lack of concrete, quantified, timetabled commitments. UN Special Envoy Jan Pronk admitted that "there is a huge gap between what the delegates have managed to achieve here and people's expectations of them". Nonetheless, he also stressed that civil society is making its voice increasingly heard at intergovernmental negotiations. Some NGOs also conceded that a UN Summit of this type, with the participation of 190 countries, does not lend itself well to really concrete action plans but rather serves to define general orientations.

For the UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, the 10-day Summit had not achieved all that had been hoped for it. "But Johannesburg is not the end of everything, it is a beginning." He added that the summit had also "agreed an impressive range of concrete action and that the targets must now be achieved."

Romano Prodi, the European Commission's President, reminded those present that the EU had come to Johannesburg to launch a North-South agreement which also encompasses the results of the Doha and Monterrey conferences. "Reaching agreement is important but without implementation it means nothing. The EU will take the lead in implementing the outcome of Johannesburg."

Johannesburg is merely the beginning; it is only through the implementation and consolidation of undertakings made here that its success can be measured in years to come. Even if a new world order is not yet a reality, its foreshadow is beginning to emerge. ■



Illegal logging has become an increasingly serious problem, and now costs governments an estimated \$10-15 billion per annum in lost revenues.

FLEGT: action to reach the roots of illegal logging

A raft of European Commission measures to clamp down on the illegal logging of forests is supported by importer and exporter countries, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and industry, who are joining forces to tackle one of the main causes of the rapid loss of the world's forests.

Debra Percival

The European Commission's proposal is in response to the "pressing need to attack illegal logging," European Union (EU) Development Commissioner, Poul Nielson, sounded the alarm in Johannesburg: "According to the 2001 FAO report on the state of the world's forests, around 16 million hectares of forest are destroyed every year; the equivalent to five times the size of Belgium," he told a panel of government representatives from Indonesia, the United States, Japan, the United Kingdom, NGOs, forestry bodies and industry who all voiced their support to the proposal.

The proposal was outlined at a side event "Forest law enforcement, governance and trade" hosted by the EU in the Summit's Ubuntu Village. Speakers told of how in recent years illegal logging has become an increasingly serious problem, and now costs governments an estimated \$10-15 billion per annum in lost revenues. "This could be used to reduce poverty and promote sustainable development," pointed out Commissioner Nielson. The accompanying "loss of ancient civilisations", was a concern for Japan's Senior Vice-Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forests, Takehiko Endo.

Multi-pronged programme

The EU wants to address the "wider socio-economic" causes of the trade.

The main features of the new Action Plan for "Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT)" are:

- support for identifying legal wood products with the creation of a legality standard and licence. Support will also be given for the monitoring of wood products to their destination market. Verification will be provided by an independent standards body;
- new EU-wide legislation to admit only products which are covered by a legal licence. "This will obviously need to be World Trade Organisation (WTO) compatible and fully discussed with producer countries," says Nielson;
- cooperation and data exchange between customs authorities;
- improved standards for the financing of wood-processing operations with due diligence by financing institutions;
- due diligence and transparency by Export Credit Agencies in provision of funds for wood-producing

operations including environmental and social impact assessments;

- assistance to be agreed with wood producing countries to help them upgrade legal structures and administration in the field, and training to enable officials to identify legal production;
- in the EU, promotion of only legally produced wood and wood products.

All stakeholders involved

The plan is based on input from all stakeholders: government experts, NGOs, local communities, forest-based industries and exporting and importing countries alike. China, Japan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Canada and Ghana, whose views were canvassed on the subject at a workshop held in Brussels in April 2002.*

Nielson said that together with the longer-term goals of "good governance and sustainable development in the area," the measures should amount to "something that is really effective." The finishing touches should be put to the proposal shortly with its adoption by the EU Council and Parliament expected before the end of this year.

Speaking at the Ubuntu Village event, UK environment minister Michael Meacher detailed his own government's bilateral plans to put a stop to illegal logging, initially with Indonesia, and then with the rest of the world. Applauding the EU approach, he said that the sum of royalties lost per year because of illegal trade was equivalent to the Monterrey [Financing for Development Conference] pledge of an additional \$11 billion per annum of public funds for developing nations. He hailed the show of support by all stakeholders against the illicit trade as "one of the most important achievements of the Johannesburg World Summit."

Corruption

Agus Purnomo of the WorldWide Fund for Nature (WWF), Indonesia, said greed was a motivation for illegal loggers and laid down the challenge to tackle the core of the trade. "Police have a habit of releasing illegal loggers," he told the seminar participants. Training of law enforcers was not enough. What is needed is "a higher political will to address law enforcers and corruption".

Boen Purnama, Director-General of Indonesia's Ministry of Forestry, agreed that the industry was "vulnerable to nepotism and corruption."

David Kaimovitz, Director General of the Centre for International Forestry Research (CIFOR), said widespread corruption discouraged company investment in sustainable forests. He drew attention to the "complex and multi-faceted nature of the problem", adding that "existing regulations are contradictory or discriminate against local communities". There should be "no further criminalisation of poor people who make a living out of forests", he said.

Estherine Lisinge of WWF Cameroon, said that over the past five months big companies which failed to enact sustainable forest management plans in her country had received fines. NGOs, she said, had a wealth of information about forests.

The private sector is also on board. Henson Moore, President of the American Forest and Paper Products Association (AFPA), said his industry body was resolute against illegal logging, as an international association of companies across 39 countries and six continents which represents 75 per cent of global trade in paper and paper products.

"All in industry are agreed illegal logging should be stopped. The problem is how," he said, endorsing the EU approach. But he cautioned that "illegal logs are only part of the problem". Trade in wood and wood products only amounts to one quarter of global production. "The remainder is consumed internally," he said. ■

*The workshop synthesis and papers can be viewed on the Commission's website:
http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/legit/intro/

Cameroon is in the forefront of progressive legislation governing forest exploitation, with its new forest law in force since 1994. If the law can be properly enforced, it will enable Cameroon's forests to be sustainably managed. The law recognises the right of village communities themselves to manage and exploit their communal forest.



How do you eradicate poverty without business?

Business Action for Development (BASD) was the voice of some 200 businesses at the Johannesburg summit. In this interview BASD's chairman, **Mark Moody Stewart**, outlines the new type of development partnership between all actors – business, governments and civil society – fostered by the summit. We first asked him to explain BASD.

It is an initiative, not an organisation – parented by the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) and the World Business Council (WBC) and many business organisations – specifically to connect business at Johannesburg. It acts as a sort of informal coordinating group. It is a one-stop shop so people can come and ask what does business think. This is a very difficult question to answer because business is a wide coalition, but we know what the bulk of our supporters think.

What has been your platform in Johannesburg?

We've been saying that responsible business is committed to sustainable development, but we realise that it cannot be done by us alone. Maybe we can handle the economic bit, but even then we need to work in partnership with others. The economic leg is fundamental. One of the distressing things if you look at the draft political declaration from the summit is that it doesn't mention the need for small business, middle-size business, big business or economic activity; all it mentions after going on about poverty eradication is that you need to control these (business) folk. You won't have anything to control unless you create an environment in which business can be encouraged. How do you eradicate poverty without business? It can't be done.

The issue of future development partnerships between governments, civil society and business seems to be the buzz from the summit. What is new about those proposals?

I believe you need partnerships in two areas. One is local and nationally – to help build the institutions of sound local and national government. Without that local and national governance, which can only be built collectively with business and other civil society, we won't deliver anything. The other kind of partnership is that which hammers out industry sectors, or addresses particular issues like the Global Mining Initiative, sustainable fisheries and forestry – bringing everyone together in a kind of global government structure: business, civil society, global organisations, whoever has an interest, to build common agreements on standards or performance issues in various sectors and which can be used in two ways. One is in relation to international business, which could use

them as a yardstick against which the performance of international business can be judged. The other is using the partnerships to inform and guide local and national legislation.

A statement from the NGO, the World Development Movement, reads: "Partnerships are being used to paper over the lack of government action and many are thinly disguised privatisation of essential services". What do you think of this assertion?

Those I'm talking about are not thinly disguised privatisation of anything. If what is meant is: "do partnerships let governments off their responsibilities in any way?", then I think that there have to be agreed objectives and targets. What's so exciting about Africa's NEPAD initiative, for example, is that its governments are taking that responsibility and saying 'we are responsible for the governance that takes place'. My concern with WDM's position is that they seem to say 'if we install, at international level, these regulations (on business conduct) it will solve the problem'.

Are you in favour of international codes of conduct for business?

I'm not against them. I believe that these multi-stakeholder processes, such as the Global Mining Initiative, are a good method of beginning to develop them. The standards of international companies, by any research, are shown to be higher than by domestic standards. So, they're aiming at the wrong target. I'm not saying it's a bad idea, it's just that they're aiming at the wrong place.

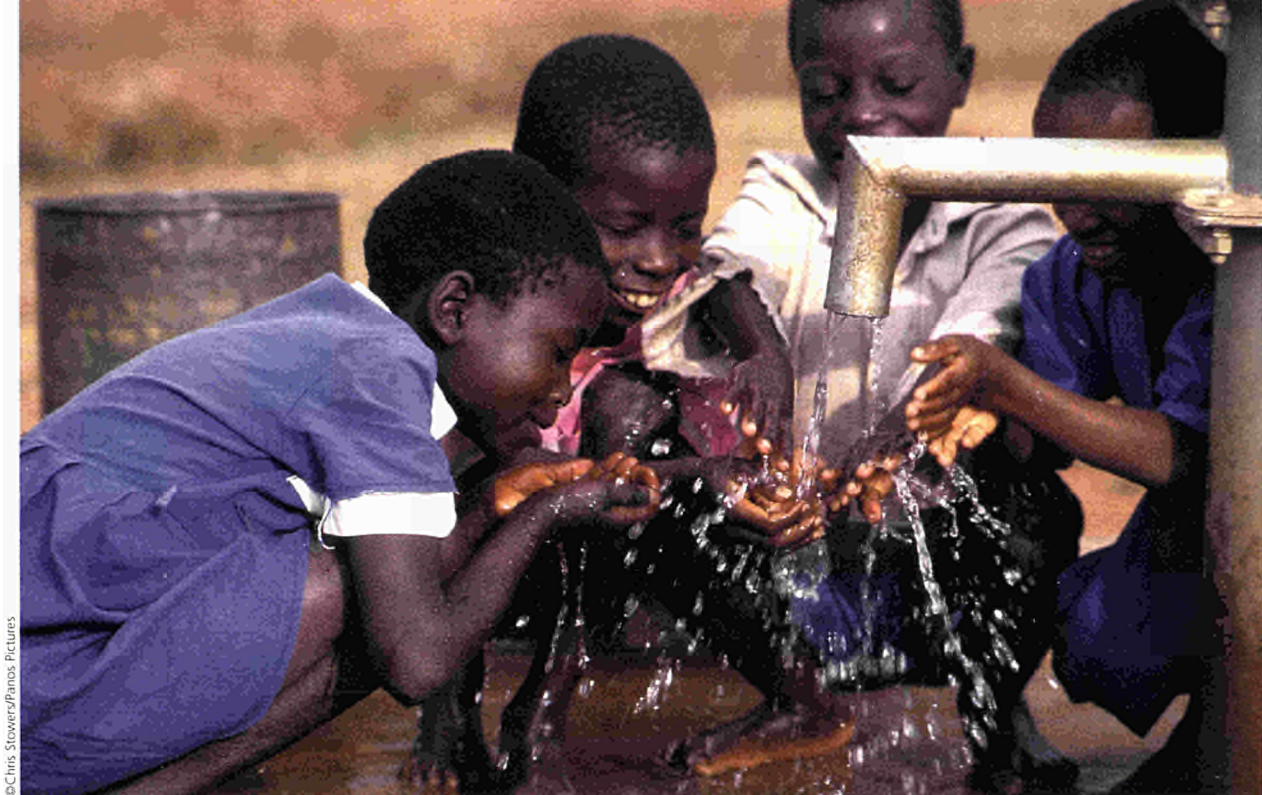
Dr Vandana Shiva, an NGO activist, has said the summit has been "hijacked" by business. Your response?

People are always saying it. If by this they mean that we're active and present and participating, and here and working, then I plead guilty. If they mean that we have more access and influence than other groups, it's demonstrable nonsense. In meetings, NGOs have outnumbered business by seven, eight, nine to one and I've been there when we've had four, five people and the NGOs have had eighty people. Is this a hijacking of the event by business? If it's because our arguments are more persuasive... well... ■

D.P.

Riccardo Navarro leads a Friends of the Earth protest in Johannesburg against the dominance of big multinational companies





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The struggle for water

Over one billion people, or 18 per cent of the world's population, lack access to safe drinking water and over 2.4 billion people are without basic sanitation. One of the most successful negotiations in Johannesburg concerned water and sanitation. The target of reducing by half by 2015 the number of people without access to clean water and basic sanitation was adopted in the final Plan of Action.

François Lefèbvre

New commitment on sanitation

More than 70 per cent of the earth's surface is covered by water. Yet, can we go on calling the Earth the "blue planet", given that access to clean drinking water is a major challenge for a large percentage of the world's population? The lack of water or poor quality water is the primary cause of death worldwide. Top priority at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, water was also the dominant theme of the largest side event of this UN conference. A gigantic dome to the north of the South African capital was given over exclusively to discussion of the problem of water resources, which proved to be the subject of some very guarded negotiations. Inaugurated by former South African President Nelson Mandela, the WaterDome was also host to the launch of the European Union initiative, "Water is Life". The initiative is based on a new type of partnership focusing on water and sanitation, initially between the EU and the African Union (AU), and between the EU and the countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia.

Opening the WaterDome, 84-year-old Nelson Mandela told his audience, "When I go back to my village (Qunu) and the region where I grew up, I am struck by the poverty of the people and the deterioration of the environment". The former spearhead of the anti-apartheid movement, who came to be known as Madiba Magic, went on to stress that "what strikes me most is the lack of safe drinking water". With the South African Minister for Water Affairs and

Forestry, Ronnie Kasrils, the Prince of Orange, Willem Alexander, and the African Water Ambassador, Salim Ahmed Salim at his side, Nelson Mandela said he was fully committed to the water cause.

Over 2500 representatives from governments, international organisations, NGOs, local communities and the press filled one of the largest indoor complexes in Africa to listen to the legendary Mandela. The WaterDome event was intended as an educational exhibition on the problems surrounding water and sanitation. Overlooked by two mezzanines, more than 70 stands shared the vast circular arena.

During the summit, press conferences, seminars and events tried to get across the urgency of the situation – that we are living on a planet in peril – and to propose solutions.

Parched earth

The figures and statistics have been mounting since Rio, but haven't been enough to make a difference. It is an implacable situation. "The worst problem facing the poor is being almost completely ignored," says Gourisankar Ghosh, Executive Secretary of the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council (WSSCC). "Seventeen per cent of the world's population (1.1 billion people) does not have access to safe drinking water, while 2.4 billion people do not have adequate sanitation." According to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), every year over two million people, mainly children, die from diarrhoea due to con-

Going with the flow

Set up in 1993, the Mvuramanzi Trust is a Zimbabwean NGO that helps families and children in rural and peripheral urban areas through the implementation of projects focusing on natural resource management. The association has devised an ingenious water-pumping system based on recycled materials. The principle is so simple that, visiting their stand at the WaterDome, one wonders why it hasn't been thought of before.

Rubber rings made from used tyres are held an adjustable distance apart by a rope. The rope forms a loop, which passes through a pipe whose diameter is slightly greater than that of the rings so that they can slide inside it. One end of the loop is immersed in underground water while the other is connected to a crank. Working the crank turns the rope which enters the pipe and comes back out again. The water is trapped in the section formed by the space between two rubber rings and thus comes easily to the surface. All the material needed is second-hand: recycled metal, rope, cans, rubber.

Away from the political discussions, Cleophas Musara, the project's director, can see the irony of the situation. "We came here to find partners and it has worked. Our idea is so simple and inexpensive that we have found financial support here. Overall, one might say the Summit didn't deliver sufficient results, but the other facet, which facilitates the search for potential partners, should be underlined. In that respect, and from our point of view, it has been a success."

taminated water, and five million deaths are caused by water-borne diseases – some 6000 lives lost per day.

Many regions in India and Africa are plagued by drought. In the US and China, reserves of drinking water are dwindling due to over-consumption. In Central Europe and Southern Asia torrential rains have ravaged the land, taking people with them. As the population tripled during the last century the demand for water worldwide grew by more than 600 per cent, and resources are being used up faster than they can be generated. The UN believes that at the current rate, two out of three people will be living in a water-stressed situation by 2025.

There is plenty of water available on earth, enough for everyone. But the water resources are unequally distributed and poorly managed. Sixty per cent of freshwater reserves are spread over just 10 countries, including Brazil, Russia and China. Some thirty countries, mainly located in Africa and the Middle East, fight a daily battle against water shortages. On average, Americans consume 700 litres of water per person per day, Europeans 200, Palestinians 70 and Haitians less than 20.

World crisis and potential conflicts

Climatic changes, pollution, imbalance between supply and demand, unequal distribution of reserves, population growth, urbanisation and sometimes excessive consumption... these are all factors in the world water crisis. The water crisis can be a threat to peace and security, sparking conflicts over control of water resources. The UN has identified 300 sources of such tension. The Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt are locked in a dispute over the Nile Basin, despite all being partners in a joint management project. The

Palestinians object to Israel using groundwater located in occupied territories. Turkey, Syria and Iraq all depend on the Tigris and Euphrates basins, a situation that gives rise to sporadic clashes. But the water crisis can also bring nations closer together. For example, the development of the Mekong has led to collaboration between political enemies in the Indochinese peninsula.

The Johannesburg Summit put water at the top of the agenda, raising awareness of the magnitude of the problem. In the Summit's Plan of Action the participating countries repeated and extended to sanitation their commitment to the Millennium Development Goal: to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water and without access to sanitation. While the wording of the agreements is relatively vague, the Summit set itself working targets, although without specifying how this would be funded.

According to UN experts, €180 billion is needed to provide 1.6 billion people with a safe water supply and ensure sanitation for 2.2 billion people by 2015. At current investment levels, it would not be possible to guarantee access to drinking water for everybody in Africa before 2050, in South America before 2040 and in the Caribbean and Asia before 2025.

Concrete measures on water and sanitation

While some progress has been achieved in the developed world since Rio, little progress has been made in developing countries. As an example, the number of people with a proper sewage system has only risen from 4.1 to 4.9 billion, according to UN figures.

Under the impetus of the EU, South Africa and the G77 (comprising 133 developing countries) the paragraph of the Johannesburg Plan of Action concerning water includes a more ambitious target on sanitation.

There is, however, widespread awareness of the gravity of the situation and the need for concrete action, in particular in the form of partnerships between the public and private sectors.

The most ambitious initiative was launched by the EU on the eve of the Summit's closing ceremony. The EU has signed a partnership agreement with its African partners, which consolidates their political commitment to ensuring clean water and sanitation.

The European "Water is Life" initiative aims to contribute to reaching the Millennium Development Goals, in particular through the creation of platforms to improve coordination, communication, the sharing of experience and know-how and the linking of aid programmes in the water sector. Through enhanced coordination, the partners hope to increase the transparency of their actions and amplify the impact of projects undertaken in the field.

Joint action plans are to be set up based on partnerships to improve the management of resources. The EU intends to invest in regional river basin management organisations and strengthen the legal framework of these organisations. Sharing a river forces the bordering countries to cooperate with one another. Where it already exists, such increasingly essential collaboration can be optimised (the Senegal, Niger and Nile rivers), or created to promote dialogue between countries and regional stability.

The EU already allocates €1.4 billion per year to water programmes benefiting countries in the South and a substantial share of the increase in European aid agreed at

Monterrey¹ could be used for the initiative, in response to the priorities of the partner countries. "The enhanced value of this initiative vis-à-vis previous actions can be summed up in five key points," said André Liebaert, one of the partnership's advocates in the European Commission. "First of all, this partnership is a strong political response to the difficulties faced. Secondly, coordination increases the cost-effectiveness of the actions implemented, thus making more funds available. Thirdly, the initiative is based on responses to requests from beneficiary countries, essentially with the aim of letting them take over the projects themselves. Fourthly, the process is evolutionary, flexible and open. It currently involves the EU and Africa, and the EU and the countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. But any other potential partners who are interested in making a similar commitment are welcome on board. Finally, the initiative promotes partnership between civil society, the public authorities and the private sector. The inclusion of the private sector should also mean additional sources of funding are made available, thus expanding the overall sums invested in water."

The public and private sectors

Partnerships between the public and private sectors are undoubtedly the Summit's greatest innovation. For the EU, they will not replace government assistance, but rather complement it. However, many NGOs fear that calling on the private sector will allow governments to distance themselves and shrug off responsibility in the case of failure to

achieve the targets set, placing the blame on private partners. In addition, a section of civil society is afraid that the involvement of companies in development programmes will lead to an acceleration of privatisation and to the misappropriation of aid funds in the ongoing quest for profit.

Supporters of the European initiative emphasise that their aim is to improve the allocation of resources and skills to benefit those most in need. "The privatisation of water is not in any way a part of the European Initiative and is certainly not supported by the EU," André Liebaert confirmed. "We need to be creative in finding solutions that will guarantee access to safe drinking water for countries that cannot achieve this on their own. Furthermore, the wording of the initiative stipulates that the partners undertake to implement a price policy appropriate to the requirements of those most in need."

Partnerships with the African Union and the countries of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia are already up and running. Mediterranean and Latin American countries have expressed a desire to join the initiative. While theory has yet to be put into practice, the action plans that result should define the concrete projects undertaken in the field. There should be no delay in sorting out the operational details: the water issue will persist long after the last delegate has left Johannesburg. The third World Water Forum is to be held in Kyoto in March 2003. Hopefully by then there will be more to work on. ■

1. The EU committed to increase average ODA (official development assistance) from 0.33% to 0.39% of GDP by 2006.

Heated talk on energy

Second only to water in the order of priorities at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), energy was the focus of much wrangling and one of the main stumbling blocks in the negotiations. Considered an essential factor of sustainable development, the supply of energy was the subject of diverging points of view in a battle which saw renewable energy a major discussion point.

However, thanks to the EU initiative "Energy for Poverty Eradication and Sustainable Development", and various others launched during the Conference, the number of people who have to live without energy services should gradually fall over the coming years. In addition, the announcement in Johannesburg that Russia, China and Canada would soon ratify the Kyoto Protocol means that the way is open for the Protocol to come into force – undoubtedly one of the Summit's greatest coups.

According to the International Energy Agency (IEA), one quarter (1.6 billion) of the world's population does not have access to electricity and the 75 million new connections to the network every year cannot keep up with population growth. However, those who are worst off remain preoccupied by two tasks: finding enough to eat and the energy necessary for their heating and cooking.



The Courier

“If current trends continue, the number of people without electricity will be just as high in 30 years’ time,” said the IEA’s Executive Director Robert Priddle. Moreover, 2.4 billion people use biomass (wood, agricultural waste and dung) to produce the heat they need to prepare food. “This number is set to rise, reaching 2.6 billion by 2030. By then, biomass will still provide over half the energy consumed by households,” stated the IEA’s report on world energy.

Energy and equal opportunities

The IEA says that the lack of electricity and the high dependence on biomass are characteristic of poverty, and accentuate and prolong insecurity. Without energy there can be no industrial activity and consequently poor prospects for employment. Schools, hospitals, clinics, administrations, the media, etc. all have a vital need for electricity to be able to operate and serve the community. Women are most affected by the lack of energy.

The majority of the poor spend up to one third of their income on procuring energy, principally for the purpose of food preparation. Women spend most of their day searching for and carrying home wood and water. According to the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), women in India spend from two to seven hours a day on such tasks. In sub-Saharan Africa, many mothers and young girls carry on average more than 20 kilos of wood over five kilometres per day. This time could be better spent on children’s education, women’s education, looking for work, etc. Furthermore, the World Health Organisation (WHO) estimates that 2.5 million women and children in developing countries die prematurely from inhaling toxic fumes from the biomass fires they burn indoors to cook their food. In short, energy scarcity also contributes to the problem of unequal opportunities.

Active resistance

Halving poverty levels by 2015 cannot be achieved without energy. That energy is essential for expanding industrial and agricultural production, improving living conditions, education, etc, was not disputed at the Summit. Nevertheless, the contribution made by clean energy to the environment and sustainable development was a source of conflict and indeed threatened to sink the conference. According to advocates of renewables, such sources of energy are ideally compatible with sustainability as they would make it possible to supply 2.5 billion people with electricity while avoiding the problems of pollution generated by fossil fuels and nuclear power.

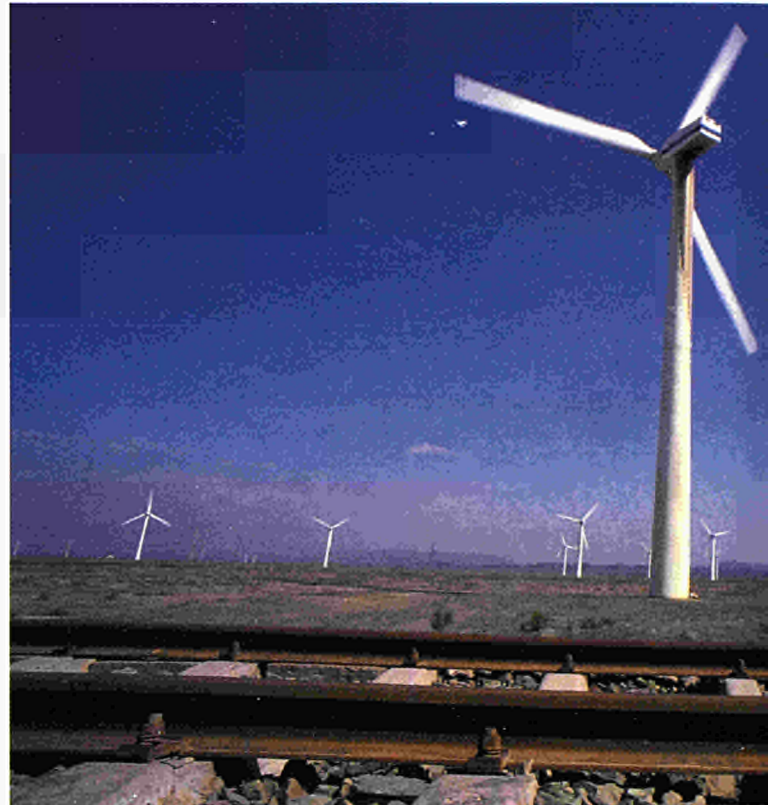
With the support of the oil-producing members of the G77, the US categorically refused any quantified objective or any timetable for development of renewable energies, on the grounds that they create only an illusion of concrete action while holding countries accountable for unrealistic goals.

Greenpeace estimates that the overall budget required for the electrification of households that do not have an energy supply is close to €9 billion per year over 10 years. “A trivial sum if you compare it with the 250 million spent each year on subsidising the oil industries and

nuclear power stations,” one European negotiator pointed out. Finally, a compromise agreement was reached and the final declaration confined itself to stating that countries would act “with a sense of urgency” to increase the global share of renewable energy sources, but no specific timetable would be set.

So, at least renewables did get a mention, but no specific timetable.

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According to the Summit’s final declaration, countries would act “with a sense of urgency” to increase the market share of renewable energy sources, but no specific timetable was set

High hopes and dashed hopes

The discussions on renewables continued with the announcement of unilateral and regional initiatives. For example, Brazil undertook to develop renewables to ten per cent by 2010. As the Brazilian Environment Minister explained, “This is an important undertaking which will allow us to give concrete expression to the Kyoto Protocol.” Norway, Argentina, Mexico and the Philippines followed suit, themselves announcing detailed plans to expand clean energies by 2010-2015.

The EU called for an international pledge to attain 15 per cent renewable energy by 2015, an impossible task in the eyes of Robert Priddle. The European proposal also provoked anger from the US and their G77 allies at the conference, as well as opposition from some NGOs. What annoyed the NGOs was the fact that the 15 per cent advocated by the EU included hydroelectricity (dams) and biomass, while other renewable

energies (solar and wind-powered) ultimately only accounted for two per cent. Commissioner Nielson explained that developing countries were highly dependent on biomass and that this had to be taken into account in the targets although the EU does finance a number of solar energy programmes in ACP countries. The Commissioner's spokesman Michael Curtis stressed that Europe had set a target for its own members of raising clean energy levels from the current six per cent to 12 per cent by 2010. "The EU is trying to reconcile ambition with reality," he said.

As for the US, they would not budge an inch, stating that they would prefer to invest in technology capable of limiting the pollution caused by fossil fuels which they still see as being the dominant source of energy for decades to come.

Double success: Kyoto and the Type II initiatives

While the Kyoto Protocol is referred to in the final declaration, which limits itself to urging the countries that are dragging their heels (in particular the US) to ratify it as soon as possible, one of the most sig-

nificant successes in Johannesburg was the promise of ratification made by Russia and Canada. This followed combined pressure from the EU, NGOs and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD), which can count on the support of its 160 member multinationals including BP, Shell, Ford and Dow Chemicals, and means that the Protocol is now likely to take effect, despite fierce opposition from Washington.

Another breakthrough at the conference was the unveiling of 32 Type II initiatives for energy, including the EU initiative. Launched by the Danish Prime Minister Fogh Rasmussen and Commissioner Nielson, the European initiative envisages setting up partnerships for access to energy with developing countries, with the inclusion of many private sector and civil society representatives. Through these partnerships, the EU and donors want to work with beneficiary countries to identify energy needs and provide the appropriate economic, social and institutional solutions to meet these needs. Through enhanced collaboration between donors, civil society and developing countries, the EU hopes to improve access to energy, in particular for those most in need, while taking account of their individual requirements and circumstances. These partner-

ships will also ensure that current and future projects for energy are better coordinated and provide an injection of financial, technological and human resources from the private sector and civil society. Ownership of the initiative activities by the beneficiary countries will be key to their success.

Specifically, these partnerships will develop national, regional and sub-regional projects and programmes in rural, suburban and urban areas focused on electrification, the establishment of decentralised power networks, the development of clean energies (for example, solar and wind-powered) and the improved efficiency of the more traditional forms of energy such as biomass and oil. Actions undertaken will also involve the definition of energy policies, the strengthening of management capacities in the beneficiary states, technical cooperation, commercial development and cooperation with financial institutions.

The Commission and Member States together have historically provided around €700 million per year to energy actions. This sum should increase in line with the expansion in European aid (from 0.33 per cent to 0.39 per cent in 2006) agreed at the Monterrey Conference in March this year. In addition, new sources of funding should come from the private sector and international financial institutions in the form of investments, risk capital and loans.

As in the case of water, several NGOs expressed their fears regarding private sector investment in development aid. They are afraid that it will result in a wave of privatisation and that governments will scale down their involvement. When asked to explain the added attraction of such partnerships between private and public sectors, Commissioner Nielson stated that this new form of cooperation with the South "would accelerate what is already being done but with better organisation". The Danish Environment Minister Hans Christian Schmidt stressed that these partnerships should "support" government pledges, not replace them. "They must not be used as an excuse by governments to avoid political commitment," he added, a comment directed particularly at the US which sees this kind of partnership as the only way of helping developing countries out of the rut. He also said that a "robust and credible monitoring mechanism" needs to be put in place so that governments can be sure that these partnerships are really achieving the results claimed. "It is the only way to guarantee transparency," he concluded.

During the summit, 17 developing countries and two regional organisations expressed their desire to become a partner of the European initiative, as did several civil society and private sector organisations.

The initiative remains open. Although it is essentially focused on ACP countries, it aims to include as many countries and regions as possible. As regards the public sector-private sector partnership, it is clear that the involvement of the private sector in the management of resources is inevitable, and development policies have to take this into account. The most important thing is to work out how this collaboration can be achieved. Here again, the major groups should make their mark. The EU now has another opportunity to demonstrate its comparative advantages. ■

EL.



ACP-EU Council of Ministers Preparing for the next set of deadlines

The ACP-EU Council of Ministers, a joint discussion and decision-making body within the framework of the ACP-EU partnership, met on 28 June 2002 in Punta Cana (Dominican Republic) for its 27th session.

During the meeting, several major topics on the agenda were examined and approved by the ministers. A number of equally important issues relating, for example, to civil society and political dialogue were also addressed with reservations and referred for reexamination at a later date.

Kenneth Karl

The Joint Council opened under the presidency of Josep Piqué, Spanish Foreign Minister, and Pravind Kumar Jugnauth, Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Mauritius.

The opening speeches were notable for the warm welcome extended to the small delegation from East Timor – a newly independent state that has just submitted an application for membership of the ACP Group – and for the Council's decision to accord East Timor observer status at all joint ACP-EU meetings. Explained José Luis Guterres, Timorese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, "Geographically speaking, East Timor belongs to South-East Asia and to the Pacific, and must now address the many challenges it faces. Serious efforts aimed at reconciliation, building a peaceful society, re-integrating former combatants, involving women in political life, etc have been undertaken. East Timor's involvement in this partnership is important because we share the same principles. Participation will also enable our country to more easily become part of the globalisation process".

The conditions for East Timor's membership of the partnership with the EU will be examined by the Joint Council during its preliminary studies to assess the various consequences of the application.

Concern over ratification of Cotonou

During this 27th session, around a dozen topics were addressed, beginning with the urgent problem of ratification of the Cotonou Agreement, which is essential to release the financial resources of the ninth EDF (European Development Fund). Whereas the required number of ACP countries has now ratified the agreement, only eight member states of the European Union had, at the time of the meeting, filed their instruments of ratification at the ACP Group secretariat. Both co-presidents expressed their disappointment at the current rate of progress with this formality, and Poul Nielson, European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, set the end of October 2002 as the cut-off date for ratification.

The meeting's work continued with an examination of a number of topics, some of which will be the focus of attention in the coming months.

EPA – negotiating strategies made clear

Just a few days before this Council meeting took place, the major guidelines for the strategy the ACP countries are to follow in their forthcoming trade negotiations with the European Union were approved in Brussels by the ACP Group. The European Commission's position on these negotiations had been announced slightly before that. Consequently, the ministers proceeded to examine the situation as it appeared three months prior to the official start of negotiations on 27 September, which are to result in the establishment of economic partnership agreements (EPAs) with the ACP regions.

On the ACP side, great emphasis was placed on the need to conduct and to complete, as soon as possible, studies on the impact of such agreements on regional and national economies, and the necessity also for studies on compatibility with WTO (World Trade Organisation) rules. The objective of such studies would be to have a more precise idea of the real effects of the EPAs and of the various possible scenarios. Although several seminars have already been organised in the various ACP regions, delays in the preparation of these studies have given rise to concern on the part of ACP ministers. As regards purely strategic aspects, the ACP countries expressed their desire to negotiate with the EU in two distinct



Dominican Republic President Hipolito Mejias (left) next to Poul Nielson (centre), EU Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, and Miguel Amado (right) in Punta Cana, Dominican Republic, 28 June 2002, during the ACP-EU meeting

Photo: ©BEUGA

stages: a first stage that will involve all the ACP countries and the EU, and during which the global objectives and the principles of the EPAs will be defined, together with all matters of common interest to the ACP countries. Understandably, the intention behind this first phase is to maintain maximum cohesion and solidarity within the ACP group and to devise a clear map for subsequent discussions. The second phase should begin in 2003 and will focus more on issues specific to the ACP countries and regions, covering, in particular, tariff negotiations and sectoral undertakings to be made at national or regional level.

On the European side, Mr Piqué expressed the pleasure of all the 15 Member States that an agreement on the terms of their negotiating mandate had been reached. According to the Spanish minister, the EPAs were to serve development whilst still being WTO-compliant, but they will also have to be geared towards the promotion and consolidation of regional integration policies. He added that market access conditions would have to be improved and obstacles to trade and exchanges eliminated. European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid Poul Nielson gave a brief review of the flanking measures taken by the Commission. A budget of approximately €20 million had been earmarked for the ACP countries in order to strengthen their negotiating capacities, in addition to the funds they are set to receive in this connection under the ninth EDF. A Joint Ministerial Committee will be held on 23 or 24 September in order to give more clarification on the situation just prior to the start of the official negotiations.

Civil society and political dialogue deferred

Much careful preparation prior to the meeting went into the definition of the conditions for the integration of civil society into the ACP-EU partnership and the improvement of political dialogue, but these were not adopted by the ministers because of a lack of consensus.



Although the involvement of civil society is one of the major innovations of the Cotonou Agreement, this postponement is a clear illustration of the differences in approach and the difficulties which could arise during the actual implementation of this idea. Reluctance was expressed especially on the ACP side. While they didn't call into question the principle of civil society actors' participation in Cotonou, a number of ACP ministers expressed the desire that the document's proposals, aimed at establishing eligibility criteria for non-state actors and access to EDF resources, should be further analysed and clarified. European ministers were more favourable to the document, urging the ACP side to reach an agreement on the text as quickly as possible. The Belgian representative stressed the need to set up a genuine policy of dialogue between governments, civil society and cooperation actors.

As regards the draft guidelines, proposed to facilitate the political dialogue foreseen in the context of Article 8 of the Cotonou Agreement – this would also have to be examined in greater depth. Some ministers expressed the opinion that this issue cannot be dealt with precipitately, because of its sensitive nature. The usefulness of a frank, open and structured political dialogue was nonetheless acknowledged by the Council. This was a disappointment for several delegates, who said they would have liked both these texts to have been adopted during the meeting. But these two issues, of major importance for improving cooperation, will undoubtedly have a favourable outcome in the coming months.

ACP concern regarding EU institutional reforms

It was during the debate on matters connected with development financing under point 8 of the agenda that the ACP side expressed its concern in the wake of changes which have come about at European institutional level. Of great concern was the decision to abolish the Development Council, which enabled EU ministers to concentrate on specific development issues. This means that, from now on, development matters will be dealt with in the General Affairs Council. The ACP Group interpreted this as a gradual diminution of EU interest in them. Subordinating development cooperation to EU foreign policy would, in the view of the ACP countries, have negative repercussions on the efficiency of aid.

Furthermore, the reduction in the number of Commission Delegations in ACP countries is in sharp contrast to the principal of decentralising tasks which was announced in the reform of European aid. The ACP countries believe that this will have a negative impact on the smooth implementation of cooperation. The European co-president reminded delegates that these reforms were undertaken in the context of enlargement, and would in no way be detrimental to EU efforts in development aid. The EU is the world's biggest contributor to development aid and intends to remain so. The EU's commitments to the ACP countries would be respected all the more now that development policy is enshrined in the EU treaty as a community policy. Poul Nielson explained that "the decision to reduce the number of delegations is a Parliament requirement that it is difficult to avoid".

Other matters

Ministers took stock of the future enlargement of the Union and its possible consequences for cooperation with the ACP countries. In the face of concern that these new countries might be in competition with the ACP countries, the EU offered reassurance, pointing out that enlargement from 15 to 21 Member States would initially represent a market of 500 million consumers for ACP products, as well as the setting-up of a unique set of rules to the advantage of third countries. Even if enlargement caused some drawbacks for the ACP countries, these would largely be counterbalanced by the advantages gained.

On the situation in specific countries, the EU maintained its firm stance on Zimbabwe, saying that there had been no notable progress in the situation in that country. On the other hand, a certain easing of relations with Sudan had been observed. Having noted recent developments in that country, the EU said it intended to pursue its dialogue in order to improve the situation.

