

a time when the prices of their exports started to decrease.  
Thus started the infernal circle : the countries borrow to  
repay and,  
foreign debt  
increases.

they are

repaying,

while

their

of

half

which

north,

financing

11m; total

few years,

hold about

private banks were paid back

During the last

their loans by the indebted countries and the governments of

the

debt of

subâ\200\224Sahara African countries (excluding South Africa), the  
international

IMF,

African Development Bank) holding at least a third of this

The more poorer an African country is, more bigger is

debt.

the

by. international

:ï-\202Ir Burundi, 81% tin: Rwanda,

financial. institutions

77% for the Central African Republic, 61% for Guinea-Bissau,

Ihi total, the World Bank and IMF receive

'TW% for uganda.

more from the indebted countries than what it borrowed to

be

them

reimbursed.

institutions

institutions

which

79%

normally

(World

first

Bank,

debt

part

held  
and  
the  
are  
its  
to  
of  
is  
:  
to  
countries

A considerable part of public aid for development extended  
the north are thus utilised by the  
by the countries of  
financial  
indebted  
Apart from South Africa (seen the seize of  
institutions.  
its economy) and the Soudan (which broke all contact with  
these institutions), the governments of the subâ\200\224continent is  
literally under the control of the IMF, the World Bank and  
the Paris Club, which leaves the opening for the first two  
the  
institutions  
policies to be applied.

international

countries

reimburse

indebted

propose

the

to

to

For almost fifteen years, structural adjustment plans were  
the sub-Saharan African countries.  
imposed on almost all  
Supported by an efficient blackmail method : the credit line  
is suspended if the country refuses the plan, of which the  
social  
decreasing the role of the state as distributor; decrease of  
national production in the agricultural and semi-industrial  
sectors and general decrease in the living conditions of the  
majority of the population.

disastrous

economic

effects

often

and

are

it

1,3

for

and

way

1990

this

while

repaid

between

example,

In

the

government of Zambia spent 37 million dollars for primary education

debt

servicing.

Seen otherwise, for 1 dollar invested in primary education, the government pays 35 (dollars) to the club of the rich countries.

In 1995 the government spent six times

less per inhabitant for primary education than ten years

before and 30% less for the health budget;

Result : 80% of

the costs involved in primary education is paid for by the families themselves and infant mortality rose by 20% during the same period.

billion

dollars

1993,

in

increase - which it badly requires â\200\224 in international trade  
and capital movementâ\200\235 and that the region for its part will  
know the "economic miracle" of Asia.

In the meantime, and  
if the necessary means are available, as proposed by the  
1997

eradicate

extreme

the

beginning of the next century (...), and to relegate it to  
the Hemory of lustory".

Vke have heard nothing like this

since the time of "future awaits usâ\200\235.

development,

"to

earth

poverty

surface

report

world

human

from

the

the

by

on

of

of

ijl

of

by

with

that

Rwanda,

Angola,

endless

ravaged

victims;

thousands

believed

Ethiopia,

and

parked

Africa,  
in

its  
(lf  
whole

abandoned lx) control

hundreds  
refugees  
zones

sub-Saharan  
wars  
civil  
Liberia,  
Uganda,

a  
Nobody  
Somalia,  
succession  
Burundi and  
Mozambique,  
its  
Zaire,  
devastated  
processions  
villages;  
(Hf warlords;

affected by desertification and malnutrition which goes hand  
in hand with these conflicts; deforestation and accelerated  
pollution; destabilised by the rural exodus; insecurity and  
unhealthy urban conditions; squashed by the weight of debt;  
impoverishment of populations and states; being increasingly  
unable to assure the regular functioning of public services;  
to finance infrastructures and tx> guarantee tx> everybody  
access

Ina  
Africa which is tirelessly moving away from the model of  
development manufactured after  
Second World War and  
decolonisation.

to education and. decent sanitary' conditions.

camps;

the

Economists, staticians and experts of about 24 international  
organisations, are doing everything in their power to prove  
the contrary;

[At the World Bank only, which spends about  
100 million dollars in research, there are 500 professionals  
and ens many external consultants, who are responsible for  
collecting correct information and spreading the good news.  
One only needs to go and see for yourself.

may'

even. hold ea

feW' surprises.

far as Subâ\200\224Saharan Africa is concerned,

the visit is  
As

interesting and.

In. the

luxury volume of statistics on development published by the World Bank, the hundreds of tables of measures, drawn from the best sources, have all a very intellectual appearance. But taking a closer look,

a number of items are concerned, information are incomplete or And when it does exist, it should very often be inexistant.

used with caution.

And even when the information is more reliable, it has the tendency to say the contrary to what one wants it to say.

one notice that,

far as

as

To start with, none of the 48 countries of the zone dispose of complete and viable basic statistics.

Amongst the most

important,

industrial activity,

some statistics are frequently at fault (for countries like) (Angola, Chad, Erythre, Guinea, Mozambique, Namibia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe...) or dates for 10 years or more (Nigeria,

11H: example,

relative

tx)

48  
of  
the  
the  
this,  
countries  
  
Despite  
have  
accumulated enormous arrears :  
48 billion dollars in 1994;  
31 of these countries were rated in 1996 by the World Bank  
in the category of "heavily indebted low income countriesâ\200\235;  
6 more than in 1994. To repay a foreign debt entirely made  
up  
must  
consecrate a considerable part of its export revenue.  
To  
get rid of the total amount of the debt, the total amount of  
revenue  
three  
consecutive years.  
  
currencies,  
  
countries  
  
exports  
  
foreign  
  
region  
  
strong  
  
least  
  
must  
  
used  
  
the  
  
for  
  
be  
  
at  
  
on  
  
of  
  
of  
  
of  
  
of  
  
to  
  
the  
  
the  
  
was

the  
The  
some  
more  
much  
price  
basic  
basket  
export  
Africa  
increase  
evident.  
fleeting  
products  
increase  
sub-Saharan

Since the beginning of the eighties, the terms according to which are exchanged on the world market, against import products from Despite industrialised countries, have not ceased to erode. the raw materials in 1995-1996 (coffee, cocoa), the tendency towards decline products lost more than half (ME its value in comparison exported, Africa reacted by with products imported from the north. trying the international market, but without solving the problem as the price of the exports were decreasing faster than the price In fact, in the current system of of the imported products. southern international hemisphere are disadvantaged and in particular countries in manufactured sub-Saharan Africa, products than the countries of Ii- America (n: eastern Asia; any increase in the volume of exports tend to erode Consequently time trade balance is the value subjected to a growing deficit. After almost ten years of structural adjustment policies dictated by the World Bank and most noticeable.



International

ill price.

Monetary

countries

failure

exports

export

volume

trade,

which

Fund,

much

less

the

of

its

of

the

the

of

on

is

In 1995, sub-Saharan Africa did not represent more than 1% of direct foreign investment in developing countries : 2,2 billion dollars of 53 total of 240,3 billion dollars.

The situation is even more critical if one takes into account that a small number of states receive more than 90% of these credits

(South Africa and some oil and mineral producing countries like Nigeria, Angola, Gabon, Cameroon...) On the other hand,

the hmanch offices of nmltinational companies present in these countries, do not hesitate to repatriate their profits of which the amount is two times superior to that of their investments.

Increasing endebtdness despite time repayment (Hf important amounts; unequal exchange increasing the trade deficit; weak foreign capital support but with important repatriation of funds

health

reports which are satisfying the media and international financial

common. with

reality.

institutions,

countries

towards

little:

north

very'

have

â\200\230the

the

the

of

in

:

on

to

the

international

Call

promotion

industries

peacekeepers

transport, infrastructure, communications, etc.)

strengthening

the

non-military

of

equipment,

sustainment

non-combat

(uniforms,

community

necessary

of

the

assist

and

the

for

The building of alliances with African countries to support the South African approach should commence at all levels up to the President.

The non-military emphasis of our approach should enable South Africa to urge the Secretary-General and the OAU Secretariat to be more visible in their participation in the debate.

a matter of priority.

The Draft Policy Paper (N1 Peace Missions

be

finalised and go through the parliamentary processes

as

The inputs received from

Civil society, which were accepted by the last workshop

in November, will make this a very progressive document

which is bound to set the trend for the rest of Africa

and

approach

peacekeeping.

community'

should.

donor

they'

how'

the

in

The Survey of Existing South African Capacity for Peace Missions should commence as soon as possible in order to establish our specific needs in terms of capacity. This is a task building, like it training (not equipment). being jointly coordinated by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of Defence.

7.

## CONCLUSION

It is this Desk's view that successful implementation of the above recommendations has the best potential for resolving the impasse within the OAU and leading the organisation of

February 1998.

It would obviate the need to devise a strategy to accept ACRI, French or other peacekeeping training without an OAU mandate.

position

formal

end

the

by

to

a

## ANNEXURE B

### PROPOSALS

### COMMUNITY

### FOR

### PEACEKEEPING

### CAPACITY

### BUILDING

### BY

### DONOR

### 1.

### BACKGROUND

Assistance Guidelines), prepared by a number of OECD countries, and the World Bank Report on Post Conflict Assistance recommend closer coordination amongst the donor community. However, until donor countries do not remain the coordinate their assistance, recipient are mostly overlapping enui ineffective. This also if; not real development, with potential for conflict.

.Africa. will

programmes

that

hoc

ad

of

.4

.5

The OAU desk is currently working on a proposal to top management to draw up a list of practical project proposals with anticipated. budgets.

'These projects will all be related to capacity building for preventive diplomacy, and

It VHJJ. take jji-\202x) account time stated peacekeeping.

â\200\235marryâ\200\235 priorities

Being proposals to countries who might be interested.

