



## Whole new era of South African politics as ANC wins big

by Hugh McCullum

The euphoric celebrations are over and South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki is back hard at work in his ornate gothic offices in the Union Buildings in Pretoria, a host of national, regional and international issues demanding attention — issues which will impact on southern Africa and the continent for years to come.

Sworn in at a glittering ceremony on 16 June, the Mbeki era will unquestionably be different in style from those of his charismatic predecessor, Nelson Mandela. But the policies and programmes of the African National Congress (ANC) government will continue albeit with a much greater sense of urgency and transformation because the people have given

them an "unequivocal" mandate for another five years.

ANC goes into the 400-seat Parliament with 266 seats after the June 2 marathon election, one short of a two-thirds majority. The remaining seats are split among 12 other parties with the white liberal Democratic Party (DP) narrowly taking the position of Official Opposition with 38 seats, just ahead of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which has 34.

What this election showed is the maturity of South Africans less than a decade after half a century of racist apartheid. The extremes are falling



Photos by Hugh McCullum

The winning posters for ANC

our country.

However, with the euphoria over, Mbeki must consolidate and transform the

all colours and all sectors of South Africa have unequivocally given ANC a further mandate." He told cheering ANC members "the poorest of the poor have said they trust ANC to help them out of their conditions of misery. The masses of our people have mandated us to maintain the peace and stability which democracy and good governance have brought

### Mixed reactions to SA-EU trade agreement

by Munetsi Madakufamba

The recently signed free trade agreement (FTA) between South Africa and the European Union (EU) has sparked mixed feelings among SADC members as some fear it may lead to lower intra-regional trade while others say it will encourage competition.

One of the urgent matters awaiting the SA parliament after the election is the ratification of the 800-page agreement, negotiations for which took more than two years. If the agreement successfully passes through parliament, it will be implemented first of January 2000. However, there are fears among South Africa's neighbours, particularly those in the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), that duty free imports from the EU will lead to loss of revenue. SACU members — Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia,

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Cheerful crowds gathered early for South Africa's elections

away, the ANC is hugely popular and the voters are filled with optimism. The system works. As an emotional Mbeki said when he stepped before his frenzied supporters out in the Mid Rand's ANC offices "the women, the poor, black and white,

Mandela era into the Mbeki era. The cabinet has changed, but policies especially economic, employment and crime must continue and consolidate.

"Mbeki needs a strong mandate to be able to administer the strong medicine that

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### Entrenching a democratic culture

Democracy in southern Africa has more to gain from sharing regional experiences than when countries act in isolation. The diverse electoral processes and systems in SADC provide a perfect laboratory for lessons for its members.

A recent conference co-organised in Botswana by SADC and the Electoral Institute of South Africa (EISA) underscored the need to share experiences in electoral processes noting that this is a crucial step in strengthening and consolidating democracy in the region.

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### A note to the reader

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## Laying an institutional foundation for the trade protocol

As negotiations on tariff reduction schedules come to a close, the focus is increasingly shifting to the establishment of an effective institutional framework for implementation of the SADC Trade Protocol.

SADC member states are reportedly finalising their tariff schedules and are expected to submit them to trade ministers in July. A breakthrough has been made with the downlisting by most countries of textiles and clothing from the list of sensitive products to the gradual reduction category.

According to trade officials, outstanding issues remain on technical areas of implementation relating to rules of origin – local content of imports and exports. These technical issues are, however, expected to be thrashed out at the next meeting of the trade negotiations forum scheduled for Gaborone, Botswana.

Through the Trade Protocol, SADC intends to establish a free trade area. The target date for tariff reduction was set for January 2000, and the process is expected to take up to eight years.

The ratification of the SADC Trade Protocol is a pre-condition for its implementation. By June this year, only five countries had ratified – Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Other member states are in the process of doing so.

Some of the issues cited as hindering the ratification process relate to:

- The viability of Small and Medium Enterprises which are endangered in the absence, or inadequacy, of effective regional policy measures in the Trade Protocol that guarantee their survival. It is therefore recommended that technical assistance be sought to undertake impact studies and develop measures for SMEs for incorporation in the protocol.

- The business community which lacks adequate knowledge about provisions of the protocol, and as such greater awareness is needed, possibly by way of a guideline information manual.

A committee of four SADC countries (see note below), set up two years ago to deliberate on the institutional needs for the implementation of the protocol, has had two meetings so far. Its second, recent meeting was in Lusaka, Zambia, in June. The meeting deliberated on a report compiled by a consultant appoint-

ed to inform the committee on the best institutional mechanism for implementation of the protocol.

There was general consensus at the Lusaka meeting that the free trade area should substantially include all trade and that the list of sensitive products be kept small.

The committee made a number of observations and recommendations that will be taken to the Committee of Senior Officials for consideration and onward submission to the Committee of Ministers of Trade.

At present, the SADC Industry and Trade Coordination Division (SITCD), which falls under the civil service of the Tanzanian government, is the only institution in place to coordinate the implementation of the Trade Protocol. However, according to the consultancy report, SITCD is structurally constrained and therefore needs to be strengthened, an observation admitted by the Committee of Four.

The trade protocol states that the sector coordinating unit shall:

- Coordinate the day-to-day operations in the implementation of the protocol;
- Provide technical and administrative assistance to the Council of Ministers of Trade, the Committee of Senior Officials and the Trade Negotiation Forum;
- Provide assistance to subsidiary committees, sub-committees and panels established to implement the protocol;
- Work closely with the private sector; and
- Identify research needs and priorities in the trade area.

However, the Committee of Four observed that these provisions are inadequate for the effective implementation of the protocol for reasons that include lack of resources on the part of SITCD.

It was also recommended that the trade portfolio be separated from the Industry and Trade Coordinating Unit to allow for the creation of a mechanism of implementation which will be regional in character.

This would also “allow the unit to be impartial in carrying out its arbitration functions”. SITCD without the trade portfolio will remain as the Industry Sector Coordinating Unit.

“Tanzania shall remain responsible for the overall coordination of the policy aspects of both trade and industry matters,” says the committee report.

For much more effective and efficient implementation of the SADC Trade Protocol, the Committee of Four recommended the setting up of a Trade Implementation Unit. The unit, according to the committee report would work closely with the Trade Facilitation and Customs Committees, the Trade Negotiation Forum and the SADC Secretariat as well as other relevant SADC institutions, and the Industry Sector Coordinating Unit.

The Trade Implementation Unit, if approved, would among other issues, fulfill what were previously envisaged as responsibilities of the current sector coordinating unit.

In addition, the unit would:

- Prepare annual schedule of meetings in close consultation and coordination with the Industry Sector Coordinating Unit;
- Collect, prepare, circulate papers, documents and any other information which may be required to facilitate the implementation of the protocol;
- Perform any other secretarial and administrative duties related to implementation of the protocol and other trade-related matters;
- Assisting national trade and customs agencies/institutions in computerisation and establishment of interactive trade data and information systems; and
- Establishment and maintenance of a documentation centre/unit for trade-related publications, documents, agreements and legislation.

While the Trade Implementation Unit can only play a facilitating role, the primary responsibility for implementation of the trade protocol, will however, fall on the member states themselves. □

*Note: The SADC Committee of Four comprising Mauritius, Namibia, Tanzania and Zambia was formed by a decision of the special SADC Industry and Trade Ministers Committee held in Dares-Salaam on 18 August 1997.*

*The Committee was formed to consider and propose an effective and efficient regional institutional arrangement for the implementation of the Trade Protocol.*

## Mixed reactions to SA-EU trade agreement

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South Africa and Swaziland – share tariff-based revenue. This revenue contributes upto 50 percent of annual budgets of some of the countries.