On the subject of the new International Criminal Court (ICC), both the ACP and the EU declared that they were in favour of the setting-up of this institution. Ratification from the ACP countries had enabled the ICC to be instigated, and the EU called upon other states in the Group to subscribe to the idea also.

The Council also addressed issues relating to sugar, bananas, preparation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development and the establishment of an administrative board for the CDE (Centre for the Development of Enterprise). ■

Decisions and Resolutions 75th ACP Council of Ministers Punta Cana, Dominican Republic 26-27 June 2002 Summary

DECISIONS

1. Preparations for and launching of the negotiations of Economic Partnership Agreements;
2. ACP vision for sustainable development;
3. Framework and principles for intra-ACP political dialogue; proposed guidelines for ACP-EU political dialogue (article 8); eligibility criteria for non-state actors;
4. Granting observer status to the Democratic Republic of East Timor;
5. Spanish as a working language.

RESOLUTIONS

1. Sugar;
2. Bananas;
3. Rice;
4. Normalization of relations between Sudan and the European Union, resumption of development cooperation and the release of Stabex entitlements to the Sudan;
5. Accession by Cuba to the ACP-EC Partnership Agreement.

The ACP-EU Council of Ministers explained

Prerogatives and functioning

The ACP-EU Council of Ministers is, together with the Joint Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of the Ambassadors, a joint institution of the ACP-EU Partnership Agreement. Its composition provides balanced representation of the executive bodies of each party, comprising, on the one hand, members of the Council of the European Union and members of the Commission and, on the other hand, one member from the government of each ACP country. In principle, the Council meets once a year, but, if necessary, it can convene in a form and with a composition that can vary depending on the specific nature of the issue to be addressed.

What specific role does this body play within the ACP-EU partnership?

The Council of Ministers conducts the political dialogue and adopts policy guidelines by taking decisions that are essential for proper implementation of the provisions of the Cotonou Partnership Agreement.

The Joint Council of Ministers also examines and settles any Cotonou matter likely to impede the effective and efficient implementation of the Agreement or to constitute an obstacle to the achievement of its objectives. It is also responsible for ensuring the smooth functioning of the other consultation mechanisms provided for in the Agreement.

Decisions of the Council of Ministers are taken by mutual agreement, but, in order to be valid, they have to be adopted in the presence of at least half of the members of the EU Council, one member of the Commission and two thirds of the ACP government representatives. The Council may delegate powers, particularly to the Committee of the Ambassadors.

Through an ongoing dialogue, the Council maintains contacts with representatives of economic and social sectors and ACP-EU civil society actors, often during side meetings which take place when the Council is in session.

Finally, within the framework of the Compendium on Cooperation Strategies, the ACP-EU Council of Ministers has the power, for greater flexibility, to amend sectoral policy guidelines.

The functions of the Council of Ministers are defined in Article 15 of the Cotonou Agreement.

“ACP solidarity in a globalised world”

The Third ACP Leaders' Summit

The 3rd Summit of Heads of State and Government of the ACP countries met in Fiji on 16-19 July. During the Summit the ACP Group consolidated their position with regard to the negotiations with the EU on Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which open on 27 September. The Summit concluded with the adoption of the Nadi Declaration, a political statement that maps out the direction to be followed over the next two years by the ACP group. Developed to meet the challenges of globalisation and strengthen solidarity, the Declaration does not lose sight of its priority objective – to eradicate poverty.

Debbie Singh

The little town of Nadi, about 200 kms away from Fiji's capital Suva, hosted more than 600 delegates. From 16-19 July, it teemed with police officers and security as delegates and delegations packed the usually quiet tourist town, with its single main street.

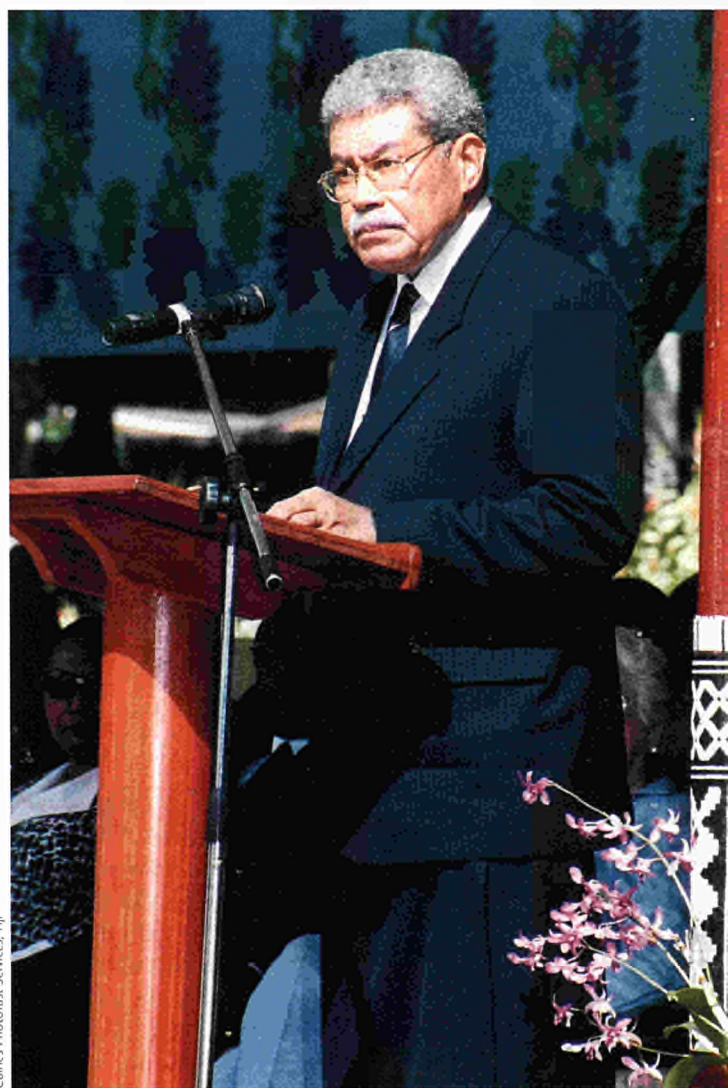
The Fijian spirit was alive and well as welcome ceremonies steeped in ancient tradition were staged for leaders and dignitaries with the traditional Pacific drink, Kava. ACP Secretary-General Jean-Robert Goulongana, Vice-President of the Dominican Republic Milagros Ortiz Bosch, EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy, along with Fiji's President Ratu Josefa Iloilo and Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase each took part of the drink, served from a communal coconut shell.

Fiji's President Ratu Josefa Iloilo in his opening speech spoke of pride, cultural diversity and division: “(Cultural diversity) has greatly enriched our society and all our communities have contributed to our nation's progress. At the same time we are trying to weld together a united country. This is a huge challenge.”

ACP Group at a crossroads

Festivities over, delegates went on to discuss the business of the Summit. ACP Secretary-General Jean-Robert Goulongana pointed out the changes in the Group since the previous Summit. “Since November 1999 when the 2nd Summit was held in Santo Domingo, our Group has become enlarged with the accession of seven new members, namely, Cook Islands, Marshall Islands, Federation of the States of Micronesia, Nauru, Niue, Palau and Cuba,” he said, adding that observer status had also been granted recently to East Timor, and its request for admission to the Group is under consideration. “These accessions testify to the attraction and interest our Group continues to rouse owing to its many achievements”. But, he added, “the Group finds itself at a crossroads, because of the serious challenges that have been imposed on it, among other things, by globalisation.”

Several delegates pointed out the significance of the timing of the Summit. It was taking place just as “the arrangements envisaged in the Cotonou Agreement start to take shape”, said Glenys Kinnock, co-President of the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly. She described the task facing the ACP-EU partnership as a formidable one; “40 out of the 78 ACP countries are LDCs, ..., and several others are particularly vulnerable as small island and landlocked states.



Fijian Prime Minister and Summit Chairperson, Laisenia Qarase delivers the opening statement

Agreeing a course of action

The purpose of the Summit was to consolidate a position for ACP countries for the next five years of trade negotiations with the EU. Also prominent on the agenda were poverty alleviation, globalisation, sustainable development and the trans-shipment of nuclear waste through Pacific waters – which was severely criticised.



Caines Photofast Services, Fiji

EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy at the opening ceremony

As for the Economic Partnership Agreements, Jean-Robert Gouloungana told delegates that the trade negotiations with the EU needed to reflect development objectives, as well as the need for the ACP countries to achieve a smooth and gradual integration into the world economy.

EU Trade Commissioner Lamy said many developing countries felt they had not gained from previous multilateral trade negotiations. In his view, this feeling had been key to the failure of the WTO meeting in Seattle. "But I am convinced that Seattle was a constructive failure. It marked a significant turning point in the history of the multilateral trading system." With Doha came a new spirit, Commissioner Lamy said, which could never have been achieved without the ACP-EU solidarity of action which was manifested there. The EPAs are intended to better integrate the ACP countries into the world economy. Their objective is not simply to encourage an opening of markets, but "their vocation is to be instruments of development". Certainly, markets had to open, but this would happen gradually over adequately long transition periods and be accompanied and supported by EU development cooperation.

A phased approach towards EPAs, capacity building and coordination

The ACP Group proposes that the negotiations with the EU on EPAs should take place in two phases. The first phase would be a central one, involving all ACP states, and would focus on various issues of general interest including the question of the WTO compatibility of EPAs. The second phase would involve negotiations between the EU and individual ACP regions and could begin as soon as these issues were resolved, towards September 2003.

The Nadi Declaration urged the EU to develop an improved and simplified system of rules of origin for trade, and to ensure that the rules contribute to regional integration, to the preservation of preference margins and improvement of market access for ACP countries. The structural transformation of ACP states into more competitive and open economies will need a serious investment in capacity building on the public and private levels. Moreover, technical assistance and capacity building is necessary to enable active ACP participation in the EPA negotiations. In this context, the European Commission, in conjunction with the ACP Secretariat, has set up a €20 million facility which is now up and running. The purpose of the facility is to help the ACP

Group with their preparation and participation in the EPA negotiations. Furthermore, an amount of €10 million has been set aside to facilitate ACP participation in the WTO process. This has been used to fund the setting up of an ACP office in Geneva, and a Pacific Forum office (together with an office for the OECS), to facilitate the interests of small island states.

The deepening of economic ties within the ACP Group through the establishment of an ACP Free Trade Area was examined by the Summit, and calls were made for the Council of Ministers to ensure appropriate coordination of the group's position within the WTO and other international bodies.

ACP solidarity and integration of the needs of individual ACP regions and countries

The need for ACP unity and solidarity and the establishment of common positions was high on the Nadi agenda.

At the same time, the different economic needs of the various regions and countries within the ACP group was a factor that featured prominently during the discussions. Indeed, some countries displayed a hesitant attitude towards entering into an EPA while others were in favour of an immediate start to negotiations.

"[We have to] Overcome ACP imbalances through solidarity and the use of combined strength to make voices heard," was the message from South African President Thabo Mbeki, who pointed to the formation of the African Union and the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

Tonga's Prime Minister, Prince Ulukalakala Lavaka Arai said there was a need to strike a balance to preserve the interests of the whole ACP group while recognising the needs of individual nations: "ACP countries are not intending to negotiate mere trade agreements – the EPAs must be development agreements."

Trade as a development issue

ACP leaders called for the upcoming Brussels negotiations to approach the issue of trade liberalisation as one of development, and not just of trade. Trade liberalisation needed

Caines Photofast Services, Fiji



Heads of State and dignitaries on the main dias during traditional Fiji welcoming ceremonies

to be tempered to fit the economic contexts of their countries.

In Fiji, for example, sugar forms a major export to EU markets and a way has to be found for the sector under liberalised conditions. Pascal Lamy firmly stated that sugar prices paid today for sugar from Fiji in the EU under the sugar protocol were not sustainable and urged the country to prepare for the future viability of this important industry.

Fijian Prime Minister and Summit Chairperson Laisenia Qarase stressed the need to move carefully and gradually towards liberalised trade. He said that while free trade was the ideal, the ACP playing field was in no way level: "We accept free trade as the ideal, but there is no level playing field for the ACP. The open market is a steep and slippery slope for poorer states. This is why we must move carefully into an integrated system of world trade."

In this context, Glenys Kinnock emphasised the supply-side constraints faced by ACP countries, and the substantial adjustment costs they would face. Institutional capacity requirements would be enormous, she warned, and would require additional resources. She referred to the €3 billion that has been made

available to Eastern European countries to upgrade food-processing standards before they join the EU, and suggested that "significant additional resources must also be made available to help the ACP meet EU requirements – such as sanitary and phytosanitary standards – so that they can take advantage of improved access to European markets."

She referred to the €20 million EPA support capacity building programme for the ACP, which is already up and running.

In his closing remarks, Fijian Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase expressed a fervant hope "that the solidarity we have formed in the ACP will also inspire us to work together and take common positions in other international fora, including especially the WTO, the United Nations and the Commonwealth. The role of our Summit of Leaders' is to stand as a backstop to these negotiations, ready to intervene for the ACP at the highest political level. This is to ensure that the outcome is in the best interests of our countries and peoples. And this outcome is to help us deal effectively with eradicating poverty in our countries. It is also to enable us to create increased opportunities for our young people to develop their God-given talents and live healthy and fulfilling lives". ■

The Nadi Declaration – commitments towards a sustainable future

ACP countries reaffirmed their determination to strengthen their unity and political visibility as well as their future place and role in the global political environment. They also restated their commitment to develop policies focused on individuals and sustainable development. The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their commitment to contribute to preserving peace, security and stability in the world by promoting the prevention and the peaceful settlement of conflicts. They also undertook to fight against all forms of terrorism. They stressed the need for multilateral trade, for financial and monetary systems to be equitable, transparent and based on law. In addition, development issues should be granted the highest priority.

The fight against poverty

They renewed their commitment to place the fight against poverty at the heart of their development strategies and to this end, welcomed the regional initiatives aimed at improving the welfare and the quality of life of those who have remained on the fringe of global prosperity.

However, to successfully combat terrorism, it is necessary to fully tackle its root causes, including poverty, under-development and repression. International law must also be respected. They condemned the massacres of civilians by the armed militia and troops in conflict-ridden ACP countries. They also committed to intensify efforts to fight against drug trafficking, corruption, money laundering and the arms trade.

Managing migratory flows

The ACP Heads of State and Government expressed concern over the turn taken by the debate on migration in Europe and the tendency to implicitly establish a link between migration and the aid provided by some donor countries. Stressing that it is difficult to manage the voluntary or forced displacement of populations, they called upon EU member states to initiate bilateral negotiations with the ACP countries on the responsible management of migratory flows.

Realising the benefits of globalisation

Globalisation provides many possibilities for creating wealth, improving the living conditions of populations, reducing trade barriers and increasing capital flows. However, they stressed, these potential advantages are not realised by most poor countries, particularly the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and small, landlocked or island states.

They acknowledged that to enjoy these theoretical advantages, the effective participation of these countries in world trade is inevitable. To this end, measures are required from the international community and from themselves to improve the supply and compatibility of their products.

Gradual trade liberalisation

A trading system based on rules and essentially geared to development may bring a direct economic contribution to economic growth, sustainable development and the fight against poverty. However, trade liberalisation in ACP States must be achieved gradually and be accompanied by measures to resolve the constraints linked to supply, improve competitiveness and strengthen trading capacity.

This should go hand-in-hand with strengthened preferential treatment, for LDCs, small landlocked or island countries, those that suffer from drought or are highly indebted, as well as for non-LDC ACP countries that are net importers of food products.

The unbearable burden of debt

The Nadi Declaration stresses that the debt servicing of ACP countries has become an unbearable burden that undermines the efforts to reduce poverty and hinders sustainable development. It calls for enlargement of the HIPC initiative (heavily indebted poor countries) to heavily indebted countries that are not among the least developed. It also calls upon EU Member States to take all measures possible to secure debt relief for these countries. In turn, the ACP States pledged to explore ways to cancel the intra-ACP debt.



Taking stock of the HIV/AIDS epidemic

More than 15,000 participants attended the weeklong XIV International AIDS Conference, held in Barcelona 7-12 July 2002. It was an opportunity to exchange information and experiences while taking stock of the epidemic. Just before the conference, the Joint United Nations programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) published its "Report on the Global HIV/AIDS epidemic", which reveals that the AIDS epidemic is still in its early stage. Unless more is done, with full-scale political backing, the epidemic will continue to grow.

Robin Sappe

Anita Jowitt, organiser of a legal seminar on HIV at the University of the South Pacific, arrived at the conference with the impression of being overlooked by the anti-AIDS campaign. She came straight to the point: "UNAIDS' maps do not mention the South Pacific states. They are systematically combined with Asia, but our situation is quite distinct both culturally and from an epidemiological perspective".

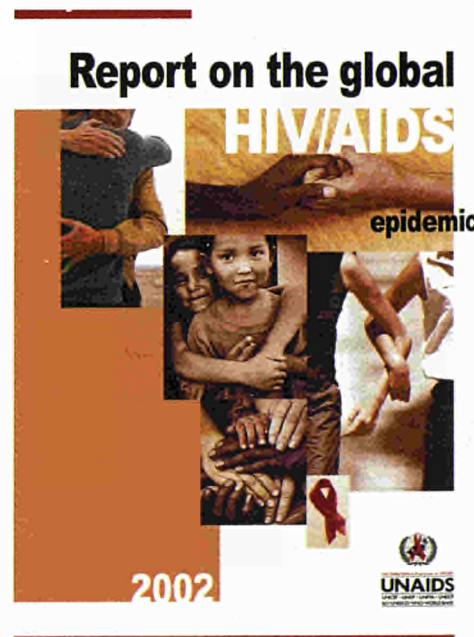
Statistics reveal very different levels of prevalence from region to region and uneven development of resources and programmes. Nonetheless, states in the Southern hemisphere still try to speak with one voice when addressing the crucial matter of access to treatment for people living with HIV/AIDS.

Ms Jowitt added that South Pacific countries feel that their situation is very similar to that of the Caribbean, but totally dissimilar from that of Africa, where all attention is focused and where the number of people living with HIV/AIDS is much higher. With 28.5 million affected people south of the Sahara, out of a world total of 40 million, Africa is the de facto focus for the international community.

Nicolas Ritter, Coordinator for PILS (association for prevention, information, and the campaign against AIDS) in

Mauritius, stressed the individuality of the continent of Africa and its islands. "At the Conference for People Living with HIV/AIDS held in Trinidad and Tobago in 2001, I learned a lot about the Caribbean and noticed many similarities, because they are multi-ethnic islands where the characteristics of the epidemic are similar to those found in Mauritius, such as the problem of the use of injectable drugs."

"The situation of the Indian Ocean is highly specific because it is composed exclusively of French-speaking islands," he went on. "We are part of Africa, but that is where the similarity ends, both in terms of



the problem and work in the field. Our little country has its own specific characteristics.”

A dichotomy appears to be emerging between island states and the continent of Africa, although instances of disparity are legion within Africa itself. This was mentioned in the recent UNAIDS report, which also warns that no country is completely safe from a serious HIV epidemic. Low levels of prevalence at national level may conceal serious localised epidemics

Access to treatment still a major obstacle

The main topic of discussion at the conference was access to antiretroviral treatments aimed at halting evolution of the virus for an unspecified period. Campaigners also reminded participants of the commitments made in June 2001 in New York at the UN Special Assembly on AIDS.

With few exceptions, such treatment is rarely available in ACP countries, where decisions are made solely at national level. Teersa Burlison, a Social Assistant at Vanuatu's Claudia A. Association, deplored the lack of resources providing access to care. “It is very difficult to work when there is no treatment, although the advantage of working in a small country is that it is easy to speak with the government”. No financing, however, is currently available, she says, even at international level or through overseas collaborations with the association for which she works.

Some encouraging results

“Two years ago, at the Durban conference”, explained Nicolas Ritter, “we were very angry after what was seen as four unsuccessful years of campaigning for access to treatments. But shortly afterwards, national policy did a U-turn and the situation clarified. Today, Mauritius is the second African nation to provide free antiretroviral treatment to all patients”.

He added that the country is very proud of its achievements and that he was in Barcelona to stress that there must be ongoing perseverance and commitment in those places where medicines are not yet available.

But Mauritius is still atypical of the Southern hemisphere, where few countries have organised production or importation of generic medicines. Cécile Beloum, from Burkina Faso's AMMIE association, attempts to monitor 300 patients living with HIV, without any resources. “Today, solidarity must be developed if AIDS is to be defeated. This means solidarity amongst prevention campaigns through the circulation of information and solidarity in terms of access to screening and management. We came to Barcelona to share experiences, update knowledge and to seek new resources to support campaigns”.

Regional policies for local situations

For both cultural and political reasons, every country views the epidemic in terms of its own, local situation, while promoting a regional, even thematic and cross-disciplinary approach to HIV-related problems.

Dr Piot, UNAIDS executive director, reminded his audience at the Barcelona conference that the next International AIDS Conference – in Bangkok in 2004 – would reveal whether governments had delivered on their promises. ■

Major outcomes of the Conference:

• HIV/AIDS in the world:

1. The UNAIDS Report on the Global HIV/AIDS epidemic estimates that 40 million people are living with HIV/AIDS, 95 per cent of whom are in developing countries. An estimated 20 million people have already died from HIV/AIDS.
2. Another joint report from UNAID, UNICEF and UNAIDS, (“Children at the Brink”) reports that 13.4 million children have been orphaned by AIDS, and this number is expected to grow to more than 25 million by 2010.
3. New infections are occurring at a rate of 15,000 a day and the rate is still increasing.
4. The most devastating picture comes from sub-Saharan Africa. Other regions such as China, India and Central and Eastern Europe could follow similar scenarios if prevention is not scaled up.
5. Some countries show a degree of success in decreasing the spread of the epidemic: Senegal, Uganda, Thailand, Zambia and Cambodia.
6. Overall, latest reports confirm that without the comprehensive package of interventions agreed on by governments at the UN Special Session, there will be an additional 45 million people living with HIV/AIDS by 2010.

• Access to treatment:

1. While in rich countries the majority of those needing treatment have access to antiretrovirals (ARVs), in developing countries only 3,8 per cent of the six million in need of this treatment have access to it. Excluding Brazil where approximately 100,000 people are under treatment, only two per cent of the people living with HIV/AIDS in developing countries have access to life saving ARVs, and as low as 0,6 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa.
2. Reports clearly demonstrate how care and treatment make prevention strategies more effective. People under treatment remain productive and cost less to society and business. Voluntary testing and counselling is taken up faster if care and treatment are offered. As demonstrated in Brazil, treatment is now organisationally and financially possible (US\$1 a day).

• Resources and corporate social responsibility to fight the pandemic:

1. In terms of resources, UNGASS (the UN Special Session on HIV/AIDS held in June 2001) called for an annual expenditure of US\$10 billion on HIV/AIDS prevention and care in low and middle-income countries.
2. Governments have to date committed just US\$2 billion and only US\$300 million have reached the Fund so far.

• Scientific advances:

1. Some scientific advances revealed at the Conference add understanding of the transmission and pathogenic mechanisms.
2. Research into vaccines, microbicides and new antiretrovirals bring hope, although most of these new products will still need some years to reach the market.
3. As regards vaccines, two Phase III vaccine trials are ongoing and many others are in the pipeline. Even if first generation vaccines will possibly become available within five years, they will probably be of low efficacy, but have an impact on the epidemic.
4. Out of the other 60 candidates to be used as a microbicide and undergoing research, 11 have gone through early human trials. First generation microbicides (now slated for 2007) are estimated to require US\$775 million to be pushed through the development pipeline, whilst only US\$230 million have been made available.
5. In terms of antiretroviral treatment, the leading US virologist R. Gallo stated that “the days of protease inhibitors are numbered because of toxicity and resistance problems”.

• Involvement of People with AIDS:

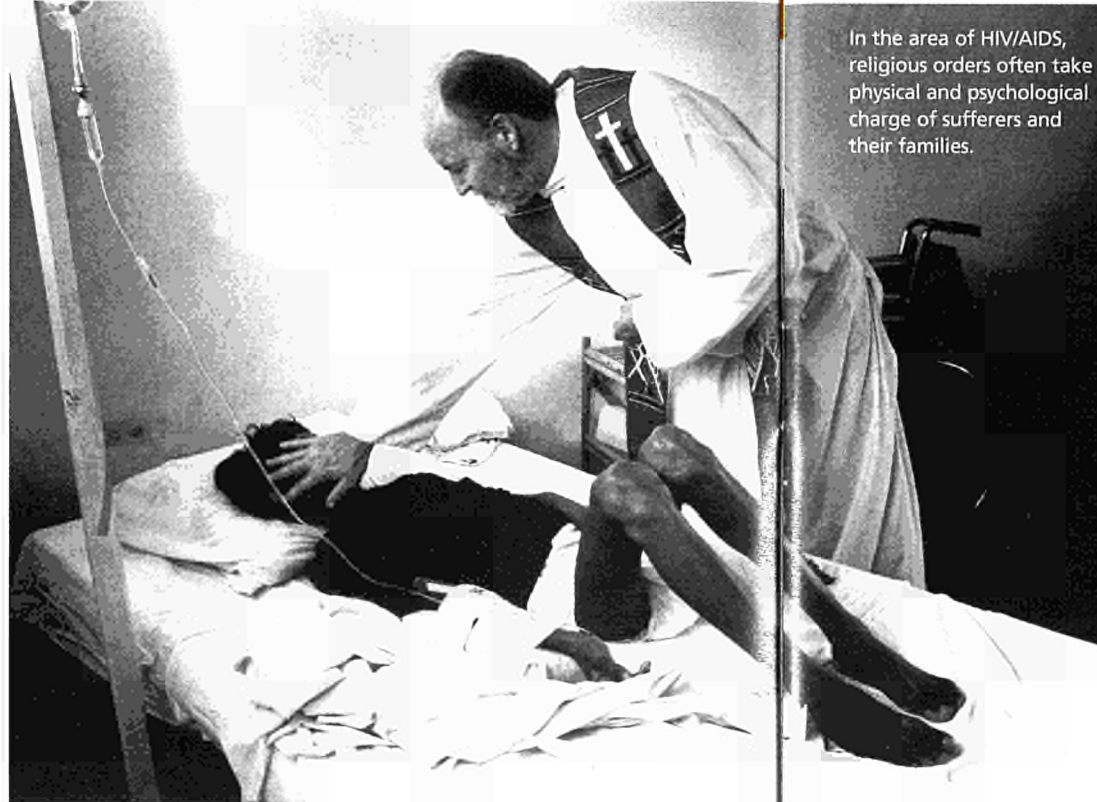
1. Some 1000 conference attendants identified themselves as HIV+ but in most parts of the world, to be a person living with HIV/AIDS is a badge of shame.
2. This opened the debate on travel restrictions for people living with HIV/AIDS. According to a global study of about 185 countries, there are travel restrictions in the majority of countries. There are only 63 countries without any sort of restrictions and most are in Africa. Within the EU, eight countries do not have restrictions for People Living with HIV/AIDS.
3. Echoing the anger of the many who are affected and still waiting for political commitments to turn into actions, activists led by Act-Up attacked several exhibition stands during the Conference.

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How are the main religions responding to the problem of HIV/AIDS in developing countries? On 24 and 25 June 2002, the Information and Communication unit of the European Commission's Development Directorate-General organised and financed a meeting on "A religious response to HIV/AIDS in the developing world". Leading figures represented the Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths, alongside delegates from Islam, Judaism, NGOs and the world of research.

Moussa Sawadogo

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In the area of HIV/AIDS, religious orders often take physical and psychological charge of sufferers and their families.

AIDS and poverty: the religious response

According to the UNAIDS 2001 report on the global AIDS epidemic, about 40 million people are currently living with HIV/AIDS worldwide. Since the virus was discovered some 20 years ago, around 60 million people have been infected and each year five million more fall prey to the disease. The death toll already stands at 30 million.

Although no country is unaffected, it is countries in Africa that are paying an increasingly heavy price. Dr Juan Garay, of the Social and Human Development Unit at the European Commission's Directorate-General for Development, estimates the number of Africans currently living with the virus at 30 million. In 2001, the disease killed 2.3 million people and has become the principal cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Dr David Spencer, director of the HIV clinic at Johannesburg General Hospital and professor at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa, the level of HIV infection in the adult population is 25 per cent in Zimbabwe and 36.8 per cent in Botswana. In Kwazulu Natal in South Africa, 25-35 per cent of children are HIV-positive at birth, and the epidemic has caused life expectancy in Southern Africa to plummet, possibly dropping as low as 40 years of age before the end of the current decade.

The situation is scarcely any better in Asia. According to the Ecumenical Patriarch, His Eminence Nikitas, Metropolitan of Hong Kong and of South East Asia, by late

2001 7.1 million people were living with HIV/AIDS in Pacific Asia. Broadly speaking, Asia sees 800,000 people die from AIDS each year. In Thailand, the disease has become the main cause of death.

Religion – the last bastion?

Religions have a crucial role to play in combating the AIDS epidemic. As communities based on morals and spirituality, they are a mobilising and awareness-raising force that in the area of HIV/AIDS takes physical and psychological charge of sufferers and their families. In Hong Kong and South East Asia, the Orthodox Church is conducting an awareness-raising and reintegration programme for prostitutes. The Roman Catholic Church is involved in titanic work, through numerous projects in several countries. According to Mrs Flaminia Giovanelli, of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, "twelve per cent of those caring for AIDS patients worldwide come from Catholic Church bodies and 13 per cent from Catholic non-governmental organisations (...). The Roman Catholic Church thus provides 25 per cent of all the care offered, making it governments' best support in the anti-AIDS campaign".

Religious delegates at the conference were unanimously in agreement on one point: they believe that failure to respect religious values is the principal reason for the epidemic's expansion. In their view, if the values of chastity,

fidelity and heterosexuality were respected, mankind would make great progress in combating AIDS.

Indeed, His Eminence Nikitas lamented the fact that the modern world encourages young people to enter into sexual relationships before marriage. The Roman Catholic Church is of the same opinion. In his contribution to the June 2001 United Nations General Assembly Special Session on AIDS, the representative from the Holy See, Monsignor Lozano, asserted that "the best and most effective means of prevention is education in the authentic values of life, love and sex (...). It is obvious to everyone that sexual freedom increases the risk of infection, and therefore the values of fidelity within marriage and chastity must be upheld".

This was also the viewpoint of representatives of Islam. Mrs Tayseir M. Mandour, head of the physiology and endocrinology department at the Al Azhar faculty of medicine in Cairo, said that chastity and fidelity prevent moral corruption and "sexual debauchery", and thus protect society against the damaging effects of such practices.

European Commission representatives at the conference, however, were of the opinion that, given the global nature of the scourge, the various religions should adapt their campaign to suit reality. Mr Athanassios Theodorakis, Adviser at DG Development, expressed concern that some religious leaders still oppose the use of condoms or reject gay men and lesbians, prostitutes and people who inject drugs, saying that such recognition would imply approval of immoral and proscribed acts. In fact, Dr Juan Garay added, it has been proved that, in couples in which one of the partners is HIV-positive, the use of condoms reduces the risk of infection by 80 per cent as compared with couples who do not use condoms. Proper use would further reduce risk. The use of condoms in all at-risk sexual relationships would prevent 1.5 million infections each year in sub-Saharan Africa alone.

Poverty and AIDS go hand in hand

Religious figures, scientists and development experts are unanimous in believing that social and economic factors have a strong causal link with HIV/AIDS, and that its spread is closely associated with poverty. The lives of the unemployed are shaped by poverty, and many, forced to migrate in search of work, ultimately find themselves on their own and seek solace in prostitutes or drugs.

In Asia, His Eminence Nikitas explained, the sex trade has developed because women who are abandoned by men, or whose husbands are unemployed, have to earn money themselves. Unable to find work in the job market, they turn to prostitution. Some families even sell their children. In the Philippines, the number of prostitutes is estimated at 600,000, and India has the largest number of child prostitutes in the world, with a figure that varies between

400,000 and 575,000, some of them no more than ten years of age. As Mrs Flaminia Giovanelli explains, "in conditions of poverty, immediate wellbeing or survival take precedence over the benefits of long-term protection: sex in exchange for food, money, the opportunity to attend school, sex to combat boredom in a life without leisure".

The problem is becoming all the more crucial since many people still refuse to use condoms, even with prostitutes or multiple partners. In the Philippines, the Orthodox Church maintains that, out of 2.5 million people in sexual relationships, 80 per cent use no protection. In sub-Saharan Africa, UNAIDS estimates that there is only 50 per cent use of condoms with casual partners, on account of social, cultural and religious beliefs.

Another way to halt the ravages of AIDS is to use anti-retroviral drugs, but the poor cannot afford them.

It is a vicious circle: poverty increases vulnerability to HIV infection, and to suffer from the disease means a reduced income and diminishing family savings. Sometimes people are thrown out onto the streets. The disease saps one's strength and reduces opportunities for finding work, and the macroeconomic consequences are inevitable. Poverty nourishes AIDS and vice versa.

On one point, UNAIDS is very clear: "AIDS threatens human welfare, developmental professionals and social stability on an unprecedented scale (...). Heavily affected countries could lose more than 20 per cent of GDP by 2020. Companies of all types face higher costs in training, insurance, benefits, absenteeism and illness".¹ Such is the case of Botswana, where one quarter of all households can expect to lose their financial support over the next 10 years. In 25 per cent of the poorest families, household income could drop by 13 per cent.

In fact, the indirect costs of the epidemic are even higher. In Mozambique, AIDS kills 400 teachers every year, plus hundreds of nurses, technicians and other health workers. This loss of expertise is one of the worst aspects of the issue. As for AIDS orphans, it is estimated that there are 13 million in Africa, many of whom will swell the numbers of street children.

Dealing with HIV/AIDS therefore involves poverty eradication, and vice versa. According to the WHO (World Health Organisation), "extending coverage of crucial health services (...) to the world's poor (...) could save millions of lives each year, reduce poverty, spur economic development, and promote global security".²

The European Commission therefore sees its anti-AIDS policy within the context of poverty eradication, which also takes into account education and health. European Commission aid for health, HIV/AIDS and population growth is rising, and has increased from one per cent of all aid in 1996 to eight per cent today. In the years to come, 35 per cent of this aid will target social infrastructures. According to Mr Theodorakis, the European Commission's priority is to ensure that young people have the knowledge and ability to protect themselves against HIV. In that way, five million new infections could be prevented each year. Mr Leonidas Antonakopoulos, Head of DG Development's Information and Communication unit and moderator of the meeting, concluded that a follow-up meeting should take place in the near future, possibly with wider participation from religious and academic groups. ■

1. UNAIDS Report: "AIDS Epidemic Update - 8 December 2001".

2. "Macroeconomics and health: investing in health for economic development", Geneva, WHO, 2001, p. 8



June 27, 2002: African leaders (President Mbeki of South Africa, President Obasanjo of Nigeria, President Boutiflaka of Algeria, President Wade of Senegal), G8 Leaders and the United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in Kananaskis, Canada

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The European Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)

The formal relationship between the EU and African countries can be traced back to the very early years of European integration – a period that corresponds to the era of independence for many African states. From the beginning the common objective has been the socio-economic development of the African people.

Today this objective still holds, but the nature of the link between the EU and Africa has undergone huge change. In this article **Dr Francisco Granell*** argues that it has become both more complex and more enriching for both sides.

More than a century ago at the Berlin Conference, Africa was divided among the European colonial powers. When the African countries gained independence fifty years or so ago, development assistance was often charged with continuing the colonial influence. Now, with NEPAD, African leaders are assuming an authentic African development strategy which is not externally influenced.

Today, the EU-Africa relationship is dense, contractual and differentiated. It is dense because Africa, as a continent, remains by far the largest beneficiary of the EU aid programme, financed by European tax-payers and delivered through the European Development Fund, the European Budget and the European Investment Bank. About 41 per cent of European aid goes to Africa, while the figure is 26 per cent for the USA and 13 per cent for Japan.

It is contractual because the relationship today is not based on the unilateral delivery of aid from North to South but on political dialogue and two-way cooperation, consisting of trade, aid, economic cooperation, reciprocal investment and other action aimed at helping African countries to integrate better into the world economy.

Finally it is differentiated because from an EU perspective there are three regimes of cooperation: sub-Saharan coopera-

tion regulated by the Trade and Cooperation Agreement with South Africa, and by the successive Lomé Conventions, followed by the Cotonou Partnership Agreement; and the Mediterranean model applied by the EU in its relation with the Mediterranean countries of Africa in accordance with the process opened at the Mediterranean ministerial conference in Barcelona at the end of 1995. In addition the Europe-Africa summit, held in Cairo in April 2000, opened new avenues for cooperation between the EU and African countries.

The birth of NEPAD

Against this background the EU has welcomed the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as an Africa-driven initiative born from the merging of two previous plans: the Millennium Africa Plan (MAP) of South African President, Thabo Mbeki, and the OMEGA plan of Senegal's President Abdoulaye Wade, in which African leaders recognise that the prime responsibility for Africa's future lies with Africa itself.

NEPAD is currently being promoted by a group of five African leaders (those of Algeria, South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal and Egypt) with the backing of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) – which became the African Union in July 2002 at the Durban summit.

In July 2001 NEPAD was presented as the New African Initiative (NAI) to G8 leaders in Genoa, who committed themselves to preparing a "G8 action plan". This was in turn endorsed, as the Action Plan for Africa, at June's G8 summit at Kananaskis in Canada, in the presence of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and four of the five African initiators.

G8 "personal representatives" for Africa had been appointed and had met several times to prepare the G8 Kananaskis African Action Plan. G8 members then met in early June in Kananaskis to complete the draft to be adopted by G8 leaders in the presence of four of the five African leaders. One of the earlier meetings (in Maputo) had also been a joint session involving representatives of other major donors: Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

The aim of the G8 Africa Action Plan is neither to provide a massive infusion of funding nor to underwrite NEPAD. It is to put in place a new partnership that will unlock much greater resources, both public and private. Trade and investment are to be favoured over loans and grants, through deregulation, removal of controls, and creating an appropriate investment climate.

European endorsement

The presidents of NEPAD's five African sponsor countries had come to Brussels in October 2001 to present their initiative. This resulted in a common statement expressing strong EU support for NEPAD and providing for a follow-up mechanism, to focus especially on capacity-building and infrastructure.

The EU strongly supports the political values at the heart of NEPAD, because they correspond with the "essential elements" of the EU's external cooperation policy regulated by the Maastricht Treaty and completed by the Lomé/Cotonou principles, the Mediterranean process and the Agreement with South Africa. These are good governance, strengthening democratic practices, respect for human rights and the rule of law.

The EU also appreciates in NEPAD a firm feeling of African ownership, and the sense of African leadership that its implementation requires.

The EU considers the creation of NEPAD to be a strong commitment by African leaders to political and economic reforms, and evidence of a desire to take an active part in a globalised world. This in turn is consistent with the aim of eradicating poverty, in line with the internationally agreed Millennium Development Goals (including also the new goals established in the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development and the ODA increase decided in the Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development), and the need to help Africa's integration into an increasingly globalised world economy.

Plans for practical support

There was agreement that the EU should contribute to the implementation of NEPAD in selected areas, after the agreement reached in the Kananaskis meeting between the G8 and the African leaders: (i) promoting peace and security; (ii) strengthening institutions and governance; (iii) fostering trade, investment, economic growth and sustainable development; (iv) implementing debt relief; (v) expanding knowledge and improving and promoting education, and expanding digital opportunities; (vi) improving health and confronting HIV/AIDS; (vii) increasing agricultural productivity; (viii) improving water resource management.