â\200\235donor

shortcut

crisis

pacify' donors vdu) have

consideration (Hf projects tx>

limited time to keep funds available.

management

prevention

friendlyâ\200\235,

countries

priority

conflict

cknun:

'then

will

and

and

of

it

South Africa views the P3 concept within the whole  
We have  
context of capacity building for peacekeeping.  
never considered it in isolation of existing programmes  
by other countries or removed it from capacity building  
to serve the broader developmental needs within Africa.  
for  
South  
capacity building was underscored by the recent OAU  
Chiefs of Staff meeting in Harare.

proposals

Africa's

analyses

the

all

of

.6

South Africa agrees with the recommendations by  
We  
the OAU Chiefs of Staff who recently met in Harare.  
played a major role in the formulation of the report.  
The recommendations will be made to the OAU Council of  
Ministers, who will meet in Addis Ababa in February  
1998:

-

-

-

â\200\224

to undertake preliminary preventive action in EH1  
emergency situation and then approach the [HQ to  
deploy a peace operation.  
The focus therefore is  
to react in limited time to a crisis situation;

gxxuma

undertaken,  
only  
excluding peace enforcement, unless with.ea clear  
mandate from the UN Security Council;

operations

should

kxa

initially  
earmarked  
arrangement from each of the five subâ\200\224regions;

contribution

subâ\200\224region

brigade

one  
as

could

per

to

be  
standby

a

a

all training should be conducted according to UN  
doctrine enni standards tun; also complimented knr  
African needs;





on  
the  
money  
camped  
lending  
northern  
order to  
countries,

The crisis which hit the economies of the industrialised countries from 1973 onwards, saw the governments trying to the economies relaunch on condition that these countries countries of tin; south, Envoys frtml the procure tjmi-\202ir merchandise ill the north. World Bank, bankers and Ministers of external co-operation of of to African governments borrow more money and engage in big infrastructure projects with the industrialised countries. Something which African leaders gladly big construction projects would serve to strengthen their hold on power and they would also benefit from the commissions offered tn! multinational companies aumi governments cyf the industrialised. countries, fighting tl) get clients. to maintain. corruptiCWl existing ill the south anui reinforced clientelism and kleptocracy of many regimes. Thus the debt of sub-Sahara Africa increased twelve-fold between 1970 and 1980.

doorsteps  
latter

Corruption

equipment

technical

aux; also

know-hOW'

accepted

convince

interest

served

coming

â\200\230which

north

rates

from

the

were

very

low,

in

and

to

of

the

from the

crisis manifested itself

1980's

under

The

time United States,

pressure

The countries

interest rates experienced a sharp increase.

of

were

confronted with a three-fold increase in interest charges at

the

Reserve of

developing

countries,

Federal

zone,

when,

like

the

the

all

in

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â\200\224

â\200\224

joint peace support exercises should be organised  
under  
at sub-regional  
level;

auspices

the (ï-\202uJ

the

of

strengthening of the Conflict Management centre in  
the {ï-\202u} Secretariat itself enui its early-warning  
capacity;

a

of

adoption  
command,  
control and communications as well as effective  
logistics vdlï-\202ï-\202xl the context of Âf3 peace support  
operation; ANNEXURE C

structure

regulate

to

ARTICLE IN â\200\235LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUEâ\200\235: AFRICA'S DEBT SITUATION  
VERSEND AAN

"Le Monde Diplomatique, October 1997, p.16  
(Article by Christian Brie)

The art of making statistics work

Africa playing fiddle to virtual development

For ea few months now, international financial institutions  
are trying to sell the idea that the black continent is on  
A number of reports having appeared  
its way to prosperity.  
in the last few weeks, are based on doubtful statistics in  
support of this assumption.  
Confusing the level of growth  
and development, underestimating the weight of debt, this  
manipulation hides the fact that the African population are  
symbolic victims of fundamental inequalities.

â\200\235for' the

exuberance",

CH1 its wayâ\200\235. â\200\235International growth inspiring a  
"Africa is  
(Mme generation  
real  
encouraging signs (Jf progress are 1x3 be seenâ\200\235,  
â\200\234Hope and  
real success are beginning to transform the continent (...)  
The changes which we are â\200\230witnessing,

the foundations of prosperity and well-being, are giving new meaning to hope and the future.

first time

laying of

the

in

reports

Would this be the long awaited good news, or one of those moments of melancholy at the end of a banquet?

Goldplated

speech by the Director for Africa and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Mr Michel Camdessus and by Evangelos A. Calamitsis, as well as by two Vice-Presidents of the World Bank, confirmed by

Bank, Callisto Madavo and Jean-Louis Sarbib.

recent

of

the most

Whilst the report of important international organisations.

the IMF confirms, backed by the necessary proof, that "the results of Africa for 1996 are particularly encouraging,

together,

for the common good" so that almost

beyond the borders,

half

in

particular

not

this

benefitted

of

globalisation,

developing' population of

time world

which

compiled by reputed

Bank report

Sub-Saharan

(and

has

that

from

proposes

Africa),

benefit

experts

World

of

tï¬\202ma

to

â\200\235work

1997

could

from

of

the

In

bilateral

Since 1994, the Paris Club negotiated debt reductions, case by case, with the countries identified as "good pupils" by the World Bank, and claims its intention to reduce up to 67% of the stock of indebted countries. So very draconian little. to benefit from the benevolence of the Paris Club, only obtained a 3% reduction of its foreign debt and the totality of cancellations and debt relief measures accorded in 1995 to all the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, represent less than 1% of the stock of their debt.

the  
most  
conditions

first country

of  
entry

reduction

promised

reality,

(Uganda)

amounts

that

debt

The

the

are

the

to

,

In 1996, the World Bank, the IMF and the Paris Club, took a new initiative aimed at making debt service repayments more "supportable" for the poorest and most indebted countries of which the total represent more than 200 billion dollars. The first reductions are expected in 1998, but the bulk is only expected after the year 2000. The World Bank and IMF declared themselves willing to grant a maximum of 7 billion dollars to finance this new initiative, being "almost as much as the

(cost of the) construction of the Eurodisney  
Park in Franceâ\200\235,  
and 30 times less than the 200 billion  
dollars which were lost on the Asian stock exchange during  
the month of August in 1997.

The foreign debt of sub-Saharan Africa, where more than 10%  
of the inhabitants of the planet reside, represent less than  
1% of the debt quoted in dollars in the world.

Seen its  
social cost, refusing to cancel (these debts), is equal to  
the refusal to assist a person in distress.

Ihi order to  
avoid that such a cancellation would give a new lease on  
life to corrupt regimes, it is also necessary to freeze the  
possessions of these foreign governments and their lackeys,  
511 order tX) allow time democratic organisations 1J1 each of  
and  
these  
legislative powers at their disposal, to start an audit.

If  
it  
acquired  
illegally, it must be returned in order to finance a social  
development fund under public control.

These two proposals,  
as expressed by the Committee for the cancellation of the  
debts of third world countries, are prerequisite conditions  
necessary for a economic and democratic renewal in Africa.

possessions

countries,

judicial

certain

appears

with

been

that

have

the

the

aid

of

EINDE

in

be

capacity

assisted

South Africa is at present being inundated with offers building to conflict prevention and peacekeeping. Except for Russia, all the offers come from the so-called donor community: the Nordic countries, the UK, More offers are France, expected because this has suddenly become a topical issue.

Switzerland, Finland, Belgium, etcetera.

the USA,

for

for

order

Russia's

own

In

capacity to build capacity'

herewith the

current thinking from the OAU desk's perspective on the issue:

ascertain

.Africa,

desk

your

to

in

.1

South Africa views preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, management and resolution and peacekeeping within the broader framework of development, both human and socio-economic.

That is why South Africa, within

its

preventive

prefer

diplomacy in its broadest sense.

negotiations,

defining

NAM



.2

Following from time

above,

EMMNJI Africa

supports all measures to have Africa's  
burden  
development if situations like the following abound:

written

There

off.

can

be

to

further  
foreign debt  
real

be

no

-

â\200\224

-

From 1990 and 1995, Zambia spent 23 million USD on  
primary education.  
In the same period, it had to  
repay 22 Billion USD (1) in foreign debt.

(H1

more

provided

statistics

In some African countries, the World Bank reports  
a fall in infant mortality rates.  
What the report  
is that their calculation is  
neglects to report,  
hospitals.  
based  
However,  
their  
women  
confinement at  
fmmma because they' cannot afford  
hospital care, which is not always free of charge.  
outside  
Thus,  
hospitals  
never come into the equation.  
Both these figures  
represent  
real

developmentâ\200\235  
51 sure recipe for future  
conflict.

developmentâ\200\235

mortalities

which is

â\200\235virtual

infant

endure

have

and

not

the

now

Inf

to

While szambique enjoys relative stability after  
the 20 years civil war, future conflict is a real  
possibility if the landmines are not lifted.

The  
country's development and successful reintegration  
as a democracy depends on assistance with lifting  
Meanwhile, it still has a foreign debt  
the mines.

burden â\200\230Mhich  
if; disproportionate IX) its immense  
developmental needs and responsibilities.

1 .2.

3.

South

Africa

was

heartened

to

recently

published

INK}

Guidelines

see

that

the  
(Development



AN P \$.35)! 1 ODâ\200\230QEâ\200\231 1

TO

FAX

FROM

DATE

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

REV. FRANK CHIKANE

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY-PRESIDENT

323 2573

MS B SMITH

DIRECTORATE:

OAU

980116

SUBJECT

:

CURRENT POLICY ON PEACE MISSIONS,  
CAPACITY BUILDING, CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

1.

2.

2.1

We have received a request from Mr Andre Jaquet, Chief  
Director of the American desk, to forward to you the  
Department's current thinking on the above topics.

It is trusted you will find the documentation useful.  
It includes the following:

Position  
building in Africa

on

P3

initiative

for peacekeeping

capacity

(Annexure A)

2.2

Thinking on preventive diplomacy (Annecure B)

2.3

An office translation of a recent article in â\200\235Le Monde  
Diplomatique"  
in Africa.  
(Annexure C)

â\200\235virtual development"

about

ANNEXURE A

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS - P3 INITIATIVE

FOR AFRICAN CAPACITY BUILDING FOR PEACEKEEPING

1.

Deputyâ\200\224Minister's

The  
information  
reference.  
relevant sectors in the Department.

for  
has  
Please note that these views represent all

suggestions,

telephonic

request

980107,

dated

and

2.

SUMMARY

The submission provides a brief chronological overview  
of the developments surrounding international proposals  
to  
South  
Africa's contribution to  
set out and  
South. Africa could  
recommendations  
are made

the debate is  
on

peacekeeping

capacity

Africa.

build

luwv

in

### 3.7

The OAU Council of Ministers and Summit also still have to adopt a formal position on all the initiatives and approve the report by the OAU Chiefs of Staff about their meeting in October 1997.

### 4.

#### COMMENT

#### 4.1

##### 4.1.1

##### 4.1.2

##### 4.1.3

##### 4.1.4

the

that

African

indicate

capacity,

developments

Recent

international

community (especially time P3 countries), are kxnu; on

building

formal

sanctioning

subâ\200\224regional

organisations.

alsc> clear 'that some .African

countries are less reluctant than South Africa to wait

for

before

receiving training for peacekeeping.