As a precautionary measure, the EU has already concluded a US\$1.3 million rescue package for Swaziland, one of the countries that is expected to be negatively affected by the FTA. The EU says it is working out a similar arrangement for Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia.

While the impact on tariff-based revenue is seen as direct, and can easily be compensated for, there are other more indirect, and possibly much more far reaching, effects.

This has to do with cheaper, and sometimes heavily subsidised, EU products flooding SADC countries. For instance, EU beef is heavily subsidised and thus pose a potential threat to beef farmers in the region, particularly Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Intra-SADC trade currently ranges between 10-20 percent and is likely to be reduced with the advent of cheaper EU

products through South Africa. The FTA is also seen by many as a further complication to negotiations on the SADC Trade Protocol. "The SA-EU agreement has grave implications for the region. The agreement was signed at a time we are calling for more trade within SADC," says Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwe's Industry and Commerce Minister.

The SADC Trade Protocol seeks to create a free trade area in the SADC region within a period of eight years.

It was signed in 1996 and has so far been ratified by five countries – Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

Negotiations on tariff reduction schedules are still continuing and ratification is expected to move faster once these are completed.

However, some analysts say the SA-EU FTA should be seen as complementary to the SADC Trade protocol since South Africa, one of the 14-member group,

has already started lifting its tariffs.

"It (South Africa) has already opened up its market to the EU which is a bigger economy and more complex.

It should now find it relatively easy to do the same at the regional level...

One can argue that the (SADC) trade protocol is a less complex one compared with the SA-EU FTA that has just been concluded.

What SADC countries now need to do is to spare time to work on the modalities (of the trade protocol) before implementation can begin," says one regional economist.

Optimists of the SA-EU FTA say cheaper EU products will encourage

local manufacturers to find more efficient ways of production. Infact, for local companies to compete favourably with their European counterparts, they will have to match both their quality and price.

The ultimate beneficiary would be the SADC consumer. □



SA Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Erwin

## Entrenching a democratic culture in southern Africa

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The conference, co-sponsored by the European Union (EU) current presidency and the European Commission (EC) and attended by representatives from various sections of the society in the 14 SADC member states and the EU, could not have come at a better time. The SADC region is going through a series of elections.

Five countries are expected to have gone through elections by the end of the year. Malawi and South Africa have already held theirs while Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia are expected to go to polls before the end of the year.

The need to entrench a culture of democracy through electoral systems was affirmed at the conference.

SADC Executive Secretary said that while democratic practices are now visible in the region, more still needs to be done to deepen the culture.

"We are quick to acknowledge that although we have democracy in our region, we still need to strengthen it... Building a democratic system is a slow and often painful and expensive process, which

requires the will and commitment of all sectors of the society," he said.

The conference noted that the process of strengthening and consolidating democracy requires that issues ranging from voter education, election observation, political systems and the involvement of key stakeholders such as the media, are given appropriate space.

Efforts to strengthen democracy at regional level have seen the creation of such institutions as the SADC Electoral Commissions Forum and the SADC Parliamentary Forum.

The Electoral Commissions Forum aims to nurture cooperation among its members – the national commissions – in order to promote free and fair elections.

The Parliamentary Forum, which brings together national parliaments in the region, is an attempt to bring SADC and its activities to the people.

In his opening address, Botswana President Festus Mogae said: "By casting the vote, the general populace is thus determining its own destiny and participating in the process of making a choice

on how their development should be steered to their benefit."

While conceding that elections *per se* are not an end but a means to democracy, the participants agreed that the electoral process is an important tool in making democracies stable and legitimate.

"Whenever the necessary prerequisites are met, elections will be the pillar of any democratic process.

In spite of all its indisputable deficiencies, democracy based on free and fair elections has proven to be the best form of governance," said Ambassador Harald Ganns, Special Envoy of the EU-Presidency.

For an election to be free, fair and peaceful, noted the conference, an appropriate environment for key stakeholders such as election observers, the media and political parties, needs to be created.

In particular, the media is seen as vital in disseminating electoral information including cross border experiences.

The conference was held as part of the Berlin Initiative, a framework for furthering development dialogue between SADC and the EU. □

# Landmines hinder development in southern Africa

by Tinashe Madava

When the manufacture and use of landmines was banned under the Ottawa agreement in 1997, SADC member states welcomed the international treaty as a positive step towards accessing vast tracts of landmine infested regions they could use for economic development.

Two years down the line, efforts to stop the manufacture and use of anti-personnel mines in most conflict-ridden countries in the region seem to have yielded little as allegations of armies laying anti-personnel mines and subsequent accidents continue to flood the international media.

According to Jerry White, of the Landmine Survivors Network, the average cost of treating a landmine victim is US\$9,800. Addressing a recent session of the Maputo conference of signatories to the Ottawa treaty outlawing anti-personnel mines, White said that multiplying this figure by the estimated number of landmine victims worldwide gives a figure of some US\$3 billion. The figure includes the rehabilitation of health services in mine-affected countries required to treat the victims.

However, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) said it was very difficult to obtain accurate data on the number of landmine victims and the amount of money spent on treating them.

Since most of the countries affected are poor, and many are still involved in conflicts, the data-collecting mechanisms either do not exist or are inefficient. As the health services do not have access to accurate data on landmine victims, they are unable to plan properly.

Mozambique's Social Welfare Minister, Acucena Duarte, stressed the need for "community participation in rehabilitation and social reintegration".

Duarte said that one of her ministry's main concerns was "data collecting so that we can have full information on the number of accidents and victims, and identify the areas where there are suspected mines".

Meanwhile, the Angolan government has been criticised for its continued use of landmines in their civil war against UNITA rebels. Angola signed

the Ottawa treaty in December 1997, and although it has not yet ratified it, other signatories expect the Angolan government to abide by its terms. Yet within months of its signing Angolan troops were laying fresh mines in parts of the country affected by the war with the UNITA rebels.

Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Toko Serrao admitted the charges, and said his government would continue to use anti-personnel mines because "our country is at war".

Meanwhile Mozambican president Joaquim Chissano says his country's development has been "retarded by three generations of land mines".

He said it would take Mozambique 160 years to clear the estimated two million mines strewn across the country. Since the start of a demining operation in 1993, 60,000 mines have been unearthed at a cost of US \$116 million - one of the highest figures for any demining programme in the world, according to a report by the ICBL.

In its report, ICBL said one of the biggest obstacles to demining was funding. It noted: "Humanitarian mine action programmes are underfunded, and often funding choices do not support the long-term integrated approach needed in sustainable humanitarian mine action."

Mine awareness is also cited as a crucial part of any anti-mine action programme. According to ICBL: "Mine awareness involves information programmes to reduce the threat of landmines to affected communities." At the signing of the Mine Ban Treaty in Ottawa, an estimated US \$500 million was pledged by donors to support mine action programmes. The ICBL quotes a recent Canadian government report which stated that 10 donors had started 98 new mine

action programmes in 25 countries over the last 12 months. However it added that many of the programmes were military-to-military demining training exercises and it was "unclear how much of the money actually goes to lifting mines out of the ground."