At the same time the EU – even if it did not see NEPAD as a channel for financial resources or new cooperation instruments – would contribute collectively with other donors and with the

G8 to existing initiatives with the existing and additional resources agreed by the EU in the Barcelona Consensus on the eve of the Monterrey conference.

While NEPAD sets out the right goals, European cooperation with Africa will continue to take place through the existing contractual instruments (MEDA, Cotonou and the South Africa agreement), as well as international commitments taken in the framework of the Millennium goals, the Doha/WTO process, the third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, the Durban Conference process, Monterrey, Johannesburg and other multilateral initiatives.

Beyond economics

But the importance of NEPAD is not limited to the supranational European Community economic, trade and cooperation aspects regulated by the first pillar of the Maastricht Treaty. For the EU, NEPAD is also relevant in the context of political dialogue, crisis prevention and peacemaking under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) introduced by the second pillar and under the third (Justice and Home Affairs) pillar.

The EU Common Positions of May 2001, concerning conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa, and the October 2001 position on combating the illicit traffic in conflict diamonds, as a contribution to the prevention and settlement of conflicts, are good examples of the EU going beyond purely economic matters.

The EU Member States belonging to the G8 have also shown a strong bilateral commitment to NEPAD. The UK is the most active supporter of NEPAD, as articulated by its prime minister, Tony Blair, on his visit to East Africa at the beginning of 2002. France is also involved – President Chirac received NEPAD leaders this year – while Italy has shown a specific interest in promoting business links and information and communication technologies. Germany's interest focuses on economic aspects of the partnership, notably market access and private investment.

Non-G8 EU countries have also welcomed NEPAD and are committed to its main targets, and to action related to the priority sectors defined in Abuja in March this year. The Spanish Presidency launched a Spanish Action Plan for Africa and took part in the joint meeting with G8 held in Maputo in May to define the Africa Action Plan.

The European Parliament, some European national parliaments and the ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly have also expressed support for NEPAD – welcoming it as the main initiative that focuses Africa's own efforts to solve its difficulties and to organise its renaissance with better standards of governance, mutual accountability and enhanced global partnership.

As mentioned above, the African Union was launched in July 2002, with the objective of establishing an integrated area and with a new vision of pan-Africanism. This will reinforce NEPAD's target of preparing the continent to free itself from external dependancies, apart from the links imposed by globalisation. As UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said recently, the struggle for development has to be carried out principally in developing countries and by their people. NEPAD is an important step in this direction, that would also influence the preparations for the second Europe-Africa summit, to be held in Lisbon in April 2002. This summit will analyse the current status of the Cairo process, the new pan-African initiatives, and the Europe-Africa dialogue, taking account of the change in the international context since the first Europe-Africa summit was held in Cairo in 2000. ■

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From OAU to AU: turning a page in the history of Africa

On 9 July, 43 African leaders gathered in Durban, South Africa, to dissolve the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and transform it into the African Union (AU). While the scope of the OAU was to fight colonialism and apartheid, the aim of the AU is to unify its 53 member states politically, socially and economically, and attract foreign aid and investment through the promotion of democracy, human rights and good governance.

Maurizio Carbone*

When in 1963 a few African leaders met in Addis Ababa to found the OAU, they believed that in order to liberate the continent from colonialism and racism they had to be united. Over the years, the OAU helped foster solidarity among the newly independent states and preserve the idea of sovereign borders. However, weighed down with debts and bureaucracy, and as a consequence of its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, the OAU failed to prevent conflicts, stop genocides or challenge dictators.

When forty-three leaders met in Durban in July 2002, they understood that the African Union could not become “another toothless bulldog as its predecessor”. In his opening speech the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, who was appointed as the first chairman of the Union, said that people must deepen the culture of collective action and develop new levels of partnership. He also emphasized how democracy, good governance and respect for human rights are necessary pre-requisites for development.

African economies need to be revitalised to meet the challenges of the global economy. Africa can no longer be simply an exporter of raw materials, but needs to produce high quality goods for its own use and for export. Member states thus need to increase trade among themselves. Regional integration can help, but SADC, COMESA,

ECOWAS, the Magreb Community, and the East African Community have not yet delivered significant benefits. In addition, too often private capital flees to safer markets in Europe and the USA, denying Africa the resources necessary for any hope of economic integration.

With or without strings?

In the short term, Africa needs aid and foreign investment. One of the major points of discussion in Durban was the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)¹. In the past few years, the Presidents of South Africa, Senegal, and Nigeria have insisted that sovereignty can no longer be used to hide misconduct. Then, they made several trips to the West to fight for debt relief, increased access for African goods to Western markets and to convince the most developed countries that Africa is stable enough to attract more aid and foreign investment. They promised that a peer review committee would ensure that members comply with standards of good governance and fiscal responsibility. And in fact, one month before the launch of the AU, at the G8 summit in Canada, an “African action plan” of \$6 billion was announced. For Mbeki and President Obasanjo of Nigeria, NEPAD was thus meant to play a key role in the new African Union.

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◀ Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo (right) with outgoing Organisation of African Unity (OAU) chairman Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa (left), new African Union Chairman South African President Thabo Mbeki (2nd from left) and OAU Secretary general Mali's Amara Essy in Durban 8 July 2002 at the final summit of the organisation

Former South African President Nelson Mandela is greeted by Zambian President Levy Mwanawasa (centre) the outgoing Organisation of African Unity (OAU) chairman and South African President Thabo Mbeki (2nd from right) in Durban, 8 July 2002 ▶

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Some other African leaders claimed that any programme concerning Africa should be owned and driven by Africans. They argued that initiatives such as NEPAD could put Africa's needs at the whim of the West. Colonel Gaddafi was the foremost spokesperson for these concerns. By trying to counterbalance the role of Mbeki and Obasanjo, Gaddafi provided an alternative vision for the AU, which he saw as a shield against Western imperialism. In his speech he urged African leaders to be proud of themselves and reject strings on foreign aid. "We accept help, but we refuse conditions. We are not pupils who need someone to teach us". After his failures with the Arab League, Gaddafi turned his attention to the AU project, hoping to expand his leadership in the region. He even envisaged becoming the first president of the United States of Africa and hoped to establish the headquarters of the AU in Sirte (Libya). Sirte is the city where, in the first week of September 1999, African leaders convened for an extraordinary session of the OAU. The Sirte Declaration became the Constitutive Act that is now to govern the Union.

A renewed commitment to democracy

The emphasis of the Durban summit was not on economic issues, but on democracy. Leaders committed to hold fair elections at regular intervals, allow opposition parties to campaign freely, and set up independent electoral commissions to monitor polls. This reflects the emergence of a new generation of African leaders who are now aware of the importance of democracy for development. Indeed, 42 out of 48 sub-Saharan states held multi-party elections during the 1990s compared to only four states which held free elections in the 1980s. However, doubts have emerged about cases like Libya, Kenya, and Zimbabwe. United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan was the only one, in his speech in Durban, to condemn the manipulations of recent elections. "Too often, in recent times, the name of democracy has been misused to describe situations where a vote is taken without free and fair debate beforehand". The commitment to democracy and human rights will be checked through a permanent elections monitoring unit that will scrutinize any violation of these principles.

The Durban summit also adopted the procedural rules and statutes of the organs and institutions of the Union. The AU will constitute all African countries except Morocco, which withdrew from the OAU in 1982 when the OAU recognized the Saharawi Democratic Republic.

Modelled on the European Union, the AU will comprise an Assembly, a Commission, a Central Bank, a Court of Justice, and eventually a Parliament, and even a single currency. The Assembly, which will be the supreme organ of the organisation, will be composed of all the heads of state and government forming the Union. The Commission will assist the Assembly in the government of the Union. Its mandate should cover both political and economic integration, but its actual power as well as the role of the chairman will depend mostly on the resources it will receive. An important decision was made at the last minute: it was decided that five of the 10 Commissioners would be women. This represents a change from past and present practices: indeed, at the

In a letter sent to Thabo Mbeki, President of South Africa, European Commission President Romano Prodi welcomed the creation of the African Union and confirmed the Commission's support for the African leaders in their ambitious project based on ownership and leadership. Prodi pointed out how "the AU will be instrumental in promoting the advancement of democracy, human rights and sound economic policies across the continent by setting high standards of economic and political governance". He also underlined how "in the context of globalisation stronger integration in Africa is a precondition to enhance the overall political and economic integration of Africa in the world economy". He reaffirmed the willingness of the Commission "to develop and strengthen its political dialogue with Africa as a whole and with its new political institutions".

moment none of the 53 African heads of state is a woman. Women were completely absent from the structure of the OAU. Africa has thus become the only continent in the world that has made such a commitment towards gender equality.

Money will be an important challenge. Most of the countries have yet to pay their financial dues. The African Union in fact inherits a debt of more than \$40 million from the OAU and there is still no plan on how to solve this problem.

An important new institution is the 15-member Peace and Security Council. Structured on the UN Security Council, the Council will be tasked with the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. It will be composed of five semi-permanent members (one per region) and ten elected members for two-year terms. Unlike the OAU, the AU will have the right to intervene in cases of gross violations of human rights and crimes against humanity. For this reason, the formation of a peace-keeping force drawn from African armies has been planned.

A brighter future?

It is not yet clear whether the AU is the right means to shape Africa's future. The enormous challenges the AU is already facing confirms the fact that change cannot happen overnight. The African Union succeeds an organisation that was widely criticized for its inability to mediate the continent's conflicts. The most critical element of the AU is its authority to intervene in the internal affairs of member states. The issue now is whether the AU will be able to use its new powers or whether the competing interests of its leaders will paralyse it. But, regardless of some initial scepticism, the African Union opens a new era for Africa, where peace, democracy, and good governance are finally considered the necessary pre-requisites for development. ■

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1. See article "The European Union and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)" by Dr Francisco Granell on page 28 of this issue. For more information: <http://www.africa-union.org>

A new approach to indigenous peoples



Domkhedi, India. Tribal villagers in the Narmada Valley. These people and thousands of others will have to leave their homes when a new dam project floods the valley.

© Karen Robinson/Panos Pictures

Indigenous peoples must establish a direct, permanent relationship with the European Commission, which is responsible for applying EU policy. To do this, they must be acknowledged as active and sovereign actors, not as objects of policy in development programmes and projects. These desires were expressed by indigenous peoples during a conference jointly organised by the European Commission, the Rainforest Foundation and the International Alliance of the Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Rainforest.

Moussa Sawadogo

The conference, "Speaking out: indigenous views of development and implementation of the EU policy on indigenous people", held in Brussels 18-20 June 2002, brought together more than 200 people, including 48 representatives of indigenous peoples from 25 countries.

The European Commission is seeking new perspectives on the development and implementation of its policy on indigenous peoples following the Commission's adoption on 30 November 1998 of a Council Resolution that addresses indigenous populations within the framework of the Community's and Member States' development cooperation.

The conference was jointly organised with NGOs that have in the past been highly critical of the EU and appears to represent an opening-up on the part of the EU that Denmark – currently holding the Presidency of the European Union – would like to maintain.

Survival of indigenous peoples linked to biodiversity

Many indigenous societies were decimated during the decolonisation process. The Rainforest Foundation reports that the indige-

nous peoples of Brazil once numbered six million, but today are approximately 200,000. This organisation also stresses that out of the 5,000 indigenous languages, more than 2,500 are on the verge of extinction.

Of the nine countries that together represent 60 per cent of languages, six of them – Australia, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Mexico and the Democratic Republic of the Congo – are focal points of cultural and biological diversity, with an exceptional number of unique species of plants and animals. Currently, indigenous peoples number 250 million, or four per cent of the world's population and 70-80 per cent of global cultural diversity.

As a result, the Rainforest Foundation maintains that survival of such peoples is linked to the survival of biodiversity on the planet. Yet, they are very often marginalised in the development process.

The EU has a significant role to play

Thus threatened, indigenous peoples the world over are increasingly mobilising to defend their right to a territory, natural resources, sustainable development, political involvement and

self-determination. To assist them, the Rainforest Foundation believes that the EU – which provides €5 billion in aid annually in the multilateral sphere – has a significant role to play.

The EU recognises its role and responsibility towards supporting indigenous people. The 1998 Council resolution calls for the integration of indigenous peoples “at all levels of cooperation, including policy dialogue with partner countries”. It encourages their full participation in the democratic processes of their countries, within the context of an approach that “asserts that they should participate fully and freely in the development process”, and that “also recognises their own diverse concepts of development”. It stresses that indigenous peoples “have the right to choose their own development paths”.

Progress has been slow

The EU also acknowledges that indigenous peoples have the right to oppose certain projects, particularly in their traditional territories. This means they should benefit from compensation when a project threatens their means of survival. To this end, the Council Resolution submitted a number of recommendations to the European Commission for its practical implementation.

However, progress has been slow. Some development projects financed by the European Community and affecting indigenous peoples have not been implemented effectively. As a result, these programmes have not achieved all of the objectives initially set, despite showing some positive results. This was illustrated by a series of studies conducted by the indigenous peoples themselves this year, for the Brussels conference.

Research sheds light on shortfalls

For instance, research done by the Cordillera People's Alliance concluded that the agricultural programme implemented in the Central Cordillera in the Philippines had, among other things, contributed to a breakdown of traditional systems of subsistence farming and land organisation systems. This in turn exacerbated the disappearance of traditional cultures, informal mutual-aid systems and indebtedness on the part of the poorest farmers due to strict credit deadlines.

Research done by the Centre for Environment and Development (CED) notes that the Programme for the Conservation and Rational Use of Forest Ecosystems in Central Africa (ECOFAC) in Cameroon, which covers the Dja Biosphere Reserve, has not been successful in integrating local populations into the project, in particular the Baka pygmies. This has exacerbated inequalities between

the Baka and other communities. The programme also came into conflict with the Baka due to its repressive approach to hunting, although it failed to provide economic alternatives.

The Panama Foundation for the Promotion of Indigenous Knowledge claims that the support programme for the indigenous peoples of Central America shows shortfalls – despite positive results – because it has not benefited small organisations and communities in the area of training and capacity building.

Research done by the Alliance for the Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago has shown that the Leuser Development Programme in Indonesia did not take account of indigenous knowledge in the areas of conservation and sustainable development. In addition, indigenous peoples and local communities were not integrated into the design and development of the project.

In Colombia, research done by the coordinating body for the indigenous organisations of the Amazon basin has shown that, as far as the support programme for consolidation of the Amazon region in Colombia is concerned, capacity building for local organisations has been poor over the long term. In addition, there has been a lack of involvement of indigenous peoples in decision-making.

Research done by the Educational and Cultural Association for the Hill Tribes of Thailand has shown that the Lisu AIDS Alert project in that country lacks understanding of the traditional beliefs of the Lisu and their social norms.

In general, the negative results recorded have been attributed to an absence of adequate socio-economic research prior to projects being implemented, no clear definition of roles and responsibilities of all those involved in the projects, incorrect identification of the development priorities of indigenous peoples, as well as a lack of local community involvement in project design, planning, implementation and evaluation.

A new beginning?

The Brussels conference was an opportunity for a new beginning, as it gave a voice to the indigenous peoples and established a direct dialogue with the European Commission. It enabled the various parties to arrive at a consensus whereby development projects and programmes should not reflect merely the perception and ambitions of the donor.

Delegates also analysed how the approach should be changed to take into account the needs and aspirations of the indigenous peoples while establishing a new mechanism for a more constructive dialogue. ■

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Realising the vision

To enable the EU to adapt its policy to better address indigenous populations within the framework of development cooperation, European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid Poul Nielson offered five proposals in his closing address:

- Four or five pilot countries with EU-funded development programmes should be selected to elaborate more concrete ways to include indigenous peoples as civil society participants in all phases of the project cycle.
- Analysis concerning the impact of development cooperation policies, programmes and projects on indigenous peoples should be reflected in the Country Strategy Papers of each recipient country.
- Commissioner Nielson also called for indigenous peoples' issues to be formally integrated into political dialogue with partner countries as an integral part of the human rights clauses of the various cooperation and association agreements. This recognises the desire of indigenous peoples to be treated as equal partners and reflects an understanding that special efforts need to be made in this area.
- He also suggested that this should be included in the training given to Commission personnel on issues relating to indigenous peoples. This is especially important with regard to the personnel in Delegations.
- Commissioner Nielson invited all EU Member States to ratify ILO (International Labour Organisation) Convention No 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples.

Denmark, which currently holds the EU Presidency, gave its support to this new vision and promised to make it a focal point of its mandate. Anders Ørnemark, Head of Section at the Danish Foreign Ministry, told participants that he envisaged including the issue of indigenous peoples in development on the agenda of the Council of the EU this autumn.

Kalimantan, Indonesia. Headman of the Dayak tribe being trained to use a Global Positioning Satellite system to help in community mapping

Assessing the European Community Development Policy The OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) Peer Review

The European Community's (EC) external assistance programme has global reach and specific capabilities through its regional partnership agreements, linking trade, political aspects and development cooperation. Assistance has increased in real terms in the past years. Furthermore, the EC policy framework, programming, organisation and management have been strengthened in numerous ways. In this article, **Maurizio Carbone***, starting from the publication in June this year of the DAC Peer Review, analyses how the European Commission has attempted to improve the effectiveness of the EC development policy.

The DAC, which is one of the specialised committees of the OECD, conducts periodic reviews with the purpose of improving the individual and collective cooperation efforts of its members. The policies and efforts of DAC members are critically examined approximately once every four years. The "Peer Review" is prepared by a team of people, which includes representatives of the DAC secretariat and officials of two DAC members. For this specific appraisal, Canada and Norway were designated as the examining countries. In June 2002, the European Community Development Policy review was released.

The European Community is a unique case because it combines characteristics of a bilateral donor, as it provides direct assistance to developing countries, and of a multilateral institution, as it coordinates the efforts of the European Union (EU) Member States. The European Commission is responsible for the management of the EC's external assistance budget, and for negotiating international trade and cooperation agreements.

Aid volume, channels and allocations

The Peer Review points out that the EC development policy has evolved over the past years. It is no longer a partnership mainly with Africa, but it now involves all the regions in the developing world. Two broad tendencies have dominated the Member States' attitudes to European development cooperation: a "regional approach", which recognises the strategic links with former colonies, and a "global approach", which is concerned with poverty reduction.

Not only the geographic scope, but also the volume of external assistance has changed. The net contributions from EU Member States to the EC aid disbursements have been rising steadily since 1990. In 2001, the EC as a distinct entity, apart from the bilateral programmes of the EU Member States, was the third largest aid donor in the world after Japan and the United States. The EC has increased its ODA for two consecutive years. It rose by 13,4 per cent (to \$4.91 billion) in 2000, and by 21,1 per cent (to \$5.91) in 2001, in real terms. In addition, the EC is playing a coordinating role in encouraging the Member States to increase their average ODA to 0,39 per cent by 2006, an effort welcomed by the OECD.

There are two main funds for external assistance: the EU budget and the European Development Fund (EDF). Member States contribute to the regular budget, where external action and pre-accession aid are two separate budget lines administered mainly by DG Relex, DG Enlargement, and

EuropeAid, the office formally set up on 1 January 2001 to implement the external aid instruments of the European Commission. The EDF¹, also financed by the Member States, is a multi-annual programme to support the ACP (the African, Caribbean and Pacific group) countries; it is administered mainly by DG Development and EuropeAid.

Although aid volume has increased, the slowness of commitments and disbursements undermines the effectiveness of ODA. Several reasons have been pointed out by DAC: *inter alia*, the large number of budget lines and instruments, and the proliferation in the number of procedures, lack of flexibility to move funds from non-performing programmes to faster-spending areas, the insufficient number of Commission officials to administer projects. Evidence suggests that the speed of disbursement has improved in 2001, but this still remains a great challenge for the EC.

Untying of ODA is an important element in improving aid effectiveness. The Peer Review notes that the EC has been very active in the DAC discussions, and the EC's commitment to speedily implement the DAC recommendation on untying aid was welcomed. The EC has already untied aid among the EU Member States for the ACP countries, and is discussing further extending untied aid for the least developed countries, to include the possibility that non-EU countries could participate in tenders. The EC has also been helpful in the internal discussions on debt relief and is the major financial contributor to the HIPC initiative.

Poverty reduction strategies and the EDF

As the principal aim of the Community's development policy is to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty, the changes in the geographical orientation have raised some concerns among Member States, Parliamentarians and the NGO community. They fear that, although poverty is concentrated mostly in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, the EC spending in these two areas has fallen in recent years, while funding to middle income countries has risen. However, the Peer Review notes that there has been no appreciable reduction in the EDF programme, which indeed assists most of the poorest countries. Contributions to East European countries come from the EC budget and not from the EDF. Small fluctuations in the EDF are due to the programming cycle and to administrative problems but will be corrected over time. Furthermore, even if more money is provided to lower middle-income

countries, it should not be forgotten that there is also a large number of poor people in those countries.

Members of the European Parliament Development Committee have also asked that the EDF become part of the EU budget, and therefore subject to Parliament control. This would allow the Parliament to check that spending fits in with the objective of poverty reduction. Others argue that the budgetisation of the EDF would actually mean less protection for flows to ACP countries; that, once in the budget, EDF money could then be used for other EC priorities.

New priorities: sectors and cross-cutting issues

Poverty reduction as the main objective of the EC development policy was introduced in a joint statement adopted by the Commission and the Council in November 2000. This statement clarifies the strategic thrust of the EC development policy. In order to increase efficiency, the EC decided to concentrate its development assistance efforts on a limited number of priorities, where it has comparative advantages, so that its activities provide an added value to those of the Member States. Six priority areas have been identified: the link between trade and development; support for regional integration and cooperation; support for macroeconomic policies; support and promotion of equal access to social services (education and health); transport; food security and sustainable rural development; institutional capacity-building, particularly in the area of good governance and the rule of law. Other cross-cutting issues will be systematically incorporated into all EC programmes; gender equality, environmental sustainability and respect for human rights. The Peer Review notes that the EC has used substantial resources to support the social sectors, food security, and transport, while trade, regional development, and governance have received less attention. Also, according to the Peer Review, there is a need to strengthen the implementation aspects

of the policy to ensure that ideas at the policy level are taken up at the operational level.

Organisation and management change

The Commission has also started a series of important administrative reforms with the aim of making improvements to its development policy. Reforms include more strategic and streamlined approaches, reorganisation in headquarters, and the "deconcentration" of implementation authority to the field. The goal of the external assistance reforms is to make significant improvement in the quality and efficiency of the programme/project cycle management, reduce the time taken to implement projects, and harmonise and simplify aid management. A key element of this reform has also been the creation of the EuropeAid Co-Operation Office. This new Office is now responsible for almost all of the Commission's development projects, but its establishment has created a vertical split between planning and implementation.

The Peer Review appreciates the level of determination shown by the EC to address issues of policy coherence in a systematic manner. In the area of external policies, the "Everything but Arms" initiative is one of the most important examples of how to further coherence between trade and development policies. In the area of internal policies, there remain several challenges, especially with the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). Indeed, the review points out, sometimes the pursuit of legitimate interests of the EC may have adverse consequences for the legitimate development interests of developing countries.

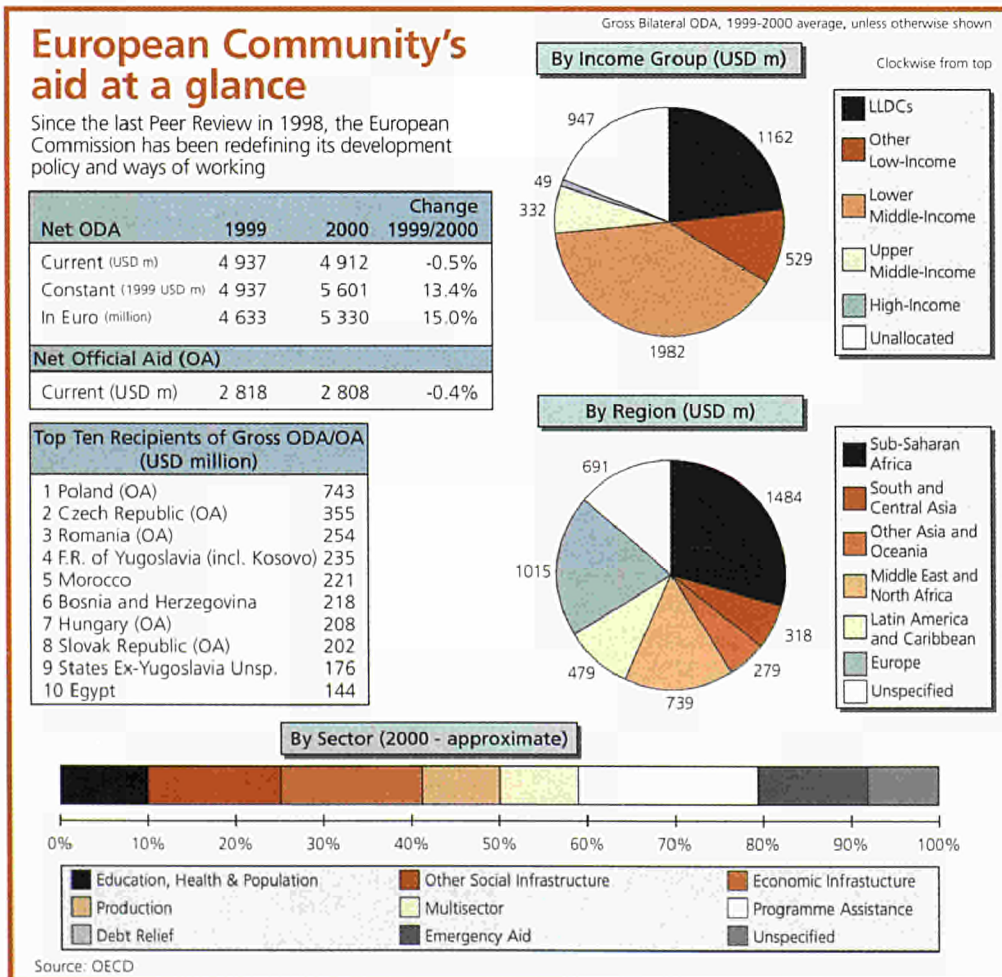
The Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) have become a key mechanism to improve policy coherence and strengthen multi-annual programming. The CSPs involve consultation of all services whose policies impact on the country. Once completed, each CSP is subjected to a quality control from a new service, the Interservice Quality Support Group (iQSG), which operates within DG Development. Final approval is by the College of Commissioners.

Another key reform is the devolution of management responsibility to the Delegations. This will encourage stronger host-country ownership of programmes and ensure stronger coordination with development partners. Delegations, though, will require additional empowerment to undertake this role convincingly.

It is not yet clear whether these reforms will translate into a more effective EC development policy. The Peer Review points out that there are several encouraging signs but there are also some substantial risks, particularly that the global ambition will not be matched by sufficient resources. A lot of commitment is required. The transition to a new form of management culture has started.

The Peer Review points out that there are several encouraging signs but there are also some substantial risks, particularly that the global ambition will not be matched by sufficient resources. A lot of commitment is required. The transition to a new form of management culture has started.

* Member of the European Union Center, University of Pittsburgh
 1. The EDF was created in 1958 under the Treaty of Rome to support associate countries.



The 33rd Pacific Islands Forum

It has been a busy time in the Pacific Islands. Hard on the heels of July's ACP Summit, Fiji was again in the spotlight, this time hosting the 33rd Pacific Islands Forum, which was held in Suva 15-17 August 2002. This will be followed by a mission by EU Development Commissioner Poul Nielson to the Pacific in October, to review the state of cooperation and to sign the regional strategy paper.

Malcolm Ponton*

Formerly known as the South Pacific Forum, (until a name change in October 2000), the Pacific Islands Forum was founded in August 1971 and comprises 16 independent and self-governing states in the Pacific. Its membership has increased from the original seven founding members (Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Nauru, New Zealand, Tonga and Western Samoa – now Samoa) to also include the Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, Niue, Republic of the Marshall Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. The French territory of New Caledonia was admitted to the Forum in 1999 as an observer, and East Timor was accepted as an observer in 2002.

The Forum is the region's premier political and economic policy organisation. Forum Leaders meet annually to develop collective responses to regional issues. The agenda is based on reports from its Secretariat and related regional organisations and committees, as well as other issues that members may wish to raise. Decisions by the Leaders are reached by consensus and are outlined in a Forum Communiqué, from which policies are developed and a work programme prepared. Since its establishment, the Forum has not had to vote on any issue.

Pacific ACP Leaders meet

It is noteworthy that, for the first time, this year's Forum was preceded by a meeting of Pacific ACP Leaders, which now consists of all 14 Pacific Island Forum states – effectively the Forum minus Australia and New Zealand. Since the six new Pacific ACP states – Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau – signed the Cotonou Agreement in June 2000, all the Pacific ACP countries now belong to the Pacific Islands Forum.

At this meeting Pacific ACP Leaders endorsed the decisions of Pacific ACP trade ministers meeting earlier in August, noting that negotiations for Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) should go beyond market access, incorporating trade facilitation, trade cooperation and trade related technical assistance to address the trade and economic development agenda of the Pacific ACP countries. Pacific ACP leaders also welcomed the progress made on preparing the 9th EDF Regional Strategy Paper and Regional Indicative Programme

and mandated their Chair, the Prime Minister of Fiji, and the Secretary-General and Regional Authorising Officer, Mr Noel Levi, to jointly sign the agreement on the occasion of Commissioner Nielson's visit to the Pacific in October.

The Pacific Islands Forum ended with leaders calling for a united stand on trade, good governance, security, environment, population, fisheries, and HIV/AIDS.

Chairman and Fiji Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase presented the 21-page Forum Communiqué, outlining the Forum stand on the issues discussed by leaders from 16 countries.

Mr Qarase told journalists the leaders' meeting had been a success. "The atmosphere has been very cordial... with friendly and frank exchange of views". While all the issues in the final communiqué were important, he singled out one as being particularly vital; that is, the agreement within the Forum by Pacific ACP leaders on the negotiating strategy and structure for the negotiations on EPAs beginning on 27 September.

"The negotiations are of critical importance to the region," Mr Qarase said. "The outcome will directly affect the lives of all our people in the Pacific in the years ahead."

Post Forum Dialogue

Since 1989, the Forum has held Post Forum Dialogues with key dialogue partners at ministerial level. There are currently eleven partners – Canada, the People's Republic of China, the EU, France, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, the UK and the US. The Dialogue remains the primary consultation vehicle for multilateral assistance to the region.

At this year's event the EU was represented by Dr Freidrich Hamburger, Director, DG Development. Dialogue with the EU covered a wide range of issues including trade and investment, social and economic development, the international and regional political situation, and security issues.

The next Pacific Islands Forum is scheduled for August 2003 in New Zealand. Leaders agreed that all future Forum meetings will be preceded by a separate Pacific ACP Leaders meeting to discuss common issues related to their involvement and association with the EU. ■

* Senior Technical Assistant to the Regional Authorising Officer, Pacific Forum Islands Secretariat

Current Chair Fiji Prime Minister Qarase with past Chair Nauru President Rene Harris



River trip for Forum spouses programme



Forum Official Committee Chair Edwin Pittman with Fiji Foreign Minister Kaliopate Tavola and SG Noel Levi



An ACP view of the road to Economic Partnership Agreements

Negotiations with a view to concluding Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the ACP countries and the EU will be negotiated over the period 27 September 2002 to 31 December 2007. They will have to take account of the objectives and principles of the Cotonou Agreement – the reduction and ultimately the eradication of poverty and the gradual, smooth integration of ACP nations into the world economy. On the eve of the launching of the negotiations, ACP Secretary-General, **Jean-Robert Goulongana**, spoke to *the Courier*.

Dorothy Morrissey

At first the ACP Group was not really in favour of a change in strategy from the Lomé commercial system to the Cotonou system. How has this view changed?

It is no surprise that we were initially not in favour of changing the Lomé system in so far as this system guaranteed us access to the EU market to a certain degree. After all, the ACP countries had a market there for the taking, in some cases even with guaranteed prices and fixed quantities. In view of the gradual liberalisation of trade provided for in the Cotonou Agreement you can easily understand our fear of losing this beneficial position without being sure that it would be replaced with a system that offers at least the same advantages.



©Agence Mapez

Could you describe the ACP Group's current approach, which was defined and approved at the 3rd ACP Leaders Summit in Fiji in July?

First of all, as regards future trade negotiations with the European Union, the ACP Group reaffirmed its commitment to making future agreements compatible with WTO rules. As you know, these rules are founded on the principle of free trade and the removal of obstacles to free trade. We support this principle, being members of the WTO, having signed its agreements and undertaken to comply with its rules.

Secondly, these negotiations must take place in the window we have set down, that is, between 2002 and 2007.

Nonetheless, it is certain that during this period we will see factors come into play that will have an impact over which we do not yet have full control. The timetable for negotiations should therefore be flexible enough to incorporate these external factors. This goes for negotiations such as the current WTO talks, which are set to run until 2005, the EU Common Agricultural Policy review negotiations

planned for 2004, discussions on the enlargement of the European Union and various trade negotiations underway between the ACP states and other partners. There must be a facility for reacting to these factors and making the necessary adjustments.

Thirdly, the ACP states are proposing that negotiations take place in two phases: a first "all ACP" phase with

negotiations between all the ACP states on the one hand and the EU on the other, and a second phase in which each ACP region would negotiate individually with the EU. The "all ACP" negotiations are important, as in this phase the two parties can reach an agreement regarding principles, objectives and cross-party issues. All of these points concern the ACP countries as a group.

For example we have to reach agreement on how the rules of origin can be improved, on adjustment costs, and on the need for special and differential treatment. These are questions of principle that must be dealt with in a global manner, although it remains to be seen how this is to be embodied at regional level.

Finally, we agreed that the “all ACP” negotiations should begin on 27 September and that the second phase should begin in September 2003 at the earliest. We therefore have one year to reach agreement on the general principles and cross-party issues and thus prepare ourselves as best we can for regional-level negotiations.

How close are the ACP and EU approaches?

I think at first there was some difference of opinion regarding the two-phase approach to negotiations. Now I feel the EU has finally understood the importance of first of all establishing a degree of clarity so as to define the problems. However, the EU believes that this phase should be as short as possible and considers one year to be perhaps too long a period. It would be prepared to begin negotiations with any region that was so disposed, concurrently with the “all-ACP” negotiations.

So there is some difference in approach, but this can be readily smoothed out. If the regions are to feel happy with the negotiations in which they are involved, it is essential that the principles, objectives and cross-party issues are agreed beforehand. Otherwise we risk coming up against contradictions and inconsistencies that could have a negative effect on the results. I really believe that negotiations on these Economic Partnership Agreements must also be aimed at sustainable development and not just seek trade concessions or tariff reductions. They must include the development dimension, attainable in particular through the strengthening of production and supply capacities, and the reform of economic structures so as to make our economies really competitive.

Are there differences between the ACP countries in terms of awareness and preparations for these negotiations? Will mechanisms be put in place to raise awareness among all countries?

There may well be some differences as regards the level of awareness and preparation. We are filling in any gaps to ensure a strong, unified movement. It is essential that the ACP Group stays cohesive and united. Unity has always been our strength and to lose this would weaken us. All the ACP countries understand this need for unity and cohesion, which is not just cosmetic – our vital interests are at stake.

In this regard, both at the Council of Ministers at Punta Cana last June and at the Fiji Summit in July, the upper levels of the Group reaffirmed the need to maintain and reinforce cohesion and solidarity within the Group throughout the negotiations. Our aim is that, at the outcome of these negotiations, no ACP country will find itself in a worse situation than it was in under Lomé. It means that with these agreements we have ensured that there is an improvement in the situation, not deterioration.

Solidarity within the ACP Group has paid off, for example at Doha. Do you think that such solidarity could be at risk?

There could indeed be a risk if we had not established a coordination mechanism that ensures harmonisation between the various positions and transparency in the conduct of the negotiations. Such a mechanism was adopted by the ACP Council of Ministers and approved at the Fiji summit.

As regards the post-Doha negotiations, which are still on-going, do you think the fact that these two sets of negotiations are running more or less concurrently will prove to be advantageous or detrimental?

Whatever the case, we have no choice. The WTO agenda is independent of our dealings with the EU. This is why we have to ensure consistency between our positions in the EU negotiations and in the WTO negotiations, so that we do not lose in one case what we have won in another. To ensure this, as regards the EU talks the emphasis must be placed in particular on special and differentiated treatment, to guarantee developing countries like ours, who are among the poorest, treatment that really takes account of their individual situations. This is a point on which the ACP countries and the EU should work closely as regards the WTO, so that the WTO rules will be more favourable to developing countries than is currently the case.

Development is the focus of the post-Doha negotiations. Do you believe that the EU negotiations will have a bearing on those with the WTO or vice versa?

In both cases we have to make our interests felt and ensure they are taken into account. To this end we are numerically strong within the WTO and, in addition, if we share agreed or common positions with the EU we can achieve this more easily. Moreover, the agreements we will negotiate with the EU must be compatible with WTO rules, so that they will be recognised as compliant and valid. As the negotiations will be concurrent, and in view of what I have just said, interaction is inevitable. In order to be able to influence the negotiations within the multilateral system, those with the EU must give out a clear signal of our mutual desire to keep our approach centred around sustainable development at all times.

As regards the change from the Lomé system to the Cotonou system, did the ACP Group carry out any impact studies?

These studies are underway. However, it must be understood first of all that we will see a drop in budgetary income with the gradual lifting of customs duty on EU products that at the moment are coming into ACP countries and are subject to this duty. Ultimately what we seek is for the ACP economies to become more dynamic and able to compensate for this loss in income through a suitable tax system, for example based on VAT. In the meantime we will have to bear these losses and our budgets will not be able to cope with them. The studies will therefore specify items such as the amount of the losses, the products involved and palliative measures.

I really believe that negotiations on these Economic Partnership Agreements must also be aimed at sustainable development and not just seek trade concessions or tariff reductions

ACP leaders (and, incidentally, the EU) share the same vision of EPAs; that, as well as being trade agreements, they are first and foremost instruments of development.

"The Cotonou Agreement seeks to reduce poverty, promote sustainable development, and integrate the ACP countries into the global economy. An EPA should help and not frustrate the achievement of such an objective. It must help our people, not through welfare handouts, but through opportunities to earn incomes by using their resources, their land, their fisheries, their industries and their business talents"

Iosefa Maiava, Acting Secretary-General of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat

Does the "Everything But Arms" system introduced by the European Community risk causing a division among the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the ACP Group?

Yes, there is this risk. Some LDCs may believe that under the "Everything But Arms" initiative they do not need to negotiate since all their products, except for arms, have free access to the EU market with no customs duties or quotas. In reality, however, this initiative is limited in the long term since it is based on the EU's generalised preferences system that allows it unilaterally to grant certain advantages to partners. In addition, being a unilateral system, it can thus be terminated by one party without negotiation.

We are telling the ACP Group LDCs that, while they should of course take advantage of this system, perhaps the best way of boosting their trade is by negotiating agreements. Negotiations result in undertakings, with partners making long-term commitments. Negotiations offer a dynamism not afforded by unilateral initiatives, which indeed do not always ensure the necessary stability.

How do you see sustainable development in the context of these agreements?