The impression is

based on the following:

regional

without

the

is

matter

formal

OAU's

view

with

from

the

the

or

or

on

11;

military

The US, France and Britain are continuing to train African with slightly more involvement from each other (viz [HS in Uganda, Zimbabwe» and Ghana; France in Senegal; Denmark in Zimbabwe; Norway in South Africa - with Operation Morning Star);

individually,

and Ghana;

Senegal,

albeit

the IH<

forces

in.

members.

Despite the refusal of the OAU Central Organ at Ambassadorial level to allow the Secretary-General to coâ\200\224host the 5 December meeting in New York, it went ahead with participation from African and non-African UN shortsighted decision by the Central Organ as it exposed a measure of double standards within the OAU: on the one hand, the enough to itself authority to authorise a Halitary observer mission in authority' to the Comoros, authorise mere meeting.

plead. too  
Secretary General

.little»  
to

particularly

coâ\200\224host

Central

deemed

Organ

have

only'

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The (i-\\202ul Directorate has ruui frequent indications from the US embassy in Pretoria that Ambassador Marshal McCallie, ACRI, intends to visit South Africa for the third time as soon as possible, preferably within the next few weeks.

ambassador

special

the

the

for

US

at

that

least (Hue

It appears

country' has Ibeen proactive in its agreement to receive American training within the near future under the ACRI auspices only on .A recent report from Mission in Ghana its own temns. indicated.

ibut

only

peacekeeping

operations.

This is in consort with South Africa's own perspective that the humanitarian and civilian policing sides of peace missions need more emphasis than pure military training, which is what tĩ-\\202ua US did in uganda and Senegal.

It is a healthy development with which

that. they"will receive .ACRI

the

humanitarian

'trainingy

aspects



of

in

common  
definitions.  
international understanding (Hi the terminology enui of  
the implications of our decisions.

crucial

ensure

This

to

is

a

5.1.

and

Defence

Intelligence

An interdepartmental committee comprising Foreign  
Affairs,  
be  
enhanced by other departments) is working on a roster  
of South Africa's current capacity for peace missions.  
in all aspects of peace  
It will comprise our capacity  
missions,  
most  
.All government  
sophisticated technical requirements.  
departments  
th  
this  
Checklist, from where it will be possible to determine  
our needs for capacity building.

compiling'

involved

(shortly

humble

most

â\200\230will

from

the

pin

the

km;

to

to

RECOMMENDATIONS

members,

A meeting between the relevant desks, the relevant top management the Deputy-Minister should be held before the OAU Council of Ministers meeting at the end of February. The purpose would be to thrash out South Africa's strategy to capacity building for peacekeeping as a member of the OAU. Other departments could also be drawn in, if so desired.

Minister

and

the

of

other

countries

is not advisable for South Africa to follow the

It

route

ACRI

training without OAU sanctioning, unless such training only includes humanitarian and civilian aspects.

Given

the many sensitivities surrounding our relations with the US, military training for peacekeeping under ACRI auspices should be avoided.

Uganda will get away with

it, but probably not South Africa.

accepted

have

who

South Africa should submit a draft resolution (M1 the matter to the Council of Ministers.

It should

follow the example of the P3 proposal, which is limited to a few principles.

It should

Express appreciation for the international commitment to enhance capacity

Decide to consider individual proposals; only setting general principles for participating

Encourage member states to build capacity, and

members

Urge

balance

humanitarian and civilian police training

integrated

building

capacity

follow

between

an

to

approach

to  
military,

up cum} decision-making' on the  
facilitate and  
issue  
formal OAU position  
during the next Council of Ministers meeting from 26 to  
27 February 1998

in order to arrive at

speed

a

BACKGROUND

.1

Various countries have over the last few years made  
proposals  
iJl building  
its  
capacity to participate in peacekeeping operations.

assist .Africa

how

(H1

1x3

to

receive

proposal

The  
and  
publicity, but worst reception, was the United States'  
so-called "African Crisis Response Force", mooted in  
September

a  
training  
Response  
Initiative".

initiative,

attention

modified

"African

Crisis

which

later

1996,

into

most

was

the

the

legitimacy

their  
four

coordinate  
to

respective  
principles,

In May 1997, France, Britain and the US formally agreed  
training initiatives

to  
transparency,  
according  
openness,  
capacity  
enhancement.

(Hue OAU was informed of this agreement  
just prior to the JUNE OAU Summit in the hope of the  
latter taking a position on it.

This initiative came  
to be called the P3 Initiative because it was proposed  
by three UN Security Council members.

The 1997 Summit  
did not pronounce itself on the initiative.

term

long

i.e.

and

the

and

vī-\202ī-\202lī-\201e

Nordic

Countries

sent  
Belgium,  
South. Africa tx> offer 'their  
official delegations tx>  
assistance,  
Inn; the Hatter (N1 the  
agenda for President Mandela's official coming Visit to  
to  
Russia.  
formalise  
on  
capacity building about which we are less enthusiastic  
than they are.

'They have alScT made specific jproposals

African/Russian

collaboration

Switzerland

Russia.

South

has

of

to

the

The

Africa.

discuss

enhancement

5 December 1997, the UN Department of Peacekeeping  
(hi  
Operations (DPKO) convened an informal meeting in Dknv  
York  
peacekeeping  
capacity and international cooperation and coordination  
in  
much  
Various  
pressure from the P3 and Nordic countries.  
countries,  
and  
'the  
P3  
includirm;  
elaborated (N1  
proponents,  
their' respective jproposals  
and views.  
Nothing concrete resulted from the meeting  
and developments remain largely openâ\200\224ended.  
The OAU  
Directorate's interlocutors with the P3 countries are  
all disappointed with the outcome of the meeting, which  
left the way forward without much direction.

convened

meeting

Canada,

Norway'

under

was

A formal response on all the proposals, including the  
P3, is yet to emanate from SADC and the OAU.

turn leads to the decrease of births in maternity wards because of the elevated prices involved.

For those women for giving birth in a who still hospital, effectively

During this time however, the increasing number decreasing.

of births outsideâ\200\231 into is

consideration and infant mortality are equally ignored.

have the means the of

complication

IKHLâ\200\230 taken

maternal

Zhospital

to pay

risk

the

the

and

is

of

absence

scientific applicability.

Finally, for the lack of statistics, instruments of measure with a strong ideological content are elaborated, but with a complete

The very

latest World Bank report entitled â\200\235The State in a changing

Its preoccupation is

world", is a perfect example of this.

not only to rehabilitate the state, as have been pretended by certain journalists, but to justify its quartering for its unique penchant of maintaining of law and order so as to is

prioritise

in

exhausting

trying to give a statistical legitimacy to its ultra-liberal positions.

foreign

comforted 13/

capital.

numberâ\200\231

a



security  
itself,

Bank  
charts,

The

for

of

of

of

the

time

here

very

measures

fabricated

artificially

course proposed by the World Bank -

of  
indicators  
subjective  
(hue

One learns, by  
corruption and of the credibility of states.

the

way

countries which follows the appropriate economic policies â\200\224

have a

policies

faster growth rate than the others and even more rapid if

Or how to become an

the policies are followed meticulously.

efficient state j\1 jumping from zone IL, that of t\i-\202ue least

capable state which wants to do everything with very little

means, to zone 3, the most capable state concentrating on a

small number of essential tasks, after having abandoned in

zone 2 most of its activities to the business community.

figures,

that

:

in

for

its

to

the

(the)

class

African

teachers

ability

by â\200\235strongly reducing'

â\200\235Six

(hue even finds 51 small propagandist liberal guide

objections to privatisation and how to reply to itâ\200\235, as well

This year the best

as the model states have to follow.

"structurally

student

of

adjustedâ\200\235 is without doubt Uganda, which has succeeded Ghana

in the role of "miraculous recoveriesâ\200\235, and congratulated by

important

its

icivil

reformsâ\200\235

'the

competitionâ\200\235

serviceâ\200\235

by

â\200\235subâ\200\224contracting

to

nonâ\200\224governmental organisationsâ\200\235 and by â\200\235opening the country

to foreign competition". Because â\200\235the participation in the

world economy is an additional protection against arbitrary

state action; it reduces the state's rights' with regard to

the imposing of capital and exposes monetary and budgetary

financial

policies

One vnnî-\202xi understand that time interest (xf the

marketsâ\200\235.

people is not the first and foremost preoccupation of the

experts of international financial institutions.

"stimulating

of

â\200\235introduce

of

the :numbers

attentive

attention

by

some

services

social

the

and

the

its

to

of



be

and

found.

confirmed by

The motives for this

"rational exuberance", evoked by an

â\200\235Africa on

its way to prosperity and wellâ\200\224being" and as

discovered by the Viceâ\200\224Presidents of the World Bank, remain

While the statistics given by their own

to

institution

â\200\224in particular the

â\200\235World Report on Human Developmentâ\200\235 by the UNPD â\200\224reflects a

Of the 50 most poor countries in

totally different reality.

human

the

â\200\23545% of

poverty of the UNPD, 33 are in Subâ\200\224Sahara Africa.

its

inhabitants

of

590

million, are suffering from poverty (...).

The intensity of

this poverty is more acute here than anywhere else in the

worldâ\200\235.

population,

indicator

according

million

ranked

others

world,

being

the

266

to

of

Disneyland of globalisation

one

have

form

than

dollar"

per day,

increased

And the situation is only getting worse.

The number of poor

people has increased and the number of persons living with less

179

million in 1987 to 218 million in 1993, representing 85% of the population of Zambia, 72% in Madagascar, 65% in Angola, 61% in Niger and 50% in Uganda.

Between 1981 and 1989 a

cumulated decrease of 21% in real BNP per inhabitant were registered 1km: Sub-Saharan Africa

'This decrease affected

countries which engaged in structural adjustments as well as the others (...). The most important decrease's were noticed in Gabon (58%), Nigeria (50%), Ivory Coast (42%) (...). Even in the nineties,

(M? the people living in the

region, would not reach the age of 50 years. One doctor for 18

in the

industrialised countries); two-thirds of the 23 million HIV infected people;

is progressing here much

quicker than elsewhere; less than one in every two persons

one in 100 has access to

have access to drinking water;

medical

has

decreased

has

increased from 125,9 million in 1980 to 140,5 million in 1995, etc. During this time, inequalities in the world are increasing.

In 1994 the revenue relationship between the

20% most rich and the 20% most poor in the world, was 78 to 1; much more than in 1960 when it was 30 to 1.

per

illiterate

inhabitant

population

CD1 comparison. of

and the virus

inhabitants

almost 32%

production

treatment;

(Mme to

since

1980;

food

the

350

000

former

socialist

cultivated

programmers

The  
statistical  
lies.