According to ICBL, one suggestion to increase mine action was to ask countries to donate one percent of their defence budgets. It adds that between 1988 and 1998 the global annual average for defence spending was US \$74 billion. One percent of this figure would give an estimated US \$740 million to mine clearance programmes annually, helping to resolve the problem in less than a decade.

The US government has provided almost 27 million US dollars since 1993 for demining activities, including eight million dollars for surviving land mine victims. However, the US, like China and Russia, has not signed the treaty.

President Bill Clinton has announced a target date for signing of 2006 (by which time he will have been out of office for six years), and even this is conditional on finding some other weapon to replace anti-personnel mines. □



Landmine removal is costly and dangerous

# The ideology of militarism and human security

by Fernando Goncalves

Scholars have in recent years tried to grapple with the question of re-defining the concept of security, in an attempt to move away from the state-centred notion which places greater emphasis on the military and acquisition of hardware.

New definitions of security include what some scholars now call 'human security', embracing such notions as the need to invest in the human being by way of improving the security of the individual, increased access to social services such as health, education and social welfare.

The predominance of the realist paradigm of security, as the old notion is known, implied that security became subsumed under the rubric of power, based on the assumption of a hard distinction between domestic 'order' and international 'anarchy', a 'state of nature' where war is seen as an ever present possibility.

In the new security debate in southern Africa, there have been persistent calls for countries to engage in a meaningful process of demilitarisation, in the form of reduction of the military establishments and for the need to re-direct resources from financing huge armies towards investment in social development sectors.

However, there has been opposition from some sectors, particularly from those who insist that the issue in southern Africa cannot be that of demilitarisation, because the region is not, in the true sense of the word, militarised.

According to this line of thinking, what is needed is not demilitarisation, but a process through which there is a balance between meeting the pressing economic and social needs of the majority of people while taking care of the security needs of the state.

This is the state-centred position, as once articulated by the former South African minister of defence, Joe Modise, when he called on SADC states to build up their armies.

Modise argued then that the region needed to arm itself so that the responsibility of peace keeping did not lie with any one country and for it to be able to protect stability and attract investment.



The new security debate in southern Africa is whether to redirect resources from financing armies towards investment in social development sectors

"No right thinking person would invest in a country that cannot protect itself," Modise was then quoted as saying. And at a time when Botswana was heavily on the spotlight due to its large scale arms purchases, one of its opposition leaders, the president of the Botswana Congress Party (BCP), Michael Dingake, had this to say: "Though I do not know what they (the arms) will be used for, I am not sure we need them ... however we must be on our guard".

At a recent workshop in Windhoek, jointly organised by the University of Cape Town's Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) and the Berlin International Centre for Conversion (BICC), the participants were unanimous in their call for demilitarisation and for southern Africa to seek more novel ways of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

They did point out, however, that for demilitarisation to be meaningful and comprehensive, it has to be a collective effort, in which those countries with greater military capabilities should take the lead.

For example South Africa alone is said to have exported US\$260 million worth of arms in 1997, including over US\$20 million to African countries such as Congo Brazzaville, Rwanda and Uganda.

Additionally, for demilitarisation to be successful it has of necessity to be mass based, involving as it should the demilitarisation of civil society as well.

There has been a tendency to take

demilitarisation in the classical sense of the term, which implies reduction in arsenals and scaling down of military personnel.

However, in southern Africa, the region remains highly militarised even if in terms of the BIC3D Index it has over the years been able to reduce military expenditure by 30 percent, weapon holdings by 13 percent, armed forces by 8 percent, and employment in arms production by 41 percent.

The BIC3D Index is a combination of data on military expenditure, holding of selected weapon systems, armed force personnel and employment in arms production, to indicate a global trend in demilitarisation.

However, a significant number of small arms still remains in the hands of civilians in many parts of southern Africa, creating a serious obstacle to peace building. "Throughout the region small arms are often the basis of a militarised identity that is lethally connected to culture, gender, political ideology, ethnicity, race and nationality," says Professor Jacklyn Cock, of the University of Witwatersrand.

This contradiction between institutional demilitarisation and the proliferation of arms within civil society has to do in part with the privatisation of militarism, which is manifest in the growth of private security firms, a re-working of the ideology of militarism, and new forms of violence and conflict. □

# High-tech media operation covers SA polls

by Kondwani Chirambo

**T**outed as Africa's largest, most technologically advanced media operation to cover an election, South Africa's election centre was replete with strobe lights, dozens of television cameras, hundreds of computers and giant electronic screens monitoring results hourly.

More than 1,200 journalists reported South Africa's second all-race elections on 2 June and all were catered for in a massive structure in Pretoria's showgrounds — transparency was the rule in these elections. The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) put up an impressive high-tech round-the-clock show, including regional broadcasts in each of the nine provinces and which showed former President Nelson Mandela and new President Thabo Mbeki and party leaders casting the vote at the break of dawn on 2 June.

Amina Frense, SABC's Deputy Editor of elections, said the corporation had collaborated with computer firms to introduce "some very impressive software". "It will be quite interesting and very high tech... and its made in Africa," she said just before the election. The Independent Electoral Commission's



Photo by Hugh McCullum

Banks of computers at Pretoria's election centre

(IEC) election centre was festooned with 600 computers, 27 servers, 2,000 telephone lines, 8 kilometres of cabling and could take up to 3,000 people at a time.

"This is paid for by the IEC and some private enterprise but we cannot give the cost," said an election official from the Media help desk — one of several points attending to various queries from journalists. Two separate screens occasionally flashed time-tables for various press conferences from the several party and government leaders. In the expansive country with a land area of 1 223 201

square kilometres and a population of 43.2 million, policing an election in the historically trouble-torn townships of Kwa Zulu Natal or any of incidental flash-points around, could have been a logistical nightmare.

But 100 000 policemen and army personnel, otherwise dubbed "peacekeepers", kept close watch over the proceedings. No major incidents threatened the election. Dozens of helicopters gave back up to the ground force and ensured the polls were conducted peacefully. □

## SADC forum promotes electoral transparency, accountability

**I**n a diplomatic drive to promote transparency in regional elections, the SADC Electoral Commission's Forum (ECF) is exploring the possibility of sharing technology to ensure a more efficient, open delivery of results in the 14-member SADC region.

Inspired by the high-tech display in the 2 June South African elections, where the Independent Electoral Commission's Results Centre brought an hourly update of vote patterns across the country to hundreds of media, observer groups and the public via giant electronic screens, the ECF has discussed the issue of "technology transfer" from one country to the other, according to a senior executive member.

Bishop Ralph Hatendi, executive member of the SADC Electoral Commission's Forum recently said that technology was the heart of a speedy and transparent electoral process.

He was speaking from Malawi where the SADC forum was observing the recent election in Malawi, which by contrast, was limited in terms of technological capacity to deliver results promptly.

"There are certain things that are transferable from country to country, and they can cut on costs. This has been discussed by the forum because we believe there must be transparency right through.

If we share technology we can make the electoral process much more efficient and transparent", Hatendi said, who is also Chairman of the Zimbabwe Electoral Supervisory Commission.

The SADC Electoral Commission's Forum was launched in July 1998 in Cape Town and comprises 12 electoral commissions of the SADC region.

The Forum aims to foster cooperation between members as a way of promoting a culture of democracy and free

and fair elections. Its membership includes research institutions, universities, non-governmental organisations and diplomatic structures serving in their individual capacities.