The Johannesburg summit was held in the spirit of the Millennium Development Goals, namely that development must come from an integrated approach. To guarantee sustainable development, we must work not only on the political aspect, in terms of good governance, but also the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects. The Johannesburg objectives are in line with those agreed between the ACP countries and the European Union through the Cotonou Agreement, which is also founded on this integrated approach – including all dimensions of development.

The ACP Group was very happy with events in Johannesburg as it supported specific undertakings on the part of the international community to implement the millennium objectives, which was what the Johannesburg summit was aiming for. The objectives of the Cotonou

Agreement are in accordance with those adopted by the United Nations as the Millennium Development Goals. Now we have to release the necessary resources to see them through, in the areas of market access, health, the environment, culture and financing development, because without substantial funding nothing will be taken beyond the intention stage.

As regards financing development, there is of course official development assistance, which must be considerably increased. However, the burden of debt means that year after year we are spending any extra money we have on paying off debt – money which, if allocated to other sectors, could contribute effectively to combating poverty and thus to ensuring sustainable development. We are caught in a vicious circle.

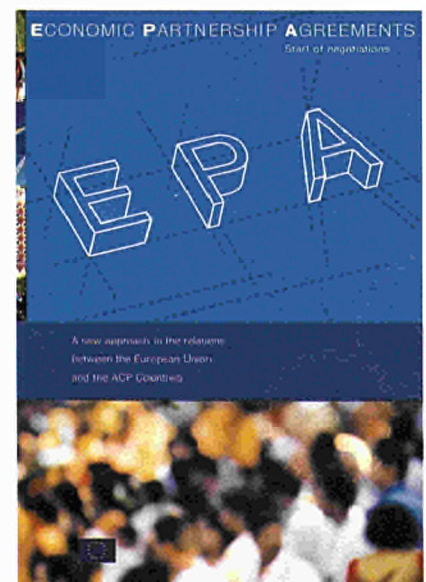
Are you optimistic about the negotiations?

I am most certainly optimistic. First of all because we have a mandate that allows us to tackle the negotiations in good shape. The recent Fiji Summit reaffirmed the need to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the ACP Group. The second reason for optimism is that we will round off preparations for these negotiations with a series of meetings in Brussels, at which we will make any last-minute adjustments so as to be ready for the negotiations. However, readiness does not mean that we will have solved all our problems. Consultation will continue and our strategy will evolve as the negotiations progress. So yes, I would say that we are reasonably optimistic at the prospect of these important negotiations.

It is a fact that our economies lack dynamism because they do not attract enough investment, particularly foreign investment, and for other reasons. The new agreements also aim to reverse this trend, so that the ACP region might become prosperous and that the EU aid policy might be made more effective as a means of support for the development efforts undertaken by ACP countries. This is why it is also a challenge for the cooperation model embodied by ACP-EU relations.

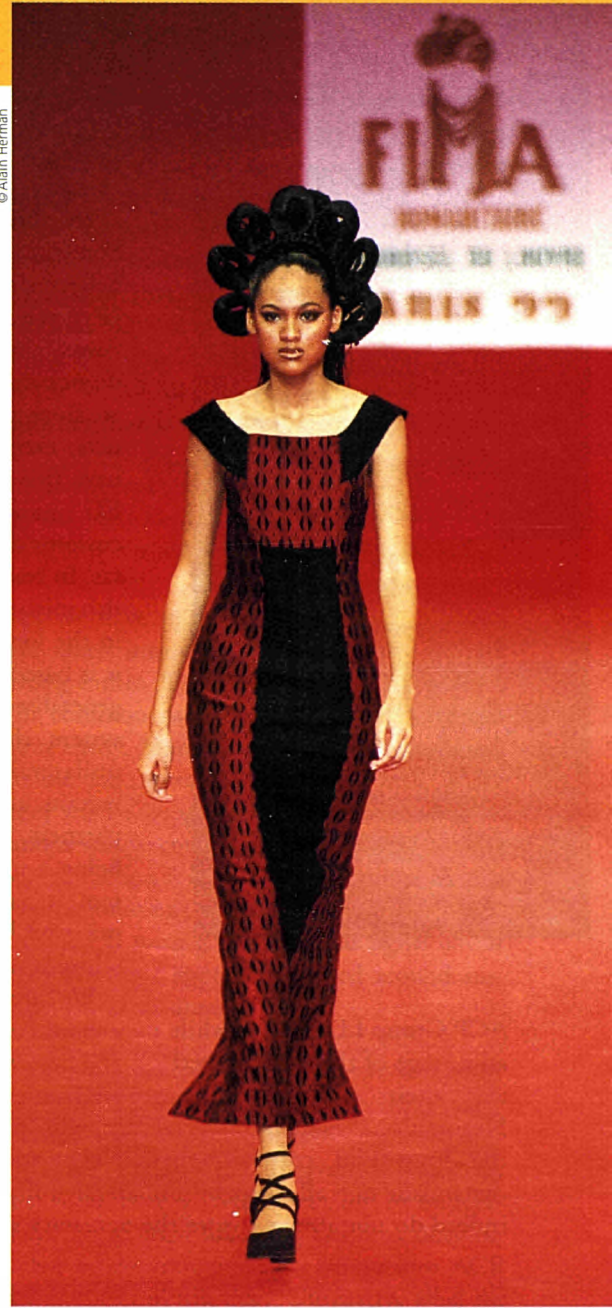
To conclude, I would like to stress that the forthcoming negotiations constitute a challenge not only for the ACP countries but also for the EU in terms of its relations with our group. Up until now our exemplary partnership has quite rightly been lauded as a model of its kind. The challenge facing both parties is for ACP countries to emerge from economic marginalisation and enter once and for all a phase of sustainable development. ■

Brochure available at:
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Scene from the film "Heremakono"



Luc Cheffert ©Couleur Café 2002

Cultural industries

Creativity is a central part of a living cultural identity. However expressed – whether through music, dance, film, arts and craft, oral traditions, or literature – cultural creation reinforces a nation's identity and social cohesion. For the poor and marginalised, cultural expression can serve as a means of communication, and to enrich lives which are lived in adversity.

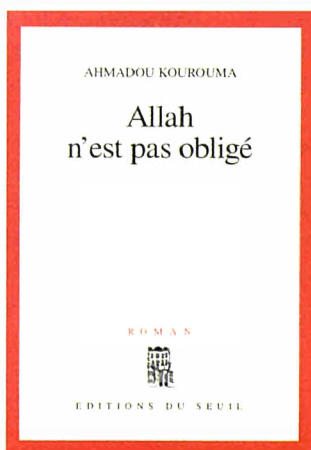
But culture can also have a significant impact on economic prospects. Cultural industries – when creation, production and marketing are combined – can constitute a very important economic resource for a country. They can also be a considerable source of job creation. As UNESCO puts it, the product of human creativity takes on an additional, economic dimension. For many developed nations, the creativity sector is a major revenue earner. Studies have shown that trade in cultural goods has also been of increasing importance in developing countries in the past decade. Cultural industries are likely to play an even more important role in economic development in the future. The ACP countries, although scattered all over the globe, share a number of characteristics. They are home to a great diversity of cultures, expressed in a variety of ways. Whether music, sculpture, literature, film, to name but a few – ACP cultural products have made an impact worldwide, receiving international acclaim. Nevertheless, the cultural industry sector is in general underdeveloped in ACP countries. The conditions of production and distribution, which would allow its expression, are lacking. There are shortfalls in a whole host of areas: professional training, financial resources, management, competitiveness, incentives, investments, etc. More often than not, in national policies and in development strategies, the cultural sector is a low priority. The development of cultural industries needs an enabling economic and cultural environment, created by the state in collaboration with the private sector, and taking account of national potentials. If developing countries are to better harvest their creativity for economic, social and cultural development, economic and institutional conditions need to be improved. Then culture will fulfil its role as an instrument of development.

Dossier conceived in collaboration with the ACP General Secretariat

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The cultural industries and development

The growth of "cultural industries" is a social phenomenon with highly diverse characteristics and implications. The term covers a variety of activities and sub-sections. Over time a growing awareness of the cultural industries has spawned the idea of a close link between culture and development. This article outlines the emergence of cultural industries in the ACP countries and proposes conditions under which they could flourish and generate development.

Géraldine Pagniet

First of all what are "cultural industries"? According to UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), they constitute a sector where the creation, production and marketing of goods and services are combined. Their special nature lies in the intangibility of their cultural content, which is generally protected by copyright.

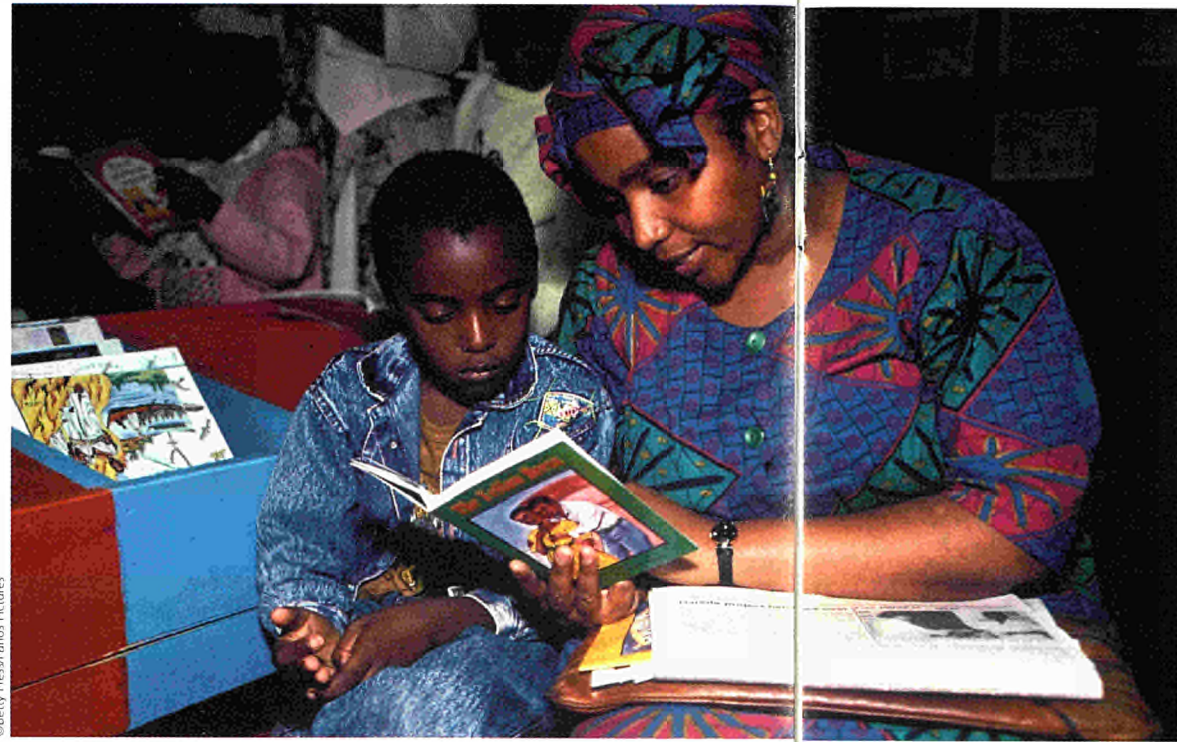
"Cultural industries" covers film production, the audiovisual sphere, the printed word and also multimedia (a sector that is in full expansion and breaking all production records, even in non-industrialised countries). However, there is still some dispute as to the definition of this sector. Some countries include architecture, the performing arts, and even the plastic arts and cultural tourism.

According to UNESCO, once again, the special nature of the cultural industries lies in the fact that the product of mankind's intellect has taken on an additional, economic aspect. Cultural products contribute simultaneously to the safeguarding and advancement of cultural diversity and to the democratisation of access to culture, and are a considerable source of job creation and wealth.

The term "cultural products" combines two concepts: cultural or consumer goods and cultural services. "Consumer goods" convey ideas – lifestyles and values with both an informative and entertainment function. At the same time they build and diffuse the collective identity of a people or of a community. Copyright protects individual and collective creation of such cultural goods, which are increasingly threatened by the various methods of mass circulation that exist nowadays.

"Cultural services" covers intangible activities that are a response to consumer demand. They are reflected in support activities originating from the public sector (public institutions) or private sector (private undertakings, foundations), such as the promotion of the performing arts, films, and so on. Although there is a general consensus regarding trade in services, there is no system whereby this concept is classified or defined, hence the difficulty in expressing the cultural services field in precise figures. The problem is all the more glaring in the "non-industrialised" countries, where there is little or no monitoring of the issue.

Unlike traditional industries, such as iron and steel or aeronautics, cultural industries are highly accessible to the non-industrialised countries



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International trade and media concentration

UNESCO's report "International Flows of Selected Cultural Goods 1980-98", published in 2000, reveals two things: firstly, between 1980 and 1998, international trade in cultural goods increased five-fold over those two decades; secondly, the majority of exchanges that take place throughout the world do so between a small number of countries.

In 1990, 55 per cent of the world's exports of cultural goods were between just four countries: Japan, the US, Germany and the UK. Imports to the US, Germany, the UK and France accounted for 47 per cent of the total share. However, the 1990s saw the arrival on the scene of new players, such as China. By 1998, China had become the third most important exporter worldwide. Although reliable figures are hard to come by, UNESCO confirms that, based on the exponential growth of the movement of audiovisual products, multimedia and software during the 1990s, the volume of international trade in cultural goods did increase during that time.

In 1998, global retail sales of recorded music amounted to \$38,671 million, whereas in 1990 the figure was only \$27,000 million. In 1996, cultural products became the largest US export (\$60,200 million), surpassing for the first time all the traditional industries such as automobiles, agriculture or aerospace and defence. Similarly copyright-based cultural industries in the US grew three times as fast as the annual rate of the economy, according to the 1998 report by the International Intellectual Property Alliance.

Major changes in the configuration of the cultural industries market were recorded in the 1990s. Such changes go hand in hand with the explosion of new technologies and the establishment of regulatory standards at international, regional and national level. The movement of culture-linked goods and services changed drastically.

The cultural industries sector is in full expansion. Children's book fair, Nairobi, Kenya

Controlling cultural resources encourages home-grown, endogenous development. Home of the Nigerian artist Nike, filled with art work, Lagos, Nigeria



©Betty Press/Panos Pictures

At the same time as becoming more international, a process of concentration took place, giving rise to huge global production and circulation groups.

Such developments give cause for concern. The \$118,000 billion turnover generated in 1993 by the 50 largest audiovisual companies was no greater than the volume produced in 1997 by the seven premier media groups. In 1993, according to UNESCO sources, 36 per cent of companies were based in the US, 33 per cent in the EU and 26 per cent in Japan. By 1997 half of them were based in the US. Although it is not the world's biggest film producer (first place goes to India), the US film industry dominates the world market.

Although reliable figures are unavailable, all studies conducted in the field of "cultural industries" tend to give substance to one development: this sector is in full expansion and represents a considerable mass in terms of capital movements and the financial investment it generates. Controlling cultural resources encourages home-grown, endogenous development. Cultural products should, therefore, be produced and circulated ethically, with respect for different moral and cultural values, ensuring the survival of diversity as a source of genuine progress for mankind.

Cultural industries and the ACP countries

Unlike traditional industries, such as iron and steel or aeronautics, cultural industries are highly accessible to the non-industrialised countries. They can rapidly gain a share of the money these industries generate by means of the cultural wealth and diversity still to be seen in non-industrialised societies. The ACP countries can therefore contribute to a large extent to the expansion of this sector in their respective countries. They can play a role at world level in the expansion of the cultural industries, while still contributing to their countries' sustainable development.

In addition, cultural industry sectors are much more accessible because, more than investment, they require cultural resources to possess the ability to be reproduced at different levels, which is

largely within reach of the non-industrialised countries. All communities carry out non-industrial and artistic activities that can be exploited nationally and internationally. In all countries in the ACP sphere, there are national ballet companies, theatre companies, artists and traditional or modern musical groups, which, although part of a usually unsophisticated industry, generate resources and employment.

Although figures for this area are hard to come by, progress has been made in organising and publicising the cultural industries. 1993 saw the first staging of the MASA (African Performing Arts Market), 1998 the start of the FIMA (International Festival of African Fashion), and 1996 saw the first FESPAM (Pan African Music Festival). In terms of EU-ACP cultural cooperation, the EDF (European Development Fund) has financed a total of 114 projects since 1986, with an average of €740,000 per project. Financing has gone to sectors such as cinema (circulation of films, advertising) and heritage (restoration of monuments, etc).

Such examples are evidence that things are moving ahead, and the downstream consequences for the development of cultural industries in Africa are increasingly evident. Measures have been taken at world level to shield the weakest countries from foreign exchange disadvantages in this sphere, although these are not yet adequate. Among them is TRIPS (Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights), which obliges members of the WTO (World Trade Organisation) to guarantee a minimum term of protection for patents, registered trademarks, copyright and so forth.

There are still enormous gaps to be filled. The ACP countries need to set up national, regional and sub-regional strategies to develop their cultural industries, guaranteeing the creation and greater availability of cultural products while still protecting them and the cultural values for which they are a vehicle. The promotion of creativity will allow the human resources and skills that exist in these regions to be maximised, and will generate both understanding and peace – conditions essential to development. ■

Cultural industries and the ACP countries:

Problems, opportunities and cooperation

They may be scattered all over the globe, but the ACP countries nevertheless share a number of cultural characteristics. They all have undeniable diversity and resources, economic and institutional conditions that are often difficult, and considerable potential and opportunities. European development cooperation in the area of culture has been relatively limited compared with other sectors, but it is not insignificant and its role in promoting dialogue between peoples cannot be ignored.

Riccardo Gambini*

The wide variety of peoples, languages and cultures, transcending boundaries that were established in historically recent times, has led to the emergence of definite identities and traditions. It has given rise to originality of expression through many different channels: music, dance, oral traditions, crafts, sculpture, theatre, as well as architecture and décor, clothing, cuisine and social relationships. These enduring traditional resources are now the inspiration for a constantly evolving creativity in modern music, theatre, literature, the plastic arts, cinema and fashion.

The bond between people and their culture is reflected in a high level of involvement centred on traditional cultural activities. Communities, societies and associations – rural and urban, professional and religious – artistic groups and private operators all play an active role in the creation and organisation of a great many events (festivals, ceremonies, gatherings and shows) that regularly enliven a social life steeped in such traditions.

The political will of governments has been and remains another important factor. On gaining independence, they wanted to rebuild and express their identity – an identity based on the rediscovery of cultural values that had been denied or belittled during the periods of slavery and colonisation. It was also a question of consolidating national units jeopardised by the arbitrary borders that carved up the land. While this idea has sometimes been hijacked for political ends, it has helped to raise peoples' awareness of their traditional cultural heritage, to gain recognition for them abroad, to motivate and to awaken creative talent. It has also been accompanied and often relayed by cultural involvement on the part of the former colonial powers, which have donated a significant portion of their development aid to cultural exchange programmes, such as cultural centres, events, training and creative activities.

The forgotten sector

The cultural sector in ACP states currently faces major problems, at various levels. In fact, more than any other sector, culture has suffered most from the effects of the economic and political crises experienced by these countries, from the withdrawal of public funds and the decline in foreign aid. The private sector, which could or should have taken over from the state, is still not sufficiently developed nor interested enough to take the initiative. Furthermore, in an increasingly demanding international context, the cultural sector itself remains disorganised, poorly structured and relatively unprofessional. Too often, artists are not properly trained in the management of their careers and lack the support of a network of operators of appropriate level or abilities.

Against this difficult background there is no protection for countries' cultural wealth, especially for artistic talent, intellectual property and copyright. This is a serious obstacle to the development of the sector. In fact the cultural sector in ACP states is for the most part isolated from worldwide and international exchanges. More specifically the cultural industries – cinema, music, entertainment, fashion and so on – remain underdeveloped and almost entirely dependent on foreign management and support. The contrast between the sector's resources and its ability to develop those resources is immense. It is an area crying out for a beneficial cooperation policy.

As regards heritage sites, there is no shortage throughout the ACP countries, but they are very unequally distributed, often difficult to access, abandoned and dilapidated, and poorly protected from all points of view.

As regards heritage sites, there is no shortage throughout the ACP countries, but they are very unequally distributed, often difficult to access, abandoned and dilapidated, and poorly protected from all points of view.

Culture as a potential driving force behind development

Although it is currently in a precarious state, the cultural sector in ACP countries is an important source of revenue and employment and there are some musicians, singers and artists who have managed to procure an

international career. They generate a lot of money and provide employment or support for dozens of artists, craftsmen and technicians. From the plethora of dance and theatre groups, many such as Koteba, Doudou Ndiaye Rose and Ballets Africains are now working at a professional level, operating full time and able to employ many tens or even hundreds of people.

Whether full-time or part-time, the cultural sector not only generates income and employment directly, it is also a source of work related to artistic creation: light and sound technicians, craftsmen and women in wood, metal, ceramics and sewing, operators, trainers, agents and traders. This volume of work often goes unnoticed, buried in other, dominant activities.

More than any other sector, culture has suffered most from the effects of the economic and political crises experienced by these countries, from the withdrawal of public funds and the decline in foreign aid

Cultural programmes – all EDFs combined

Programmes	Budgetary instruments	Funding (Euro)
1. Cinema	NIP; RIP; T-ACP	15,450,000
2. Heritage	NIP; RIP	24,205,000
3. PSICD	NIP	16,195,000
4. Events in Europe	T-ACP	5,950,000
5. Events in ACP countries	NIP; RIP; T-ACP	5,413,000
6. Regional coordination projects	RIP	12,265,000
7. Various national projects	NIP	4,483,000
TOTAL		114 projects: 83,961,000

EDF: European Development Fund; NIP: National Indicative Programme; RIP: Regional Indicative Programme; T-ACP: "Tous ACP (All ACP)" fund.

The music and performing arts industries, cinema, fashion and tourism are all areas that would give a major boost to the economies of ACP states if they were properly organised. They are areas that are not subject to arbitrary, inordinate competition, and that generate optimum skills transferable to all modern sectors (electronics, computers, management, communications and so forth).

The foundations of a cultural economy are certainly present in ACP countries, which have an increasing number of remarkable achievements to their credit. The ideal would therefore be to harmonise and organise these foundations, so that the cultural sector might gain recognition for its role in developing societies and populations and in contributing to strategies for combating poverty.

Modern "griote" performs during international theatre festival. Traditional resources are often an inspiration for a constantly evolving creativity in modern music, theatre, literature, the plastic arts, cinema and fashion



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Cultural cooperation

Although cultural cooperation between the EU and the ACP countries is smaller than other areas of development, it is by no means insignificant. It is made up of five main parts. The first consists of the Support Programme for Decentralised Cultural Initiatives (PSICD) and similar projects. All these aim to strengthen the sector's organisational capacities, to professionalise artists and cultural bodies and to develop cultural resources through the implementation of micro-projects by decentralised operators – for example associations, societies and private operators.

The second is the programme for Support of ACP Cultural Events in Europe (PAMCE). As its name suggests, this programme helps to fund ACP cultural events in Europe, such as shows and festivals, thereby increasing the abilities of cultural operators and actors. The third is the ACP Cinema Support Programme, which consists of support for the production and distribution of ACP films. This new programme has developed from a system of occasional support for films towards a more generalised approach of structural support for cinema.

The fourth element is heritage support. Cultural heritage and its environment can play an important role in the social and economic balance of communities and populations. The European Commission is lending its support to programmes of preservation, presentation (museums) and development (for example Lalibela churches in Ethiopia). Finally there is support for individual programmes of distribution, production or training in ACP countries. National or regional programmes of support for diverse cultural events, festivals and training activities all contribute to the consolidation and professionalisation of the sector.

This cooperation is certainly significant. Together with the work of other partners, it makes an important contribution to the cultural sector in the countries where it applies. It supports initiatives and capacities for cultural dialogue in the communities concerned, within the countries, between ACP countries (regional projects) and with Europe. However, in view of the available resources and the cultural industries' current state of development, there is still some way to go. Not enough consideration has yet been given to the economic and social dimension of culture, although this is currently the subject of much discussion. ■

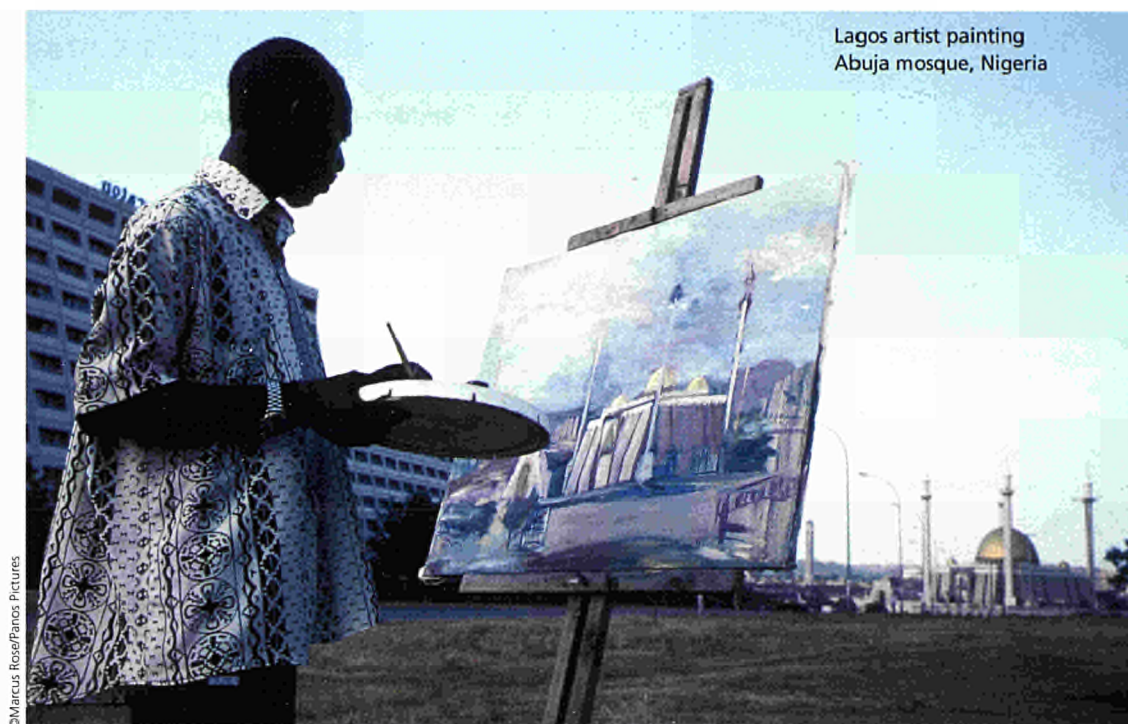
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Cultural industries and the ACP countries:

Culture and national identity

The growth of trade in cultural goods has been significant in developing countries, increasing ten-fold between 1980 and 1997 according to UNESCO. Cultural industries will in the future play an even more important role in economic development at every level. Cultural products are either transported across the globe as fast as possible (performing arts, music, literature, cinema), or the rest of the planet gravitates towards them (tourism, performing arts). In every case modern communications technologies (air travel, the web, etc) have generated an exponential increase in their powers of dissemination and circulation.

Alain Sancerni*



Lagos artist painting Abuja mosque, Nigeria

©Marcus Rose/Panos Pictures

Nowadays, cultural industries are unavoidable. Still, a love of culture is not universal. Many still view it as vain, frivolous and without purpose – something for the end of the day when work, the true accomplishment, is over. Culture is sometimes seen as an activity for the idle, for dreamers and parasites, amounting to time wasted. In former times, culture might have been described as “unprofitable”.

But this point of view doesn't take account of the social and economic significance of the cultural industries, nor the importance of cultural matters in the life of societies and communities. In fact, cultural activities create a substantial number of direct or indirect, part-time or full-time jobs against a background of generalised unemployment. They generate quality, innovation, resources and training. They also define the space where dialogue begins, between generations, classes and people of diverse allegiances. They also make possible inter-cultural dialogue, generating peace, understanding and prosperity. Culture is not simply just another economic function among many: it is the cradle of the economy, its fabric and its texture.

As well as generating resources and employment, cultural industries also generate skills and quality at the highest level: this requirement in turn gives rise to training. The movement of cultural goods creates or illustrates a de facto inter-cultural dialogue that is consolidated by the symbolic movement of values within the products themselves, where diverse traditions intersect and ancient and modern meet.

Globalisation and national identity

However the situation is a complex one, and this applies especially to the ACP countries, which are faced with major difficulties and significant threats.

Insofar as cultural activity is no longer centred, in economic terms, on the production of an object or an event, but on its dissemination, and insofar as the ACP countries in general do not manage distribution mechanisms, access to the cultural industries is, in practice, extremely difficult for them. They receive a small return, but do not control the system or truly benefit from it.

Caught up in the spiral of globalisation, the cultural order in place could, in the long term, “level out” products by adapting them to the norms of a market that trades in the lowest common denominator. The artistic productions of ACP countries are the expression of strong and diverse identities. They risk losing their originality in this game of erosion where their role is a passive one.

So how is it possible to be part of the flow of cultural products without losing one's soul – without losing one's identity and the ability to create, which these products are supposed to perpetuate? What are the conditions for equitable integration into cultural industry markets, so that both creativity and the interests of those involved can be preserved? These are universal questions, but the keenest interest in them is in the emerging countries.

It should be clearly stated, first and foremost, that cultural industries do not necessarily involve a globalisation of culture. Globalisation can be viewed as overdevelopment of the economy – its disruption and not its regulation – affecting not only agriculture, chemistry or industry but also culture and what culture produces.

Cultural industries are the natural (and, apparently, steady) development of a system of exchanges included within the general spread of modern, efficient, useful technologies and media. Culture should therefore not be thrown out with the “bathwater” of globalisation. Rather, the cultural “baby” should be taught to

swim properly. This roughly means retaining its special character and its balance within the vast amorphous mass of financial flows.

Essential conditions for cultural survival

Protecting the identities, authenticity and diversity of cultures and cultural resources; protecting and strengthening creative and expressive capabilities; and economic protection and development: these are three essential conditions for the survival of cultural industries in the Southern Hemisphere in a global society

The ACP countries, therefore, need to implement genuine cultural development policies. This means that they must create the conditions for access (production and enjoyment included) to the cultural industry sphere. Such conditions are physical and technical, political, legal and moral: sites, monuments, objets d'art and heritage, and also traditions, have to be protected, sometimes

restored. Protection has not only to be physical but also legal and institutional, along the lines of UNESCO's actions. Similarly, cultural activities and creativity need not only to be encouraged or facilitated, but also protected by law, conferring the freedom to create, express and innovate.

All communities need their sites and open spaces for creation and exhibition to be properly managed, with the technical means for doing and showing; they need management of training, through apprenticeships, at school or in specialised centres – local control of production and, above all, of distribution is an essential asset in cultural industry mechanisms, and its absence a weak link.

Last but not least, economic returns have to be managed: communities, artists and operators must receive just reward from the resources or work they offer. The wealth of nations rests largely on the efficiency with which they collect customs or fiscal duties. Yet this rule is ignored in the case of cultural products. Implausibly, culture is commonly denied the least economic function (value). It is undoubtedly this legal, economic and cultural weakness wherein lies the ACP countries' most serious handicap in cultural industry terms – the returns, not public aid, generate productions.

So the problem is one of organising the cultural sector and ensuring basic conditions for those in it, so that they can in all security give expression to the resources they possess and communicate them to others, while still retaining the identities they have chosen. Regulations will have to be introduced that directly affect neither the freedom to create nor the freedom of exchange, but that preserve the personality and individuality of all. ■

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What are the conditions for equitable integration into cultural industry markets, so that both creativity and the interests of those involved can be preserved? These are universal questions, but the keenest interest in them is in the emerging countries

Culture and employment in the ACP countries

The political importance of culture cannot be denied – nor can its economic importance. However, the financial dimension of culture, based on national and international exchanges, tends to conceal the sector's social dimension. Cultural goods, productions and exchanges also amount to work, jobs and, ultimately, income.

Firstly, there are the direct, waged 'artistic' jobs, ranging from craftsmen and women, dance troupes, music ensembles, and amateur or semi-professional theatre companies to groups of professionals whose members may number in the hundreds. The sculptors, designers, stylists and film-makers who naturally form part of the international market must also be included.

Secondly, there are the jobs that arise from creativity and cultural resources: artisans use apprentices, sculptors and designers use artisans, fashion stylists use couturiers and hair stylists – the list is endless.

At every level, cultural activities as a whole form a services 'network', consisting of agents, producers, advisers, communicators and, of course, those who handle ticketing, maintenance, policing, etc. Cinema in the ACP countries is still underdeveloped, but just one film can mobilise a veritable army of artistes, executives, agents and technicians.

Lastly, on occasion, a range of non-cultural, but dependent, activities is generated in association with cultural and artistic events: catering, hotel services, and small business.

Admittedly, often, a lack of structuring accounts for why a large proportion of cultural work is not based on 'trader'. Part-time working is often the rule. Yet, some will use their skills to illustrate to others how the little that they earn is just what they need to balance their domestic or community budget.

At a time when – against a background of all-out liberalisation – small- and medium-sized businesses in the ACP countries are facing almost insurmountable difficulties, a serious study of cultural employment and the sector's potential – using analytical and definition methodology that takes into account the organisation and reality of society in such countries – would assuredly throw up a number of surprises and dispel many preconceptions regarding the place and role of culture in development strategies. Is it really necessary to reiterate that the cultural uniqueness of each region, country or community is a decisive comparative advantage in a system subject to the harsh rules of competition?



"En attendant le bonheur-Heremakono" by Abdehrramane Sissako. Cinema in the ACP countries is still underdeveloped, but just one film can mobilise a veritable army of artistes, executives, agents and technicians

Don't mention culture!

A wasting asset – making more of cultural industries in the ACP countries

The "creativity industries" are what make rich countries rich. Their scarcity in the poorer ones reflects, and in some respects helps to maintain, those countries' underdevelopment. Where they flourish, their success should teach valuable lessons for future EU-ACP cooperation.

Hegel Goutier*

What is the leading export product of the United States? Which activity sector is it that gives the United States, the most powerful nation that history has ever known, its financial power? The answer is the cultural sector, or in broader terms the creativity sector. And which economic sector tends to be least developed in poor countries? The answer is the same.

So what do people in the most highly developed economy in the world do with a GDP of \$9.3 trillion? Bruce Lehman, president of the International Intellectual Property Institute, was keen to find out. He based his analysis on World Bank statistics (according to which barely 18 of the 134 million workers in America are employed by the manufacturing industries) and believes he has found the answer. From intangible intellectual property, which "consists of nothing more than organised thoughts created by the human mind," they produce a new information exchange protocol for the Internet, a fiction film, a video game or a gene treatment. At this stage there are no physical media involved and very little backing is required.

The American cinema industry alone creates more jobs than the whole of the defence industry. In such sectors the United States needs continually to welcome foreign workers – 182,000 highly qualified technicians over three years. A high percentage of these come from developing countries.

But in discussing America's flourishing creative industries steer clear of the term "culture". Key the phrase "cultural products" into an Internet search engine and you will find a myriad of site addresses in Ontario, Lancashire, Tasmania, but virtually none in the United States. People in the US are wary of the starchy overtones of the word "culture" in social relations, and are especially mindful of the frightful connotation it has in the field of business. Rather, they speak of the cinema, media, record or fashion industries.

Overcoming the "image deficit"

In theory each and every individual is on an equal footing when it comes to inventing or making creative products, but this is not the case in practice. The successful promotion of products is dependent on a host of factors. One of these is the image of the exporting country or region. Africa has been severely plagued by an "image deficit" and is stuck in a rut carved out for it by centuries of slavery and colonialism. Who would think that since at least the end of the nineteenth century this continent has been in the vanguard of the graphic arts and music? Since then Africa has been a major influence on all the major movements of Western art, from expressionist painting to cubism, from modern choreography to music.



Cesaria Evora (Cape Verde)
"Stars such as Cesaria Evora, Caetano Veloso, Youssou N'Dour and Mercedes Sosa are outshining American and English stars"

Luc Cheffert/Couleur Café 2002

Jazz, Afro-Cuban music and rock continue to nurture musical creation in all corners of the earth. African art was for a long time deprived of recognition as art for art's sake, rather than as a manifestation of tradition or religion or as a utilitarian artefact. Up until very recently museums such as the Louvre refused to exhibit African masterpieces, relegating them to ethnological displays. One of the greatest living sculptors on the planet, Ousmane Sow, is still refused exhibition space in the major modern art museums of Europe.

The use of "traditional abstraction" in Shona sculpture is widely acknowledged. The Shona school is one of the African art schools that has inspired the revolutionary art forms of artists such as Picasso, Modigliani, Vlaminck, Braque and Matisse. Yet it is not just Africa that suffers because of this reluctance to accept that other peoples – the "imaginary barbarian", to quote Laënnec Hurbon – have cultures.

The image deficit is not an inescapable fate, as the United States has shown. Its leading export product is cultural. "What culture?" cry the elitists. The Americans are not unduly concerned. Popular acceptance is the yardstick by which its products will be judged. Prejudices can be overcome. You just have to find the right way of going about it.

In certain sectors where the expression of creativity does not require any great effort, such as musical creation, an increasingly large share of the market is held by South Americans. Tastes are becoming more and more eclectic. African and Latin American touches have proved a success in even the most highly protected markets. Stars such as Cesaria Evora, Caetano Veloso, Youssou N'Dour and Mercedes Sosa are outshining American and English stars. In Latin America the record industry brought in \$2.5 billion in 1997. So what about Africa?

Until he set up his own recording studio and was able to control the manufacture and distribution of his records, Bob Marley earned only trifling amounts from his hits compared with the tidy sums pocketed by his producers and distributors. The studios that went on to flourish in Jamaica not only enabled local artists to command more money but also enticed a number of foreign artists to Jamaican shores – from Serge Gainsbourg to Eric Clapton. The result: the creation of new jobs for musicians and accompanists, audio technicians, restaurateurs and so on.

The Canadian example

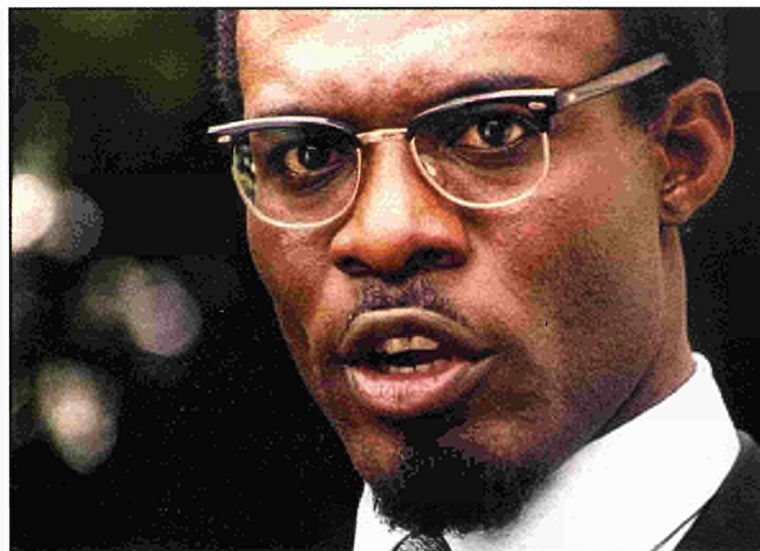
Despite its wealth, Canada used to appear fragile and vulnerable compared with its giant neighbour. Some twenty years ago it began to develop a cultural defence programme using all the weapons available to it. There was a barrage of incentives, protectionist policies and political, legal and fiscal measures.