While the production units, armed with the genial thoughts of Comrade Stalin, delivered slightly more in a few months than the objectives which were fixed for fifty years, shortages became evident everywhere.

The father (ME the nation explained this failure to the people (by referring to)  
of

success. This is how a virtual economy was established, the opening of a gigantic Disneyland of globalisation (...).

successâ\200\235.

virtues

â\200\235...the

time

the

was

of

It

All this masquerade vainly attempts to hide the striking failure CHE structural adjustment policies imposed jin: the

4.1.5

4.1.6

4.1.7

South Africa could identify Mĩ-\202thOUt compromising our stance until now, namely that we are still awaiting OAU and SADC approval.

The role of the OAU Secretary-General and the OAU to energise OAU decision making on the Secretariat issue has been less than encouraging during 1997.

The OAU Directorate attended three conferences where the P3 and other capacity building proposals were discussed. The Secretary-General 'was 'the

last of which was in Helsinki and which was arranged at his suggestion and according to the dates he provided. Ihi all three instances replacements were sent.:hl the persons of rmnx junior officials, all an: very short The officials stayed for a few hours only to notice.

any read discussions. the singularly conference uninformed.

invited 11) all three,

in attended

representative

participate

statements

appeared

Dakar'

who

did

and

The

not

be

tx3

jjl

a

to

on

the

OAU

take

position

conferences

demand,  
are invited,

All eyes are on South Africa to take the lead in  
capacity

bringing

South African views are in

building for peacekeeping.

constant

whether

which

at

officials

or during OAU meetings where

South African researchers serve as resource persons.

The OAU Chiefs of Staff meeting and subsequent report

African

was

It bears testimony to the imperative that

expertise.

without our leadership within the ambit of the OAU and

SADC, capacity building 1J1 Africa is kxnnui to remain

fragmented,

token

training

donor

community.

consciences

unfocused

than

the

informed

measure

soothe

little

South

great

more

and

the

by

to

of

in



to  
a  
of  
for  
the  
the  
OAU  
OAU  
dire  
need  
Recent  
amongst,  
Central  
meetings  
peacekeeping  
Organ  
Secretariat,  
has  
exposed  
and  
perhaps South Africa, to fulfil an almost â\200\235educationalâ\200\235  
task:  
the ambassadors attending' the meetings  
discussed  
where  
lack  
because  
of  
understanding  
subject,  
together with a lack of communication between missions  
and their head offices.  
South Africa's current role  
within the Central Organ is limited because we are not  
a member of the Central Organ.  
a discouraging  
knowledge  
capacity  
building  
reports  
reveal  
enmi  
time  
the  
for

of

is

NOTE:

AND 12 FEBRUARY 1998

THERE IS A CENTRAL ORGAN SUMMIT IN HARARE ON 11

5.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE

## 5.1

Over the last two years, South Africa has been able to influence international policy' positions CH1 capacity building in.ea very real way.  
IX few examples should suffice:

### 5.1.1

### 5.1.2

### 5.1.3

### 5.1.4

### 5.1.5

We have convinced the United States to de-link capacity the establishment of an African peacekeeping force and from deployment of such a force.

peacekeeping

building

from

for

the

see

Our

that

good

building

capacity

insistence

should

include capacity building for civilian and humanitarian aspects of peacekeeping is bearing fruit.

Reports are

trickling in that other African countries are beginning such

to

capacity training is useful in times of peace as well.

they agreed to ACRI training,

Ghana is a good example:

receiving

but

training

ACRI

from

but it will be in humanitarian aspects of auspices,

the combat training done in

peace missions

Senegal and Uganda.

View because

They will

Americans

and not

shortly

terms.

under

their

sense

this

own

time

of

on

be

Ghana,

Senegal,

Nigeria,

Ethiopia,

Botswana,

Namibia and Egypt

Interactions during conferences with counterparts

Kenya,

from

indicate that

Zimbabwe,

South Africa is well placed to forge a unified African

Instead of being controversial and running

approach.

the risk of being accused of cowering to the dictates

of the West, we should be able to encourage Africa to

capacity building' initiatives to

retain ownership of

approach of

Africa.

views

building

with

like-minded African countries, our contribution can be

as successful as our efforts with the landmine issue.

systematic

(mu:

If

strategic

handled. with a

alliances

for

such

should

actions

economic

integrated

South Africa's

that  
human,  
steadily

i.e.  
:i-\202mmn  
is  
international conferences,

approach tx> capacity  
be  
building,  
infrastructure  
isolated.  
the  
development  
agendas  
latest of  
of

which was the Conference on Building Peace in Africa in  
Helsinki, Finland, from 1.11) 3 December 1997.

It was  
the first conference this Directorate attended which  
had.ea developmental approach to capacity building and  
we were invited with the specific aim of sharing our  
Views.

incorporated

never

being

the

enui

in

South Africa is also having a positive effect on  
providing ea systematic approach tx3 the definitions of  
'terminology  
peacekeeping terminology.  
consistently' wherever the  
Africa is influencing other countries to use the same

discussed,

usingâ\200\234

issue

the

By'

is

South.

gap

rich

between

and poor

last fifteen years on countries of the African continent in the unique interest of the members of the Gâ\200\2247 Club.

More

the

the more

populations of EhmrSahara Africa are growing poor and the

more it is necessary to maintain the illusion.

The illusion

of progress, of development and of a next â\200\235miracleâ\200\235, fetish

image of the neoâ\200\224liberalists which, one would have thought,

would be more attached to rational behaviour and which would

run: depend (N1 wellâ\200\224meaning divine intervention, el concept

which even the church treat with care.

increasing,

is

no

speechâ\200\235,

American

in point number 4 of his "state of the

In January 1949,

the

Truman

Union

Henceforth there would

introduced the era of â\200\235developmentâ\200\235.

be

the

â\200\235underdevelopedâ\200\235, or "developingâ\200\235 (countries), thanks to the

of which the United

aid given by

States almost naturally became the leader in terms of a

ranking which was done by way of a new economic indicator

Bruto National Product (BNP).

"developed"

countries,

President

Berbers,

Thais,

Harry

etc.,

only

but

no

for

the

the  
the  
laws  
before  
natureâ\200\235,  
universal  
opportunity

Imperialism found a new ideology to legitimise the expansion of capitalism, threatened once in the South by the demand for a new international economic order (NIEO) and the â\200\235third latter became undesirable and world the created Henceforth the universal market laws would be the markets. only measure of differentiation between strong and weak, To the good liberal doctors rich and poor, North and South. are left the decision of a shock treatment to the sick and for the humanitarian interference. On 25 September 1972, before the its President Mr council of governors of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, was called upon to 'i-\202jnumĩ-\202lani assault on povertyâ\200\235 and the â\200\235conditions of deprivation which challenges Innmni dignityâ\200\235. ixl'view (Hf the results, African countries growth, dedicated to cover-up the injustice of a ruined idea of development.

Twentyâ\200\224five years later,

Sub-Saharan  
of  
reconsider  
adjustment  
structural  
western  
setting  
needy,  
scene  
model  
would  
time



the

the

the

it

to

of

be

for

Escaping  
Toussaint)

from the

infernal debt cycle

(Article

by

Eric

has

1980

three

itself

debt between

already repaid. twice the amount of

its

Although it

Subâ\200\224Saharan. Africa

external

it. were

finds

sixteen years ago.

Africa owed to its debtors 235,4 billion

dollars by time end of 1996 against 84,3 billion dollars in  
1980.

have

reimbursed 170 billion dollars for debt servicing (interest  
and capital); a service which cost each year at least four  
times the budgets of health and education.

in. debt tĩ-\202unl

sub-continent

meanwhile

would

times

1996,

rmuĩ-\201i

the

the

and.

In

as

Rwanda, Gabon...). The same goes for agricultural surveys or water supply.

Others are so incomplete that it prohibit the measuring of variations across a certain time span, be it to population the drinking water or to sanitation.

treatment,

medical

access

the

to

of

of

on

by

are

the

the

endâ\200\235

last

Thus,

often

given,

eventually

information

information,

international

organisations,

run; credible at

other

Next,

any

without

international

fin: example,

significance or

while it figures among the statistics for 1997, â\200\235the average level,

age

available for three key indicators : the mortality rate of

infants younger than five years, the net rate of children

(percentage of children younger than five years

literacy

for

insufficient weightâ\200\235,

an  
with  
ten years for Gabon,  
Senegal and five years for Nigeria,  
fifteen years for Angola (the information varies from one to  
"A small number of countries  
three years for 32 countries).  
certain indicators.

ck)  
normally  
countries  
The  
from  
represent estimations based on information gathered  
neighbouring countries which have the same level of BNP per  
habitant.

not. have statistics available 1km:  
these

information

published

one year

varies

from

on

Manipulation of figures

neW'

vdii-\202x

items

consist

Beyond this, the manipulation of figures start in a more or  
The classic procedure, so as to hide  
less subtle fashion.

ones,  
replacing cĩ-\202xi

(n?  
reality,  
making comparisons over a certain period of time impossible  
and which would not conform to the official point of View,  
or to chose the most favourable period of reference for  
Knowing that, during the period from '60 to  
demonstration.

ea number CHE countries experienced progress 5J1 social  
'80,

and economic development and that since then, this progress  
a regression with

has  
structural adjustment plans. One would be tempted, in order  
to hide this negative effect, to take the seventies instead  
of the eighties as reference as the results were better, be  
it for time infant mortality rate (n: for life expectancy.

Mali

Thus

decreased by 23% between 1960 and 1980, then rose by 26,5%  
from 1980 to 1985, to return in 1994 to the level close to

In comparing the years 1970 and 1994, one

that (JE

conjuges away the rise in mortality and gives the impression  
of a sustained decrease.

has made way for

slowed down

mortality

example,

infant

1980.

rate

the

for

or

in

do

can.

even better,

without being deprived at

all.

One

Another encouraging sign is the statistics pointing to a noticeable decrease in time rate of infant mortality in the These statistics are established countries of the region.

the number (Hf births practised jJI maternity"wards. from

This while structural adjustment plans favour the paying of medical expenses by the beneficiaries themselves, which in

on

the

to

international

Call

promotion

industries

peacekeepers

transport, infrastructure, communications, etc.)

strengthening

the

non-military

of

equipment,

sustainment

non-combat

(uniforms,

community

necessary

of

the

assist

and

the

for

The building of alliances with African countries to support the South African approach should commence at all levels up to the President.