The Forum's Observer Mission covers all the relevant aspects of the conduct of elections in line with a particular country's laws and makes an assessment whether the people had freely expressed their will through the vote.

"The success of the mission is highly dependent on the willingness of the people of the country to share with the mission members their experiences, opinions, feelings and observations about the electoral process," a spokesperson said.

The Mission covered elections in Lesotho in 1998 and South Africa earlier this month and is, according to Hatendi, geared to travel to Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia which are still to hold polls later this year. □

## new era in SA

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is needed by the weakening economy and the equally strong medicine needed to substantially reduce runaway urban crime," said economist Patrick Mchunu of a Sandton-based investment house. Mbeki made few sweeping promises on the campaign trail and he assured people that ANC would accelerate the delivery of services, although governed by a budget of fiscal restraint.

He also pledged to fight rampant corruption within his own ANC ranks and raging urban crime but said the success of this campaign would depend on community support and participation. He raised the question about what has gone wrong with morality in South Africa where corruption and crime including violence and sexual abuse have loomed large. Voters were obviously convinced that Mbeki was the right man to fill Mandela's shoes, although Mbeki himself says "I will never grow my feet nor wear flowered shirts" in reference to Mandela's relaxed mode of dress.

Mbeki is generally credited in London and New York as the architect of post-apartheid reforms in the economic, mining and financial sectors which have opened South Africa to the global economy. Business seems confident in the GEAR (growth, employment and redistribution) programme but anxiously awaits, as do most voters, to see it delivered in concrete terms. Mbeki has spoken often of an African renaissance, of transformation both at home and in southern Africa and the continent in concrete terms. That means a better life for a country, a region and a continent that is at a crossroads.



Patience was a virtue in the slow moving queues

The ANC, the people said in overwhelming terms, is the party that can start delivering the benefits of democracy — better jobs, houses, health, education, massively reduced crime and corruption — and it must do it soon. As one analyst put it: "The feel-good days of Mandela are over. It's time to roll up the sleeves and go to work."

The concern of some observers is that the new administration will concentrate so much on domestic economic and social issues that it will fail to bring its unquestioned leadership in business, technology and wealth to bear in a positive manner on SADC and the rest of the continent. Early indications are that black empowerment will grow, that the markets are not afraid of ANC's massive majority, that privatisation will move ahead and that foreign investors are keen to see if they are welcome to help drive economic growth in the country and region.

With economic growth predicted at little more than 0.5 percent in 1999 and unemployment estimated to be well above

30 percent the economy is the issue, but not the only one by any means. The rationalisation of industry and the sale of parastatals will be paramount in the face of a more competitive international environment. The bloated public service inherited from apartheid days has not been dealt with, the dwindling contribution of gold to the fiscus and the vulnerability of the emerging local economy to the global marketplace have forced the issue of unemployment to the top of the political agenda.

Pressure from allies in the trade union movement forced Mandela to temper his economic policy of strict fiscal discipline and debt reduction in the hope of creating more jobs. Mbeki's regime will face even more severe pressure.

Along with unemployment come the attendant social problems of crime, spousal and child abuse, corruption, decay and poverty. With the bulk of the national budget going either for salaries or debt repayment, there is simply little left to meet the aspirations of the millions of South Africans who suffered so long under apartheid and who continue to suffer. However, these problems and many more are solvable, the masses decided on June 2.

The Mbeki years are just beginning but the miracle of democracy in South Africa which was literally wrenched from a vicious and racist regime has made people believe that if they could survive apartheid, they can survive anything. With the spirit of renaissance and hope, South Africa could well provide the spirit of reconstruction, development and harmony which could bring a more promising future to southern Africa, the continent and the world. □



In wealthy Sandton, voters also had to queue

## President Muluzi wins second term

Malawians turned up in their thousands, some as early as 2 O'clock in the morning, to exercise their democratic right in the country's second pluralist election won by President Bakili Muluzi, who ousted late dictator Hastings Kamuzu Banda in 1994.

While anger and disbelief permeated the opposition camp after the June 15 presidential and parliamentary elections, jubilation and relief punctuated the victorious ruling United Democratic Front (UDF).

Official results, announced 72 hours after the polls, showed President Muluzi winning with 2.4 million votes, his closest rival Gwanda Chakuamba of the opposition alliance constituting the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) standing at 2.1 million.

On the parliamentary front, UDF took 93 seats, MCP 66 and AFORD 29, to an increased national assembly of 193. At the time of writing, one seat was not contested following death of one of the candidates juts before the polls.

As predicted by most analysts, the 5 million registered voters maintained ethnic and regional loyalties exhibited in the country's first multiparty polls of 1994.

The phenomena was pronounced in the 1994 elections when Malawi moved from 31 years of one-party, strong-handed rule of late dictator Banda, to a pluralist system of government. The UDF under Muluzi won the majority seats with 85 seats, MCP 56 and AFORD 36 in the 177 seat national assembly.

The UDF's stronghold is the southern region which has 4.6 million people while the MCP — the biggest opposition party — commands the central region which has 4 million people. One million people are domiciled in the north, AFORD's enclave.

Of the five million registered voters, 2.4 million were in the south, 1,975,203 in the central and 678,906 in the northern regions.

The MCP leader Chakuamba, who was contesting the presidency, took AFORD's Chakufwa Chihana as a running mate, a pairing that the opposition expected would yield a superior tally of votes, but did not work.

Though a southerner and a former detainee under the one-party regime, Chakuamba's biggest mistake seems to be his embrace of the MCP, a political organization tainted by alleged human rights abuses under Banda.

Although MCP has increased its seats to 66 from 56 in 1994, benefiting from sections of the electorate disgruntled by the pains of structural adjustments, it was unable to cover enough ground to gain power.

The opposition resorted to petitioning the Supreme Court over the result.

However, Malawians hope the legal battles do not drag on and on as the government has many challenges to solve. The central statistical office puts inflation at above 50 percent, and with a gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of US\$180, Malawi is among the poorest countries in the region.

"There is no question Malawi is a poor country. As such poverty eradication is the preoccupation of the government after the elections," said Dr Exley Silumbu, Chief Economist of the Malawi Chamber of Commerce and Industry (MCCI) in Blantyre, the country's commercial hub.

Malawi's economy is largely dependent on agriculture, which accounts for 40 percent of GDP and is the source of 80 percent of all export earnings.

Tobacco, which brings in just under two-thirds of Malawi's export earnings, has slumped on the world market, plunging the country into a foreign exchange crisis.

Latest projections from MCCI indic-

tate that tobacco sales in 1999, at US\$176 million, will be 16 percent shy of 1998 figures. In 1998, tobacco sales fell by US\$80 million.

"This is going to put pressure on the Malawi kwacha, which depreciated by 60 percent between 1998 and 1999," said Dr Silumbu, adding that the only hope is on the promised aid from the World bank and the International Monetary Fund.

The Bretton Woods institutions recently pledged a record US\$1.3 billion for the southern African country, a move analysts described as a seal of approval for President Muluzi's commitment to economic reforms.

However, like most countries that have toed the IMF line, the reforms have not been without victims. Crime, inflation and unemployment are rising, and ordinary Malawians are beginning to feel the pinch.

But Muluzi remains adamant these are unavoidable short term hardships during the transitional period. The country stands to benefit in the long term, he says.