One such incentive saw embassies devoting their energies to the creativity industries. They undertook to respond positively to all the requests submitted by these industries within five days. Each business received tailored support. The result was a thriving sector achieving increasing recognition in foreign markets and with booming businesses – notably book publishing, the record and cinema industries, audiovisual programmes, art and fashion, museum goods and services and publications.

Canada's breakthrough is probably most obvious in the entertainment industries. Companies such as Cirque du Soleil have become huge businesses. One of the poorer areas of Montreal is being transformed into a "circus city", with a range of entrepreneurial activity rallying around in support of

this art. Cirque du Soleil is not only producing and exporting its own troops' shows on a much bigger scale, but also those of other troops from around the world. It expects to create a great many new jobs, above all for the district's underprivileged occupants.

Up until very recently museums such as the Louvre have refused to exhibit African masterpieces, relegating them to ethnological displays.



Still from the film "Lumumba". Its director – Raoul Peck – filmmaker and Haiti's former minister of culture, was part of the team which set up the Eldorado Foundation in Haiti.

Eldorado

ACP initiatives might not compare with Canada or the EU countries, but some – both public and private – deserve further attention. Apart from the musical successes mentioned earlier, one success story is the creation of FIMA – the International Festival of African Fashion – by the dynamic Niger-born designer, Alphadi. Another highly ambitious project, which is only now beginning to get off the ground in difficult conditions, is that of the Eldorado Foundation in Haiti.

This was set up by a team led by Raoul Peck, a filmmaker and former minister of culture. The project, not unlike that of the Montreal circus city, is primarily concerned with cinema – an art closely associated with a great many professions, from shoe-repair to dressmaking, from painting to multimedia. This project will involve a high degree of training and an equally high degree of South-South cooperation – the intention is to get specialists and apprentices from other countries on board, in particular those from the ACP regions.

Culture: bottom of the ACP-EU list

The communications market in the majority of developed countries, following the example of the United States, has seen a spectacular rate of growth, reaching 400 per cent for exports between 1980 and 1998. The potential wealth of the sector cannot have gone unnoticed by donors. During the period 1989-2000 (6th, 7th, and 8th EDF), the financial instruments of ACP-EU cooperation have, however, only assigned – despite progressive increases – an amount of €116 million to cultural projects in the ACP countries (covering approximately 380 projects, added to which there were a number of other projects financed on other budget lines). The 114 projects which are currently underway, representing an amount of €84 million include a heritage preservation programme (€24.2 million), a programme in support of decentralised cultural initiatives (€16.2 million), a cinema project (€15.5 million), regional coordination programmes (€12.2 million), an "Events in Europe" programme

©Béatrice Soulé



Sculpture by Ousmane Sow

(€6 million), an "Events in ACP countries" programme (€5.4 million) and various national projects (€4.5 million).

There used to exist a body set up by Lomé IV called the ACP-EU Cultural Foundation. Since it was disbanded any decisions on the financing of projects fall to the European Commission. Those in charge of cultural cooperation in its delegations are not always experts in the culture of ACP countries and the choices they make are not always judicious. The principles governing the Lomé agreements and the Cotonou Agreement support the idea that the recipient countries should decide their own priorities.

In this way the ACP countries would only have themselves to blame for failing to give their creative industries priority. In practice the decision to finance a project takes the form of a kind of negotiation in which the donor's advisers have the greatest say. Despite this, the amounts of public development assistance assigned to culture by the Cotonou and Lomé Agreements are much higher than the offerings of other donors.

Next steps for ACP countries

Against the evidence, institutional donors and recipients continue to view culture as superfluous and frivolous. In order to combat this attitude, the ACP countries must first take a number of measures themselves.

The production sectors in poor countries – including culture – have shortfalls in a whole host of areas: level of supply, know-how, financial resources, management, competitiveness, incentives, investments, local confidence in young enterprises, the promotion of products, legal and fiscal structures. This list alone gives a pretty good idea of the work that lies ahead, at local, regional and international level.

The various countries and regions, and in some cases the ACP Group as a whole, should concentrate their efforts on basic education in art-related professions, vocational training and export methods. UNESCO recommendations go further still. They range from the protection of royalties for the work of LDC creators to access to credit at low interest rates, tax incentive schemes and favourable telecommunications and postal tariffs. Other recommendations include discounted rates for radio and TV advertising and the implementation of a copyrighting system enabling libraries, including multimedia libraries, to be set up at low cost. Taxes imposed on imported cultural products, such as films, records and books, would be assigned exclusively to the creativity industries.

Firstly, it is vital that the creativity industries are regarded as an integral part of the industrial sector, which would mean support from the Centre for Development of Enterprises (CDE). It would be wise to amass a series of tools for use by ACP companies, without which ACP budgets would have to be spread very thin. Currently about 60 per cent of the CDE's budget goes on operating costs. A consolidated CDE could lead the way to a central organisation for the management of the aid coming in from all institutional donors. Whatever the mobilised body, an all-ACP tool would enable economies of scale.

Not just the icing on the cake

Major investment programmes could be drawn up for the areas in which the ACP countries have distinct comparative advantages, for example music, fashion, suitable landscapes for filming and artwork for publications and for animated films. Film production facilities in each ACP region could be viable. As things stand at the moment a number of films on black Africa are currently shot elsewhere, for example in North Africa, the United States and Spain. These projects should model themselves on the Eldorado concept, whereby artisans and industries work together alongside skilled workers from other countries in the region.

Vital checks must be implemented to ensure respect for ACP intellectual property rights, preferably by a body appointed by the group as a whole. A regional office dedicated to promoting the creativity industries would identify potential partnerships, make available market research studies on target countries, provide export assistance, facilitate administrative procedures and, where necessary, act as guarantor for artisans and manufacturers.

One of the key promotional initiatives ought to be the creation of an electronic database of all ACP creators and artisans, accessible via the Internet and organised under a series of headings, such as products, raw materials, music distributors, film distributors, show producers, cultural enterprise managers and countries.

All this may sound very ambitious, but the arguments for such ambition are economic, not just cultural. The evidence suggests that culture in the broadest sense is not just the icing on the cake, but part of the cake itself. ■

* Head of the Press and Communication Service, ACP General Secretariat

The music scene in the countries of the South

While more and more singers from the South are enjoying international success, in their native countries the music industry is still struggling to establish itself.

Eyoum Nguène

Somewhere between Ghetto and World Music

Every year, internationally renowned African artists sell hundreds of thousands of records and perform to packed venues all over the world. Yet Africa is still very much a lightweight in the international music industry. Phil Hardy, founding editor of Music & Copyright, estimated that the entire continent of Africa collected just 0.43 per cent of the global value of music publishing revenues in 1997, in a speech he made at a workshop on the development of the music industry in Africa held on 20 and 21 June 2001 in Washington DC.

However, the flows of money generated by the production and distribution of cassettes and records are very much a reality in Africa. According to Musicology professor John Collins¹, Ghana has some 50,000 professional and semi-professional musicians who could be potential export earners to the tune of \$53 million in terms of sales and royalties each year. Collins based his figure on a World Bank report that estimated annual CD sales of African or African-inspired World Music to be worth \$1.5 billion. And with Ghana representing 3.6 per cent of the African

population, he arrived at this theoretical figure that bears little relation to reality.

Statistical inaccuracies

During the abovementioned workshop, Amartya Sen lamented that “the contributions to the richness of human lives made by the creative arts does not figure much in the gross national product (GNP), or for that matter in the Human Development Index (HDI)”. This is all the more true since the situation in ACP countries is often distorted by often doubtful economic and demographic statistics. Data available on the music industry – where available at all – is minimal. Compilers of statistics in the various countries find it difficult to gauge the share of the macro-economy represented by music for many reasons, including piracy, tax fraud and the tendency of local producers to play down the quantities produced in order to avoid paying customs duties and artists’ royalties.

The sales figures for the album “1er Gaou”, which was a hit for Magic System, a zouglou (Abidjan ghetto music) group from



Côte d'Ivoire, are a good illustration of this problem of quantifying the contribution made by the music industry to an economy. A dispatch from the Panafrican Information Agency (PANA) on 9 July 2001 enthused, "1er Gaou has sold three million copies, records and CDs combined". However, on 13 December of the same year, an article in the French newspaper *Le Monde* claimed "one million cassettes sold officially, and no doubt twice that illegally" for the same album which had been released in 1999. Meanwhile, Next Music, which is promoting a new version of the album in 2002, declared that 50,000 CDs and singles of the Bob Sinclair remix had been sold in France, denying any knowledge of the original version produced elsewhere. Out of such chaos, how can the amount of royalties owed to the members of Magic System be calculated? And how much should the economy of Côte d'Ivoire receive as its share?

This uncertainty surrounding figures proves that African music is truly expanding. With talk of hundreds of thousands of CDs or cassettes, Magic System and other African groups can rest assured that the music business is doing well. Cameroonian Simon Njonang Lowé produces African music in Paris. He believes that "music is profitable for those who really invest in it, who make it their life". As proof he points to the fact that more and more Africans are getting into music production.

Certainly, production in Africa has its peculiarities: people buy cassettes rather than CDs, and prices are lower, in line with the cost of living. In Mali, for example, a cassette costs less than €1.50. Likewise, the African music industry is crippled by a lack of infrastructure, such as performance venues, quality recording studios, training centres, etc.

The scourge of piracy

But it is piracy that poses the greatest threat to the music industry in Africa. According to a report published by the IFPI (International Federation of the Phonographic Industry) in June 2002, music piracy doubled worldwide between 2000 and 2001, mainly because of Napster-type peer-to-peer networks. However, the IFPI's report barely touches on ACP countries. In the table published by the federation showing piracy levels in countries in 2001, Kenya and Nigeria appear with a rate of over 50 per cent while Ghana, South Africa and Zimbabwe are among countries whose piracy rate varies between 10 and 25 per cent. No other African country gets a mention. Certainly, the problem of statistics arises here too, even if it is considered that the piracy rates are sometimes extreme. In most ACP countries the main perpetrators of this crime are known by name but the police let them be "because culture is not a priority in Africa" – a view perhaps shared by some culture ministers. According to Simon Njonang, "State authorities in Africa do not seem to realise the importance of the music industry. If they would only clamp down on piracy, the income for the State from taxes, customs duties, royalties and other sources would be huge". He is referring to the contraband cassettes manufactured offshore, which, by the container-load, constitute unfair competition to products that must meet real costs. The situation is not much better as regards management and the payment of royalties. In most countries, there are dis-

© Marie Moreau



Mamani Keita, a traditional Malian singer, in association with France's Marc Minelli, who specialises in computer-generated music

putes between artists and the authorities over legal and financial issues involving royalties. Indeed, in June 2002 Cameroon simply dissolved its Copyright Office precisely because of repeated financial misdealings.

Despite these problems, many musicians residing in Africa do manage to make a living from their music. Some take advantage of the commercial success of an album to launch themselves in business, investing in property, in the training of youngsters or in music. These include people such as Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (Nigeria) who, despite the military regimes he was up against, managed to live fairly comfortably off his talent, San Fan Thomas, who established Cameroon's first private "24 track" Makassi studio in Douala, indeed Alpha Blondy, who owns a production company, a studio (RFK) and a performance venue that can hold 100,000 people in Grand Bassam. Another, Senegal's Youssou N'dour, has a number of investments, in the media (Info 7) and entertainment, to name but a few.

An African Nashville?

Such investment from graduates of the music industry does enable improvements in the performance of young artists in the countries concerned, but they are still very isolated cases. In general, African music can as yet offer no phenomenon comparable to Nashville, the home of country music in Tennessee, which has nurtured this genre of music and seen it flourish. However, Paul Collier, Director of the Development Research Department at the World Bank, appears optimistic about the future of African music. He sums up African music as follows: "The economies of most African states are desperately small. Moreover primary commodities dominate their economic structure. (...) At the practical level, the music industry has the potential to have a big impact on economic structures precisely because these economies are so small. You only need one or two real successes – you only need a Nashville – and you have transformed the export structure of an

economy away from primary commodity dependence, and that will have major effects." So, which city could be Africa's answer to Nashville? One candidate is Abidjan which, during the 1970s and 1980s was the centre of activity for artists from Guinea, Mali, Cameroon, the DRC and the Republic of Congo, who found there the perfect conditions to foster their careers. Now, with the economy in crisis and political instability, musicians prefer to take themselves off to Europe.

Talent drain

Just like the intellectual and business talent from the South, a great many African artists have set off for the West to develop their art. At the same time, many African producers have also taken up residence in Europe and North America. Like the record labels specialising in Afro-Caribbean music, which for decades have prospered, it is safe to say that the future of the ACP music industries will be played out primarily in the North. Before all this, as French music expert Charles Duvelle remembers, "it was difficult to find African music in the West. In Paris, you had to know the two or three bars frequented by Africans, or maybe a trader specialising in such music if you wanted to listen to African sounds." Now record shops all over Europe stock African music. Slovenian music critic Zoran Pistotnik recalls that "since the end of the 1970s, student radio has brought us the music of artists such as Fela, Miriam Makeba and Osibisa, a group from Ghana, and this has led to African musicians being invited to the Druga Godba festival which is held every summer in Ljubljana".

The Afro-Caribbean scene in France really took off in the early 1980s at the first World Music market with the triumph of Senegal's Touré Kounda and West Indian group Kassav, a pioneer of zouk music. This trend was consolidated by Salif Keita and, above all, the worldwide success of Mory Kanté's symbolic hit "Yèkè Yèkè". Not to mention Alpha Blondy, the Rastafarian from Côte d'Ivoire, Zaire's Ray Léma, the arranger Boncana Maïga, Ismaël Lô, Ugandan Geoffrey Oryema, Ali Farka Touré and Papa Wemba. Ladysmith Black Mambazo's "Best of" album sold 800,000 copies in the UK.

The trend set, it just needed an injection of imagination to boost sales. The "belated" discovery of Cesaria Evora made the reputation of record label Lusafrika. In the same vein, a well-orchestrated marketing campaign for Compay Segundo ensured the success of the Buena Vista Social Club album and kick-started the Cuban music phenomenon. The major players also got in on the act. In 1999 Sony Music launched the very first album by the Cool Crooners, a group of four "granddads" from a township in Bulawayo (Zimbabwe's second city). Marie Planeille, head of the EPIC label at Sony Music says, "it was a real fairytale for them. They had been playing great music since the forties and fifties, singing in bars. Then Patrick Meunier discovered this group of outstanding singers while working on "Lumumba", the film by Raoul Peck. Less than three years later, they had 40 dates lined up for their Western tour".

At Universal, the world's leading record label, Benoît Brayer, head of the Crossover department in Paris, believes that "the public in the West is clamouring for hybrids, they want to discover new types of music, provided that they can relate to it". The

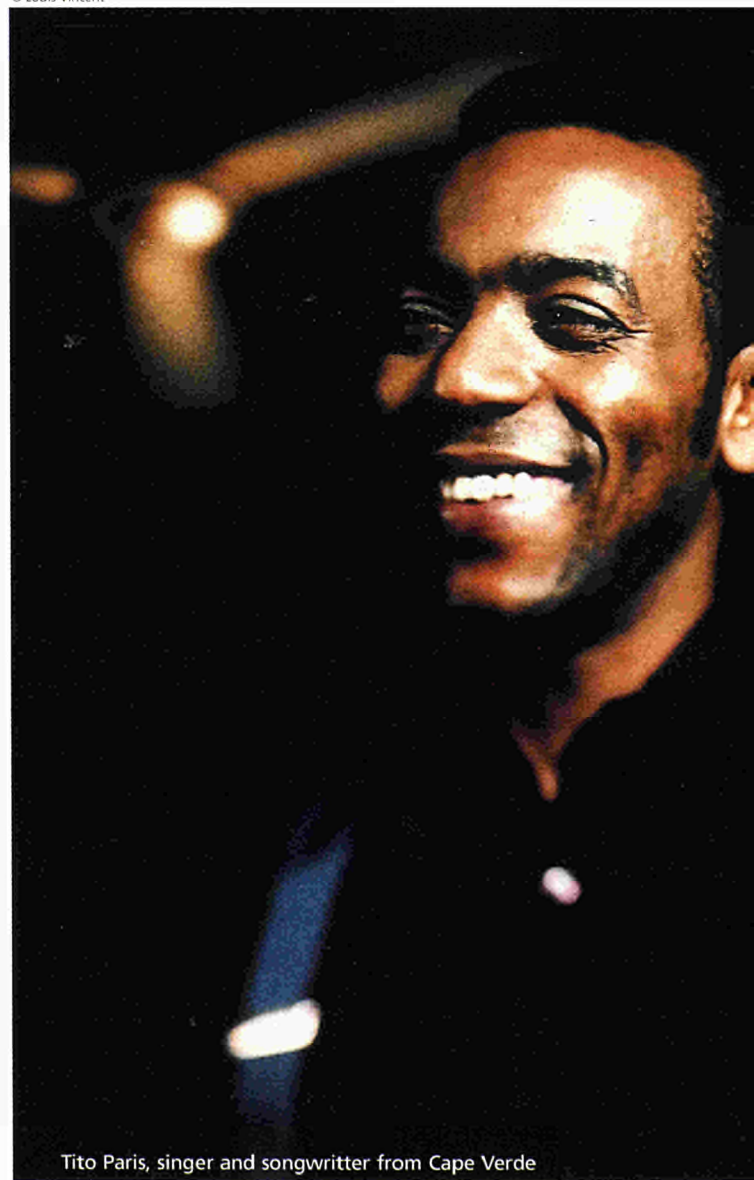
potential profit is the main factor. Hence the unprecedented experiment of "Electro Bamako" released by Mamani Keita, a traditional Malian singer, in association with France's Marc Minelli, who specialises in computer-generated music.

Unfortunately though, all these multinationals do not have a lot to offer the African music industry. For the artists from the South that they take under their wing they can open the road to success. The executives and the labels leave them to use their own networks to distribute their records themselves and try to combat piracy in their native countries.

A meagre lot for such a capital-rich environment. Proof that more than ever Africa needs its own Nashville! ■

1. In West Africa, 19-25 August 2002

© Louis Vincent



Tito Paris, singer and songwriter from Cape Verde

Fashion:

Africa competes with the best

African winners are generally confined to the worlds of sport and music. But the continent harbours a wealth of talent and potential in other disciplines. Fashion is one of them. Over the years it has become a truly international business.

Renée Mendy-Ongoundou*

The fashion sector in Africa is supported by a flourishing textile industry and creative designers, the majority of whom are college graduates. Contemporary African fashion has shown that it can compete with the big boys through international shows held on the continent. These include Simod (International Fashion Week), organised in Senegal by designer and costumier Oumou Sy; Fima (International Festival of African Fashion), launched on the initiative of Nigerian designer Alphadi; and Africa Designs, organised by South African television channel M-Net.

African designers, drawing inspiration from their rich cultural heritage, are adapting – each in their own style – ancestral techniques to modern cuts and methods. They produce bubus, dresses, trousers and suits cut from authentic fabrics: rabal from Senegal, kita from Côte d'Ivoire, kente from Ghana and aso-oke from Nigeria, to name but a few. The dyeing business (indigo, dyed bazin, etc), for many years the preserve of the Guineas, has become firmly established in Mali and Burkina Faso.

As African fashion begins to emerge and make its mark, symbols that adorned traditional fabrics are being rediscovered: ndop from Cameroon, n'tschack in raffia made by the Kuba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the korhogo motifs from Côte d'Ivoire and the appliqués on drapes from Abomey (Benin). In addition there is a rich and varied craft sector at the service of the fashion designers, including tanners, jewellers and embroiderers.

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The African textile industry in figures

- In 1990, the textile market in Central and West Africa, including Nigeria, was estimated to be worth CFAF 100 billion (about €152.5 million). 60 per cent of this came from fabric manufacturing, four per cent prêt-à-porter, three per cent hosiery, 10 per cent clothing, seven per cent household items, six per cent second-hand clothing and 10 per cent retailers and various others. With the growth in population and increases in the price of goods, the current figures will be much higher (Source: Sofreco and Seres Study [1994] for the French Ministry of Cooperation).
- According to recent estimates, fabric consumption doubled between 1990 and 1996 in Benin alone, when it stood at around CFAF 10 billion (around €15.25 million) per year. It is worth noting that although second-hand clothing accounts for little in terms of turnover, the actual number of units it represents is high, particularly in the CFA zone.
- According to the same source, the textile industry (tailors, retailers, craftsmen, etc.) accounts for 10 million jobs in the formal and informal sectors, ie five per cent of the working population. 75 per cent of textiles manufactured in Africa are used in clothing.
- The Libreville 2000 report, published by the Textiles Department of the WTO (World Trade Organisation) in November of that year, says that African textile exports to developed countries, particularly Japan, the US, Canada and the EU, reached \$913 million in 1999, with 7.9 billion in clothing.
- In a 1999 report the WTO noted that African countries' textile imports represented just 7.7 per cent of the world total and that 21 per cent of African goods exported were clothes, double that of the other world players.
- Europe imports 7 to 8 times more African products than the US. This trend is set to continue in coming years, despite the African Growth and Opportunities Act, which announced a new era for trade between Africa and the US.
- In 2000, "Textiles Africains" magazine (August-September edition) named Tunisia as the world's leading supplier of clothes (particularly trousers), closely followed by Mauritius and Morocco. South Africa and Egypt are major textiles countries – the value of South African textile exports has risen from \$167 million in 1990 to \$225 million in 1999.

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Unsupported potential

From Dakar to Nairobi, Accra to Johannesburg, there are many outstanding designers whose creations are as marketable as they are innovative. Names such as B'Exotiq, Ly Dumas, Collé Sow Ardo, Claire Kane, Jimmy Delaja, Eric Raisina, Clara Lawson, Oumou Sy and Pathé'O are now well known in the fashion world. Although there is no shortage of talent, textile tradition or even industrial textiles, what is lacking in Africa is a policy dealing with fashion as a sector. As a result potential backers are wary or just not interested. With the notable exceptions of Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa, it seems that the vast majority of African governments cannot see the economic potential of fashion.

But developing fashion could have a very positive effect on the continent's development – subject, of course, to some basic prerequisites. Africa is crying out for the establishment of quality design and modelling colleges, the launch and promotion of

authentic African prêt-à-porter brands, increased competitiveness in the local textile industry and the adaptation of the latter to the international market – essential changes needing the involvement of the state.

A "young African" style

A truly international phenomenon, fashion brings people together, especially young people. By copying the images they see on advertisements for large, Western clothing firms, teenagers in Benin, South Africa or Antigua end up resembling their Austrian, French or Belgian counterparts. But despite the attraction of these Western designer brands – whether authentic or fake – and despite their poor buying power, which often means that they have to buy second-hand clothes, greater numbers of young Africans are dressing in their own style. This is a bold and harmonious mixture of colours, materials and cuts drawing inspiration from the West, the East and from Africa itself. It has created

a trend and a market whose exceptional potential has caught the eye of the large textile companies. So much so that some firms are venturing to predict that future summer seasons will be “ethnic-African” or nothing. In any case it is now clear that there is a market there for the taking, for the inexpensive “young African” style.

Recognised creativity

African creativity is appreciated the world over. For proof look no further than the greatest names in haute couture. Jean-Paul Gaultier, Kenzo, La Croix, Paco Rabanne, Carven and Yves Saint-Laurent have for decades taken inspiration from the African continent. Nor is it a coincidence that the United States imports millions of yards of African fabric every year. It is no longer uncommon to see the podiums at international fashion shows adorned with superb designs on magnificent materials from Madagascar, Mali, Niger or Burkina Faso. In Europe these materials are also used in interior design.

Paradoxically, African leaders seem to be the only ones who cannot see the enormous social and economic importance of the fashion industry – either through lack of vision, of information or of ambition. Instead of making do with the scraps left by the major industrial groups, it is time Africa organised itself to obtain its proper share of a business that includes the marketing of fabric, of accessories (such as pearls and cowries) and of crafts.

Former Malian Culture Minister, Aminata Traoré, tried on numerous occasions to encourage discussion on the subject. In December 1998, during the presentation of trophies by the Prince Claus Foundation¹ at the Royal Palace in Amsterdam, she called on African political decision-makers to take an interest in the fashion sector. But her appeal fell on deaf ears.

Radical changes needed with coming liberalisation

Against such a background, stories such as that of the Tantou Centre in Mali’s capital, Bamako, come as no surprise. Set up in 1981 with finance from the European Development Fund, it has thirty or so dyers and has developed around 80 shades of textile dye. Every day the Centre produces a thousand metres of bazin (a damask-type fabric) dyed in shimmering colours from white cotton fabric, generally 100 per cent cotton bazin. Through its website it receives orders from all over the world, giving it every reason to believe in its future.

And yet its founder, Tantou Kente, remains bitter: “For reasons that even the dyers themselves cannot explain, Malian cotton is sent off to Europe and then returns to Mali. Malian dyers are thus dependent on Europe for the supply of these materials whose quality they cannot control. Since the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994, dyers have been complaining of the quality of this cotton fabric, which they have no choice but to buy...” This is the paradox: Mali is one of the world’s leading producers of cotton, but there are no factories in the country that can process the raw material.

In 2005 the world textile market will be opened up, with the end of the Multi Fibre Agreements (MFA²) and their extension, the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC). If the African

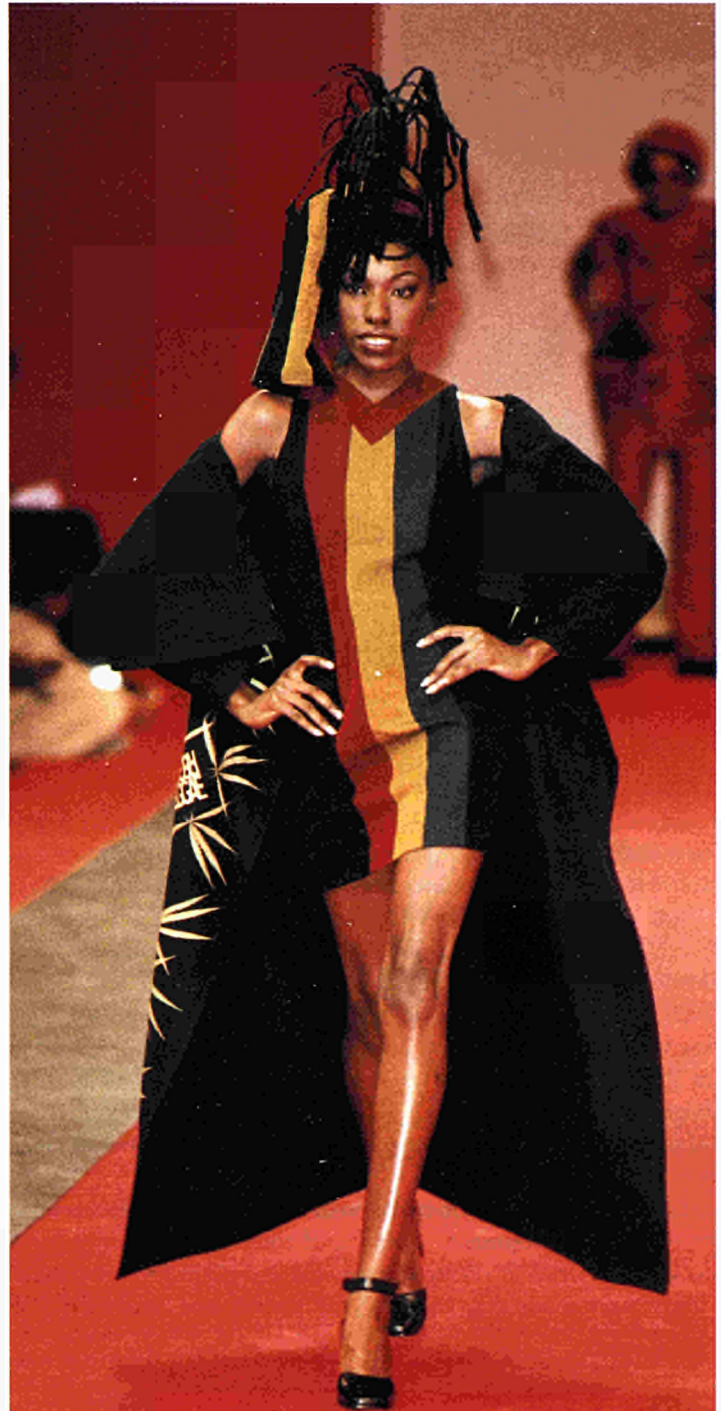
textile industry is to have any hope of benefiting, with all the other developing countries, from this liberalisation, it will have to make some radical changes and bring itself up to date. ■

* Journalist for Amina magazine

Author of “Elégances Africaines” (Alternatives graphiques) - ISBN 2 86227 356 2
Available from 16 October 2002

1. The Prince Claus Foundation is a Dutch NGO whose work includes the promotion of intercultural trade.
2. The first Multi Fibre Agreement (MFA) was established in 1973, imposing bilateral quotas on exports from developing countries. The aim was to achieve progressive, controlled liberalisation of trade while protecting the market from excessive impacts. Extended three times, the MFA profoundly shook up conditions of competition, not only between developing and developed countries but also within each of these categories. During the Uruguay Round negotiations, participating countries agreed to bring the sector gradually back within the GATT’s non-discrimination rules. The ATC (Agreement on Textiles and Clothing) lays down the conditions for this reintegration by 2005.

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African children's literature

"African authors and illustrators need the means to become professional"

Children's literature has for many years been regarded as a minority genre and often passed over in favour of other priorities, particularly in Africa. Now children's literature is fighting back. However, as **Dominique Mwankumi** and **Jean-Claude Kimona*** explain in this article, despite the potential of this sector, the majority of African authors and illustrators are hindered by amateurism and do not have the structures they need to allow them to work professionally. Illusafrica, the association they set up with fellow artist Christian Kingué in 1999, has the goal of helping authors/illustrators become professional.



Street children, Kinshasa
Drawing by a young Congolese artist, Bongese, at a training workshop run by Illusafrica

Children's literature, a genre in its own right

"Baleke babueki nsuki, tumbu kua ba mbuta"

(If the children's hair turns red, it is the adults' fault: Bakongo proverb)

In recent years, African children's literature has blossomed both in Europe and in Africa, growing in popularity as never before. Indeed, many would say the genre is enjoying a renaissance in Africa, attracting the interest of university scholars, as, for instance, researchers at the Institut Charles Perrault in France and the number of Africans who have written doctoral theses on the subject.

DOMINIQUE MWANKUMI
PRINCE DE LA RUE



In recent years, African children's literature has blossomed both in Europe and in Africa, growing in popularity as never before

Look no further than "La Joie Par Les Livres" (The joy of Books), an agency run by the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, with the purpose of encouraging initiatives to foster access for children to books and reading, and to promote quality children's literature. Through its Intercultural Department, set up in 1986, it gives constant coverage to African children's literature in its magazine "Takam-Tikou". It has also organised promotional events centred around African children's literature, such as the "Amhabuku" book fair organised in Bologna, Italy in 1999. This successful fair was an important landmark, particularly for African authors and illustrators, who were highly considered at the event.

Similarly, the IBBY (International Board on Books for Young people), founded in Zurich in 1953 and with member countries from all over the world, will pay homage to African children's literature at its 29th Conference in Cape Town on 5-9 September 2004. The theme of the conference will be "The Renaissance of African Children's Literature".

The Africa of tomorrow depends on how we bring up the children of today.

It is mainly thanks to the joint efforts of state and private bodies from both the North and the South, and of international bodies such as UNESCO, the Agence Intergouvernementale de la Francophonie (Intergovernmental Association of French-speaking Communities), the European Union and Africalia (a Belgian initiative) that activities such as exhibitions, education-



Illustration Africaine

"La Joie Par Les Livres" (The joy of books) run by the French Ministry of Culture, gives constant coverage to African children's literature in its magazine "Takam-Tikou"

al workshops, conferences, round tables, etc, have been organised in recent years with the involvement of experts in the field. These activities represent both proof and acknowledgement of the vitality of this sector which is so essential for the development and education of Africa's children.

Helping authors and illustrators to become professional

Thus, a North-South partnership for children's literature is beginning to bear fruit.

In this vein, and after the fashion of other African associations, Illusafrica was

founded in 1999 by three artists, Dominique Mwankumi, Jean-Claude Kimona and Christian Kingué Epanya, after they had taken part in the International Book Fair in Bologna. Many African artists there believed there was a need to help authors and illustrators of children's books become professional. Specifically, illustrators working in certain African countries were badly in need of training. Illusafrica, as an initiative created by African artists for Africans, is anxious to contribute to this rebirth and above all to help resolve this key problem of training.

The aim of this pan-African illustrators' association is to help African authors and illustrators of children's books to develop a professional career and also to create a children's literature network in Africa. The organisation would ultimately like to set up an illustrators' publishing house for the whole of Africa, through which exhibitions could be organised, and, above all, to be able

to accommodate, in a creative environment, the many African artists who constantly request this sort of support.

Illusafrica is becoming known through the many training courses it runs all over Africa on creating children's books. In the space of a few years it has become the hub of a network with branches reaching out to some African countries, for example, Togo, Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) – thus creating a real children's literature movement.

Despite these achievements, there are many obstacles that are still crippling African initiatives, such as the fact that most African illustrators are amateurs. This is due essentially to a lack of training. While many African countries such as the DRC do have art schools, not all of these institutions have an illustration department. African artists also have great difficulty in procuring the materials they need. Quality brushes and paints are very hard to find in Africa. The few shops that do sell them charge exorbitant prices, making them simply unaffordable. No official network exists. The few attempts to start one up have come to nothing, failing because of lack of funding.

Illusafrica, which now has branches in a number of African countries, is hoping to fill this need. One way of strengthening such a network is through the Internet. This new form of technology makes it possible to exchange and circulate information - one of the main problems in Africa. Illusafrica is working on a website that will be a showcase for children's literature. Another major obstacle is the scarcity of publishing houses specialising in children's books. Finally, there is the problem of distributing the books published, including the fact that many African readers just do not have the purchasing power to buy them.

Children's literature is a sector that cannot be ignored in the context of development in Africa. According to Canadian



Training workshops organised under the aegis of Illusafrica have been a resounding success, and resulted notably in some publications

researcher Louise Savoie, "One of the most dynamic, rewarding and promising vehicles that should be given priority is children's literature. It is a reflection of the society we live in, mirroring the ever-changing culture, language and concerns of children and adolescents".

This view is shared by Jeanne de Cavaly, a pioneer of children's literature both in Côte d'Ivoire and in sub-Saharan Africa. "I believe that only through books can African children become aware of their history and culture. Young Africans must first learn about their own situation before they start to explore foreign cultures. The framework surrounding children's literature is chronically lacking: few well-stocked libraries, little promotion outside of the festive season and little information available on newly published books," she says.

Psychologists, sociologists and many child experts constantly reiterate the importance of children's literature for the education and culture of young people, echoing the conclusions of a study carried out in the US on black American children. This clearly showed that if children of a certain origin do not read about themselves in books they will have a low self-esteem.

Thus, if the Africa of today and tomorrow is to succeed in its struggle for development, it first has to win the battle for children's literature.

We stand by as astronomical sums of money are squandered by African military leaders on senseless wars while such money could be invested in this sector which is so important for the education of children and young people. It cannot be repeated enough: the Africa of tomorrow depends on how we bring up the children of today.

Salvation through cooperation and subsidies? As long as...

Bearing in mind the weak links in the chain in African literature, European cooperation under the ACP-EU partnership agreement signed in Cotonou in June 2000 stipulates, in the Compendium on Cooperation Strategies, for example in Article 3.1 on Education and Training, "The Community and the Member States shall allocate more resources to support for education and training in absolute and in relative terms." This decision is also supported and relayed by government initiatives such as Belgium's Africalia, whose aim is to support and promote African culture.

However, such assistance in the form of subsidies has so far not been enough to overcome the major problems that persist, particularly as regards increasing the number of publishing houses and publications in Africa. Nor has it enabled a solution to be found for the perpetual problem of distribution.

Although many African specialists are now getting together and investing in the search for sustainable solutions to these problems, certain powerful international publishing firms have no hesitation in side-stepping their efforts¹. This battle over the financial gift horse represented by the book market in Africa is truly regrettable.

We believe it is important to stress that North-South cooperation must continue as a driving force behind a real policy regarding the children's book industry in all African countries,

for what is at stake is basic education.

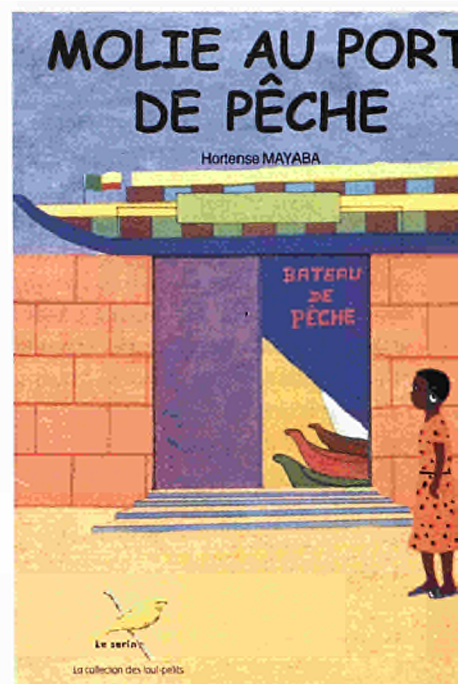
If we are to win the battle over children's books in Africa, adequate structures must be set up, run by professionals that know what is at stake in terms of children's literature. In this regard, Illusafrica has made progress in partnership with the Agence Intergouvernementale de la Francophonie and Africalia. Training workshops organised under the aegis of this pan-African partnership have been a resounding success, and have resulted notably in some publications.

Hector Sonon, an illustrator from Benin, is a good example. After attending an Illusafrica training course he has begun several new ventures. Putting in practices what he has learned, he has successfully set up a group magazine which publishes members' drawings. Word of his work has spread, leading to an invitation to Togo to work with local artists, and he is also a regular guest at book fairs in Europe.

"Molie au port de pêche" by Hortense Mayaba, recently published in the "Le serin" collection, is another book that is the fruit of Illusafrica's workshops. Many more have been included in collections that are enchanting children all over Africa.

At the moment, African literature is on a roll. However, it must be provided with the necessary structures and means to enable it to contribute its due worth to development in Africa. Even though at first glance it would seem that African children's literature is the poor relation, it is actually a case of the tree which hides the forest. Take for example Congolese Zamenga Batukezanga, who has sold over 50,000 copies of his books in the DRC, or the success of books like "Leuk le lièvre" (Leuk the Hare) by Léopold Sédar Senghor – proof of the enormous economic potential of children's literature.

Only quality children's books can give our children a taste for literature. After all, knowing how to read and write are two major keys to success in life today. Let's hear it for African children's literature! ■



"Molie au port de pêche" by Hortense Mayaba, recently published in the "Le serin" collection, is another book that is the fruit of Illusafrica's workshops

* Dominique Mwankumi is Chairman of Illusafrica (the Pan-African Illustrators' Association), and an author and illustrator; email: mwankumi@yahoo.fr
Jean-Claude Kimona is an author and illustrator.

1. See report "CEPER", Cameroon

Caribbean cultural industry:

The luck and burden of globalisation

In this article, Elizabeth Solomon looks at two very different yet decidedly similar initiatives, both founded by women and both intended to improve the fortunes and identity of Caribbean artists.