The non-military emphasis of our approach should enable South Africa to urge the Secretary-General and the OAU Secretariat to be more visible in their participation in the debate.

a matter of priority.

The Draft Policy Paper (M1 Peace Missions

should be

finalised and go through the parliamentary processes

as

The inputs received from

Civil society, which were accepted by the last workshop

in November, will make this a very progressive document

which is bound to set the trend for the rest of Africa

and

approach

peacekeeping.

community'

donor

they'

howâ\200\231

the

in

The Survey of Existing South African Capacity for Peace Missions should commence as soon as possible in order to established our specific needs in terms of capacity building, ix; it training (n: equipment.

This il; task

being jointly coordinated by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of Defence.

#### CONCLUSION

It is this Desk's view that successful implementation of the above recommendations has the best potential for resolving the impasse within the OAU and leading the organisation

of

February 1998.

It would obviate the need to devise a strategy to accept ACRI, French or other peacekeeping training without and OAU mandate.

position

formal

end

the

by

to

a

#### ANNEXURE B

#### PROPOSALS

#### COMMUNITY

#### FOR

#### PEACEKEEPING

#### CAPACITY

#### BUILDING

#### BY

#### DONOR

#### 1.

#### BACKGROUND

48

of

the

the

this,

countries

Despite  
have  
accumulated enormous arrears :  
48 billion dollars in 1994;  
31 of these countries were rated in 1996 by the World Bank  
in the category of "heavily indebted low income countries";  
6 more than in 1994. To repay a foreign debt entirely made  
up  
must  
consecrate a considerable part of its export revenue.  
To  
get rid of the total amount of the debt, the total amount of  
revenue  
three  
consecutive years.

currencies,

countries

exports

foreign

region

strong

least

must

used

the

for

be

at

on

of

of

to

of

of

the

was

the



The  
some  
more  
much  
price  
basic  
basket  
export  
Africa  
evident.  
fleeting  
products  
increase  
increase  
subâ\200\224Saharan

Since the beginning of the eighties, the terms according to which are exchanged on the world market, against import products from Despite industrialised countries, have not ceased to erode. the raw materials in 1995â\200\2241996 (coffee, cocoa), the tendency towards decline products lost rmnx than half (ME its value 111 comparison exported, Africa reacted by with products imported from the north. trying the international market, but without solving the problem as the price of the exports were decreasing faster than the price In fact, in the current system of of the imported products. international southern hemisphere are disadvantaged and in particular countries in subâ\200\224Saharan Africa, manufactured products than the countries of Ii-\201i-\201j America (Mr eastern Asia; any increase in the volume of exports tend to erode Consequently time trade balance is the value subjected to a growing deficit. After almost ten years of structural adjustment policies dictated by the World Bank and most noticeable.

International

111 price.

Monetary

countries

exports

failure

volume

export

trade,

which

Fund,

much

less

the

the

of

its

the

of

the

of

on

is

In 1995, sub-Saharan Africa did not represent more than 1% of direct foreign investment in developing countries : 2,2 billion dollars of £3 total of 240,3 billion dollars.

The situation is even more critical if one takes into account that a small number of states receive more than 90% of these credits (South Africa and some oil and mineral producing countries like Nigeria, Angola, Gabon, Cameroon...) On the other hand, the branch offices of multinational companies present in these countries, do not hesitate to repatriate their profits of which the amount is two times superior to that of their investments.

Increasing indebtedness despite 11m; repayment (Hf important amounts; unequal exchange increasing the trade deficit; weak foreign capital support but with important repatriation of funds health reports which are satisfying the media and international financial common. with reality.

institutions,

countries

towards

littlea

north

very'

have

the

â\200\230the

the

of

in

:

increase - which it badly requires â\200\224 in international trade  
and capital movement" and that the region for its part will  
know the "economic miracle" of Asia.

In the meantime, and  
if the necessary means are available, as proposed by the  
1997

eradicate

extreme

the

beginning of the next century (...), and to relegate it to  
the memory of lustory".

VWe have heard nothing like this

since the time of "future awaits usâ\200\235.

development,

"to

earth

poverty

surface

report

world

human

from

the

the

by

on

of

by

of

ijl

with

that

its

(If

endless

Rwanda,

ravaged

victims;

Ethiopia,

thousands

believed

whole zones

and

parked

Africa,  
in

of  
Angola,

hundreds  
refugees

abandoned ix) control

sub-Saharan  
wars  
civil  
Liberia,  
Uganda,

a  
Nobody  
Somalia,  
succession  
Burundi and  
Mozambique,

its  
Zaire,  
devastated  
processions  
Villages;

(Hf warlords;  
affected by desertification and malnutrition which goes hand  
in hand with these conflicts; deforestation and accelerated  
pollution; destabilised by the rural exodus; insecurity and  
unhealthy urban conditions; squashed by the weight of debt;  
impoverishment of populations and states; being increasingly  
unable to assure the regular functioning of public services;  
to finance infrastructures and tx> guarantee tx> everybody  
access

IUI  
Africa which is tirelessly moving away from the model of  
development manufactured after  
Second World War and  
decolonisation.

to education and. decent sanitary' conditions.

camps;

the

Economists, staticians and experts of about 24 international  
organisations, are doing everything in their power to prove  
the contrary;

4At the World Bank only, which spends about  
100 million dollars in research, there are 500 professionals  
and ens many external consultants, who are responsible for  
collecting correct information and spreading the good news.  
One only needs to go and see for yourself.

few surprises.

far as Subâ\200\224Saharan Africa is concerned,

the visit is

As  
interesting and may even hold a

In the  
luxury volume of statistics on development published by the  
World Bank, the hundreds of tables of measures, drawn from  
the best sources, have all a very intellectual appearance.

But taking a closer look,  
a  
number of items are concerned, information are incomplete or  
And when it does exist, it should very often be  
inexistant.  
used with caution.  
And even when the information is more  
reliable, it has the tendency to say the contrary to what  
one wants it to say.

one notice that,

far as

as

To start with, none of the 48 countries of the zone dispose  
Amongst the most  
of complete and viable basic statistics.  
important,  
industrial activity,  
some statistics are frequently at fault (for countries like)  
(Angola, Chad, Erythrae, Guinea, Mozambique, Namibia, Zaire,  
Zambia, Zimbabwe...) or dates for 10 years or more (Nigeria,

11H: example,

relative

tx>

a time when the prices of their exports started to decrease.  
Thus started the infernal circle : the countries borrow to  
repay and,  
foreign debt  
increases.

while they are

repaying,

their

of

half

which

north,

financing

ti-\202ma total

few years,

hold about

private banks were paid back

During the last

their loans by the indebted countries and the governments of  
the

debt of

subâ\200\224Sahara African countries (excluding South Africa), the  
international

IMF,

African Development Bank) holding at least a third of this

The more poorer an African country is, more bigger is  
debt.

the

by. international

:i-\202Ir Burundi, 81% tin: Rwanda,

financial. institutions

77% for the Central African Republic, 61% for Guinea-Bissau,

'TW% for uganda.

ID) total, the World Bank and IMF receive

more from the indebted countries than what it borrowed to  
them

be

reimbursed.

institutions

institutions

which

79%

normally

(World

first

Bank,

debt

part

held

and  
the  
are  
its  
to  
:  
of  
is  
to  
countries

A considerable part of public aid for development extended  
has thus been utilised. by 'the  
by the countries of the north  
indebted  
financial  
institutions.

Apart from South Africa (seen the seize of  
its economy) and the Soudan (which broke all contact with  
these institutions), the governments of the sub-continent is  
literally under the control of the IMF, the World Bank and  
the Paris Club, which leaves the opening for the first two  
institutions  
the  
policies to be applied.

international  
countries  
reimburse  
indebted

propose  
the  
to  
to

For almost fifteen years, structural adjustment plans were  
imposed on almost all  
the sub-Saharan African countries.  
Supported by an efficient blackmail method : the credit line  
is suspended if the country refuses the plan, of which the  
social  
decreasing the role of the state as distributor; decrease of  
national production in the agricultural and semi-industrial  
sectors and general decrease in the living conditions of the  
majority of the population.

disastrous  
economic  
effects  
often



and

are

it

for

and

1,3

way

1990

this

while

repaid

between

example,

In  
the  
government of Zambia spent 37 million dollars for primary  
education  
debt  
servicing.

Seen otherwise, for 1 dollar invested in primary  
education, the government pays 35 (dollars) to the club of  
the rich countries.

In 1995 the government spent six times  
less per inhabitant for primary education than ten years  
before and 30% less for the health budget;

Result : 80% of  
the costs involved in primary education is paid for by the  
families themselves and infant mortality rose by 20% during  
the same period.

billion

dollars

1993,

in

Rwanda, Gabon...). The same goes for agricultural surveys or water supply. Others are so incomplete that it prohibit the measuring of variations across a certain time span, be it the population to drinking water or to sanitation.

treatment,

medical

access

the

to

of

by

of

on

the

are

the

endâ\200\235

last

Thus,

often

given,

eventually

information

information,

international

organisations,

Inn; credible at

other

Next,

without

any

international

significance or

tin: example,

while it figures among the statistics for 1997, â\200\235the average age

level,

available for three key indicators : the mortality rate of infants younger than five years, the net rate of children

literacy

(percentage of children younger than five years

with

for

insufficient weight",  
an  
Senegal and five years for Nigeria, ten years for Gabon,  
fifteen years for Angola (the information varies from one to  
three years for 32 countries).  
â\200\235A small number of countries  
certainl indicators.  
ck)  
normally  
The  
countries  
represent estimations based on information gathered  
from  
neighbouring countries which have the same level of BNP per  
habitant.

not. have statistics available 1km:  
these

information

published

one year

varies

from

on

Manipulation of figures

HGWâ\200\231

vdii-\202x

items

consist

slowed down

Beyond this, the manipulation of figures start in a more or  
The classic procedure, so as to hide  
less subtle fashion.  
reality;

CHE

replacing cĩ-\202xi

ones,

making comparisons over a certain period of time impossible  
and which would not conform to the official point of View,  
or to chose the most favourable period of reference for  
demonstration.

Knowing that, during the period from '60 to

'80,

61 number cu? countries experienced progress 1J1 social  
and economic development and that since then, this progress  
has

a regression with

structural adjustment plans. One would be tempted, in order  
to hide this negative effect, to take the seventies instead  
of the eighties as reference as the results were better, be  
it for time infant mortality rate (n: for life expectancy.