On the political side, the real challenge will be to reconcile the differences between UDF and the MCP-AFORD alliance which, together, form a simple majority in parliament. "It will be in the best interest of all Malawians that they (political parties) work together," said one taxi driver.

And with the national budget scheduled for July, the ruling UDF will have to muster the skills of engagement with a bitter opposition to raise the country above the uncertainties that haunt it. □



Ruling party supporters celebrating Muluzi's victory in the commercial capital Blantyre

## Women in politics & decision-making: Beyond 30 percent by the year 2005

by Luisa Banze

The achievement of 30 percent representation of women in politics and decision-making structures by the year 2005 is a major challenge that all countries in the southern African region still face. It is a challenge that will transform the power relationships between women and men.

This target percentage is stated by the Heads of States and Governments of SADC countries in their 1997 Declaration on Gender and Development, where they commit themselves to "ensuring the equal representation of women and men in the decision-making of member states and SADC structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least a 30 percent target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005." Available statistics clearly illustrate the limited participation of women in structures of power and decision-making at all levels of the society. For instance, the average percentage of women in parliament in the region, excluding the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), is 17 percent, which is well above that of the Commonwealth which has 7.2 percent and the global average of 11 percent.

However, only three southern African countries are significantly close to the 30 percent target: Mozambique, at 28 percent, South Africa 26.2 percent (before the elections) and Seychelles 24 percent are the closest. The cabinet figures are as low as 2.7 percent in Mozambique, which however, has done well at parliamentary level. At the managerial level, again women are only seen in middle and lower positions and with very few in top management of the public service, parastatal organisations and private sector.

Dr Kaire Mbuende, SADC Executive Secretary says the absence of women in key leadership positions puts to question the issue of democracy in the region.

"It is in fact an indictment on our commitment to democracy that women, who constitute the majority of the population and who do most of the backbreaking work at the grassroots in most political parties in the region, remain under represented in leadership".

In furtherance of the SADC objective, a conference on Women In Politics and Decision-Making: Beyond 30 percent in

2005 was held recently in Botswana. The objectives of the conference were, among others, to:

- Identify the various levels of decision-making which are key to the realisation of equality between women and men, and adopt a regional action programme aimed at increasing the representation of women in decision-making in SADC through affirmative action, as well as enhancing their capacity once in these positions; and

- Identify and document various governmental, NGO and other initiatives with a view to establish a regional network of women in decision-making, as well as organisations working in this field.

Macharia Kamau, UNDP resident representative in Botswana, believes with adequate effort, the target is achievable. "For the 30 percent quota to be realised, there is need for positive affirmative action, advocacy and pro-activism. With concerted efforts from all the SADC member states, bilateral and multilateral co-operation partners, the challenge is not insurmountable." The absence of women in leadership positions is generally seen as counter productive, not just in economic terms but even politically. For instance, as one woman says, countries involved in conflicts could benefit immensely if women were allowed to act as negotiators.

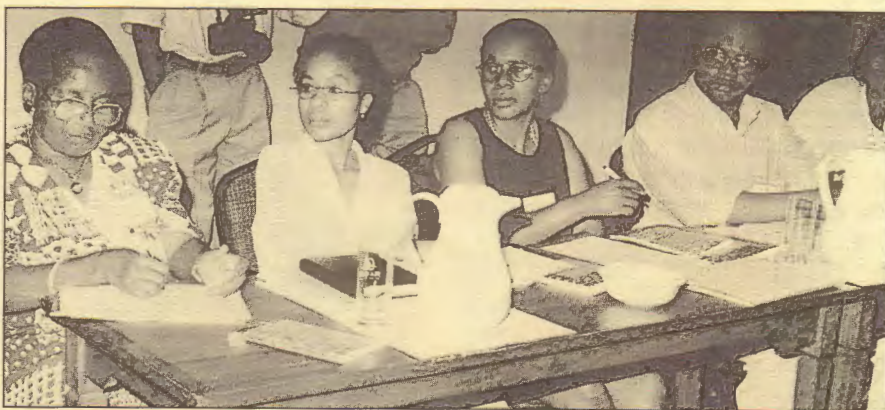
"Women are generally peace loving. They have patience and they believe in dialogue. If they (women) were involved as key political negotiators we would probably have a different story about the situation in Congo," she says. Thenjiwe Mtintso, the ANC Deputy Secretary-General, concurs. She says the impor-

tance of the inclusion of women in parliament is that women have different values from those of men. "These perspectives and values would change the character of parliament and impact on the kinds of policies that are made. Women also have different interests as a group which have to be presented in parliament by women themselves." There have been fears in some circles that the quota system is not a long-term solution as it seeks to address quantitative rather than qualitative issues. This notion further argues that the women's cause at the end of the day will not benefit as the appointed women remain ineffective as participants."

Mtintso agrees if the quota system is preoccupied with handpicking people to make up numbers, then that is tantamount to "setting women up for failure and endangering the cause of gender equality". She believes a balanced approach that looks at the person's potential to develop and her commitment to gender transformation is necessary. "While this does not imply that women who enter parliament are representatives of women, they however, like men, as public representatives, have to be committed to the transformation of gender relations in society."

Other mechanisms have to be put in place to ensure that women who have managed to join parliament can compete favourably.

This includes removal of constraints to their participation and effectiveness. Although member states have begun addressing the women's concerns, a lot still needs to be done. As Margaret Nasha, president of the Botswana Caucus for Women in Politics, and Minister of Local Government and Lands, says "unless we work hard to reach the 30 percent target ourselves and be serious about it, this target dream, will remain only a dream". □



More women are needed in key positions if gender equality is to be realised

## Customary law in southern Africa

by Diana Mavunduse

Women activists in southern Africa are lobbying against the use of customary law in courts, which is seen as a hindrance to women empowerment.

Customary law is said to be "very African" and that it protects the values and norms of African societies. In courts, it is said to represent all the ethnic groups in a country. However, southern Africa has diverse societies with different cultures which practice different customs. The issue of inheritance under customary law has caused a lot of problems in contemporary southern Africa. Gender activists argue that customary law diminishes the right of the mother or girl child to be the head of the house after her husband or father has died.

The Zimbabwean case of Venia Magaya popularly dubbed "Magaya versus

Magaya" is one such case, where Venia (52) eldest child in a polygamous family, lost her father's estate, which she had won through a community court, to her younger half-brother at the supreme court recently. In July 1997, Venia was kicked out of the house where she had lived with her parents until their death. She now lives in a shack in a neighbour's backyard. Despite the new Deceased Estates Amendment Act of 1997 which gave Zimbabwean women in customary law marriages, whether registered or not, the right to inherit from their dead husbands, Venia lost her case. The Supreme Court judgement was based on the old act which states: "Under customary law, only men can inherit and all family members are subordinate to the male head of the family".

The ruling caused an outcry both lo-

cally and internationally. As news of the Supreme Court ruling spread around the country and throughout the region, women NGOs staged peaceful demonstrations. Thoko Matshe, Director of Zimbabwe Women Resource Centre and Network (ZWRCN), says, "the ruling made by the Supreme Court has opened the door for customary law to erode legal gains made by women in southern Africa over the years," adding that by using customary law, the courts are reinstating discrimination against women.

Puleng Letuka of the Lesotho chapter of Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) says "The Western-based general law concept of the heir relates to the disposition of property after the death of a person where the heir is the person to whom property is transferred."