“In the Caribbean, creation is inextricably linked with survival. For us, to survive is to create. That may be one reason why this region has been the source of a creative outpouring in music, art and culture that is out of all proportion to the modest population of the islands and related mainland. There is no numerical measure, no monetary value that can be put on the contribution of creative writers to our understanding of our society and of ourselves, of who and what we are, to our very sense of self. In the Caribbean this is even more important, because our sense of self was historically under systematic and daily assault by the very terms on which we were brought into this region and the conditions under which we lived.”

*Professor Norman Girvan,
Secretary General, Association of Caribbean States*

The facts suggest a powerful capacity for cultural expression in the Caribbean region. Trinidad & Tobago and St Lucia alone have between them, with a combined population of one and a half million people, reared three Nobel Laureates. For the first world countries to equal this record per capita, Canada would have had to produce sixty-three Nobel Laureates and the United States, five hundred and sixty three. Something in the region's historical and contemporary realities provides opportunities to soar above the rest. Yet, unlike North America where entertainment remains one of the top three revenue-generating industries, the Caribbean region has so far failed to bring about a sustained capacity for translating these opportunities into an improvement in the standard of life of its citizens and real earning potential for those involved in cultural expression. Some see this failure as linked to the frustration of finding a “Caribbean” identity, which would represent, among other things, a marketable commodity. Others see culture as the most under-utilised development tool.

Globalisation – not a recent experience

Caribbean thinkers laugh at the contortions of a world struggling with the loss of individuality brought on by globalisation. In the Caribbean, economic life began with the assumption that all production was for export, all labour imported and the language of mutual communication was determined by commercial imperatives. Globalisation is a 500 year old experience. Caribbean artists see this as their luck and their burden, providing them with an interesting and multifarious source for cultural expression made difficult by the need to articulate this with a voice that the world will accept and buy into.

Development strategies in the Caribbean have not generally treated artists well. Post-independence economic structures have generally not had the wherewithal to nurture cultural industries. In the void, a number of initiatives emerged attempting to secure recognition for artists and cultural products nationally, regionally and internationally.



Filling the void

One such project, launched just over five years ago by a young Trinidadian woman, has demonstrated potential for going the long haul. Caribbean Contemporary Arts, known as CCA7 because it is housed in factory shell number 7 in the middle of an industrial complex on the “wrong” side of the capital city Port of Spain, is a regional development arts organisation founded and managed by Charlotte Elias. CCA7 initiates exchanges and programmes that bridge the many island states and the Latin American rim that make up the Caribbean region. It operates as an international arts organisation that works with contemporary visual artists, curators, writers, historians and art educators from the Caribbean and the Caribbean Diaspora to exhibit, publish and document art practices, influences and ideas.

Charlotte, a soft-spoken young woman, is determined to see her dreams come to viable reality. She admits grudgingly to benefiting from a privileged life, and says, quite rightly, that that should not discredit her contribution. Many feel it does though and she has had more difficulty stepping around the myopia of such attitudes than she has in overcoming her youth and gender. She describes herself as “a huge optimist”. Asked why she chose this path, Charlotte readily admits to having had the advantage of childhood exposure to artistic expression in two worlds, Europe and the Caribbean. Essentially though, she feels she had the right idea at the right time. “I had the resources and a need existed. I did not stop long to think”.

The Contemporary Arts project had modest beginnings, starting as a series of exhibitions organised out of a spare room of Charlotte's apartment and growing in variety and scope. CCA7 opened as the first multi-purpose contemporary arts centre in June 2000. It houses two exhibition spaces, seven artist studios, lecture and meeting facilities, an information centre, a library and climate-controlled archive area and a gift shop. CCA7 provides a space dedicated to planning, education, dialogue, exchange, and research in the arts. It supports the making of art as a viable and worthwhile enterprise through regional International Artist's Workshops, exhibitions and artists-in-residence programmes, education projects and the development of a regional database. More recently CCA7 has begun to explore the staging of a Caribbean film and video festival. Some of the more income-generating schemes include audience

development and outreach to widen the market and appreciation of artistic expression, and consultancy services. Some 150 artists from around the region have benefited from CCA7, and it pays salaries to nine permanent members of staff and a number of rotating art teachers.

What explains the success of CCA7? Charlotte's capacity to attract international funding seems the simple answer. CCA7 never intended to rely so heavily or for so long on its financiers: the British Triangle Trust, the Dutch Prince Claus Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Andy Warhol Foundation and the New York Foundation of the United States. She expected to wean CCA7 off the grant funding with the support of regional institutions. Influencing stakeholders in the region has taken longer than she expected. Charlotte argues that regional governments have not demonstrated enough commitment to the development of the arts to encourage the private sector to invest in cultural industries. In fact, the government of Trinidad and Tobago, in response to lobbying by various individual artists, recently introduced a 150 per cent tax incentive for businesses investing in certain government-approved cultural projects. Despite this, support for the arts has proved slow in taking shape.

Shaping artistic expression

Needless to say, Charlotte does not exist without her detractors. While she remains convinced of its relevance, the growing success of the Caribbean Contemporary Arts operation as a private, not government-driven venture has raised the inevitable questions about who determines the further development of artistic expression. The most valid criticism has to do with the lack of public interaction and the inability of the lower income groups to contribute to the discourse on artistic expression. Charlotte responds first with a counter-question, "how do you invite an audience into a space that they do not relate to?" – and then with descriptions of community outreach programmes. Interestingly, although CCA7 has planted itself on the wrong side of town, for the surrounding community the high gates and security of the compound appear less than welcoming.

Providing choices

By contrast, another much smaller initiative, this one situated in the heart of the city and funded entirely by personal and family savings, has opened its doors to young, largely dispossessed artists. Its focus has less to do with creating income-generating opportunities and more to do with education and searching for identity through artistic expression. The value of identity in the process of development has found acceptance, notably through the works of Amartya Sen.

Naima Thompson, founder and artistic director of Necessary Arts, seems a bundle of assertive energy with all the mannerisms of a very Caribbean upbringing. She represents everything that Charlotte does not. One of five children, she learned her interest in art on her own, outside her middle class family circle. Her schooling has come from whatever the urban contemporary experience throws up. Like Charlotte, Naima believes she had the right idea at the right time. Necessary Arts seems well poised to respond to the space created, but as yet unfilled by CCA7. This doesn't mean, Naima hastens to point out, that Necessary Arts intends to operate as a halfway-house for poor youth abandoned to crime. The centre, just a year and a half old, wants to establish itself as a full time school providing a solid foundation in the arts for people from a variety of socio-economic, ethnic backgrounds and age groups, a surprisingly rare opportunity in the

Caribbean given the smallness of the societies. Collaboration is at the core of the curriculum. Participants experience, create and produce in varying artistic disciplines in one space. Its flexibility allows a holistic exploration of classical forms – theatre arts, music theory, film techniques, sketching, etc – in the context of Caribbean cultural traditions; African drum making, the indigenous steel pan and movement and dance from the rich historical influences, from 500 years of globalisation.

Unlike CC7, Necessary Arts responds more directly to the unfolding of a Caribbean identity. But how to translate this into income generation and an improvement in the standard of living for those involved? Naima responds, "I take people through an evolution from one stage to the next. I don't know what precisely could happen after they leave the school, but I know it opens up options. It is about providing choices where none existed before".

For people like Charlotte and Naima, the luck and burden in cultural industry and expression in the Caribbean seems inherent in the ambition and uniqueness of their ideas. Where no framework exists, great difficulties lie in creating one, but also boundless freedom to do just that, create. ■



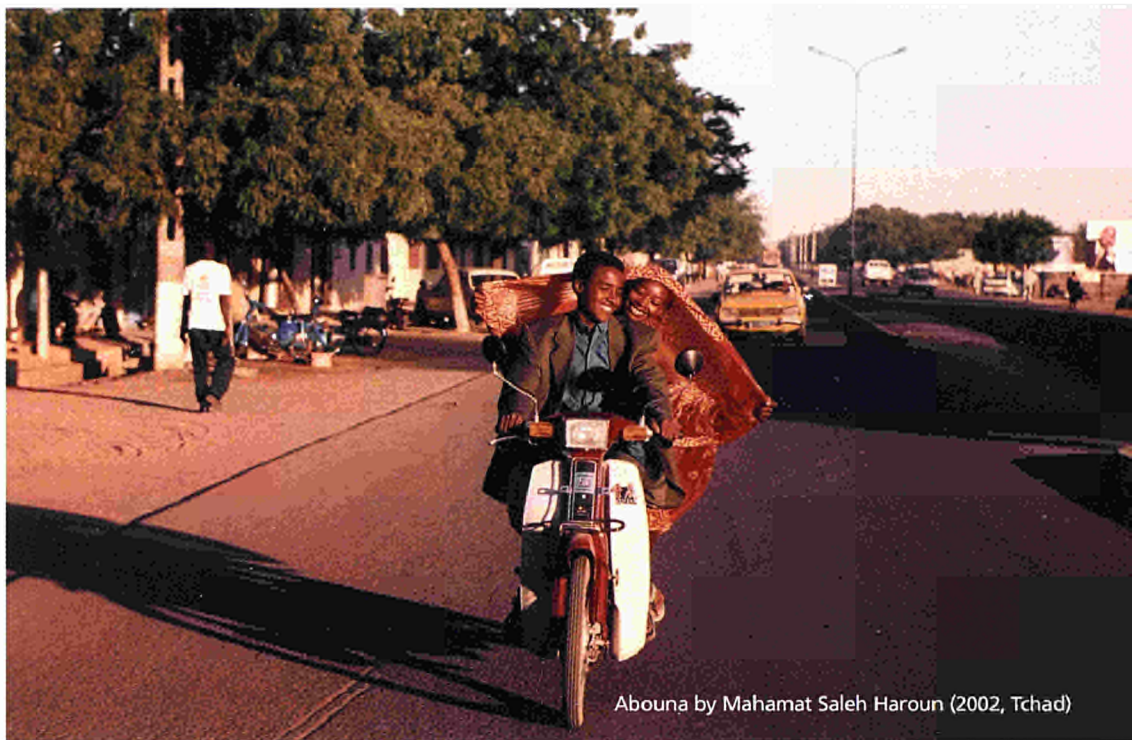
Above, Lisa Cheung (Hong Kong) visiting artist, teaches a colour workshop during the CCA7 Art Camp 2002: Roots & Wings. Below, Trinidadian Artist-in-Residence Akuzuru in her studio, with the work produced during her residency

ACP cinema:

Problems and promise...

Are things looking up for cinema in the ACP countries? The 2002 Cannes Film Festival would lead one to believe so. This year saw three African films, all financed by the EU's European Development Fund, shown on the Croisette. It is the first time since 1996 that Africa has been so well represented at the world's most prestigious film festival. With "Heremakono" directed by Abderrahmane Sissako (Mauritania) and selected in the non-competitive category *Un certain regard*, "Abouna" by Mahamat Saleh Haroun (Chad) at the Director's Fortnight and "Kabala" by Assane Kouyaté (Mali) at the Critics' Week,

Perrine Ledan*



Abouna by Mahamat Saleh Haroun (2002, Tchad)

The Cannes festival was an all too rare chance for the public to discover ACP cinema. However, despite such encouraging success, ACP cinema is still hindered by a lack of exposure, not to mention the problems related to instability in Africa. In Europe, distribution of ACP cinema is poor or limited and such films rarely make it outside the enviable but closed world of festivals. Some, such as the Amiens festival in France, Belgium's Namur or Leuven festivals or that of Milan in Italy, honour African cinema on an annual basis. These festivals often act as a stepping stone for films, enabling them to reach the European public.

However, one of the best showcases for ACP filmmakers is undoubtedly Fespaco, the African cinema festival which draws thousands of spectators to the capital of Burkina Faso¹ where it is held twice a year. But despite such popularity, distributors are usually thin on the ground at these events: like the majority of their European counterparts, African films are not money-spinners, for all the praise they receive. A few films do stand out, particularly when they find a distributor. Such has been the fortune of Mauritanian director Abderrahmane Sissako's films ("La Vie sur terre", "Heremakono"), co-produced by the fiction department of the channel Arte. Fortunately, this is not the only example as other films have been lauded by the critics, such as "Sia, le rêve du python", directed by Burkina Faso's Dani Kouyaté on its release in France in June 2002, which managed to remain on the bill for several weeks.

Emerging phenomenon

This precarious situation is even worse in sub-Saharan Africa because of the increasingly chronic shortage of cinemas and proper distribution networks. The last ten years has seen the

number of cinemas in Cameroon fall from 40 to seven, while there is only one cinema in Niger that can show 35mm films (apart from the French cultural centres). Some African distributors, such as Ecrans Noirs in Cameroon, Distrifilms in Côte d'Ivoire and Kora Films in Mali, try to remedy the situation as best they can. Some of them have formed partnerships to pool their efforts, while cinemas have been allying themselves into networks.

But cinema operators also have to deal with the increasing numbers of videos being shown in informal "cinemas" in the suburbs of the larger cities and in rural areas. Although this kind of circulation has breathed new life into film distribution it has been at the expense of the traditional networks. On the other hand, this fledgling industry has proved that some African films can be successful, and not only in cinemas. Films which have met with such success include "Lumumba" by Raoul Peck (Haiti), "Bronx-Barbès" by Eliane de Latour (France), the documentary "Mobutu, roi du Zaïre", by Belgian director Thierry Michel which rivalled big American productions in some countries (Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire).

Not enough resources or autonomy

African cinema has yet other problems. For a start, there is the lack of funds and autonomy. At local level, films receive very little funding from national public institutions, although some structures, like the National Film Production Centre in Mali or the National Film Board in Burkina Faso do look after local production. In general, ACP producers are still highly dependent on money from the North. Without the Southern cinemas' traditional backers (French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, French

National Cinema Centre, European Union, Agence de la Francophonie, Hubert Bals Fund in the Netherlands, Montecinema verità in Italy or British Film in the UK), African cinema would be operating on a shoestring. In English-speaking Africa on the other hand, the State structures (National Film and Video Foundation in South Africa), financial bodies and local sponsors generally step in, but it is still not enough. Furthermore, the complexity of the links woven by history between Europe and its former colonies sometimes puts a strain on the relationship between filmmakers and their backers. It is a problem that arises in production as well as on the artistic level. Specifically, scripts that meet the Northern partners' selection criteria, both in terms of the subjects tackled and the dialogue, do not always appeal to the public in ACP countries.

Unfortunately, producing and directing films on such a basis means staff costs have to be kept low. As a result personnel often lack experience or qualifications. Most ACP technicians are trained on the job and, although this is undoubtedly one of the best ways to learn, African cinema still suffers from a deficit in

terms of artistic and technical training. This often results in work that is not professional enough or of sufficiently high standard, at the expense of the films. Several bodies have set up training schemes tailored to the situation in ACP countries, and some of these (Burkina Faso, Ghana) are proving to be a success.

A "new wave" of filmmakers?

There is still a lot to do if African cinema is to win over the public. But this young industry undoubtedly has potential. This is due to a new generation of filmmakers who are prepared to consider "alternative" film-making, using means adapted to the African environment, and who are also prepared to cut themselves free of their predecessors. They include Sembène Ousmane, Djibril Diop Mambety and Souleymane Cissé. This new departure is perceptible both in terms of form ("Heremakono" by Abderrhamane Sissako, Mauritania, or "Paris XY" by Zéka Laplaine, DRC) and of content. Such filmmakers are dealing with new issues that relate to contemporary Africa ("Yellow Card" by John Riber, Zimbabwe; "Fools" by Ramadan Suleiman, South Africa), or films dealing with the lives of African emigrants ("Rage" by Newton I. Aduaka, Nigeria, "L'Afrance" by Alain Gomis, Senegal, or "Pièces d'identités" by Mweze Ngagura, DRC).

Alongside this there is a revival of certain genres, for example the current obsession with musical comedies ("Karmen Gei" by Jo Gaye Ramala, Senegal; "Nha Fala" by Glora Gomez, Guinea-Bissau), as well as the video phenomenon that has really taken off. In some countries, such as Nigeria and Ghana, video is now an industry in itself. In Nigeria, the political and cultural environment has lead filmmakers to produce films primarily for video. Elsewhere, some filmmakers have even begun to use video, as it allows them to film at a lower cost. This explosion of video is reflected in an undeniable dynamism at production level and, in some cases, a real realignment with the culture of the people in ACP countries.

Finally, it is heartening to see the consideration being given to the tragedies that have scarred Africa in recent years through the appearance of numerous film projects confronting subjects such as war, corruption, the fall of the African elites ("La Nuit de la vérité" by Fanta Regina Nacro, Burkina Faso; "Echoing Silences" by Manu Kurewa, Zimbabwe; "Fantan Fanga" by Adama Drabo, Mali; "Un héros" by Zeze Gamboa, Angola; "Na Cidade Vazia" by Maria Joao Gonot, Angola).

African cinema now undoubtedly has the means to break free of its shackles. It is anchored more firmly in the reality of Africa, at times inspired by documentaries, and has a better knowledge of its own cinematographic culture, both of which are key factors for success. An additional factor could be the different relations which are being established between ACP filmmakers and the former colonial powers and between the filmmakers and the public.

ACP cinema could be a force to be reckoned with, and despite its peculiarities, it often has universal significance. ■



"Kabala" by Assane Kouyaté (2002, Mali)
one of three African films selected at the
Cannes film festival this year

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1. The 32nd Fespaco (Pan-African Cinema and Television Festival) will be held in February 2003 in Ouagadougou. The European Commission is a partner of this festival which awards the l'Étalon de Yennenga prize for a full-length fiction film every two years.

Protection and promotion of culture in the Pacific

The Pacific Islands are home to the world's greatest diversity of traditional living cultures. These cultures are the foundation of most Pacific Island societies, providing a rich and diverse source of creativity and innovation for Pacific Island peoples. The importance of traditional culture has led the Secretariat of the Pacific Community¹ (SPC) to establish a Cultural Affairs Programme, which seeks to preserve and promote Pacific Island heritage for future generations. This Programme has developed a model law for the Pacific region that legally protects traditional knowledge and culture.

Rhonda Griffiths



Traditional knowledge, language and culture invigorate societies, providing both economic and social wealth. The traditional wealth in the Pacific includes medicinal and agricultural practices as well as music, handicrafts, design and the arts. Pacific Islanders gain from their traditional cultures a strong sense of identity and self-sufficiency, which helps them adjust to often rapid change, including increasing migration and urbanisation, commercial and media exploitation of their culture, and growing material aspirations among Pacific Islanders themselves. Although identified as traditional, Pacific Island cultures are not isolated or confined to museums and historical sites, but are dynamic and reflect the evolving relationship between people and their changing environment.

Establishing legal protection

The Pacific is a large region with a varied history. Traditional social structures (which form the basis for values and customs) still function in some Pacific Island countries and territories, whereas they have been destroyed in others. Despite this diversity, a priority for the region is establishing legal protection of traditional knowledge and expressions of culture suitable for Pacific Island societies. The appropriation and commercialisation of this knowledge and culture by non-indigenous interests is increasingly common, but no international or regional regime now in place affords legal protection to traditional knowledge and culture. Existing protection for intellectual property rights gives priority to individual ownership, imposes strict criteria of invention, and has limited periods. In contrast, traditional knowledge and expressions of culture are characterised by collective ownership, are normally held in perpetuity from generation to generation, and are incremental, informal and subject to change over time. Consequently, the Cultural Affairs Programme, working in partnership with the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat² (PIFS) and UNESCO, has developed a model law for the Pacific region that legally protects traditional knowledge and culture.

Model Law

The Model Law for the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Culture takes a "positive" protection approach and establishes a new range of statutory rights for traditional owners. It permits tradition-based creativity and innovation, including commercialisation, subject to the informed prior consent of traditional owners, and benefit-sharing with those owners.

The Model Law defines traditional owners in one of two ways:

- as a group, clan or community of people; or
- as an individual who is recognised by a group or community as being a custodian or protector entrusted with traditional knowledge in accordance with customary law or practices.

Traditional knowledge is defined as encompassing any knowledge that:

- has been created, acquired or inspired for traditional economic, spiritual, ritual, narrative, decorative or recreational purposes;
- is transmitted from generation to generation;
- pertains to a particular group or community; and
- is collectively held.

Expressions of culture are defined to include all the ways in which traditional knowledge is manifested, whether tangible or intangible, irrespective of content, quality or purpose. Examples of expressions of culture include:

- names, chants, songs and oral narratives;
- arts and crafts;
- dances, theatre, ceremonies, and rituals; and
- designs, visual compositions and architectural forms.

The Model Law establishes new rights, which for purposes of intellectual property law might formerly have been regarded as part of the public domain. These new rights essentially fall into two categories: traditional cultural rights and moral rights. Both categories of rights are perpetual and inalienable: they cannot expire, be sold, waived or transferred, and their existence does not depend upon registration or other formalities. Traditional cultural rights grant traditional owners exclusive rights with respect to a range of non-customary uses, irrespective of whether these uses are for commer-

cial or non-commercial purposes. The moral rights created for traditional owners include the right of attribution, and protection against false attribution and derogatory treatment. Sacred or secret practices are protected; under the law a person using sacred or secret traditional knowledge in ways not in accordance with customary usage is guilty of an offence.

The Model Law establishes procedures whereby consent can be obtained for the non-customary use of traditional knowledge and expressions of culture, including derivative works. The Model Law is intended to complement and not undermine intellectual property rights. PIFS, the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) and an Australian federal government agency, IP Australia are assisting Pacific Island countries to strengthen core IPR systems through a joint regionally focused action plan.

The Pacific Regional Framework, comprising the Model Law and a comprehensive explanatory memorandum, has been developed through close collaboration between SPC, PIFS, UNESCO, Pacific Island member countries and territories, and the Council of Pacific Arts³. It is reflective of international developments taking place within UNESCO and WIPO.

A blueprint

Countries wishing to enact the Model Law are free to adopt and/or adapt the provisions in accordance with national needs, the wishes of their traditional communities, and their legal drafting traditions. Matters of detail or implementation are left to be determined by national laws and systems. The Model Law is envisioned as a starting point, and will be modified based on the experiences of member countries in enacting and administering their own laws, and in accordance with further international developments.

SPC and PIFS have also developed a Regional Implementation Action Plan to assist members in establishing, strengthening and effectively implementing the Model Law. The objectives of the plan are to assist members with legislative reforms; conduct training for government officials and administrators who would be responsible for administering, implementing and adjudicating the Model Law; provide public awareness programmes targeting traditional owners and users; and assist Pacific Island countries and territories in developing a

framework to ensure the application and enforcement of the new legal regime on a regional basis.

Central role of culture

As with any cultural activity, the success of this initiative depends upon the will of national stakeholders, governments and donors. It is well recognised in the region that traditional values and practices strengthen cohesion and identity, and that benefits include the sharing of resources and aid. Yet, despite this obvious benefit, culture is often given a low priority. Many donors do not appreciate the central role that culture plays in development and economic and social wellbeing in the Pacific Island region, and governments have not integrated culture into national development policies. The cultural sector is characterised by a scarcity of financial resources and skilled human resources and a lack of political and donor support.

To address this issue the Cultural Affairs Programme is working to increase awareness of culture among decision-makers, donors, governments and planners, with the aim of gaining a higher priority for cultural programmes. The Festival of Pacific Arts, held every four years, is now recognised as a major international cultural event, with more than 2000 participants from 27 Pacific countries. Participants unite to exchange ideas, and gain respect and appreciation of one another's culture within the context of a changing Pacific. Cultural expressions are rediscovered and revitalised. But the Festival alone cannot ensure the survival of cultural expressions. Governments and planners must play a more assertive role by initiating cultural events, and by legislating tax concessions that serve to encourage cultural industries and artists. To further this aim, the Cultural Affairs Programme is undertaking an assessment of the economic contribution of culture to Pacific Island countries and territories, the first stage of which is the development of a standard Pacific Island Classification of Culture and model questionnaire. These tools will be used to quantify cultural activity in the informal sector. It is hoped the results will encourage donors to invest in cultural development, and lead governments to integrate cultural development initiatives and policies into national development plans. ■

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1. The Secretariat of the Pacific Community is the region's oldest and largest regional intergovernmental organisation.
2. The Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat is a regional, Pacific intergovernmental organisation responsible for providing policy advice to members on political, legal, economic and trade issues.
3. The Council of Pacific Arts comprises the 25 Pacific Island countries and territories that participate in the Festival of Pacific Arts.

Pacific Islanders gain from their traditional cultures a strong sense of identity and self-sufficiency



The Secretariat of the Pacific Community

The Secretariat of the Pacific Community (SPC) was established in 1947 as the South Pacific Commission. Based in Noumea, New Caledonia, SPC is a regional, technical development agency that works in partnership with its members, other organisations and donors to deliver assistance to its Pacific Island member countries and territories. SPC recognises that there can be no development in the Pacific Islands without taking into account cultures, traditions and the arts, and the Cultural Affairs Programme, created in 1997, carries out a variety of programmes to protect and promote Pacific Island cultural heritage. The programme has been funded by France since its inception, but many project activities are also dependent on donor funding. Current partners and donors contributing to cultural programmes at SPC include France, New Caledonia, Taiwan/ROC, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat and UNESCO. SPC has 22 Pacific Island member countries and territories; Australia, France, New Zealand, the UK and the USA are also SPC members.

What contribution can culture make to economic development and social well-being? An obvious question when cultural industry is mentioned, and one which will undoubtedly continue to be debated for years to come. But most people would agree that cultural festivals are important vehicles for development and social well-being. One such festival is Couleur Café, which has been held in Brussels every year since 1990.

Moussa Sawadogo

Culture and development



Luc Cheffert © Couleur Café 2002

Over the years, Couleur Café has grown to be one of the biggest festivals in the Belgian capital. From 28-30 June 2002 Couleur Café celebrated its 13th year, welcoming some 500 artists and craftsmen from all over the world representing a wide range of activities – dance, singing, decoration, painting, cookery, sculpture, photography and even engine manufacturing. In all, some 30 concerts were staged and 56,000 festival-goers joined the party. Couleur Café was successful in promoting different forms of artistic expression and in acting as a showcase for all types of cultural expression from all countries.

For the organisers, the main purpose of the festival is to provide a place for people to meet, exchange ideas and discover new things. According to Michel Durieux, Communication and Public Relations Manager responsible for making sure it all comes together, “Couleur Café, is not all about profit. It is primarily a place where people can come together, a melting pot, where people can learn about other cultures, particularly the cultures of the South.”

Indeed, since its creation the festival has played host to Africa’s greatest musicians, acting as a bridge between Europe and the South. Preparations for the festival require cultural missions to several countries. By going out talent-spotting, the festival can give artists and craftsmen the opportunity to gain exposure, make themselves known to the world, thus highlighting the cultural diversity and intercultural richness that is there to be explored.

However, to ensure the success of this mission, Couleur Café relies on support from State authorities in particular to raise funding. Initially, raising funds for a cultural event was no easy task, but now, 13 years down the line, there are many partners willing to get involved, partners who find that they identify with the objectives of Couleur Café.



Nathalie Nizette © Couleur Café 2002



Luc Cheffert © Couleur Café 2002

Shared ideals

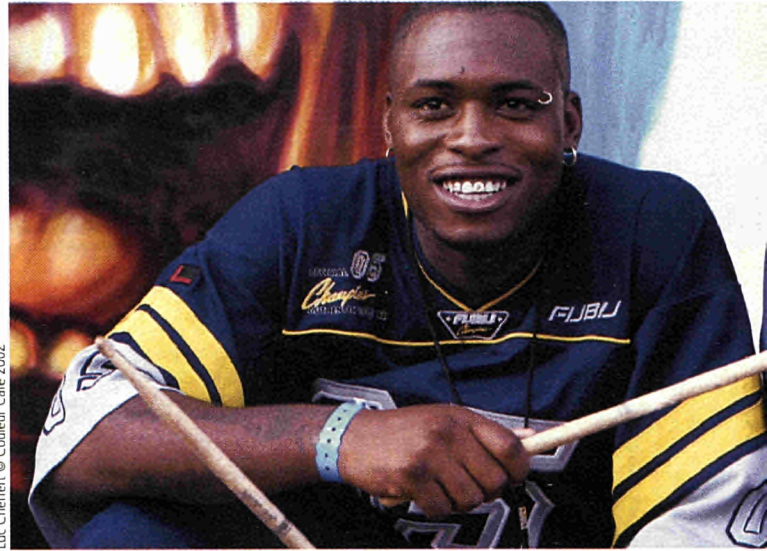
This year, the theme of the festival was mobility. "We speak up for concepts such as the struggle against starvation in the world, equal education for all and quality of life," Michel Durieux explained. Such Couleur Café ideals are compatible with those of many agencies working in the field of development, such as the European Commission's Development Directorate-General.

The Development Directorate-General participated in this year's Couleur Café for the first time with a stand themed "Let's move the Earth". To show support for its work in the fight against poverty in the world, festival-goers were invited to pedal on a rickshaw.

The aim – to raise awareness among the public and get people to understand that each of us can in our own way and at any level make a contribution, however small, to fair development in the countries of the South.

Thus, festivals like Couleur Café can also be a way of raising awareness about development, and the well-being of less well-off populations.

For the city of Brussels, Couleur Café is a direct source of income. The festival attracts hundreds of artists, craftsmen, restaurateurs, as well as thousands of visitors from other towns and countries. This creates huge demand in terms of restaurants, hotels, transport, and other forms of expenditure related to the festival. It is hardly surprising that the city of Brussels treats it as a key event. ■



Luc Cheffert © Couleur Café 2002



Luc Cheffert © Couleur Café 2002



Luc Cheffert © Couleur Café 2002



IFAD/Jeremy Hartley

IFAD/Robert Grossman

IFAD/Jean-Philippe Audinet

IFAD/Jeremy Hartley

IFAD/Host Wagner

Rural development

Reducing rural poverty: What works in practice?

European Forum on Rural Development Cooperation

Rural development and poverty reduction was the subject of a forum held in Montpellier, France from 4-6 September, organised by the European Commission and the governments of France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, as well as the CTA (Technical Centre for Agriculture and Rural Cooperation ACP-EU). The forum focused on identifying practical means to improve the effectiveness of rural development cooperation policy and implementation.

Philip Mikos*

With the central theme “Policies and approaches for rural poverty reduction: What works in practice?” – the forum was the first event of its kind to bring together all the European Union development agencies concerned with rural development in developing countries. Its aim was to make rural development contribute more effectively to poverty reduction, food security and sustainable natural resources management. More than 200 people took part – mostly policy-makers and practitioners from the European Commission and EU Member States’ development agencies, international organisations, developing country governments, NGOs and civil society.

It was a unique opportunity to share experience, to address common priorities and concerns, and to promote informal exchange and networking. In this way the forum contributed to broader efforts to strengthen the coordination of the development cooperation programmes of the EU and of its individual Member States.

In addition to the officials of the European Commission and of EU Member States, who made up the majority of participants, there were around 60 invited representatives from developing country governments and other resource people from multilateral organisations, NGOs and research bodies. The objective was to bring developing country perspectives to the forum, and to provide access to cutting-edge thinking presented by selected international experts.

The forum was designed to meet an important need to focus attention on policies and approaches for sustainable rural development, promoting simultaneously economic, social and environmental objectives. As development cooperation becomes more sharply focused on the poverty reduction targets stated in the Millennium Development Goals, rural areas are taking on greater importance because they are the basis of the livelihoods of three-quarters of the world’s poor. European development agencies possess substantial expertise and experience in rural poverty reduction, and together provide well over half of global official development assistance. The challenge to be addressed by the forum was to make better use of these resources.

The forum also provided an opportunity to share widely the Communication of the Commission to the Council and Parliament on “Fighting Rural Poverty”, which was recently approved by the College. This policy paper prepared by the Commission services lays out Europe’s policy and approach to supporting the sustainable development of rural areas by integrating economic, social and environmental objectives in a single strategy.

The Communication describes rural poverty as a multi-dimensional problem that includes low incomes, inequalities in access to productive assets, low health education and nutritional status, natural resource degradation, vulnerability to risk and weak political power. Strategies for rural



IFAD/Host Wagner



IFAD/Christine Nesbitt

poverty reduction must therefore address all these problems, and take account of the diversity of rural areas and population groups, as well as the changing context of rural poverty.

In contrast to past practice, the Commission's Communication calls for a mainstreamed approach to rural development. The aim will be to work within the existing framework of policies, institutions and programmes, and to incorporate rural poverty reduction, food security and sustainable natural resource management objectives.

The Communication identifies six policy areas that need to be addressed:

1. supporting economic policies to enable broad-based growth;
2. ensuring more equitable access to productive assets, markets and services;
3. investing in human capital;
4. promoting more sustainable natural resources management;
5. managing risks and providing safety nets; and
6. building more effective, accountable, decentralised and participatory institutions.

The focus of the forum was on identifying practical means to improve the effectiveness of rural development cooperation policy and implementation. Particular attention was given to adopting new ways of working in development cooperation including nationally owned development strategies (PRSPs), sector-wide approaches, budgetary aid, decentralisation and civil society participation. Specific outputs included action points identifying means to improve policy and practice in rural development cooperation.

The forum's programme was organised in four parts moving from policy to practice. There were a variety of different types of sessions including presentations from invited speakers, panel discussions, case studies and working groups. A wide range of topics was included in the programme, and the forum generated a rich exchange of views across the range of disciplines that apply to rural development.

Specific topics addressed included:

- Rural strategies for poverty reduction
- Making world agricultural trade work for the rural poor
- Local governance for rural development

- Working with producer associations, community organisations and civil society
- Land reform and its contribution to poverty reduction
- Practical approaches to key rural issues
- Sustainable natural resources management
- Implementing rural development strategies. How can European development cooperation agencies work more effectively?

The forum was hosted by the city of Montpellier, using the facilities of Agropolis, an international centre for research and teaching on agronomy. ■

* Environment and Rural Development (Unit B/4)
DG Development

A dossier on rural development will feature in the November/December edition of the ACP-EU Courier

Poverty reduction is the central objective of EU development policy and, with 75 per cent of the world's poor living in rural areas, rural development is a key to that objective. Issues relating to rural development deserve greater attention for these reasons:

- poverty and hunger are mainly rural problems;
- environmental degradation is becoming increasingly severe in rural areas and is closely connected to the problem of rural poverty;
- the rural economy constitutes the basis for economic growth in many developing countries, and for their integration into the world economy; and
- rural development can play a key role in reducing inequalities and conflicts.

The European Commission's "Fighting Rural Poverty", which elaborates these points, was discussed at the European Forum in Montpellier. This paper presents Europe's policy and approach to rural development in developing countries, integrating the objectives of poverty reduction, food security and sustainable natural resources management in a coherent framework. Coverage of the forum will be a part of *the Courier's* dossier on rural development in the next edition, for which the forum will provide important material.

For more information on the forum please consult: <http://www.ruralforum.info>



Lesotho

Small, landlocked, and mountainous, Lesotho has the unique characteristic of being completely surrounded by its neighbour, South Africa. Known as the “kingdom in the sky”, its capital, Maseru, is 1,500 metres above sea level and much of the land consists of high mountains which reach their peak at Thabana-Ntlenyana – the highest point of Southern Africa.

One of three remaining monarchies in Africa, the former Basutoland was renamed the Kingdom of Lesotho upon independence in 1966.

With few natural resources other than water, most of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, livestock, and has been able to count on remittances from miners employed in South Africa. Such migrant labour has been decreasing steadily in recent years, and the return of large numbers of unemployed miners from South Africa has aggravated already high levels of unemployment. Prospects for agricultural expansion look doubtful, as only nine per cent of the land is arable in this mountainous country. However, the economy is now undergoing a remarkable transformation, with a shift towards manufacturing – in particular textiles and clothing.

After a difficult four years of a caretaker government – provoked by the political crisis which followed the 1998 election – stability has returned. Elections held in May this year were viewed as a victory for democracy. The electoral system has been reviewed with a view to making it more democratic and representative, and a new electoral model agreed.

Report and photos (unless otherwise indicated): Ulla Abildtrup & Peter Rathmann



"Peace, Rain, Prosperity"

Lesotho's hopes for the future

Observers regard the elections held in May this year as a victory for democracy in Lesotho. A new and fairer electoral model ensured, for the first time, real opposition in parliament. But this mountainous kingdom, surrounded by South Africa and one of the smallest countries on the continent, has many obstacles to overcome. These include poverty, HIV/AIDS, soil erosion and internal strife. On the positive side there is export success in the textile industry, manpower in plenty and an abundant supply of water pouring down the mountains into the industrial heartland of South Africa.



Above, voters queuing in the district of Mpharane in the early morning on election day 25 May
Below, Basotho on their way to a political rally prior to the elections

In the town of Morija, staff from the small museum and volunteers are busy preparing for the fourth Morija Arts and Cultural Festival at the beginning of October. The festival was started in 1999 to promote unity in a society that some describe as set against itself. Only a year earlier Southern African Development Community troops from South Africa and Botswana had been sent into Lesotho to stop the Basotho from burning down and looting their own capital, Maseru.

The Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), led by Pakalitha Mosisili, had won all the parliamentary seats but one in the elections of May 1998. The first-past-the-post system had secured the LCD absolute power with only 60 per cent of the popular vote. The opposition, led by former military ruler Major-General Justin Metsing Lekhanya, was furious and challenged the results. Those who saw themselves out of power did not share the view of international observers that the elections had been free and fair.

Civil unrest, mutiny in the army, and a parliament unable to function were factors that made Prime Minister Mosisili call for SADC intervention. On 22 September 1998, South African tanks rolled into Maseru. Resistance was fierce and many people were killed. An Interim Political Authority was set up to make changes to the electoral code. The intention was to ensure that next time the opposition would have a share of seats in parliament that reflected its popularity with the electorate.

The shame of 1998 still runs deep in the Basotho. The Leon Commission – a government-appointed judicial commission of inquiry – recommended that there should be no general amnesty. It proposed that investigations, with a view to possible prosecution, should be undertaken into the activities of some opposition supporters and members of the security forces.

A talent to disagree

Four years later in 2002, peaceful elections on 25 May once again secured the LCD a convincing victory, but also brought the opposition into parliament. A new mixed system allocated 80 seats under the first-past-the-post method and 40 seats under proportional representation. The combative Basotho can now look ahead to a more stable future, provided they are willing to make national unity and national goals a priority.

The Basotho may be ethnically homogenous, but there is a saying that if two Basotho sit down to discuss any subject, they will immediately come up with three different opinions. The Basotholand Congress Party has split into four different parties since 1997. All still share the

Glossary

Lesotho – the country
Mosotho – singular name for a person belonging to Lesotho's dominant ethnic group
Basotho – plural of the above
Sotho – the language
Loti (plural Maloti) – the currency

same ideology, but that is where agreement ends. Three of them are now in opposition to the government. Personal struggles for power set the agenda. "We are not unique in that respect. Basotho are very human," smiles the prime minister.

When apartheid and donors went away

The turmoil of 1998 was no help to the weak economy in one of the world's least developed countries. The United Nations Development Programme quotes independent sources that estimate the share of the population living in absolute poverty as high as 70 per cent. During apartheid Lesotho was besieged by foreign embassies and donors, who saw the kingdom as a listening post against the white regime in South Africa. They did not seem to mind that Lesotho was under military rule from 1986 to 1993. But with apartheid went the donors, and few are left. King Letsie III calls it donor fatigue, and he is sad about it. "Western countries have their own priorities," he says.