Thus

Mali

decreased by 23% between 1960 and 1980, then rose by 26,5%  
from 1980 to 1985, to return in 1994 to the level close to  
that (JE

In comparing the years 1970 and 1994, one

conjuges away the rise in mortality and gives the impression

of a sustained decrease.

has made way for

mortality

example,

infant

1980.

rate

the

for

or

in

can. do even better,

without being deprived at

One

all.

Another encouraging sign is the statistics pointing to a noticeable decrease in the rate of infant mortality in the countries of the region.

These statistics are established

from the number of births practised in maternity wards.

This while structural adjustment plans favour the paying of medical expenses by the beneficiaries themselves, which in

gap

rich

between

and poor

last fifteen years on countries of the African continent in the unique interest of the members of the Gâ\200\2247 Club.

More

the

the more

populations of Ehmrsahara Africa are growing poor and the

more it is necessary to maintain the illusion.

The illusion

of progress, of development and of a next â\200\235miracle", fetish

image of the neoâ\200\224liberalists which, one would have thought,

would be more attached to rational behaviour and which would

run: depend (Ml well-meaning divine intervention, 6l concept

which even the church treat with care.

increasing,

is

no

speech",

American

in point number 4 of his "state of the

In January 1949,

the

Truman

Union

Henceforth there would

introduced the era of â\200\235developmentâ\200\235.

be

the

â\200\235underdevelopedâ\200\235, or "developingâ\200\235 (countries), thanks to the aid given by

of which the United

States almost naturally became the leader in terms of a

ranking which was done by way of a new economic indicator

Bruto National Product (BNP).

"developed"

countries,

President

Berbers,

Thais,

Harry

etc.,

only

but

no

for

the

the

the

laws

before

universal

opportunity

Imperialism found a new ideology to legitimise the expansion of capitalism, threatened once in the South by the demand for a new international economic order (NIEO) and the latter became undesirable and world nature, created the markets.

Henceforth the universal market laws would be the only measure of differentiation between strong and weak, rich and poor, North and South.

To the good liberal doctors are left the decision of a shock treatment to the sick and the for

On 25 September 1972, before the humanitarian interference.

council of governors of the World Bank, its President Mr

Robert McNamara, was called upon to 'assault on poverty' and the conditions of deprivation which challenges in view of the human dignity".

Sub-Saharan African

results, countries growth,

a ruined idea of dedicated to cover-up the injustice of development.

Twenty-five years later,

reconsider

adjustment

structural

western

setting

needy,

scene

model

would

time

the

the

the

it

to

of

be

for

of

Escaping  
Toussaint)

from the

infernal debt cycle

(Article

by

Eric

has

1980

three

itself

debt between

already repaid. twice the amount of

its

Although it  
Sub-Saharan Africa

external

it. were

finds

sixteen years ago.

Africa owed to its debtors 235,4 billion  
dollars by time end of 1996 against 84,3 billion dollars in  
1980.

have

reimbursed 170 billion dollars for debt servicing (interest  
and capital); a service which cost each year at least four  
times the budgets of health and education.

in. debt tĩ-\202mni

sub-continent

meanwhile

would

times

1996,

rmuĩ-\201i

the

the

and

In

as



## 5.1

Over the last two years, South Africa has been able to influence international policy' positions CH1 capacity building in.e1 very real way.  
1\ few examples should suffice:

### 5.1.1

### 5.1.2

We have convinced the United States to de-link capacity the establishment of an African peacekeeping force and from deployment of such a force.

peacekeeping

building

from

for

the

see

Our

that

good

building

capacity

insistence

should include capacity building for civilian and humanitarian aspects of peacekeeping is bearing fruit.

Reports are trickling in that other African countries are beginning to such

capacity training is useful in times of peace as well.

they agreed to ACRI training,

Ghana is a good example:

receiving

but

training

ACRI

auspices, but it will be in humanitarian aspects of

peace missions and not

the combat training done in

Senegal and Uganda.

view because

They will

Americans

shortly'

terms.

â\200\230under'

their

sense

this

from

own

tĩ¬\202ua

of

on

be

5.1.3

5.1.4

5.1.5

Ghana,

Senegal,

Nigeria,

Ethiopia,

Botswana,

Namibia and Egypt

Interactions during conferences with counterparts

Kenya,

from

indicate that

Zimbabwe,

South Africa is well placed to forge a unified African approach.

Instead of being controversial and running

the risk of being accused of cowâ\200\224towing to the dictates

of the West, we should be able to encourage Africa to

retain ownership of capacity building initiatives to

a systematic approach of

Africa.

building

with

like-minded African countries, our contribution can be

as successful as our efforts with the landmine issue.

If

strategic

alliances

handled.

views

with.

our

for

such

should

actions

economic

integrated

South Africa's

that  
human,  
steadily

i.e.  
:i-\202nmn  
is  
international conferences,

approach to capacity

be  
building,  
infrastructure  
isolated.

the  
development  
agendas  
latest of

of  
which was the Conference on Building Peace in Africa in  
Helsinki, Finland, from 1.13) 3 December 1997.

It was  
the first conference this Directorate attended which  
had.ea developmental approach to capacity building and  
we were invited with the specific aim of sharing our  
views.

incorporated

never

being

the

auui

in

South Africa is also having a pmsitive effect on  
providing ea systematic approach t1) the definitions of  
peacekeeping terminology.

â\200\230terminology  
consistently' wherever the  
Africa is influencing other countries to use the same

discussed,

using"

issue

the

By'

is

SouthÂ»



#### 4.1.5

South Africa could identify Muthout compromising our stance until now, namely that we are still awaiting OAU and SADC approval.

The role of the OAU Secretary-General and the OAU to energise OAU decision making on the Secretariat

issue has been less than encouraging during 1997.

The

OAU Directorate attended three conferences where the P3 and other capacity building proposals were discussed.

The~ Secretary-General was

'the

last of which was in Helsinki and which was arranged at his suggestion and according to the dates he provided.

Ihi all three instances replacements were sent.:hl the persons of rmnxa junior officials,

all an: very short

The officials stayed for a few hours only to notice.

any

read

discussions.

the

singularly

conference

uninformed.

invited 11) all three,

in

attended

representative

participate

statements

appeared

Dakar'

who

and

did

The

not

be

t1)

1J1

#### 4.1.6

#### 4.1.7

a

to

on

the

OAU

take

demand,

position

conferences

All eyes are on South Africa to take the lead in

capacity

bringing

South African views are in

building for peacekeeping.

at

which

constant

whether

officials are invited,

or during OAU meetings where

South African researchers serve as resource persons.

The OAU Chiefs of Staff meeting and subsequent report

was

African

expertise.

ITT bears testimony to the imperative that

without our leadership within the ambit of the OAU and

SADC, capacity building 1J1 Africa is txnnui to remain

token

fragmented,

training

donor

community.

consciences

unfocused

than

the

informed

measure

soothe

little

South

great

more

and

the

by

to

of

in

to

a  
of  
for  
the  
the  
OAU  
OAU  
dire  
need  
Recent  
Central  
meetings  
peacekeeping  
Organ  
Secretariat,  
has  
exposed  
and  
perhaps South Africa, to fulfil an almost â\200\235educationalâ\200\235  
task. amongst the ambassadors attending the meetings  
discussed  
where  
lack  
because  
of  
understanding  
subject,  
together with a lack of communication between missions  
South Africa's current role  
and their head cifices.  
within the Central Organ is limited because we are not  
a member of the Central Organ.  
a discouraging  
knowledge  
capacity  
building  
reports  
reveal  
enmi  
time  
the  
for  
of  
is

NOTE:  
AND 12 FEBRUARY 1998

THERE IS A CENTRAL ORGAN SUMMIT IN HARARE ON 11

5.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE



be

and

found.

confirmed by

The motives for this

"rational exuberance" evoked by an

Africa on

its way to prosperity and well-being" and as

discovered by the Vice-Presidents of the World Bank, remain

While the statistics given by their own

to

institution

in particular the

World Report on Human Development by the UNPD -reflects a

Of the 50 most poor countries in

totally different reality.

human

the

45% of

poverty of the UNPD, 33 are in Sub-Saharan Africa.

its

inhabitants

of

590

million, are suffering from poverty (...).

The intensity of

this poverty is more acute here than anywhere else in the

world.

population,

indicator

according

million

ranked

others

world,

being

the

266

to

of

Disneyland of globalisation

one

have

form

than

dollar"

per day,

increased

And the situation is only getting worse.

The number of poor

people has increased and the number of persons living with less

179

million in 1987 to 218 million in 1993, representing 85% of the population of Zambia, 72% in Madagascar, 65% in Angola, 61% in Niger and 50% in Uganda.

Between 1981 and 1989 a

cumulated decrease of 21% in real BNP per inhabitant were registered 1km: Sub-Saharan Africa

'This decrease affected

countries which engaged in structural adjustments as well as

the others (...) The most important decrease's were noticed

in Gabon (58%), Nigeria (50%), Ivory Coast (42%) (...). Even

in the nineties,

(If the people living in the

region, would not reach the age of 50 years. One doctor for

18

th the

industrialised countries); two-thirds of the 23 million HIV

infected people;

is progressing here much

quicker than elsewhere; less than one in every two persons

one has access to

have access to drinking water;

medical

has

decreased

has

increased from 125,9 million in 1980 to 140,5 million in

1995, etc. During this time, inequalities in the world are

increasing.

In 1994 the revenue relationship between the

20% most rich and the 20% most poor in the world, was 78 to

1; much more than in 1960 when it was 30 to 1.

inhabitant

population

CD1 comparison. of

and the virus

inhabitants

almost 32%

production

treatment;

illiterate

(Mme to

since

1980;

food

per

350

000

the

former

socialist

cultivated

programmers

The  
statistical  
lies.

While the production units, armed with the genial  
thoughts of Comrade Stalin, delivered Slightly more in a few  
months than the objectives which were fixed for fifty years,  
shortages became evident everywhere.

The father (ME the  
nation explained this failure to the people (by referring  
to)  
of

success. This is how a virtual economy was established, the  
opening of a gigantic Disneyland of globalisation (...).

successâ\200\235.

virtues

â\200\235...the

time

the

was

of

It

All this masquerade vainly attempts to hide the striking  
failure CHE structural adjustment policies imposed ikn: the

turn leads to the decrease of births in maternity wards because of the elevated prices involved.