In most southern African countries, courts look at inheritance in terms of the transfer of ownership as defined along western lines to include absolute rights over property. In traditional law, rights over property were not absolute but were subject to decision-making processes of a family council.

Thus after a person died, the family council which included both male and female members, was convened to make decisions about the distribution of property. South Africa's Mankoko Molete argues that, "in African culture a woman is equal to a man and women have their rights embedded in the custom." She adds that African customary law in South Africa is derived from colonisation and was popularised during the apartheid era.

After the *Magaya vs Magaya* decision, gender activists are now lobbying for greater gender sensitisation for men and women at the grass roots level about the effects of customary laws and women's rights.

Beatrice Chiumia of the Malawi NGO Gender Coordinating Network (NGOGON) says, "Malawi is at an advanced stage where a women's caucus of NGOs and parliamentarians was formed to organise workshops with chiefs to find out how they administer deceased properties."

While it is culturally correct to maintain some traditional values and norms that many African societies identify with, there are some customs that are retrogressive. As Lolo Mkhabeeni of WLSA Swaziland says, "Women have changed in recent years, hence to be embedded in the customary law is really not called for, thus re-education of all sectors of the society is important." □

## Day of the African Child sinking into oblivion?

by Winnet Mutimbe

There is an urgent need to revitalise the commemoration of the Day of the African Child whose importance seems to have sunk into oblivion over the past eight years.

The Day of the African Child was declared in July 1990 and was to be commemorated on 16 June every year by all Organisation of African Unity (OAU) member states. The day was set aside in memory of the massacre of 176 Soweto school children on 16 June 1976 by apartheid South African security forces. According to the OAU, countries are expected to mark the day in the most appropriate way to them. After the massacre of these children, African leaders realised the importance of protecting their children against violence and abuse.

In order to ensure that their goal was achieved, they came up with specific objectives they were determined to accomplish. The major objective was defined to give special attention to children's well being. In many ways, the Day of the African Child has become a reference point for measuring the delivery of the promises made to children. By so doing, this day is observed to help meet various objectives such as sustaining political will for Africa, increase donor support and to focus international at-

tention on Africa and its children. It also aims at mobilising national actions for the benefit of children.

In Zimbabwe, the day is commemorated through the "Children's Parliament" and this year's theme is HIV/AIDS and its impact on children and young people. This theme is appropriate to the Zimbabwean context given the rise in AIDS orphans and AIDS infected children. This year however, the date for the commemoration of the day has been postponed to 31 July to allow for ample time for preparations, according government officials. A snap survey of preparations around the region indicated that some countries were still not decided on the theme or were not going to commemorate the day due to lack of funding.

Given that southern Africa's children are currently faced with problems such as child abuse, child labour, child soldiers and displacement by war, more needs to be done. There is also very little information about the subject in the media and this needs to be improved if the day is to regain its popularity in the region. With little interest evident among governments and the donor community, the significance of the day is gradually sinking into oblivion, letting down the spirits of the 176 Soweto school children. □

## The SADC trade protocol & gender: What are the connections?

The nineties characterise an era where the mantra is globalisation, hailed as the engine of economic growth for SADC countries.

Trade policies, have had a profound impact on social, economic and political life in the SADC region. Economic policies of trade liberalisation demand a greater flexibility in shifting resources from one sector to another. They are premised on a commensurate mobility of individuals. There is however, a strategic silence on the impact of trade liberalisation on gender. Social impact studies, regarding such policies, are not high on the list of many SADC member states' planning agenda.

New development directions in the SADC region are focused on market efficiency. How elements of free trade, interact and interface with conditions ranging from social cohesion to social disintegration, secure livelihoods to economic insecurity, relative equity to extreme inequality have yet to be fully researched in the SADC region.

Some of its key objectives are:

- further liberalisation, intra-regional trade and beneficial trade arrangements to provide and complement other protocols;
- enhancing and creating sufficient productive capacity within SADC which should enable us to benefit from our inherent advantages in the region;
- create a free trade area within SADC, in the next eight years;
- ensure that countries in the region give "most favoured nation" status to each other.

Like most Trade Protocols, SADC is gender blind. There is a conceptual bias, which stems from a policy's concepts and the assumptions behind them, for example the way policy makers conceptualise women and men. It discusses trade in economic and political terms, and does not differentiate the social and economic impact of changing trade patterns on women and men. The gendered impact of trade is not an emerging paradigm on the agenda of this protocol.

The protocol does not indicate how states and markets in the region, can be transformed to strengthen the entitlements of poor women and treat women as people in their own right, not merely as dependents, targets and instruments.

How can this empowerment of women be made central to the framing of trade

policies? The conceptual framework of the protocol does not have social development of people as a key objective. This means that the conceptual framework, must address how economic growth will be generated, the pattern and rate of growth, and who benefits from this.

There are also structural biases. These relate to the way the protocol's implementation process is structured. The lack of an appropriate operational framework, excludes the consideration of gender as a variable in planning as well as in the implementation process. It does not take into consideration the structural dislocation that trade liberalisation can contribute to social structures, if not well planned.

For instance, how could reducing and eliminating tariffs and quotas or elim-

### View on Trade

Article by  
Mohau Pheko

inating restrictions on certain sectors have different impact on women and men? How should member states prepare for this?

The SADC Trade Protocol in Part Two Article 3, addresses the Elimination of Barriers to Intra-SADC Trade. One issue is Non-tariff barriers (NTBs). At two recent seminars on women and trade in the SADC region, the question of immigration and custom laws, have been a key bone of contention for women who have the desire for cross-border trade.

Borders suggest an enclosure created by certain well-defined interests: in this case national boundaries, regional blocs, financial interest, political or military power. Thus open borders suggest an absence of any form of control or constraint. The market breaks down barriers, opens borders.

The question of gender in trade policy is not simply one of economic or social problems. It also involves social relations of gender and the problems of deconstructing the ideology of gender relations, which include a redistribution of power. In formulating policies and in-

tervention strategies women are still viewed as means to achieve some economic or social goals rather than individuals who in their own capacity are agents of change. For instance, in sectors dominated by women, such as agriculture, textile, and service industries, liberalisation has already resulted in the loss of employment for women in the region.

The protocol does not discuss how it will protect these industries, nor how member states will provide new opportunities for people displaced by liberalisation in those sectors.

Most policy makers, regard these sectors as "soft sectors", so no social impact research is conducted, because ideologically, many policy makers hold the view that women can always run home to partners or families, where they can continue to be dependents, rather than productive members of society.

This contradicts the fact that over 60 percent of SADC households are headed by women, who are the main bread winners. Women are seen as contributing more to reproductive work, not productive work in the economy.

The Trade Protocol has as one of its key objectives, as the creation of a Free Trade Area (FTA). If women are to participate in moving goods, people and services at a competitive level, they need capital.

Currently the issue of credit and women in many member states is a sore point. Despite the fact that women have a higher loan repayment rate than men, they still do not have access to credit.

One of the issues that the protocol must address, is credit for women, if they are to be full participants of FTAs in the region.

A social dimension must be integrated into all trade relations, and must be geared towards poverty eradication and development of human resource capacity, with particular emphasis on the operationalisation of gender analysis of all trade and investment policies.

The participation of civil society in the decision-making, formulation, implementation and evaluation process is vital. □

*The author is a development/trade economist, and CEO of Motheho Integrity Consultants, a non-profit organisation dealing with gender and trade economics in southern Africa.*

## Health ministers sign co-operation protocol

Fifteen southern African and Indian Ocean Island countries recently adopted a health co-operation framework and an action plan that will guide joint disease prevention and control efforts among the nations.