The European Union is, however, still active in Lesotho and plans to make €110 million available in the period 2001-2007. Roughly half of this amount is intended for budgetary support. The other half will be focused on water, sanitation and infrastructure – "plumbing and other old-fashioned stuff" as one diplomat puts it.

But these elements are crucial to the industrialisation of a country with only nine per cent of the land area suitable for arable production, and plagued by massive soil erosion. Lesotho has been a net importer of food in most years since the 1930s and fewer and fewer households are able to produce enough to feed themselves throughout the year. Agriculture contributes only five per cent of the total national income. It is alleged that dagga (marihuana) is the most lucrative crop, although it is not recorded in national accounts.

Filling the gap left by mining decline

These facts do not prevent the minister of trade from envisaging agriculture as the largest source of income in Lesotho, through the export of cash crops from an enlarged cargo facility at Moshoeshoe I Airport outside Maseru. Others suggest he should turn the airport into another textile factory and concentrate on helping the Basotho grow enough food for themselves. Despite the list of failures and lost opportunities, the government has consistently given agriculture high priority and injected substantial resources into it. However, most of these efforts have foundered on the misleading assumption that all rural dwellers are inherently capable farmers.

Because of their extremely limited natural resources the Basotho have developed a strong culture of wage employment – unlike most other African people. Since the boom in the mining industry in South Africa in the late nineteenth century, thousands of Basotho men have worked the mines. More recent years have seen the redundancy of more than half of South Africa's migrant miners. In 1996 more than 100,000 Basotho worked in the South African mines. By



Voter turn-out on election day was surprisingly high at 68 per cent

2000 the number had fallen to 60,000. This decrease is reflected in a fall in the ratio of miner remittances to GDP, from 60 per cent in the late 1980s to 26 per cent in 1999.

Unemployment is estimated at more than 40 per cent and rising as the miners return and despairing farmers give up and move into the towns. Most expect the government to employ them, but they are far too many to be absorbed. Government expenditure stands at more than 50 per cent of GDP, which is an exceptionally large share for a country at Lesotho's level of development. This has risen by 30 per cent in the past decade without any noticeable improvement in the quality of public services.

Economic challenges

The target is to lower the government wage bill to 13.5 per cent of GDP and reduce the budget deficit. Exceptional expenditure incurred in the post-1998 reconstruction has contributed to a decline in the government budget – from a surplus of 4.4 per cent of GDP in 1997 to a deficit of 2.5 per cent in 2000. Bringing the size of government into line with revenue may be the biggest economic challenge facing Lesotho in the coming decade.

Two national banks and the national telecommunications company have been privatised and more privatisations will come in response to fiscal pressures. It is estimated that 40,000 jobs need to be created every year if unemployment is to be reduced significantly, and that this would require GDP growth rates of 5-6 per cent. Fiscal pressures will increase when customs revenues from the Southern African Customs Union, which constitute some 45 per cent of government revenue, begin to decline. This will happen in the coming years as a result of the South Africa-EU Free Trade Agreement.

The targeted rate of growth of at least four per cent a year will be enough to raise per capita incomes, though very slowly. The government grants the poorest of the poor 100 Maloti (€10-12) a month. Ha Tsosane, the main dumping area of waste in Maseru, is a source of livelihood to many men, women and children who collect their daily meals from the dump and clothing from dumpsites. If per capita incomes rise by one per cent per year, it will take about 53 years to raise average income to the threshold above which Lesotho will no longer be classified as a Least Developed Country. The prime minister, by contrast, envisages Lesotho being able to leave the LDC group within five to fifteen years.

Suggesting a way forward, one diplomat says: "There is a delicate balance between leaders' visions and reality. For the future Lesotho should not develop too many independent policies, but cooperate more with South Africa and Swaziland to attract foreign investment in a regional context. On the other hand, Lesotho has always been afraid of being swallowed by South Africa. They should encourage the private sector, not least trade,



Typical Lesotho countryside



A land of scarce resources. Poor boys selling rock crystals at God Help Me pass

and not enter too heavy-handedly into agricultural projects, where they have failed before.”

Making investors happy

One current asset for Lesotho is the Africa Growth and Opportunities Act. Under AGOA, Lesotho and other African countries have been given zero-tariff access to the American market on a wide range of export items. This has had an impact on the textile and garment industry that plays a key role in making use of Lesotho's main resource – cheap labour. Job seekers form endless queues outside the textile factories in Maseru and Maputsoe.

Inside, working conditions are very hard but investors are happy. In 2000 exports of clothing to the United States were worth just over US\$140 million. They rose sharply to just over US\$215 million in 2001 when AGOA was launched in Lesotho. It is estimated that this agreement has created some 20,000 extra jobs in the textile industry.

As a Least Developed Country, Lesotho also qualifies for the EU agreement “Everything But Arms”, which has eliminated quotas and duties on all products except arms from the world's poorest countries. Lesotho has yet to take advantage of the agreement. The government wants to attract more foreign investors by removing legal and administrative barriers and offering flexible labour laws. As the textile and garment industry is very demanding of water, its provision is one of the main areas of Lesotho-EU cooperation.

Building roads is the other focal area. Landlocked and with one of the world's shortest railways (3.5 kilometres), Lesotho is very dependent on roads for its development. There are only 800 kilometres of tarred road in the country – most of these link Maseru with Butha-Buthe in the north and Quthing in the south. Many areas are not accessible during the rainy season, and some are still only reached on the back of a donkey or in small aircraft.

EU support for the transport sector focuses on improved access to production centres in the lowlands, where growth in the textile and garment industry has helped ensure that the private sector now employs more people than the government. Other support includes providing isolated highland communities with access to the road network and therefore to basic social services and markets.

Water shortage in a land of plenty

Water is the only natural resource of real significance in Lesotho. Total water resources in Lesotho are abundant in relation to the demand, and projections are that this will continue for 25 years or more. Enormous quantities of water are led from the mountains to Gauteng in South Africa through the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, contributing five per cent of the coun-



Above, scavenging for food at Ha Tsosane, the main dump site in Maseru: some wash leftovers and sell them again; children find materials for making toys. Below, in a land with unemployment at 40 per cent you have to be imaginative. This man is going door-to-door selling human figures cut out of corn cobs

try's GDP in water royalties. The project was mainly paid for by South Africa – the cost of US\$2.5 billion surpasses Lesotho's present annual GDP.

The government took expensive loans to build the Muela hydropower station. It has made Lesotho self-sufficient in electricity, which was previously imported from South Africa. There is a possibility of exporting electricity to South Africa in the distant future, but at the moment high operating costs would make this uneconomical. The EU has funded a study with a view to commercialising the plant.

Despite the country's huge water resources, there are still severe water shortage problems in the lowlands and industrial areas. Rapid urbanisation and industrial development will worsen the already precarious provision of water and sanitation in these areas,

where the urban population can be expected to increase to over 60 per cent of the total (2.18 million) by 2025. This, together with expansion in manufacturing, will create a demand for water and wastewater treatment well in excess of the present capacity.

No technical or economic studies have yet been made on how to solve the long-term problem. Judging by the investments the South Africans had to make to pump the water to Gauteng, it would be extremely expensive to take water from the mountains to the lowlands.

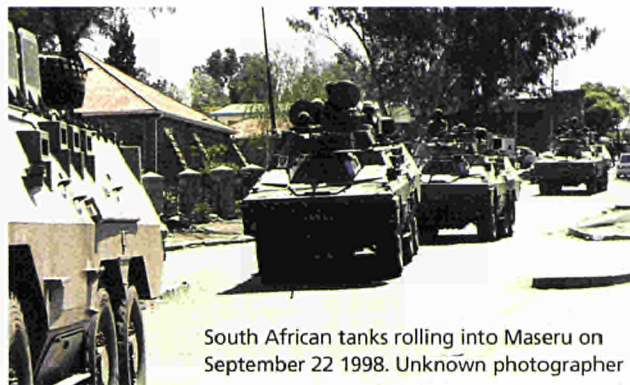
The burden of AIDS

The EU will also be helping the Basotho in the fight against HIV/AIDS, a disease completely out of control. UNAIDS estimates that 31 per cent of Basotho are HIV-positive. In some clinics in Maseru up to 42 per cent of pregnant women have been tested positive. Calculations based on the UNAIDS figures suggest that in a few years' time Lesotho could start to lose two per cent of its working age population to the disease every year. Absenteeism, treatment and staff replacement could absorb five per cent of the government's annual wage bill.

A new government body, Lesotho AIDS Programme Coordinating Authority (LAPCA) has been set up. The EU is helping LAPCA to collect data on the many support groups and AIDS organisations that have sprung up in recent years, and to coordinate the efforts of civil society and government. At the moment some projects overlap while other problems are not receiving attention. There is a widespread and deep-seated cultural sense of denial regarding HIV/AIDS in Lesotho. The burden of the disease falls especially on the women, as their men are sent home from the mines because of their HIV-status. The women then have to care for the sick men and find new sources of income for the family.

Tradition and the changing role of women

Basotho women have a higher literacy rate than men – one reason is that many herd boys do not attend school. This may change because of cross-border cattle theft, which has led to men taking over guarding the cattle. Stock theft is an ancient tradition in Southern Africa, but has reached crisis proportions in Lesotho, wiping out many rural livelihoods overnight. Women are still treated as minors in most aspects of life because of traditional



South African tanks rolling into Maseru on September 22 1998. Unknown photographer

customary law, especially in the rural areas. It still exists even though Lesotho has long since signed the UN Convention on Discrimination against Women and various other conventions promoting women's rights.

The Lesotho Law Reform Commission was established in 1997 to address the problem of gender discrimination, among other things, but the preparations for electoral reform took up so much time that other reforms have been delayed. The Commission has prepared a bill that abolishes a husband's marital powers over his wife and her property, but it has not yet passed through parliament. The successful organisation of the elections was partly the result of the active involvement of large numbers of young women.

As a SADC member, Lesotho agreed in 1997 that women should make up at least 30 per cent of parliament by 2005. The percentage of women in the new parliament is 12, up from 2.5 in the previous one. The present government has four female ministers and two female assistant ministers. "None of the men in government has a PhD, but some of the women do," says the minister of trade, Mr Mpho 'Meli Malie with a smile.

In 1995 the *Courier's* country report on Lesotho suggested that "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." Unfortunately a lot of upset was to follow. The question now is whether the road on which the country is currently travelling is signposted with the traditional motto of the Lesotho nation: Peace, Rain, Prosperity. ■



The electoral system

Lesotho is the first country in Africa and only the eighth worldwide to adopt the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system. This model was used for the first time in the elections on 25 May this year. Eighty members of Parliament were elected for individual constituencies on a first-past-the-post basis, and 40 seats were allocated according to the share of the national vote.

In the four previous democratic elections since independence from Britain in 1965, all members of Parliament were elected according to the first-past-the-post model. In 1998 this secured the LCD 79 parliamentary seats out of 80 on the basis of 60 percent of the popular vote.

That outcome and the ensuing riots led to a realisation that a fairer model, reflecting the votes cast, had to be found by the Independent Electoral Commission. After much heated discussion, particularly on the mix ratio of constituency seats (FPTP) and proportional representation seats (PR), the political parties agreed on the 80/40 ratio.

King Letsie III at the inauguration of Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili in the Setsoto Stadium in Maseru



From political prisoner to Prime Minister

Pakalitha Mosisili and his party, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy, (LCD) won a sweeping victory in May's election. His position looks secure and there has been none of the violence that marred the previous election. But it has been a long haul for a man whose first foray into politics ended up behind bars.

Prime Minister Mosisili at the opening of Parliament

Lesotho's Prime Minister has a broad smile these days and quite often follows up a sentence with a hearty laugh. His is the only game in town, and he knows it. Mr Mosisili's party is in complete control of parliament, even more so as for the first time the opposition has seats in the National Assembly through the Mixed Member Proportional electoral model. The old rivals must face each other inside parliament – not on the streets. Every day a recurrence of the post-election riots of 1998 becomes less likely.

"We expect that the opposition will be members of select committees, give a different perspective and keep government on its toes. After 1998 we were busy for a couple of years putting out fires. Not very much happened in development. But from there we started. And LCD won the elections, again, because we had something to show that life can change for the better. We came up with a good manifesto that holds the potential to solve many of the people's problems and responds to their wishes."

Long road from detention

For Lesotho, it is once more time to look ahead. But the Prime Minister remembers his first experience of politics and the vow he made more than thirty years ago.

The young Pakalitha Mosisili was a final year student at the National University of Lesotho. He was active in the Basotholand Congress Party that surprisingly won the 1970 elections, only to have the results annulled by the Basotho National Party. The BNP imposed a state of emergency and simply continued to rule for the next 16 years.

"Many of us were picked up and thrown into detention. I spent 15 months in detention without trial, without being convicted by any court. One night I prayed and said to God: 'If you will get me out of here alive, I will enter politics and ensure that no Mosotho will suffer the same fate that I have suffered.' God delivered on the promise, so when free political activity was restored, it was time for me to deliver my side of the bargain," he laughs.

The ban on political activity was lifted in 1991. An amnesty the year after brought many of the opposition leaders back home from exile, among them Mr Mosisili who had fled Lesotho in 1983 in danger of his life. In 1997 he and a majority of the parliamentarians followed their political mentor, the then Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle, when he broke away from the BCP – the party that he had himself founded in 1952. This time Mokhehle formed the LCD, which now became the ruling party.

Mr Mosisili was elected the LCD's leader in 1998 when Mr Mokhehle declined to continue. After the ill-fated elections in May that year, Mr Mosisili became Lesotho's Prime Minister. In May this year things went better. The voter



More women and, for the first time, opposition in parliament should pave the way for fairer power-sharing in Lesotho



Inauguration of the Prime Minister in Maseru's Setsoto Stadium. From left: First lady Mathatho Mosisili, the Prime Minister, King Letsie III, Queen Masenate.

turnout was surprisingly high at 68 per cent. The elections were considered free and fair by international observers. The LCD got a mandate for a second term in government with 54 per cent of the electorate behind them, and nobody has yet set fire to Maseru. The opposition still cries foul, but Mr Mosisili smiles at the legal challenge to the outcome by BNP leader, Major General Justin Lekhanya. "In politics you should be able to accept victory with humility and defeat with dignity. To accept the will of the people is what democracy is all about."

A small hiccup occurred on Inauguration Day at the main stadium in Maseru, when the podium collapsed under the King and his re-elected Prime Minister. The fear of an assassination attempt and a repetition of the 1998 outburst of violence was evident for a few seconds in the eyes of the dignitaries. But things quickly calmed down and the ceremony continued with enthusiastic support from the crowd.

Prospect of better lives

What can people expect now? "Given that we now have an inclusive parliament, the expectation is that we will have peace and stability and with that an opportunity to focus on development. Nobody will be shouting in the wilderness or have to go to the streets to

demonstrate, because now they have a voice in parliament. We have an opportunity to better the lives of Basotho at grassroots level."

Asked about the government's targets and priorities, Mr Mosisili says he wants Lesotho to become an exporter of fresh food products even though only nine per cent of the land is suitable for agriculture. He sees a big future in tourism even if the neighbouring South Africans do not want to visit Lesotho, and his government has predicted a downtrend in new cases of HIV in just a few years time. Mr Mosisili wants to drag his people out of poverty.

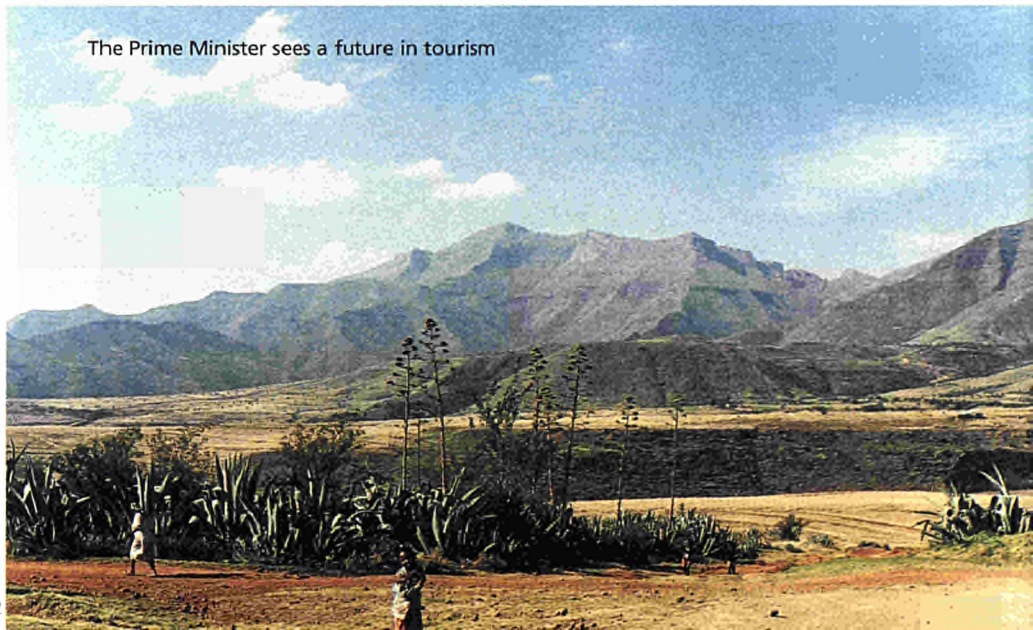
"Through poverty alleviation the other ills of society can be taken care of—like crime. The thieves say they are forced to steal because they are hungry, have no jobs or means of livelihood. Job creation for our people is the other side of the same coin with which we will be fighting poverty," says Mr Mosisili. "The majority of our people are subsistence farmers. We need to pick up agriculture and ensure that people can graduate from subsistence to a more productive and commercial level. We have a great potential in tourism that will create jobs and bring in foreign exchange. We need a proper road infrastructure for tourists to go into the highlands and admire the beautiful mountains."

"And of course we have to prioritize the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It is indeed wreaking havoc in our society. We need to address it for our own survival as a nation.

Another important issue is harnessing our water resources. Lesotho has plenty of very clean water that should be put to good use in the country as it already is to our neighbours through the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. The revenue from that project is good income for the country. The electricity that we generate through it should enable us to embark on an electrification programme which would answer a lot of problems, both at household and commercial level. With electricity people would not go out and cut trees."

But the water is up in the mountains? "Yes, but we can bring it down fairly cheaply without heavy machinery. We must have adequate water for irrigation of our crops, with or without rain, and for industrial purposes. With adequate water we can also ensure that the water is properly treated and recycled. We are drought-prone in this part of our region, since we don't have adequate rain. But people, animals and plants don't need rain, they need water."

The Prime Minister sees a future in tourism



Partners in development

Prior to the elections Mr Mosisili was talking a lot about the need for good governance, and he still is: "Government must be clean, transparent, accountable. We will have zero tolerance for corruption but fight it at all levels." He looks critically at donors: "Donors are welcome partners, we need them to assist us to implement these programmes and ensure that we can pull out of the group of Least Developed Countries within the next five to fifteen years. As partners we need to interact more and cross-fertilize ideas, but it is important that we retain ownership of our development, and that our friends from the European Union and other international organisations come in to assist us to realise our dreams and not be prescriptive to us. If they say: 'You either do this or we will not help,' that's being prescriptive, and I don't think that is the right way to go about it."

Is it being prescriptive to prioritize roads and water and sanitation? "No. The EU is involved in very critical areas, and we appreciate that." The Prime Minister is less appreciative when he looks at working with civil society: "Who is civil society? To me it is a very amorphous entity. Is civil society the men and women in the villages who voted me into government? I am here because of their votes. Where do you draw the line between them and me and what you call civil society?"

"Who are the NGOs in a country like Lesotho? In many instances your average NGO consists of people who are failed politicians. Now they have just found themselves an easy home in the NGOs. But they are still politicians for all intents and purposes. That is the trend in many developing countries. We wish that our NGOs would be truly apolitical and involved in issues of development. In that case we would not hesitate to cooperate with them. We are ready and willing to engage everybody in Lesotho – we need to go in the same direction."

A father of two daughters, Mr Mosisili sounds more convincing when it comes to the involvement of women in politics: "We are trying our best to be gender-sensitive. We have not achieved the 30 per cent requirement of women in parliament, but we have made significant progress from previous parliaments. Today we have 14 women in the National Assembly – that's a record. We have instituted the Law Reform Commission to look into

our legislation to rid it of any discriminatory tendencies. It is my personal view of the customary law that it is certainly wrong to the extent that it recognises women as minors. Consequently, it has to change. It is not consonant with reality. Women play an important role in the economy, even more so with the retrenchment of men from the mines in South Africa. There is no doubt in our minds that women should be helped to grow as entrepreneurs," he says.

Benefits of opposition

More women and, for the first time, opposition in parliament should pave the way for fairer power-sharing in Lesotho. But the Basotho are still prone to mutual envy and spite. No official leader of opposition had been elected at the time of writing. Anyone aspiring to that position will need the support of a quarter of the members of parliament. It will not be easy for the opposition parties to come together and find a solution in a country where politics are defined by personal rather than ideological differences.

When the then Deputy Prime Minister, Kelebone Maope, formed the Lesotho People's Congress a year ago it was the fourth split from the original BCP. Today three opposition parties and the ruling party all claim the legacy of the Congress movement founder, Ntsu Mokhehle. "Mokhehle was a visionary leader who had tremendous influence on the politics of Lesotho. To many of us he is considered to be the father of Lesotho politics, and so it is not surprising that factions would claim to be following in his footsteps, hoping that it would give them support among the people," says Mr Mosisili.

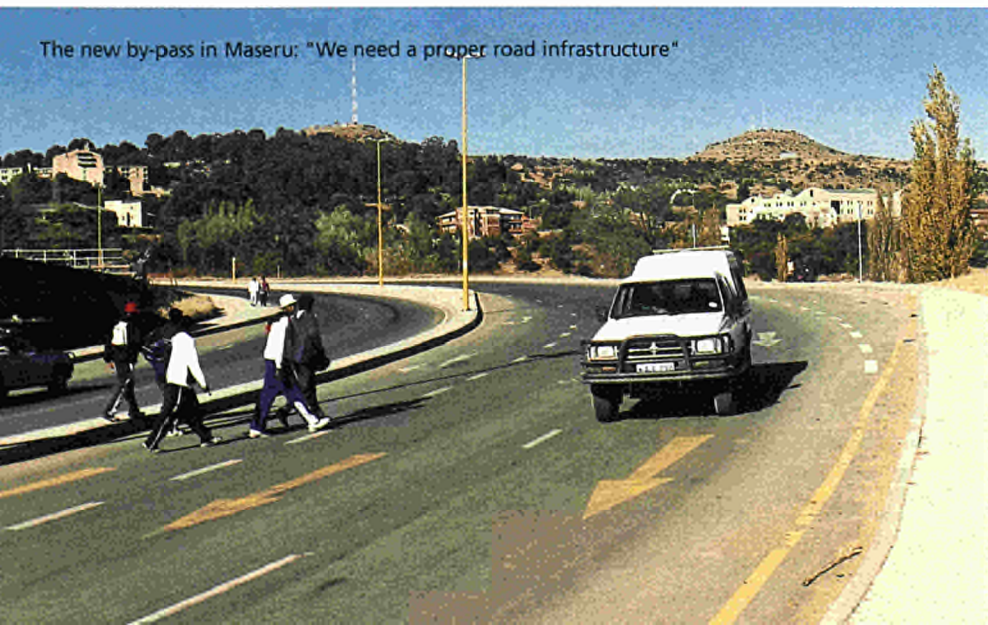
"The splits that occurred in the previous two parliaments were to a very large extent caused by the lack of opposition. Without opposition we tended to create one within our own ranks. In a sense we are luckier than many other African countries. We share the same culture and language, but because we are such a homogenous nation the opposition comes from within. People find small things that can divide us."

"Historically we were divided between chiefs and commoners. The British found it a convenient divide-and-rule policy. The homogenous society of Lesotho has also been polarised very much along denominational lines. BNP was born in the Catholic church to counter the BCP, which was seen as more Protestant-inclined. But to a very large extent all that is past. It is no longer a factor where we go to church."

The Prime Minister looks forward: "It is good to have opposition in parliament, because that counterforce should be conducive to the ruling party consolidating within itself. I don't want to seem selfish, but it will be good for us and for party unity."

Mr Mosisili laughs again. ■

The new by-pass in Maseru: "We need a proper road infrastructure"



A view from the opposition

Kelebone Albert Maope is one of Lesotho's most experienced politicians. He was appointed to government in 1990, during the period of military rule that ended with elections in 1993. He was Minister of Foreign Affairs when the *Courier* published its last country report on Lesotho in 1995. Following several party splits he left the office of Deputy Prime Minister a year ago and formed the Lesotho People's Congress (LPC), the fourth party now claiming the legacy of the late Prime Minister, Ntsu Mokhehle. In May's elections, however, he was the only member of his party to win a seat in Lesotho's new parliament, in which the main opposition party is the Basotho National Party (BNP).

Do you agree with international observers that elections were free and fair?

There was some mismanagement. The ballot paper omitted an important guarantee against fraud; the political agents of the ruling party were touting voters, so whether elections were free and fair I have a great doubt.

How can opposition influence government in the new parliament? Is opposition ready to stand together as a real alternative, or is it too fragmented?

There is no problem cooperating with the Basotholand National Party or others, but the political environment is not conducive to a role by opposition. We already experienced the arrogance and defiance by the party in power in the previous parliament. They know the opposition has no powers or resources. The government is too strong and the opposition will be useless.

What is the ideological difference between your party and the ruling party?

I don't think there is a great gulf between us. One issue is human rights. When I was in government, there were instances of breaches of human rights by law enforcement agencies and no serious thought was given to that. Some thought that because they were in power, they should just rest upon their comfort souls and not do anything about the state of human rights.

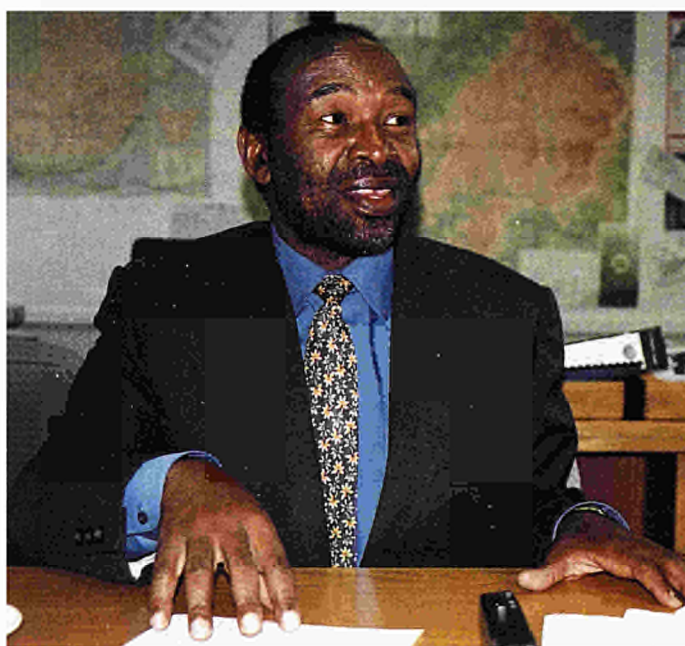
How can it be that in a small country like Lesotho there are four parties all claiming the legacy of Ntsu Mokhehle?

We are in a transitional period. The legacy of Mokhehle

is a legacy of the colonial period, followed by independence and then repression for a long time. So we are now finding our way, operating under changed circumstances, especially in relation to what has happened in South Africa. That situation has brought about the necessity of new thinking. In our country we have not had democracy for a long period, we are trying to find our feet in terms of governance. The Basotholand National Party also has breakaway parties.

The EU is concentrating its efforts in Lesotho on water and sanitation and roads. Do you agree with that priority?

Yes. The problem is that grants are being withheld, because we are not managing our affairs well, not fulfilling conditions and not reporting on how we utilised available resources. But I don't know if that is also the impression of the European Union. The conditions of the EU can be difficult to fulfil, and I don't know if that is deliberate. But we should try to fulfil them to access more resources – provided there is good will from the EU's side, but they can be very stringent. That is an impediment.



Mr Maope had high hopes of winning the elections but his party, the LPC, only got seven per cent of the votes

Some people allege that foreign aid is creating donor dependency?

Loans from the World Bank and grants from the European Union are important for Lesotho. I was not in favour of the development of the Poverty Reduction Strategy. Why do we have to study that we are poor? Don't we have better things to do? I think Lesotho is entitled to international assistance, but we should conduct our affairs properly to ensure the assistance is effective.



Senators and opposition at the opening of parliament

Donors are very concerned about good governance – do you have that in Lesotho?

Compared with the 1970s and 1980s we are much, much better off now. I'm referring to the state of human rights. But there is clearly a lot to be done. There is a major weakness in this country – the conduct and management of public affairs is very weak; we have a crisis of administration. I tried to bring in some new ways of governance, which led me into quarrels with other ministers. I found I was creating enemies. When I became Minister of Finance in 1999 we were in a bad shape after the riots the year before. I managed to convince the IMF to enter into a programme with us – it is still running but not being followed. We are over the targets of expenditure.

Is it not crucial for politicians to be inside government?

If you are inside government you have access to the scarce resources of this country. Those who are outside government are excluded. If the state of the economy were improved, we would see less conflict between people – more peace.

Why not the other way around? Why not seek more peace and cooperation in order to improve the economy?

It is the old problem of the egg and the chicken. I cannot solve that problem. It has no solution. The international community could solve it. The developed world has undertaken to assist the underdeveloped world, and I think they should. But they have an argument saying the environment is not conducive to development. How can their assistance be effective when we are mismanaging affairs in the public and private sector? We must do something about that, but people don't like to be brought under control.

How could civil society play a role in this dilemma?

I observe a demoralised civil society that has lost hope. Our people are poor; the men who used to work in South

Africa have lost their skills to survive. Only the women still have such skills. The men are just drinking and doing nothing. They believe any ridiculous promise by politicians. During the last campaign the ruling party was promising things that were impossible to any sensible person – like paying for our children's school fees – but people believed that. Our people are better than many other African people, but at the moment poverty makes survival techniques weak.

What about the NGO community?

They have the same problem, how could they escape? People working for NGOs are just looking for employment. I don't see any difference.

Women have survival skills. Would you improve their rights in relation to customary and civil law?

We clearly said that if we did capture government, we would immediately pass laws that would remove the limitations on women's activities. Women are suffering from being disabled from engaging fully in economic activities – the customary law is an impediment to them. It is even a burden on men. Families could get a better income if the wife had the ability to operate freely. On the other hand we must be careful not to disrupt society over this matter.

When you were interviewed by the Courier in 1995 you were inside government. How would you compare present-day Lesotho with that time?

There was the problem of the army and police being against the government. That has been resolved. They no longer have the capacity to destabilise government. That is a major breakthrough. But there is some public discontent at the moment, and I do have some private fears after these elections that there might be some civil disobedience out of frustration and hunger. People are looking for a scapegoat. ■

During a drought in the 1990s six lowland towns were identified as worst affected by lack of safe water. The EU has been working with the Lesotho government to provide 141,000 Basotho, including the people of Mapoteng, with a clean and reliable water supply by 2010.

Katse dam in the mountains where water is abundant. The lowlands suffer from water shortages



Towards a safe water supply

The Six Towns Project and the case of Mapoteng

The water pipe has its outlet where the tarred road from the town of Mapoteng ends at the foot of the Maluti Mountains. The pipe runs 22 kilometres up the hillside to a spring in the mountain range. When the taps in Mapoteng stop running freely and just dribble, Phillip Nchake, officer in charge at the Water And Sewerage Authority (WASA), and his assistant, Lawrence Lehana, know what lies ahead of them.

It can take them up to three days to walk through the rough terrain along the pipe in harsh and sometimes freezing conditions to locate a break or blockage in the pipe – and then another two days to repair or clean it. This happens about once a month. When their work is done, the water again fills the new tank at the top of the highest hill in town. It was built in last year and contains up to 1,500 cubic metres of water – two or three days' supply for Mapoteng. "Since the tank was constructed, water has always been available, we even use it to brew Basotho beer," says 'Mannyalleng Motsopo, who was born here. In former days she had to walk a long way down a steep hill to fetch water when the town ran out.

Focus on six towns

The people of Mapoteng are among the beneficiaries of the EU-supported Six Towns Project that will provide 141,000 Basotho with clean water by 2010. So far the project has achieved this

for 82,300 people. Mapoteng with its 7-8,000 inhabitants is the smallest town in the project, says Paul Lirotholi, Director of Engineering and Development at WASA.

Lesotho has a lot of water, but it still experiences severe shortages because of the recurrence of drought every ten years or so. Most Basotho rely on water from the rivers, which dry up when the rains fail. During the last drought, from 1994 to 1996, the EU carried out a needs assessment throughout the country. Six towns in the lowlands proved to be the worst affected – water had to be brought to them on trucks. So the government asked for help to provide them with a reliable water supply. They were Mapoteng, Maputsoe, Teyateyaneng, Roma, Morija and Quthing. The EU agreed to initiate the Six Towns Project in collaboration with WASA, a parastatal organisation under the Ministry of Natural Resources.

Phase One of the project was to meet short-term needs and was completed a year ago. Phase Two is still in the pipeline. It assumes large population growth in the towns and therefore an increased demand for water and for systems to cope with wastewater.



From left: Paul Lirotholi, chief engineer, Teboho Makhele, hand deliverer of water bills and meter reader, Phillip Nchake, officer in charge, Lawrence Lehana, assistant

Finding solutions

"We wanted something that will keep working even when there is less water in the rivers," says Paul Lirotholi. In most towns the favoured solution was pumping water from the rivers along pipes to the

communities, a fairly uncomplicated technique copied from a farmer over the border in South Africa. "We wondered how he could still irrigate even when there was no flow in the Caledon River," says Mr Lirotholi. "The answer was shallow wells. He had drilled holes six to eight metres down into the riverbed, inserted pipes and pumps and used sand as a filter. The water comes up cleaner than if we pump directly from the surface."

In Maputsoe and Teyateyaneng sub-surface river pipes were already installed, but they had to be rehabilitated. In Quthing the intake was improved to ensure that maintenance could take place regularly. Quthing also had sand filters, built to upgrade the quality of the water. Many well points needed improvement and some needed replacing. Teyateyaneng had 12 new well points installed.

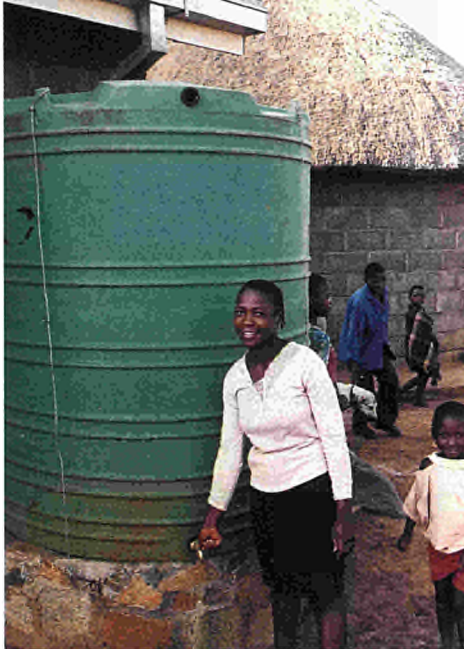
In Mapoteng the long pipe was already there before the Six Towns Project, but it was often damaged as it crossed gullies and a river, and then there was no water supply for long periods. The Six Towns Project led the pipe under the river, screened it on the surface and built the large reservoir and a chlorination house. Public standpipes and shared water points now provide safe drinking water to the population in Mapoteng and to the villages along the pipe, which receive water through branch pipes. "The villagers along the pipe used to break it during droughts, so now we give water to them for free," says Paul Lirotholi.

Fighting water-borne disease

"It has been a wonderful improvement for the health situation, since WASA and the Six Towns Project came here. There has been a general improvement in living conditions for people who used to go to the river for water," says Dr Wilbert Hurlow, Medical Superintendent at the private, government-sponsored Maluti Adventist Hospital.

The doctor has been working in Mapoteng on and off since the 1970s and has noticed a big decrease in cases of intestinal diseases, tapeworm, roundworm, diarrhoea and typhoid – all caused by polluted water. "When I first came here there was no water supply at all. Later we became entirely dependent on boreholes and suffered from chronic water shortages. At times when we had no water the staff filled the lorry with laundry and drove to the river for washing. Water is essential for a hospital," Dr Hurlow tells me as we take a walk around the hospital grounds, full of big rainwater tanks.

There were even instances when the hospital doctors had to use collected rain water for surgery, because no other water was available. The Maluti Adventist Hospital has 150 beds and an occupancy rate of 80-90 per cent. Patients come here from all over Lesotho. In total the hospital needs water for 500 people, including the 105 students at the attached nursing school. As well as water shortage, money is a problem. Last month the bill from WASA amounted to 12,000 Maloti (approx. €1,200). "We have to pass charges onto the patients.



A resettled young woman is pleased with the new water tank in the village of Ha Makotoko near the town of Nazareth

It would be wonderful if the EU would subsidize those charges or work for different rates in the health system. As it is, we must pay the same for water as commercial businesses," says the doctor.

Next step

Breakdowns along the water pipe are a problem. Even with the new water tank and despite Mrs Motsopo's assurances, Mapoteng still does run completely out of water. This is when Mr Nchake and Mr Lehana have to go out and solve the problem. On these occasions people have to go to small natural springs around the town. As the springs are unprotected there is a risk of disease. Dr Hurlow inquires

eagerly about Phase Two of the Six Towns Project that is meant to secure a more reliable supply. Paul Lirotholi explains that the final study is still not complete but that the next step will probably be constructing an intake system from the nearby river. The running costs will be high, but an expansion of the existing pipe would also be very costly.

The increased supply of water has led to reduced health risks and less time spent fetching it. This has improved the quality of life, not least for the women of Mapoteng. It is also expected that better access to water will attract more investment to the six towns, creating more employment and higher living standards. ■



Above, a woman collecting water – the easy way. Below, clean water is essential for health

Fighting poverty with water and roads

A new agreement with the EU

The country strategy on cooperation between Lesotho and the European Union focuses on water, sanitation and roads which help to support the country's booming garment and textile industry. It will also help the government's battle against HIV/AIDS. The EU intends to allocate a total of €110 million to Lesotho over the next five years.

Roughly half the EU's total allocation is for the tiny kingdom's poor macroeconomy. One quarter is for roads and one quarter for the water that is badly needed in the western lowlands and the foothills, where 80 per cent of the country's 2.2 million people live.

For Mr Khosi Letsie, Lesotho's Deputy National Authorising Officer (NAO), the priorities are clear: "We have started on an industrialising programme to create employment and fight poverty. We wish to have a chain of industries from the north to the south. The availability of good roads and good infrastructure would contribute a lot to the success of the industrialisation process and be an attraction for investors. It is important that they can move their products in and out of the country easily. Parts of the country are still not accessible throughout the year, particularly in the highlands."

Dual demand for more water

"There will be a high demand for water in order to drive the industrialisation. But if you look throughout the country, both at the urban and rural areas, the provision of drinking water to households is still inadequate."

"We are aware that the present reservoir at Maseru will not be sufficient when the industries are operational and take off. There is not enough water to support the entire town's household needs as well as the industries'. At the moment the plan is to get water from the nearby Caledon River and pump it into the present reservoir. In the long term we have a plan to build another reservoir 30 kilometres south-east of Maseru to provide water to the city."