For those women for giving birth in a who still hospital, effectively

During this time however, the increasing number decreasing.

of births outsideâ\200\231 into

is consideration and infant mortality are equally ignored.

have the means the of

complication

rmĩ-\\202:- taken

maternal

Ihospital

to pay

risk

the

the

and

is

of

absence

scientific applicability.

Finally, for the lack of statistics, instruments of measure with a strong ideological content are elaborated, but with a complete

The very

latest World Bank report entitled "The State in a changing world", is a perfect example of this.

Its preoccupation is

not only to rehabilitate the state, as have been pretended by certain journalists, but to justify its quartering for its unique penchant of maintaining of law and order so as to prioritise

is

exhausting

in

trying to give a statistical legitimacy to its ultra-liberal positions.

foreign

comforted 13/

capital.

a

numberâ\200\231

security  
itself,

Bank  
charts,

The

for

of

of

the

time

here

very

measures

fabricated

artificially

indicators

of

(hue

subjective

One learns, by

corruption and of the credibility of states.

way

the

countries which follows the appropriate economic policies -  
policies

of course proposed by the World Bank - have a

faster growth rate than the others and even more rapid if

the policies are followed meticulously.

Or how to become an

efficient state jyl jumping from zone IL, that of time least

capable state which wants to do everything with very little

means, to zone 3, the most capable state concentrating on a

small number of essential tasks, after having abandoned in

zone 2 most of its activities to the business community.

figures,

that

in.

for

its

to

tī-\202ma

(the)

class

ability

African

teachers

by â\200\235strongly reducing' the :numbers

(hue even finds 51 small propagandist liberal guide :

â\200\235Six

objections to privatisation and how to reply to itâ\200\235, as well

This year the best

as the model states have to follow.

student

of

â\200\235structurally

adjusted" is without doubt Uganda, which has succeeded Ghana

in the role of â\200\235miraculous recoveriesâ\200\235, and congratulated by

important

its

icivil

reformsâ\200\235

'the

competitionâ\200\235

serviceâ\200\235

by

â\200\234subâ\200\224contracting

to

nonâ\200\224governmental organisationsâ\200\235 and by â\200\235opening the country

to foreign competitionâ\200\235. Because â\200\235the participation in the

world economy is an additional protection against arbitrary

state action; it reduces the state's rights' with regard to

the imposing of capital and exposes monetary and budgetary

policies

financial

One vnnï-\202xi understand that time interest (xf the

marketsâ\200\235.

people is INN: the first enui foremost preoccupation (Hf the

experts of international financial institutions.

"stimulating

of

â\200\235introduce

of

attentive

attention

by

some

services

social

the

and

the

its

to

of

facilitate and  
speed up cum} decision-making' on the  
issue  
formal OAU position  
during the next Council of Ministers meeting from 26 to  
27 February 1998

in order to arrive at

a

#### BACKGROUND

Various countries have over the last few years made  
proposals  
iJl building  
its  
capacity to participate in peacekeeping operations.

assist .Africa

how

(H1

1x3

to

receive

proposal

The  
and  
publicity, but worst reception, was the United States'  
so~called "African Crisis Response Force", mooted in  
September  
a  
training  
Response  
Initiative".

initiative,

attention

modified

"African

Crisis

which

later

1996,

into

most

was

the

the

legitimacy

their  
four

coordinate  
to

respective  
principles,

In May 1997, France, Britain and the US formally agreed  
training initiatives  
to  
transparency,  
according  
openness,  
capacity  
enhancement.

(Hue OAU was informed of this agreement  
just prior to the June OAU Summit in the hope of the  
latter taking a position on it.

This initiative came  
to be called the P3 Initiative because it was proposed  
by three UN Security Council members.  
The 1997 Summit  
did not pronounce itself on the initiative.

term

long

i.e.

and

the

and

Vï¬\202ï¬\202lï¬\201?

Nordic

Countries

sent  
Belgium,  
South. Africa tx> offer 'their  
official delegations 11)  
assistance,  
Inn; the Hatter (N1 the  
agenda for President Mandela's official coming Visit to  
to  
Russia.  
formalise  
on  
capacity building about which we are less enthusiastic  
than they are.

'They have alSct made specific jproposals

African/Russian

collaboration

Switzerland

Russia.

South

has



of  
to  
the  
The  
Africa.  
discuss  
enhancement

5 December 1997, the UN Department of Peacekeeping  
(hi  
Operations (DPKO) convened an informal meeting in Dkwv  
York  
peacekeeping  
capacity and international cooperation and coordination  
in  
much  
Various  
pressure from the P3 and Nordic countries.  
countries,  
and  
the  
P3  
including  
elaborated (N1  
proponents,  
their' respective jproposals  
and views.  
Nothing concrete resulted from the meeting  
and developments remain largely open-ended.  
The OAU  
Directorate's interlocutors with the P3 countries are  
all disappointed with the outcome of the meeting, which  
left the way forward without much direction.

convened  
meeting  
Canada,  
Norway  
under  
was

A formal response on all the proposals, including the  
P3, is yet to emanate from SADC and the OAU.

definitions.

common

international understanding (M? the terminology enui of  
the implications of our decisions.

crucial

ensure

This

to

is

a

5.

and

Defence

Intelligence

An interdepartmental committee comprising Foreign  
Affairs,  
be  
enhanced by other departments) is working on a roster  
of South Africa's current capacity for peace missions.  
in all aspects of peace  
It will comprise our capacity  
missions,  
most  
.All government  
sophisticated technical requirements.  
departments  
in  
this  
Checklist, from where it will be possible to determine  
our needs for capacity building.

compiling

involved

(shortly

humble

will

most

from

the

pin

the

be

to

to

RECOMMENDATIONS

members,

A meeting between the relevant desks, the relevant top management the Deputy-Minister should be held before the OAU Council of Ministers meeting at the end of February. The purpose would be to thrash out South Africa's strategy to capacity building for peacekeeping as a member of the OAU. Other departments could also be drawn in, if so desired.

Minister

and

the

of

other

countries

is not advisable for South Africa to follow the

It

route

ACRI

training without OAU sanctioning, unless such training only includes humanitarian and civilian aspects.

Given

the many sensitivities surrounding our relations with the US, military training for peacekeeping under ACRI auspices should be avoided.

Uganda will get away with

it, but probably not South Africa.

accepted

have

who

South Africa should submit a draft resolution (H1 the matter to the Council (ME Ministers.

It should

follow the example of the P3 proposal, which is limited to a few principles.

It should

Express appreciation for the international commitment to enhance capacity

Decide to consider individual proposals; only setting general principles for participating

Encourage member states to build capacity, and

members

Urge

balance

humanitarian and civilian police training

integrated

building

capacity

follow

between

an

to

approach

to  
military,

### 3.7

The OAU Council of Ministers and Summit also still have to adopt a formal position on all the initiatives and approve the report by the OAU Chiefs of Staff about their meeting in October 1997.

### 4.

#### COMMENT

#### 4.1

##### 4.1.1

##### 4.1.2

##### 4.1.3

##### 4.1.4

the

that

African

indicate

capacity,

developments

Recent

international

community (especially time P3 countries), are kxnu; on building

formal

sanctioning

subâ\200\224regional

organisations.

alsc> clear 'that some .African

countries are less reluctant than South Africa to wait for

before

receiving training for peacekeeping.

The impression is

based on the following:

regional

without

the

is

matter

formal

OAU's

with

view

from

the

the

or

or

on

11;

military

The US, France and Britain are continuing to train African with slightly more involvement from each other (viz [H3 in Uganda, Zimbabwe» and Ghana; France in Senegal; Denmark in Zimbabwe; Norway in South Africa - with Operation Morning Star);

individually,

and Ghana;

Senegal,

the IH<

albeit

forces

in.

members.

Despite the refusal of the OAU Central Organ at Ambassadorial level to allow the Secretary-General to coâ\200\224host the 5 December meeting in New York, it went ahead with participation from African and non-African UN shortsighted decision by the Central Organ as it exposed a measure of double standards within the OAU: on the one hand, the enough to itself authority to authorise a Halitary observer mission in authority' to the Comoros, authorise mere meeting.

plead. too  
Secretary General

a particularly

.little»  
to

coâ\200\224host

Central

deemed

Organ

have

only'

This

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The (i-\202ul Directorate has Imui frequent indications from the US embassy in Pretoria that Ambassador Marshal McCallie, ACRI, intends to visit South Africa for the third time as soon as possible, preferably within the next few weeks.

ambassador

special

the

the

for

US

at

that

least CHM?

It appears

country' has Ibeen proactive in its agreement to receive American training within the near future under the ACRI auspices only on .A recent report from Mission in Ghana its own temnw. indicated.

ibut only peacekeeping operations.

This is in consort with South Africa's own perspective that the humanitarian and civilian policing sides of peace missions need more emphasis than pure military training, which is what tĩ-\202ue US did in Uganda and Senegal.

It is a healthy development with which

that. they"will receive .ACRI the

humanitarian

'trainingg

aspects

in





AN Pâ\200\234 goo; I ooooâ\200\231 i

TO

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FAX

FROM

DATE

SUBJECT

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DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

REV. FRANK CHIKANE

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY-PRESIDENT

323 2573

MS B SMITH

DIRECTORATE:

OAU

980116

CURRENT POLICY ON PEACE MISSIONS,  
CAPACITY BUILDING, CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

1.

2.

2.1

We have received a request from Mr Andre Jaquet, Chief  
Director of the American desk, to forward to you the  
Department's current thinking on the above topics.

It is trusted you will find the documentation useful.  
It includes the following:

Position  
building in Africa

on

P3

initiative

for peacekeeping

capacity

(Annexure A)

2.2

Thinking on preventive diplomacy (Annexure B)

2.3

An office translation of a recent article in "Le Monde Diplomatique" in Africa.  
(Annexure C)

"virtual development"

about

ANNEXURE A

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS - P3 INITIATIVE

FOR AFRICAN CAPACITY BUILDING FOR PEACEKEEPING

1.

Deputy Minister's

The  
information  
reference.  
relevant sectors in the Department.

for  
has  
Please note that these views represent all

suggestions,

telephonic

request

980107,

dated

and

2.

SUMMARY

The submission provides a brief chronological overview of the developments surrounding international proposals to South Africa's contribution to set out and South. Africa could recommendations are made

the debate is  
on

peacekeeping

capacity

Africa.

build

lunv

in

in

be

capacity

assisted

South Africa is at present being inundated with offers building to conflict prevention enmi peacekeeping. Except fin: Russia, all the offers come from the soâ\200\224called donor community: the Nordic countries, the UK, More offers are France, expected because this has suddenly become a topical issue.