The framework was negotiated by the countries' experts in communicable diseases and signed by ministers of health, local government and home affairs. It marked the establishment of the fifth epidemiology bloc in Africa. Specific areas of co-operation would include surveillance, strengthening public health and clinical laboratories, communication systems, research and management of epidemics and international co-operation.

## DRC: Ilunga new rebel leader

The rebel Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) recently named medical doctor Emile Ilunga as its new leader replacing the ousted Ernest Wamba dia Wamba.

The change was announced after a special congress of 50 RCD founder members and 22 military commanders in their capital Goma, the Rwanda News Agency (RNA) reported. The news agency said the aim of the congress was to solve an internal power struggle which intensified two months ago, culminating in Wamba transferring his base from Goma to Kisangani. Another top official, Lunda Bululu, was also ousted from the leadership.

One of the new leader's urgent tasks is to try and unify the movement and resolve the squabbles that rocked the former

Diseases targeted for prevention include sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, cholera, malaria, polio, tuberculosis, meningitis, measles, rabies, plague, anthrax, influenza and a host of other emerging and re-emerging diseases. In an interview at the end of the meeting, Zimbabwe's Minister of Health and Child Welfare, Dr Timothy Stamps, said the protocol was the first standardised effort to control epidemics in the region.

"We need such concerted efforts because some viruses and diseases are now resisting drugs from our books and we need to do more research," said Dr Stamps.

The meeting was a welcome move as it would enable communicable diseases

leadership, RNA said. Other news organisations quoted RCD official Bizima Karaha as saying Wamba's exit was the "only way" to resolve the leadership struggle. The movement also retained military commander Jean-Pierre Ondekane and Moise Nyarugabo as first and second vice-presidents respectively. Ondekane told AFP Ilunga was "an experienced man who has run military campaigns and worked in politics".

Reacting to the reshuffle, Uganda's senior presidential adviser for media and public relations John Nagenda told IRIN recently that the move "is none of our business". "It does not concern us, it is for the Congolese to decide," he said.

In Nairobi, DRC embassy official Deo Safari said Wamba's departure "casts a shadow on the negotiation process". □

to be controlled through regional efforts. This would ensure co-ordinated efforts and resources within the context of an inter-country plan for disease prevention and control as member states have been encouraged to show commitment and political will to come up with national plans of action. □

## SADC peacekeeping centre opened

Southern African leaders have been urged to have the political will for a timely intervention in conflicts in the region in order to make peacekeeping exercises effective.

Speaking at a recent opening of the SADC Regional Peacekeeping Centre in Harare, Zimbabwe, the Representative of the UN Under Secretary-general for Peacekeeping Operations, Dr Leonard Kapungu, praised southern Africa for pursuing the coordination of peacekeeping training as this would help make such operations effective.

Construction of the centre, situated adjacent to Army Headquarters in Harare, was sponsored by the Danish government. The official opening was attended by officials from the SADC Inter-State Defence and Security Committee. SADC countries "are fully aware that coordination between military and civilian components is essential for the effectiveness and overall success of a peacekeeping operation", said Kapungu.

"Peacekeeping operations are now being given tasks that vary from monitoring cease-fires to monitoring elections; from creating safe and secure environment to protecting the delivery of humanitarian assistance; from assisting in the disarmament and demobilization of ex-combatants to monitoring and training local Police Forces," he added.

The Danish State Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ellen Margreth Loej, said that SADC has proved to be sound supporters of peacekeeping as demonstrated by the establishment of the Peacekeeping Centre. Denmark funded the construction of the SADC Peacekeeping Centre.

## Angola: Concern over humanitarian conditions

Humanitarian officials in Angola are worried about the besieged government held city of Malanje because shelling by UNITA rebels has made it impossible to conduct a humanitarian assessment mission and has also brought a stop to emergency food deliveries.

Malanje, some 450km east of the capital, Luanda has been the scene of sporadic shelling for nearly six months during which the city has been crammed with tens of thousands of internally displaced people. Insecurity along the road has forced the United Nations World

Food Programme (WFP) to temporarily stop food deliveries to the town which was the only major provincial capital still served by road deliveries until recently when the humanitarian community has been forced to fly food to other besieged provincial towns because landmines and attacks along the roads had made them too dangerous to use.

The situation has forced humanitarian staff in Malanje to provide what food stocks remained only to children, pregnant women, elderly people, the disabled and the sick. □

## SADC Day to be marked by commemorative essays

Essay competitions among school children will constitute a major feature of the commemorations of this year's SADC Day that will be celebrated on 17 August.

The theme of the essays will be "SADC in the next millennium; working together for Peace, Progress and Prosperity". The essays are to be written in English or Portuguese and should be between 1.000 and 1.500 words and should discuss what SADC needs to do to attain peace, progress and prosperity in the next millennium.

Each SADC member state will identify the schools that will participate in the essay competition and three winners will be shortlisted at national level. Zimbabwe has, through the media, invited all school children to participate in the essay competition.

The SADC Secretariat has provided US\$600 to each member state for prizes to the winning essayists at the national level. The first prize will be worth US\$300 while US\$200 and US\$100 will be for the second and third prizes respectively.

The winning national essays will be sent to the SADC Secretariat where they will be adjudicated by a panel of judges which will award US\$1.000 for the first regional prize, US\$750 for the second prize and US\$500 for the third prize. Students who win the regional prizes will be invited to the SADC Day commemorations in Mozambique.

Other attractions on SADC Day will be a soccer tournament in which national teams compete, carnival parades featuring school children, music, dance, poetry performances and fireworks.

Last year's commemorations of the day were marked by a speech from the Chairman of SADC, former South African President, Nelson Mandela.

He urged all member states to take pride in the speed with which democratic culture has taken root after the elimination of one-party and apartheid rule.

"We want southern Africa to emerge as a powerful force in rebirth of our continent and a region of choice for the international investor", said Mandela. □



Mpumelelo Mbangwa of Zimbabwe

## Cricket: SA, Zimbabwe shine at world cup

Southern Africa's cricket powerhouses, South Africa and Zimbabwe managed to get into the "Super Six", with the former reaching the semifinal, stage of this year's World Cup cricket tournament in England, underlining the growth of the game in the region.

While South Africa was a hot pre-tournament favourite to lift the cup, neighbours Zimbabwe were underdogs, just a rung above African rivals, Kenya.

Zimbabwe reached the Super Six stage of the globe's premier limited overs tournament with four points following sensational victories over South Africa and India in the first round. In the Super six, Zimbabwe managed a point against New Zealand in a rain-washed match, but was defeated by eventual tournament winners, Australia, and previous holders as well as the tournament's losing finalists, Pakistan.

South Africa, which reached the semi-final stage, was edged by Australia after drawing their game, with the latter going through by virtue of superior final Super Six standings. □

## SADC dance festival postponed to next year

Preparations for the SADC Dance Festival being organised to take place in Mauritius have been postponed to next year after the country suffered various economic setbacks making it impossible to host the festival this year.

Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia

and Zimbabwe have so far confirmed their participation in the festival.

Meanwhile, a committee has been set up to compile a report on the sustainability of SADC arts and culture festivals.