"We have undertaken a feasibility study with the assistance of the European Union that will help us in finding the best way of providing water to the lowlands. We seem not to have the necessary capacities to undertake such a project by ourselves. We will rely heavily on external assistance in this matter."

AIDS: raising the level of understanding

Mr Letsie also underlined the need for help in combating AIDS: "We have not reached a stage where we can say that we control the spread of the disease. It is still on the rampage in society and hitting hardest at the working age group. The government has established the Lesotho AIDS

Programme Coordinating Authority (LAPCA) within the Prime Minister's office to oversee the many projects aimed at fighting the pandemic. The EU will support our capacity in planning and raising awareness about the disease. The educated talk freely about AIDS, but generally we are still secretive. We have a custom that the first item at a funeral is to tell the gathering what was the cause of death. But we hardly come out into the open that a person was a victim

of AIDS. We rather name all the opportunistic diseases like pneumonia or TB and let people themselves come to the conclusion that the cause of death has been AIDS," Mr Letsie said.

Budgetary support and accountability

Budgetary support is based on the government's ability to perform well, especially in the health and education sectors. The gender issue is a possible future indicator for further support. Ian Rossiter, adviser to the Deputy NAO, believes that this is an important component of development aid: "The beauty of budgetary support is that it puts the government in control of its own performance, its use of funds, whereas project money is outside the control of government. It is also an incentive to

do something because the money is performance-based. Payments for projects are made directly by the EU and other donors – they do not necessarily provide the incentive for government to improve public expenditure management."

The Cotonou Agreement sets conditions of transparency and accountability, which are weak points for Lesotho as for many other countries. According to the strict letter of the law Lesotho would probably be a bad case, but insiders argue that budgetary support is actually a means of helping Lesotho move towards accountability.

This is why a part of the direct budget support is for improving the financial management system. Collecting and analysing data to monitor income and expenditure is not only in the interest of donors, says Mr Rossiter: "Accountability can strengthen democracy in the way that members of parliament will actually know where the money is spent and can question why it is spent." ■



Mr Khosi Letsie, Lesotho's Deputy National Authorising Officer

Driving the uphill struggle against AIDS

A new initiative

Nearly a third of Basotho are HIV-positive, and in some clinics that figure is as high as 42 per cent among pregnant women. Last year the government set up the Lesotho AIDS Programme Coordination Authority (LAPCA). Difficulties in finding qualified staff delayed the start of its work until this year, but it is now up and running under its chief executive, Dr M.M. Moteetee.

“Poverty and AIDS are permanently married. Poor people have more children because they don’t have access to anything else. They are sitting at home, there is no food, but a lot of problems. They need a shoulder to cry on, and before they know it they are having sex. When you need confirmation and warmth, sex is a provider. It is not that sex is like entertainment, but they don’t have access to so many things, sex is one of the few things they have access to.” Dr Moteetee, who has been a public health practitioner since 1986 and previously worked for the Ministry of Health and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), insists that the prevention of AIDS will have to go together with building a stronger economy.

Meanwhile, as chief executive of LAPCA, Dr Moteetee’s own first priority is to get the “complete picture of who is who and doing what, where”. The EU has funded a study that will provide an overview of AIDS-related projects and initiatives, in order to find the gaps and coordinate efforts. There are a lot of activities and many different donors. In the view of one senior diplomat: “When it comes to fighting HIV/AIDS there is much more scope for NGOs than for government. It is a problem that is not solved by throwing money at it.”

Dr Moteetee agrees that government cannot stand on its own in fighting the pandemic. LAPCA is trying to involve all stakeholders. The government has decreed that every sector must earmark two per cent of its budget for HIV/AIDS, as the disease affects all levels of society. A code of practice on HIV/AIDS in the workplace is being produced for both the private and public sectors.

Dr Moteetee finds that lack of appropriate education is the biggest hindrance for effectively fighting HIV/AIDS. “Our weakest point is passing the information and educating people in a way that they will change their behaviour. People know about AIDS, at least 80-85 per cent of the population does, even those in the rural areas. They know it exists and that you die from it. And yet the real knowledge about AIDS – how you get it and how to avoid it – is not there. From the hospital data we see that the biggest contribution to the reported cases of AIDS is the factor of multiple partners and unsafe sex.”



Dr M.M. Moteetee

Tradition allows men to “graze around”

It is a well-known secret that many Basotho have multiple partners. Dr Moteetee is one of the few people to speak openly about it. “Nobody is sure why we have multiple partners in Lesotho but we can all postulate the reasons. Among them is certainly the separation of young men from their families for a long time for economic reasons. The men that go to the mines in South Africa are the maximally sexually active. A lot of them end up with second wives. Having someone else, because the one that should be there is not, has become a norm, even though it is done quietly. It is not necessarily regarded as wrong for a man to have someone else as long as he provides for his family. Our men have the freedom to graze around, but in the context of AIDS, grazing around is killing people.”

“These men come home from the mines infected and pass it on to their wives. When the man dies, his younger brother takes over his wife to look after her, which even includes having children with her, and so the disease spreads. We had reports from two remote villages where the

AIDS DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE, IT'S A WORLDWIDE CONCERN

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The message is clear – but the Basotho do not read it



Orphaned: this 14-year-old girl takes care of her younger brothers

customary practices are probably the biggest culprits. These villages are so remote that the men do not come from the mines for the weekends. They spend most of their time near the mines where there is an informal settlement of migrant sex workers. These young men came back to die in the village, where the women were also dying. Only old people and children are left now."

"No sex for two years" – tradition and empowerment

The Basotho are a proud people. They nurse their traditions even when this threatens to kill them, and again they do not speak about it. Dr Moteetee does: "Another cultural

factor we have is that when a woman is breastfeeding, she is not supposed to have sex for at least two years. During that period the wife or the man's mother looks around for a decent woman who will be able to provide comfort for the man. Obviously that decent woman is somebody else's wife, because in our culture you don't have sex when you are single. This arrangement is made in such a way that the partners will never know. It is a secret between the two women."

Many Basotho still marry under the old customary law that stamps women as minors, who cannot sign a job con-

tract or undergo an operation without the agreement of their husband. In business life this tends to be neglected as a lot of women have become their family's breadwinners, but in private life they have no rights.

"The capacity of women to control their sexuality and sex life is non-existent. Few women in this country have control over their sexuality, regardless of their level of education. The husband determines when and how to have sex, and why. Even if a woman knows he has been messing around and should be using a condom, he can just say no to that. In our culture it is a major crime for a woman to refuse her husband sex. Even if we change our laws, we have to empower women to take control, because they are not empowered," says Dr. Moteetee.

When King Letsie III of Lesotho married in February 2000, he and Queen Karabo threw themselves into the battle against the pandemic. For more than a year the capital, Maseru, was plastered with huge banners saying: "Learn the ABC, Abstain, Be faithful or Condomise", next to a wedding photo of the royal couple. The king's word has a great impact in Lesotho but Dr Moteetee is still sceptical about whether the message is getting through to the people.

"The rate of infection will only go down when people's practices are such that they will stop the transmission, which brings us back to the ABC. When they become mutually faithful, practice safe sex, when condoms become as common as salt in the food, when the infected know they are infected and ensure that they don't pass it on. But I don't see that happening within the next ten years."

Removing the stigma

Among the front-runners for the propagation of a more optimistic message are HIV/AIDS sufferers who have come out of the closet to tell people that you can be HIV-positive today and still live a number of years. But in Lesotho this takes courage. HIV/AIDS is interpreted as "bad behaviour" because it means you have been messing around.

The stigma is very strong in Lesotho and is a hindrance to more openness about the disease. "If you know that people will turn away from you – that the whole family will feel ashamed of you – and, if you are a woman, you will be kicked out and called a witch, then of course you don't want that disease to come to you." Local non-governmental organisations, like People Living Openly With AIDS, are trying to break the stigma. LAPCA will be working together with NGOs, the private sector, government and a range of associations and labour unions to obtain a change of conduct and to provide services both to the sick and the HIV-positive.

"If you are going to test me without anything to offer, like counselling and adequate treatment, there is no reason for me to be tested. Nobody does anything without a benefit. Caring comes hand-in-hand with reinforcing the preventive messages," says Dr Moteetee. She stresses that the means of prevention must be readily available when the Basotho finally come to realise its importance. "It is no good if the chemist has run out of stocks when the young man finally goes to buy condoms – he will never be back."



The royal couple is preaching the ABC – in vain

The Machobane Farming System Tackling Lesotho's food crisis

Some 80 per cent of Lesotho's population are still dependent on the land. Yet it has been more than half a century since most Basotho could feed themselves through farming, and production is still going down. A system of sustainable agriculture is now giving hope for the future.

The problems facing agriculture in Lesotho become clearly visible from the plane flying down to Maseru from Johannesburg. Leaving the huge, flat fields of South Africa's Free State Province you pass the Maluti Mountains and the Drakensberg Range that rise to an altitude of 3,500 metres. Then you see the miserable plots of Lesotho's poor farmers.

Only nine per cent of the land is arable in the rocky, mountainous "Kingdom in the Sky". Even that figure is declining because of the thin layer of soil, limited vegetation and farmers dying of AIDS. Wind and water carry 40 million tons of soil from Lesotho every year. It flows down the rivers and into the Atlantic Ocean. Weather is partly to blame for the soil erosion, but poor management and an ancient land tenure system also play their part. Trees are cut down for firewood and new shoots are eaten by animals, causing further soil erosion and making even less land available for agriculture.

The reward of rotating crops

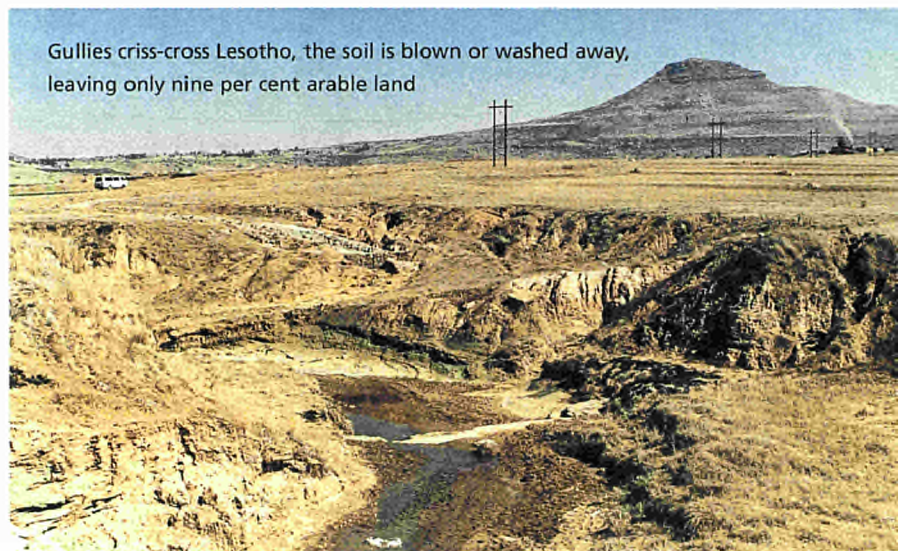
Since the 1970s agriculture's share of the national output has declined from 50 per cent to 10-15 per cent today. The UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) says that in the 1970s average maize and sorghum production was in the range of 1,400 kilograms per hectare, while today it has gone down to an average of 450-550 kg/ha. The FAO has warned against mono-cropping and advised rotations. The local non-governmental organisation, Rural Self-help Development Association (RSDA), has been training farmers to act on this advice since 1995.

RSDA hopes to create food security with the environmentally friendly Machobane Farming System (MFS) developed in the late 1950s by J.J. Machobane, a Mosotho author, after years of intensive research into sustainable agriculture. The system is still relatively unknown and only around 1,000 farmers are practising it, in two districts of Lesotho. By arranging study tours to MFS fields for farmers from other areas, RSDA tries to spread the message.

As for this year's food crisis, the system has proved its success. When conventional maize-producing farmers faced famine in June and July because rain destroyed their crops, the Machobane farmers still had beans, sorghum and potatoes to consume and even to sell.

Diversity and simplicity

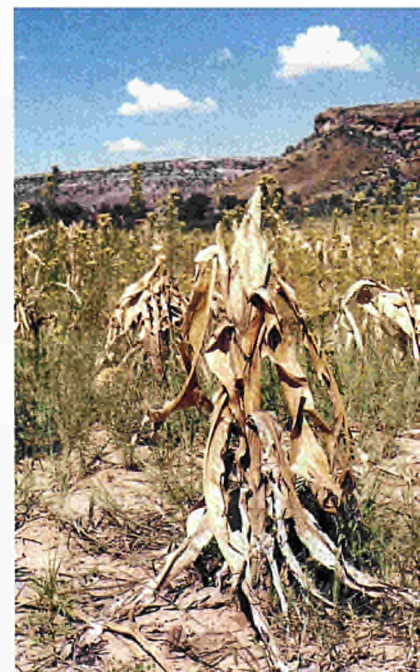
MFS is a low-cost, low-input and very labour-intensive farming system that centres on a year-round production



Gullies criss-cross Lesotho, the soil is blown or washed away, leaving only nine per cent arable land

of a diversity of more than seven crops. "Conventional farmers grow maize all over. When natural disasters occur everything is wiped out, but for an MFS farmer at least two or three crops will be left," says Ts'eliso Lethunya, RSDA's project manager in the district of Phamong. "In MFS we plant seven crops of which two – beans and peas – provide protein and three are a source of income: potatoes, beans and peas. Especially in the cold areas farmers have to be very careful and selective not to make the plants compete," Mr Lethunya stresses.

In the Machobane Farming System potatoes are grown between July and December with rows of maize, beans, sorghum, pumpkin and watermelons in between them. In winter wheat and peas follow. When the wheat and the potatoes are harvested in January and February the marketing begins.



Maize is the sole most important component in the Basotho's diet, but this year the harvest was very poor



Above, supermarket in Maseru. Food is available if you have the money. Below, a home in Leribe.

Potatoes have become a major cash crop for the MFS farmers. For many it is the first time they have been able to sell any of their products.

As autumn nears it is time to begin preparing the soil for winter crops, to sow peas and wheat and to harvest the maize, sorghum and beans. In winter the fruit trees must be pruned and ash, manure and compost collected for a new season. MFS has been labelled a primitive technology. All weeding, ridging and harvesting is done by hand, using hoes as the primary tool. Ploughing is mostly done with the help of an ox – very few have access to a tractor.



“The system is for the resource-poor farmer who cannot afford fertilizers, pesticides and big machinery. It is labour-intensive, but more than 40 per cent of the Basotho are unemployed and when they are engaged in the fields all day they are

Tseliso Lethunya, Project Manager at Rural Self-help Development Association tries to spread the Machobane Farming System message, by organising study tours for farmers from other areas of Lesotho to the districts where it is working

not moving around catching AIDS. It sounds like a joke but it's not,” says Mr Lethunya. “MFS is not against pesticides but we claim to be environmentally friendly, and these pesticides are polluting the environment. More than 90 per cent of the farmers in the SADC region are using fertilizers and pesticides, and still there is an outcry about food shortage, so I don't know if they are of any use. Rotation is the best answer for the poor farmer who cannot afford to buy pesticides and fertilizers.”

Binding the soil

The system is not only about agriculture. It also addresses the problems of soil erosion and lack of firewood in a land with hardly any trees. Enormous gullies criss-cross the countryside because the trees have been taken for firewood or eaten by livestock. Poor people have to rely on stealing shrubs for firewood during winter when temperatures on the hillsides drop below zero and snow is a normal sight on the mountains.

“I suggest planting 20 fruit trees around the houses. When you broom them every winter you have secure firewood and the tree roots bind the soil. Manure also stabilizes the soil because it is heavy, and there is a lot of manure in the hill lands. If you have enough trees, you can reduce the amount of manure for fuel,” Mr Lethunya says.

Livestock is one of the biggest troublemakers for MFS farmers. There is endless competition over land for grazing and land for farming. “Basotho are very close to their animals, but we have a problem with poor management of grazing. People stop cultivating because their fields are being grazed by other people's livestock.” The land is owned by the king and administered by the chiefs. MFS farmers claim that the authorities do not help them protect their fields from being eaten by grazing livestock.

RSDA cannot do much itself to improve the situation, but a new land tenure system probably could. Changes have been discussed for years, but the new government does seem set on reform. Meanwhile lack of ownership keeps people from making substantial investments in the land and from taking care of the environment. “Young people will run away from agriculture if there is no profit attachment. We encourage MFS farmers to grow potatoes. It is one of the best cash crops and will give them a lot of money,” says Ts'eliso Lethunya. ■

AIDS and a hard workload do not seem to go hand in hand but Daniel S. Sinnathamby, representative of the international NGO, CARE Lesotho, sees it differently: “Machobane is especially good for HIV/AIDS patients because you can actually farm around the household, you don't have to go to the field, since you can practise the system in the garden. If there are sick people in the household, family members will find it easier to go around the house instead of going to the field.”

Civil society

Windows of opportunity are opening up

The EU-ACP Cotonou Partnership Agreement emphasises the role and potential for non-State actors to contribute to the development process. Governments need to cooperate with civil society in developing their countries. In Lesotho, no formal framework yet exists for such cooperation, and civil society in general is considered weak, both by politicians and by members of non-governmental organisations. The words “need strengthening” echo repeatedly. However, this situation is changing as opportunities increase for communities to influence policies that effect them.

“The relationship with non-governmental organisations will not be new for government,” says Khosi Letsie, Deputy National Authorising Officer. “But we do not have a formal agreement. Civil society organisations in general are weak. They lack financial resources and capacity.” He believes that while non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are firmly established in Europe, in Lesotho they must be strengthened before being entrusted with heavy responsibilities.

He believes that non-State actors will not be major players in the near future: “Maybe 10 years from now the role of civil society will be bigger. We must facilitate the strengthening of civil society, training of members and their ability to raise their own resources. We have to be realistic.”

At the same time, NGOs CARE International, MS (the Danish Association for International Cooperation) and The Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) hold out hope for this society in transition – and for the non-State actors that are helping to make it happen.

Breaking away from a culture of dependency

Capacity building of civil society is one of the priorities of the non-profit organisation CARE International. Active in Lesotho since 1968, today CARE is regarded as one of the most experienced and strong international NGOs in the country.

Daniel S. Sinnathamby, country representative of CARE Lesotho/South Africa, explains that one of the reasons civil society is weak is because for the past four decades, Lesotho has been very dependent on external aid. Following the dismantling of apartheid, most of the aid and development organisations moved to Johannesburg

and Pretoria, leaving a significant vacuum. “The large amount of aid that has passed through the country has created a culture of dependency. Everybody is waiting for solutions to come from the outside. Traditionally, international NGOs were substituting for government, providing everything.”

He says there are few mechanisms for community members to be involved in dialogue and decision-making. “The system of chiefs is more respected in Lesotho as a decision-making mechanism than the administrative system. The chief may consult the people, but in the end he decides. That system does not allow for a lot of participation.”

Transition creates opportunities for engagement

Daniel Sinnathamby came to Lesotho from Sri Lanka in 2000 and says that during that period, working relations between authorities and civil society have improved.

“Recently, people in government have been very receptive, especially at the higher and district levels. But in the middle there is a section that is not making contact with civil society. There is a lot of support for our work at policy level and we are often involved in joint planning meetings with government departments.”



Daniel S. Sinnathamby |

Field staff are frequently in contact with district level government people, but it is very difficult for decisions made at central level to translate into action and filter down to the ground.

The transition towards a more conducive climate for government and civil society cooperation is very much due to pressure from international donors, maintains Daniel Sinnathamby. He points to the EU-ACP Cotonou Agreement and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) process, which require civil society engagement both in policy formulation and initiatives to promote growth and reduce poverty:

"The PRSP process requires community consultation. It is forcing the government to engage with civil society. This means that communities actually have an opportunity to influence policies, which is very, very important because they affect them at all levels," he says.

The Cotonou Agreement provides substantial resources for civil society to better engage with government. A sum of up to €500,000 will be provided under the 9th European Development Fund for strengthening civil society capacity in organisation and representation, and to establish consultation mechanisms with the government.

"It is a very opportune time for non-State actors in Lesotho. There are huge windows of opportunity now to collectively have a voice. We are being listened to," adds Daniel Sinnathamby.

For example, the development by the EU and Lesotho of the Country Strategy Paper (CSP) was kicked off in March 2001 with a workshop attended by a wide range of civil society groups. A number of non-State actors were consulted on a regular basis as work on the CSP progressed.

Filling the gap is key

Daniel Sinnathamby views the role of NGOs not as substituting for government, but as facilitators to help communities articulate their needs and demands.

"Strengthening civil society is one of the key elements that development should focus on. The PRSP process, the EU and the Cotonou Agreement all provide resources to fill the gap between government and civil society. We must strengthen demand mechanisms. If the service users are collectively able to identify needs and engage with the service providers, I think that's the key."

CARE International's focus is on capacity building of civil society organisations and the EU's role supports capacity building of non-State actors, particularly community level organisations. NGOs must also help civil society engage with the judiciary, basic service providers and media. Mr Sinnathamby adds that EU has the potential to become the "hard metal" in the key.

He concludes on a positive note: "There has been a lot of disconnect between government and civil society in terms of discussion and dialogue, but I think it's changing now. Government understands that there is a gap and has expressed commitment to developing mechanisms that will involve communities in policy formulation and implementation."

The foundation of a democratic society

The past ten years has seen many donors scaling down operations or completely withdrawing from Lesotho. MS, the Danish association for international cooperation, has



MS staff outside the country office in Maseru – closing down after 26 years

worked in Lesotho since 1976 and deployed more than 300 development workers to work with local NGOs. Many of the footbridges in the rural areas were built by MS workers. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the association has focused on democracy, human rights, sustainable agriculture and environment. Now MS is to leave Lesotho, following cuts in development aid imposed by the Danish government. The MS board found that its programme in Lesotho did not have sufficient potential because civil society is too weak to implement it. It forecasts that a number of MS partners will vanish when the financial aid and human resources of MS are gone.

MS Director in Lesotho, Claus Loschenkohl, believes that civil society is constantly evolving. "As the society and political system changes, civil society also develops and reflects both the material base and people's need for organisational expression."

He maintains that recent political changes in Lesotho have not resulted in a democratic society at all levels. As a result, an important role for civil society organisations has emerged from the new policy agenda on democratisation and good governance. This is reinforced by the fact that some donors regard the development of civil society as the foundation for a democratic society.

He says that the government of Lesotho has a poor track record of supporting NGOs. "This is the case even if it can be shown that NGOs are engaged in very useful work such as poverty alleviation and supplying services to the underprivileged groups. My organisation has assisted Lesotho NGOs with institutional capacity building and strengthening of their implementing skills. The results are not always encouraging." MS had to cease cooperation with a number of partners who did not fulfil agreements or who lacked institutional and financial sustainability.

But not only civil society is weak. Claus Loschenkohl says the systems of government, political parties and civil society are all relatively weak and under transition. However, the recent elections proved the democratic spirit of the constitution is being implemented.

"Ruling and opposition political parties as well as civil society can be congratulated for their role," he says. "A further strengthened civil society will emerge with a political system that recognises that a vibrant, prosperous democratic society requires genuine participation of ordinary people outside of formal political institutions."

Promoting understanding

A local consultancy company, the Khalopa Development Agency, led by veteran diplomat S.K. Phafane, is preparing a media campaign to promote understanding of the Cotonou Agreement and the potential it offers, as well as EU engagement in the country.

"The effect of the EU/Lesotho relationship on ordinary people is crucial," says S.K. Phafane. "The focus of the campaign is on issues that need full attention: development, good governance, rule of law and democracy. We must internalise these terms."

Structures of accountability

The Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) is an ecumenical organisation founded in 1978, committed to peace, justice, democracy and human rights. It has a well-stocked library in Maseru from where it publishes a quarterly newsletter, "Work for Justice".

TRC is in charge of monitoring the resettlement and compensation to communities affected by the construction of the large dams. It also runs a democracy education project that aims to involve citizens in local governance.

Motseoa Senyane, TRC Director since 1990, describes its mission: "We focus on how the government answers to the everyday concerns of men and women in the communities and on the streets of Maseru. We try to translate these concerns into a national debate so that ordinary people are being heard at a higher level. We provide the maximum information accessible for civic education."

She elaborates upon TRC's strengths: "From the start we set up structures of accountability that left no space for corrupt practices. When we employ people we couple qualifications with passion for the work. Too many NGOs are built up of people who have nowhere else to go and don't believe in what they are doing. TRC employees stay even during hard times."

Cotonou offers "a ray of hope"

Motseoa Senyane says that NGOs must rethink, engage in business projects and not just close shop when donors leave.

"There is no donor funding flying around anymore and many projects are dying for lack of funding. I see the Cotonou Agreement as a ray of hope. Government and civil society are forced to sit down together, and a lot of good is coming from that. I haven't seen that before in all my years," she says. "It is wonderful to agree and even positive to agree that you disagree."

"Voter education and election monitoring were done by NGOs because government did not have the capacity. NGOs are making substantive, highly positive efforts in this country that deserve to be applauded. But we need to push hard to formalise ourselves."

"We need to be seen as non-partisan to speak with a credible voice. The element of corruption is scary. Non-accountability of donors themselves allows this to happen," she says.

A Memorandum of Understanding between the government and NGOs is in the pipeline after pressure from international donors that want government to cooperate with civil society. But Motseoa Senyane says that government is in too much hurry to have it signed.

"In this way they are using us, and hopefully we can use them to benefit both parties," she adds.



TRC Director Motseoa Senyane
Elections were monitored by NGOs



Keeping both investors and workers happy

Textiles are Lesotho's main source of growth, and new investment is set to expand the industry even further. Much needed jobs are being created. But fair trade campaigners and a local union allege poor working conditions and labour rights violations in some factories.



People waiting patiently day after day in front of the factories, hoping to get a job – even if the conditions inside are very tough

There are bound to be clashes between the Minister of Trade, Mr Mpho 'Meli Malie and the newly elected member of parliament Mr Macaefa Billy, sole representative of the one-year-old Lesotho Workers' Party. As Minister of Trade Mr Malie wants flexible labour laws to attract more investors. Mr Billy, former chairman of the Lesotho Clothing and Allied Workers Union (LECAWU) is a relentless campaigner for improved working conditions in the booming industry. Members of the union speak of extremely hard working conditions behind the factory walls. But an independent report is not possible to give, as the foreign factory owners don't allow the press to enter.

The textile industry is almost completely foreigner-owned, mostly by Chinese or Taiwanese. Many have been in Lesotho since the 1980s, but the skyrocketing of their industry only came with the United States' Africa Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) that provides a quota-free market to the US for a range of products from 35 African countries. According to the US Department of Commerce, the US imported textiles worth US\$63 billion in 2001 from these countries. Exports from Lesotho amounted to US\$215 million, or 0.3 per cent of the total.

20,000 extra jobs have been created since the agreement came into operation in January last year, but Robert Loftus, the American ambassador to Lesotho, warned that the AGOA opportunities will only last until 2008, when the agreement expires.

A hard place to work

AGOA states that products must be made according to the rules of the International Labour Organisation (ILO). But complaints from LECAWU members and a recent report from the Canada based Ethical Trading Action Group (ETAG) raise doubt. According to ETAG "violations of freedom of association and workers' right to organise and bargain collectively appear to be continuing in the factories" that the action group visited. Strikes for higher wages have turned violent when police have used teargas and whips against workers.

"Factories are a hard place to work and somewhere we have to make sacrifices. But we don't want to violate protocols we have signed under the ILO and see our people being exploited in trying to build the industry. Government, labour movement and employers' associations must come together to address labour issues and improve conditions for workers. It is part of the AGOA agreement that the Americans can inspect the factories anytime they want," says the Minister of Trade. He continues: "We are addressing serious problems of poverty and unemployment. The textile industry is a high volume labour industry and addresses to an extent those problems."

The long queues of job seekers in front of the factories prove his point but do not reassure the labour union. LECAWU has asked the government to consider wage increases through renewed negotiations between the trade union and the Wages Advisory Board. The union is also in dialogue with the factory owners and hopes for an agreement on definition of job categories as a first step toward negotiations on salary scales later this year.

The harsh rhetoric has been played down and it seems that a better working climate – at least between the government and the union – can be established, especially now that a vocal ally of LECAWU is on the opposition bench in the National Assembly. ■



Left: Mpho 'Meli Malie, Minister of Trade: "The textile industry is a high volume labour industry and addresses to some extent the problems of unemployment and poverty. 99.9 per cent of the owners of the textile industry are foreigners."
Right: Macaefa Billy, former Chairperson of Lesotho Clothing and Allied Workers Union, LECAWU, now member of parliament for Lesotho Workers Party, is expected to be the government watchdog when it comes to workers' conditions



Meeting the challenges of growth

A remarkable transformation is taking place in Lesotho's economy, which has traditionally been dependent on remittances from mine workers and has little entrepreneurial tradition. On the outskirts of Maseru and in the northern town of Maputsoe, factories are mushrooming to meet demand for what in just a few years has grown to be the country's biggest export success ever: garments.

Christian Olsen*

The labour-intensive factories are estimated to employ some 40,000 people, mostly women, and ancillary industry and shops have sprung up among the factories, making further inroads into Lesotho's vast pool of unemployed.

Exports of garments to the United States have been boosted by the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and provided revenue of M1.9 billion in 2001, or 29 per cent of GDP. Garment exports have risen by more than 100 per cent since 1999 and American demand for Lesotho-produced garments is set to continue to grow rapidly.

Lesotho's exporters have been less successful in taking advantage of the EU's scheme to promote exports from LDCs, the "Everything But Arms" initiative. Combined exports to Europe in 2000 were less than M9 million. Even though all goods that originate in Lesotho are eligible for duty and quota free access to the European market, the limited industrial base as well as an agricultural sector in decline and unable to offer a reliable supply of goods, have made it difficult for Basotho producers to establish a foothold in Europe.

Prospects for increased and more reliable agricultural production are bleak: soil erosion, adverse weather conditions and increased pressure on arable land for dwellings have steadily eroded agricultural yields over the past two decades. Manufacturing therefore seems to provide the key to a further expansion of exports to the biggest markets in Europe and the United States.

Garment manufacturers in Lesotho traditionally source their cloth and fabric from South African and Taiwanese weavers. Currently, sourcing from these countries is not allowed if the products are to acquire status as originating in Lesotho for export to the EU.

This trade regime could change in the near future, and if Lesotho were allowed to use intermediary products from South Africa, there would be scope for exports to Europe on a large scale.

Logistical problems of expansion

However, whether exporters look for new markets or rely on expansion in existing ones to fuel industrial growth, the proliferation of factories presents infrastructural problems that must be addressed immediately if the expansion is to be sustained.

The production methods used in the garment factories are water-intensive. In Maseru and Maputsoe, the available water supply is already periodically insufficient to meet demand and shortages are becoming increasingly frequent, especially in Maseru. Water supply is a serious constraint to further industrial expansion and the problem is compounded by migration from rural areas to the towns.

Another issue of increasing concern is the chemical effluent from textiles production, which is fed virtually untreated into the Caledon river, an important source of drinking water downstream in both Lesotho and South Africa.



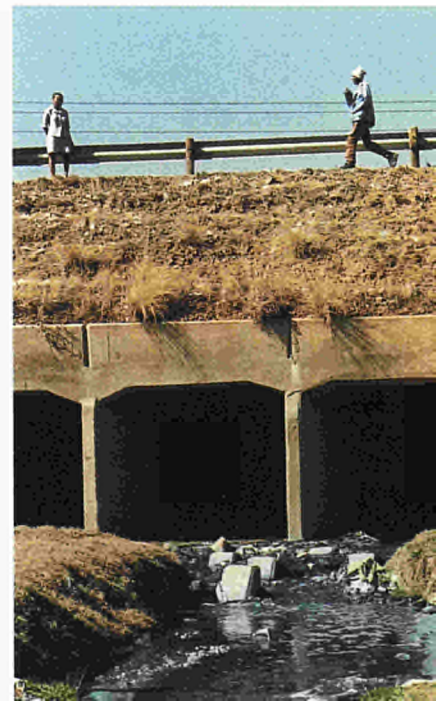
The textile industry is rapidly expanding in the outskirts of Maseru. But the proliferation of factories presents logistical problems that must be addressed immediately if the expansion is to be sustained

The Government is trying to alleviate both constraints, with the help of the EU's European Development Fund (EDF) and the European Investment Bank (EIB), which have been supporting the water sector in Lesotho for many years.

Expanded river extraction facilities have increased the water supply in Maputsoe and five other main towns, but a further expansion will most likely be needed. The Government has commissioned an EDF-funded feasibility study to pave the way for a sustainable increase in the water supply to the Lesotho lowlands, in the medium and long term. Wastewater management and in-factory water recycling and treatment are areas that will possibly receive support from the EIB following an on-going study. ■

* Economic Attaché
Delegation of the European
Commission in Lesotho

"The Blue River" in Maseru. Of increasing concern is the chemical effluent from textiles production. The water tariffs are so low that for now the textile industry has no incentive to clean and recycle water used for colouring jeans



Lesotho



General Information

Land area: 30 335 km²
 Population: 2.1 million (estimated)
 Capital: Maseru
 Other main towns: Mafeteng, Teyateayneng, Butha-Buthe, Thaba Tseka, Mokhotlong, Mochale's Hoek, Quacha's Nek
 Languages: Sesotho and English (official)
 Religion: Christian 80%, Traditional Beliefs 20%

Political structure

Lesotho is a constitutional monarchy, with the King as Head of State and with executive power vested in the government led by the Prime Minister

King: Letsie III
 Constitution: Adopted 25 March, 1993
 Legal system: Dual legal system with traditional Customary Law and General Law based on the Roman-Dutch system
 Legislative branch: Bicameral legislature, Parliament (120 seats) and Senate (55 seats, of which 22 are permanently held by principal chiefs)

Political forces and National Assembly election results, 25 May, 2002:

	Seats	% of votes cast
Lesotho Congress for Democracy	77	54
Basotho National Party	21	22
Lesotho People's Congress	5	6
National Independent Party	5	5
Basutoland African Congress	3	3
Basutoland Congress Party	3	3
National Progressive Party	1	1
Lesotho Worker's Party	1	1
Marematlou Freedom Party	1	1
Popular Front for Democracy	1	1

Election results, 1998

	Seats	% of votes cast
Lesotho Congress for Democracy	78	61
Basotho National Party	1	25
Basotho Congress Party	0	11
Others	0	3

(One seat was not contested owing to the death of a candidate on the eve of the poll)

Economy

Currency: Loti, plural Maloti (1€ = M9,95 [2002])
 GDP per capita: US\$332 (2001)
 GDP growth: 2.4% (2001)
 Inflation: 6.9% (2001)
 Total external debt: €730 million
 Main economic sectors: Construction, agriculture, manufacturing

Social Indicators

Human development index rating: 0,535 (132nd out of 173)
 Life expectancy at birth: 55 years (at the level of HIV/AIDS infection currently estimated by UNAIDS it is likely that average life expectancy is closer to 44 years)
 Under-one mortality rate: 92/1000 (2000)
 Adult literacy: 83% (93% of female population in 1999, 71.1% of male population)
 Population using improved water sources: 52%
 Population growth rate: 2.1%

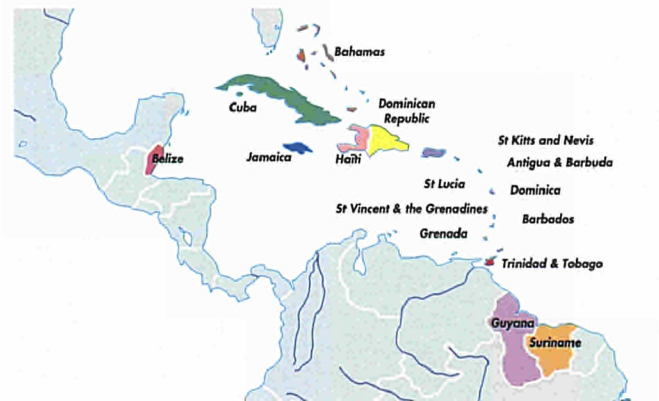
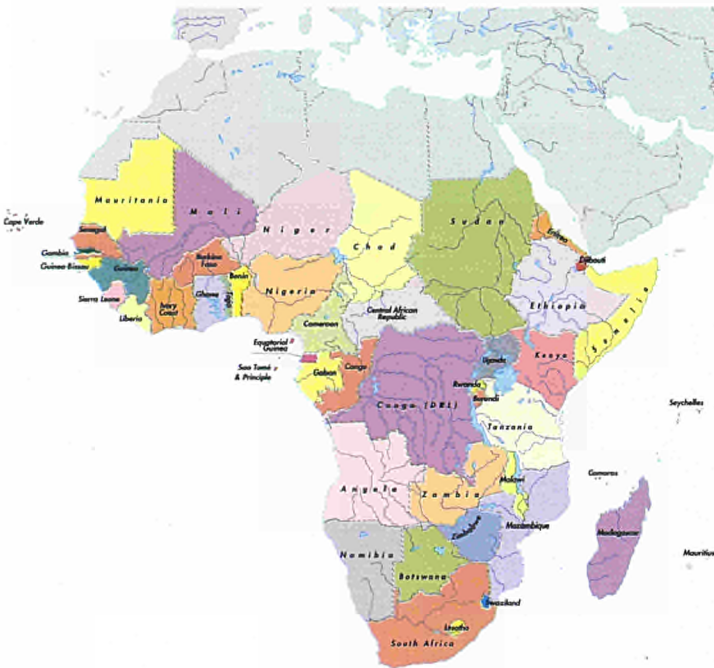


Austria
 Belgium
 Denmark
 Finland
 France
 Germany
 Greece
 Ireland
 Italy
 Luxembourg
 Netherlands
 Portugal
 Spain
 Sweden
 United Kingdom
France
 Territorial collectivities
 Mayotte

St Pierre and Miquelon
Overseas territories
 New Caledonia
 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 78 ACP States*

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| Angola | Dominican Republic | Malawi | Senegal |
| Antigua and Barbuda | Equatorial Guinea | Mali | Seychelles |
| Bahamas | Eritrea | Marshall islands | Sierra Leone |
| Barbados | Ethiopia | Mauritania | Solomon Islands |
| Belize | Fiji | Mauritius | Somalia |
| Benin | Gabon | Micronesia | South Africa |
| Botswana | Gambia | Mozambique | Sudan |
| Burkina Faso | Ghana | Namibia | Suriname |
| Burundi | Grenada | Nauru | Swaziland |
| Cameroon | Guinea | Niger | Tanzania |
| Cape Verde | Guinea Bissau | Nigeria | Togo |
| Central African Republic | Guyana | Niue | Tonga |
| Chad | Haiti | Palau | Trinidad & Tobago |
| Comoros | Ivory Coast | Papua New Guinea | Tuvalu |
| Congo | Jamaica | Rwanda | Uganda |
| Cook Islands | Kenya | St Kitts and Nevis | Vanuatu |
| Cuba* | Kiribati | St Lucia | Zambia |
| Democratic Republic of Congo | Lesotho | St Vincent and the Grenadines | Zimbabwe |
| Djibouti | Liberia | Samoa | |
| Dominica | Madagascar | São Tomé and Príncipe | |

* Cuba was admitted as a new member of the ACP group in December 2000, but is not a signatory of the Cotonou Agreement.



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