Switzerland, Finland, Belgium, etcetera.

the USA,

for

for

order

Russia's

own

In

capacity to build capacityâ\200\234 herewith the current thinking from the OAU desk's perspective on the issue:

ascertain

.Africa,

desk

your

to

in

.1

South Africa views preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, management and resolution and peacekeeping within the broader framework of development, both human and socioâ\200\224economic. That is why South Africa, within tĩ-\202ma preventive prefer diplomacy in its broadest sense.

negotiations,

defining

NAM

.2

Following from time

above,

Eknĩ-\\202ĩ-\\202i Africa

supports all measures to have Africa's  
burden  
development if situations like the following abound:

written

There

off.

can

be

to

further  
foreign debt  
real

be

no

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â\\200\\224

-

From 1990 and 1995, Zambia spent 23 million USD on  
primary education.  
In the same period, it had to  
repay 22 Billion USD (1) in foreign debt.

(H1

more

statistics

In some African countries, the World Bank reports  
a fall in infant mortality rates.  
What the report  
is that their calculation is  
neglects to report,  
hospitals.  
based  
However,  
their  
women  
confinement at  
fmma because they' cannot afford  
hospital care, which is not always free of charge.  
outside  
Thus,  
hospitals  
never come into the equation.  
Both these figures  
represent  
real  
development,  
for future

conflict.

51 sure recipe

developmentâ\200\235

mortalities

which is

provided

â\200\235virtual

infant

endure

have

not

and

the

now

tar

to

While szambique enjoys relative stability after the 20 years civil war, future conflict is a real possibility if the landmines are not lifted.

The country's development and successful reintegration as a democracy depends on assistance with lifting. Meanwhile, it still has a foreign debt the mines.

burden â\200\230Which

If; disproportionate IX) its immense developmental needs and responsibilities.

1 .2.

3.

South

Africa

was

heartened

to

recently'

published

INK;

Guidelines

see

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(Development

In  
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of  
the  
bilateral

Since 1994, the Paris Club negotiated debt reductions, case by case, with the countries identified as "good pupils" by the World Bank, and claims its intention to reduce up to 67% of the stock of indebted countries.  
so draconian very little benefit from the benevolence of the Paris Club, only obtained a 3% reduction of its foreign debt and the totality of cancellations and debt relief measures accorded in 1995 to all the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, represent less than 1% of the stock of their debt.

the  
most  
conditions

first country

of  
entry

reduction

promised

reality,

(Uganda)

amounts

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debt

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The

are

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In 1996, the World Bank, the IMF and the Paris Club, took a new initiative aimed at making debt service repayments more "supportable" for the poorest and most indebted countries of which the total represent more than 200 billion dollars. The first reductions are expected in 1998, but the bulk is only expected after the year 2000. The World Bank and IMF declared themselves willing to provide a maximum of 7 billion dollars to finance this new initiative, being almost as (cost of the) construction of the Eurodisney



much as the  
Park in France",  
and 30 times less than the 200 billion  
dollars which were lost on the Asian stock exchange during  
the month of August in 1997.

The foreign debt of subâ\200\224Saharan Africa, where more than 10%  
of the inhabitants of the planet reside, represent less than  
1% of the debt quoted in dollars in the world.

Seen its  
social cost, refusing to cancel (these debts), is equal to  
the refusal 1x3 assist ea person in distress.

In order to  
avoid that such.ea cancellation would give ea new lease on  
life to corrupt regimes, it is also necessary to freeze the  
possessions of these foreign governments and their lackeys,  
1J1 order tx) allow tî-\202ua democratic organisations le each of  
these

and  
legislative powers at their disposal, to start an audit.

If  
it  
acquired  
illegally, it must be returned in order to finance a social  
development fund under public control.

These two proposals,  
as expressed by the Committee for the cancellation of the  
debts of third world countries, are prerequisite conditions  
necessary for a economic and democratic renewal in Africa.

certain possessions

countries,

judicial

appears

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aid

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of

EINDE

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joint peace support exercises should be organised  
under  
at sub-regional  
level;

auspices

the (i-\202uJ

the

of

strengthening of the Conflict Management centre in  
the cum} Secretariat itself euui its early-warning  
capacity;

a

of

adoption  
command,  
control and communications as well as effective  
logistics VUJJUJI the context of 23 peace support  
operation; ANNEXURE C

structure

regulate

to

ARTICLE IN â\200\235LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUEâ\200\235: AFRICA'S DEBT SITUATION  
VERSEND AAN

"Le Monde Diplomatique, October 1997, p.16  
(Article by Christian Brie)

The art of making statistics work

Africa playing fiddle to virtual development

For ea few months now, international financial institutions  
are trying to sell the idea that the black continent is on  
its way to prosperity.  
A number of reports having appeared  
in the last few weeks, are based on doubtful statistics in  
support of this assumption.  
Confusing the level of growth  
and development, underestimating the weight of debt, this  
manipulation hides the fact that the African population are  
symbolic victims of fundamental inequalities.

â\200\235for' the

exuberanceâ\200\235,

(H1 its wayâ\200\235. â\200\235International growth inspiring a  
"Africa is  
(Mme generation  
real  
encouraging signs (Jf progress are 1x3 be seenâ\200\235,  
â\200\235Hope and  
real success are beginning to transform the continent (...)  
The changes which we are â\200\230witnessing,

the foundations of prosperity and well-being, are giving new meaning to hope and the future.

first time

laying of

the

in

reports

Would this be a long awaited good news, or one of those moments of melancholy at the end of a banquet?

Goldplated

speech by the Director for Africa and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Mr Michel Camdessus and by Evangelos A. Calamitsis, as well as by two Vice-Presidents of the World Bank, confirmed by

Bank, Callisto Madavo and Jean-Louis Sarbib.

recent

of

the most

Whilst the report of important international organisations.

the IMF confirms, backed by the necessary proof, that "the results of Africa for 1996 are particularly encouraging,

together,

for the common good" so that almost

beyond the borders,

half

in

particular

not

this

benefitted

of

globalisation,

developing' population of

time world

which

compiled by reputed

Bank report

Sub-Saharan

(and

has

that

from

proposes

Africa),

benefit

experts

World

of

tjma

to

â\200\235work

1997

could

from

the

African

Do you know that despite the considerable sums (of money) given to bilateral and multilateral aid, the flow of capital from Africa towards industrial countries is more important than the flow of capital from the industrialised countries towards

Francois

Mitterrand remarked in July 1994 during a meeting of the G7 countries.

Half truth only because it is not true that the sums of money earmarked for bilateral and multilateral aid, are considerable.

its

lowest. Since forty-five years, inferior to 0,33% (If the BNP of developed countries, this while the objective fixed by the UN towards the end of the sixties, was to reach 0,7% and that the Heads of State gathered in Rio in 1992, undertook to increase its volume threefold.

Public aid for development is at

President

continent

?",

of

their

buyers

In fact, time process of African indebtedness is similar to that which affect the other regions of the south.

From the

second half of the sixties the banker of the north searched for

This phenomena

intensified with the recycling of petrodollars.

Under the

presidency (ME Robert McNamara (former Secretary of Defence of

during the escalation of American

involvement in Vietnam), the World Bank pushed in the same direction : it increased its loans tenfold between 1968 and 1973 and increased it even more rapidly during the following five years.

the United

liquidity.

surplus

States

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by  
more  
to  
the  
on  
the  
money  
camped  
lending  
northern  
order to  
economies  
countries,

The crisis which hit the economies of the industrialised countries from 1973 onwards, saw the governments trying to relaunch the countries of the south, on condition that these countries procure the merchandise from the north. Envoys, the World Bank, bankers and Ministers of external affairs operation of African governments to borrow more money and engage in big infrastructure projects with the Something which African leaders industrialised countries. gladly big construction projects would serve to strengthen their hold on power and they would also benefit from the commissions offered to multinational companies and governments of the also fighting to get industrialised countries, clients. to the south and reinforced maintain. the existing clientelism and kleptocracy of many regimes. Thus the debt of sub-Saharan Africa increased twelvefold between 1970 and 1980.

doorsteps  
latter  
Corruption  
equipment  
technical  
accepted  
know how'

convince

interest

served

coming

north

â\200\230which

rates

very

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the

of

low,

were

the

from the

crisis manifested itself

1980's

under

The

time United States,

pressure

The countries

interest rates experienced a sharp increase.

of

were

confronted with a three~fold increase in interest charges at

the

Reserve of

developing

countries,

Federal

zone,

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in

Assistance Guidelines), prepared by a number of OECD countries, and the World Bank Report on Post Conflict Assistance recommend closer coordination amongst the donor community. However, until donor countries do not remain the coordinate their assistance, recipient are mostly overlapping enui ineffective. This also if; not real development, with potential for conflict.

.Africa. will

programmes

that

hoc

ad

of

The OAU desk is currently working on a proposal to top management to draw up a list of practical project proposals with anticipated. budgets.

'These projects

will all be related to capacity building for preventive diplomacy,

and

It VHJJ. take jji-\202x) account ti-\202ue stated peacekeeping.

\200\235marry\200\235

priorities

Being

proposals to countries who might be interested.

"donor priority

shortcut

crisis

consideration (Hf projects tx>

pacify" donors vdua have

limited time to keep funds available.

management

prevention

friendly\200\235,

countries

conflict

cknun:

"then

will

and

and

of

it

South Africa views the P3 concept within the whole



context of capacity building for peacekeeping.

We have

never considered it in isolation of existing programmes by other countries or removed it from capacity building to serve the broader developmental needs within Africa.

South

for

capacity building was underscored by the recent OAU Chiefs of Staff meeting in Harare.

proposals

Africa's

analyses

the

all

of

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.6

South Africa agrees with the recommendations by the OAU Chiefs of Staff who recently met in Harare.

We

played a major role in the formulation of the report.

The recommendations will be made to the OAU Council of Ministers, Vĩ\202u) will rmxĩ\201;

in Addis Ababa jjl February

1998:

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to undertake preliminary preventive action in EH1 emergency situation and then approach the [Hi to deploy a peace operation.

The focus therefore is

to react in limited time to a crisis situation;

gxxuxa

undertaken,

only

excluding peace enforcement, unless with.ea clear mandate from the UN Security Council;

operations

should

kxa

initially

earmarked

arrangement from each of the five sub-regions;

contribution

subâ\200\224region

brigade

one  
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could

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standby

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all training should be conducted according to UN  
doctrine enui standards tun; also complimented kmr  
African needs;