The committee is making efforts to compile the required information from the member states. □

## Cosafa Castle cup under way

This year's Confederation of Southern African Football Associations (Cosafa) Castle Cup competition have reached an advanced stage with the region's football giants dominating the preliminary rounds.

Zambia and Zimbabwe were given a bye into the last eight of the Castle Cup by virtue of reaching the finals last year and are joined by Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland.

Malawi and Botswana were knocked out of the competition.

Zimbabwe lost 0-1 to neighbouring

Zambia in last year's final but should have no difficulties in defeating Swaziland in the one-legged match to be played in Mbabane on the weekend of 16 to 18 July.

The recent draw for the last eight held in Gaborone sought to separate the region's soccer giants from meeting each other. Angola, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe were seeded according to the Fifa world rankings.

No country, however, would be seeded in the semi-finals, as a draw would determine the pairings and venues, also on a one-leg basis. □

## Africa: The time has come

Published jointly by Tafelberg Publishers Ltd, 28 Wale Street, Cape Town and Mafube Publishing (Pty) Ltd, 91 Central Street, Houghton, Johannesburg, 1998

Reviewed by Winnet Mutimbe.

The book, *Africa: The time has come* presents Thabo Mbeki from his childhood political consciousness to his present status as a renowned politician, strategist, philosopher, poet and visionary.

Mbeki is also said to have used the time he was in the United Kingdom to try and find ways for the liberation of the South African people. It is also during this time that he managed to present a speech on behalf of his father who was one of the Rivonia trialists who were later sentenced to death for their fight against apartheid.

"The years that Mbeki spent in the United Kingdom were not only devoted to the attainment of knowledge, but also to the pursuit of the struggle to free his people. He was active in the effort to build the worldwide anti-apartheid movement, occupying positions of leadership among South African youth and students in exile and gaining exposure to other countries, especially in Europe,

as well as the world student movement, which took him to cities such as Oslo, Moscow, Sofia, Ulan Bator, Algiers and Khartoum", the book says.

The Prologue, gives the reader an insight of Mbeki's role in politics with special attention to South Africa's African National Congress (ANC). It gives a cross-section of the events in which Mbeki took part such as his involvement in the signing of the document 'African Claims' which is the African version of the Atlantic Charter in 1943. He also played an important role in a national conference called by African ministers in 1957.

Part Two of the book, entitled *Nation Building and Reconciliation* focuses on Mbeki's words of encouragement to his African counterparts to take pride and confidence in themselves and not to feel inferior to their white counterparts. In 1994, at the independence of South Africa, he also urged all South Africans to work together regardless of race in order to build up a new South Africa.

"The challenge that lies ahead of us is to achieve reconciliation between the

former oppressor and the formerly oppressed, between black and white, between rich and poor (who, in our own conditions, are also described by colour), between men and women, the young and the old, the able and the disabled", he said.

The book demonstrates the philosophical side of Mbeki in its third part called *Transition, Strategy and Priorities*. In this part, it is highlighted that Mbeki was aware of the fact that change could not take place overnight but could only be achieved over time. There is also a clear outline of the roles of the specific components of the society such as media, industry and the rest of the community.

In a section on *South Africa, Africa and the world*, the book highlights that the time for Africa to act has come because Africans can no longer

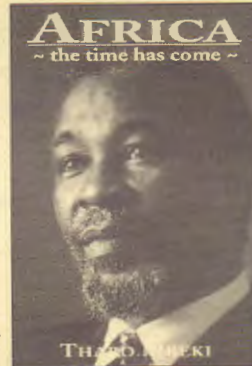
blame the colonialists since they have left the continent. It is now up to Africans to make the continent a better place to live. It outlines the specific challenges that Africa has to face which include developing the continent's economy.

"What we have been talking about is the establishment of genuine and stable democracies in Africa, in which the systems of governance will flourish because they derive their authority and legitimacy from the will of the people", Mbeki said in one of his speeches.

This part also has a chapter called *Bound by a Common Destiny* which highlights the importance of unity in Africa because of the existence of one common goal - development of the continent so that Africa catches up with the rest of the world. Mbeki also emphasised the importance of unity in South Africa to enhance recovery from the apartheid era.

The General section, the last part of the book has various chapters which include *The Emancipation of Women* where Mbeki highlighted that "The progress we make towards the attainment of a democratic society can only have full and deeper meaning if it is accompanied by significant progress in the struggle for the emancipation of women."

He added that his belief is that South Africa and the rest of Africa should accept the proposition that success must be measured by advances made in the struggle for a non-sexist society. □



## Recent Publications and Acquisitions

*SADC and the EU: Trade, Investment, Infrastructure* (Cape Town, South Africa 20-21 March 1998)

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**SADC diary**

1999		Event	Venue
July	4-6	Southern Africa Economic Summit of the World Economic Forum	Durban, South Africa
July	6-8	OAU Committee of Ambassadors meeting	Algiers, Algeria
July	8	Committee of SADC Ministries for Finance and Investment	Maseru, Lesotho
July	9-10	OAU Council of Ministers meeting	Algiers, Algeria
July	12-14	OAU Summit	Algiers, Algeria
July	15	Planning for International Women's Day 2000	Harare, Zimbabwe
July	26	SADC Electoral Commissions Forum Annual General Meeting	Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania
July	31- 7/8	Zimbabwe International Book Fair (ZIBF)	Harare, Zimbabwe
August	3-5	Sixth Regional Symposium on Science and Technology	Harare, Zimbabwe
August	9 -10	Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the SADC Finance Committee	Maputo, Mozambique
August	11 - 12	Meeting of the SADC Standing Committee of Officials	Maputo, Mozambique
August	13	Meeting of the Finance Committee (Consideration of the Annotated Agenda for Council)	Maputo, Mozambique
August	15 -16	Meeting of Council	Maputo, Mozambique
August	17 - 18	SADC Day and SADC summit	Maputo, Mozambique
September	12-16	11 <sup>th</sup> International Conference on Aids/ STDs In Africa	Lusaka, Zambia

**Public Holidays in SADC for the period July to September**

Date	Holiday	Country
1 July	Sir Seretse Khama	Botswana
6 July	Republic Day	Malawi
6 July	Heroes Day	Zambia
7 July	Unity Day	Zambia
3 August	Farmers Day	Zambia
11 August	Heroes Day	Zimbabwe
12 August	Defence Forces Day	Zimbabwe
26 August	Heroes Day	Namibia
6 September	Independence Day	Swaziland
7 September	Victory Day	Mozambique
17 September	Heroes Day	Angola
24 September	Heritage Day	South Africa
30 September	Independence Day	Botswana

**Currency Check List**

Country	Currency	(US\$1)
Angola	Kwanza (100 lewi)	257,128
Botswana	Pula (100 thebe)	4.86
D.R.C.	Congo Franc	137,500
Lesotho	Maloti (100 lisente)	6.17
Malawi	Kwacha (100 tambala)	43.88
Mauritius	Rupee (100 cents)	25.11
Mozambique	Metical (100 centavos)	11,994
Namibia	Dollar (100 cents)	6.16
Seychelles	Rupee (100 cents)	--
South Africa	Rand (100 cents)	6.17
Swaziland	Lilangeni (100 cents)	6.17
Tanzania	Shilling (100 cents)	686.54
Zambia	Kwacha (100 ngwee)	2,201.74
Zimbabwe	Dollar (100 cents)	38.72

Source: Standard Chartered Bank Zimbabwe Ltd, 14 June 1999