The word *Sauti* - Swahili for *voice* - captures the spirit of the Stanford Journal of African Studies. *Sauti* is committed to ensuring that student voices are heard both within and without the Stanford community. Through the reproduction of research compilations and personal narratives of field experiences, we seek to highlight critical African issues, to ignite meaningful discussions and to invoke calls to action. Although Africa gains most of its global attention by virtue of its ‘problems’ and ‘needs’, the continent possesses troves of opportunity. It is our aim to present a balanced view of the continent, juxtaposing the ills that bedevil Africa with the awe-inspiring events and developments that are primed to propel the continent into an era where its troubles are but relics of history.

The Facebook Group Will Serve As A Temporary Hub Whilst The SAUTI Website Undergoes A Thorough Overhaul.
Patrons Can Access PDFs Of This Issue On The Facebook Group Page
SAUTI
Editorial Board
2007-08

Editor-In-Chief
Eugene Adogla

Associate Editor
David Kuo

Business Manager
Peter Kariuki

Financial Manager
David Mwaura

Publicity and Marketing Manager
Christine Mhongo

Assistant Editors
Iberia Elster
Maryam Garba
Lauren Hall-Lew
Thomas Igeme
Dithapelo Medupe
Kwadwo Osei-Opare
Ato Ulzen-Appiah
Elaine Windrich
Zewde Yeraswork

* 

Special thanks to the ASSU Publications Board for funding SAUTI for the 2007-08 Academic Year

* 

This work is licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution - Non Commercial-Share Alike License. To view a copy of this licence, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/ or send a letter to Creative Commons, 559 Nathan Abbot Way, Stanford, California 94305, USA

Table of Contents

EDITORIAL NOTE
Page 1

EXPERIENTIAL NARRATIVES
A medical student’s reflection on the HIV Epidemic in Northern Tanzania
Lena Winestone, Page 27

... And Then Came The Nigerian Elections: The Story of FrontLine SMS
Ken Banks, Page 2

Living and Dying in Rwanda
Max Rettig, Page 15

Reflections on a Haas African Service Fellowship
Maya Wolpert, Page 21

Untitled: A Narrative On Identity By A First Generation American Of Nigerian Extraction
Jennifer Ojeh, Page 5

RESEARCH PAPERS
Foreign or African Languages as Media of Instruction? A Case for Kiswahili in East Africa
Sangai Mohochi, Page 23

Nothing Ventured, Nothing Gained? A Case Study of Africa’s participation in WTO dispute settlement
Jumoke Oduwole, Page 6

Reflections on Youth and Modern Governance in Contemporary Egypt
Rania Sweis, Page 31

ENTERTAINMENT BRIEFS
Page 16

POETRY
Mama Africa Patrick Emelife, Page 30

Nigerian Pride Comfort Nwankwo, Page 35

The Punishment for Forgetting Dithapelo Medupe
Page 14

IMAGING BRIEFS
Morocco Iberia Elster, Page 17

Cape of Good Hope Eugene Adogla, Page 18
Editorial Note

Dear Reader,

Thanks for taking the time to read this handiwork of our efforts over the last quarter or so.

As you peruse and imbibe the articles reproduced in this journal, I urge you to interpret all material herein through the lens of Africa’s exceeding-yet-untapped promise.

Use each article as a springboard to imagine the potentially bright future that this well-endowed continent could have, given the evolution of the necessary enabling conditions.

As you undertake this involving task, I hope that you will come to imagine a breadth of possible solutions that will provide the continent with the enabling conditions it needs for its renaissance.

Propelled by the ideas you chance upon, I trust that you will come to a position where you will feel adequately primed to leverage your knowledge and skills to make the dream of Africa’s economic, political and social development a reality.

Upon arriving at this juncture, I trust that you will act to positively transform Africa’s fortunes in whatever way you can, no matter how small.

Happy reading!

Eugene Adogla
Editor-In-Chief
And Then Came The Nigerian Elections

The Story of FrontlineSMS

By Ken Banks

An idea is born

The FrontlineSMS concept came rather suddenly a couple of years ago during one rainy Saturday evening in Cambridge, UK, a long way away from the country that inspired it. The idea now seems like an incredibly simple and obvious one, but it took its time to dawn on me. A few months earlier, in the autumn of 2004, I was working in South Africa and Mozambique with a South African NGO, ResourceAfrica, on a contract with the oldest international conservation organisation in the world – Fauna & Flora International. We were looking at ways national parks could better communicate with local communities – something which has traditionally been rather problematic – and the project I was working on at the time had a specific technology angle. I was already working on another mobile phone project, and with SMS usage just beginning its astronomical climb it seemed like an obvious tool to consider.

Things were beginning to happen back in 2004, but it was early days in the mobile revolution, particularly in developing countries. So, as a starting point in the solutions evaluation process, local companies were asked to put in tenders to help develop a service, and existing services were trialled and tested.

There were two specific issues which, several months later, became central in the thinking behind FrontlineSMS. Firstly, everything we were looking at was web-based. This was fine for a parks authority, and fine for this particular project, but I’m always looking for ease of replication and scale, and I didn’t see the perfect solution as being a purely web-based one. Secondly, everything we were looking at was one-way – top down if you like – and I had trouble with this. The parks could send stuff down to the community, but the community voice was silent. After a short period of research and evaluation, a trial was started with a web-based service. For me these two external issues remained unresolved.

FrontlineSMS, which finally addressed these shortfalls, launched in 2005 and was the first text messaging system to be conceived, designed and written firmly with the needs of the non-profit sector in mind. Up until then the majority of systems did not take into account the nature of non-profit work, nor the specific conditions – financial and physical – which many work under. Since the non-profit sector isn’t considered fertile ground for most for-profit companies, this wasn’t surprising. The software was picked up by a number of news sites, and trials began. Most were small-scale grassroots initiatives, however, and little news got out to the wider community.

But then came the Nigerian elections...

In African election terms, it doesn’t get much bigger than the Nigerian elections. Two months ago, back in February 2007, I was contacted by the Human Emancipation Lead Project (HELP) Foundation, a Nigerian group interested in establishing a team of volunteer election monitors to report on their forthcoming Presidential elections. HELP are a non-profit group of young professionals in Nigeria, advocating for social change through good governance. Their goal is to encourage the Nigerian electorate to participate in the electoral process. Since 2005, HELP has been in the forefront of employing available mass communication technologies in their work. According to the group, the 2007 elections presented a “vital opportunity to truly
What’s more, FrontlineSMS worked exactly as they hoped. A result all round – after all, this hadn’t been attempted in Nigeria before (and was maybe a first in Africa?)

I got up at 6am on the Friday morning – 2pm in the UK – in case the BBC had mailed and needed any final information. I needn’t have bothered – the story was already up!

change the cause of things for good for the common Nigerian by ensuring that a transparent and acceptable general election is conducted”. With the proliferation of mobile technology in Nigeria, the group chose SMS as their communications medium.

Their initial search for a software and hardware solution led them to a series of mobile guides published by MobileActive, a global network of people, tools, projects and resources focused on the use of mobile phones for activism, campaigns, and civic engagement. One of the guides specifically deals with elections and voting, and FrontlineSMS was featured in the guide as a tool worth considering. Two months before the Presidential elections were due to be held, HELP contacted me and asked for kiwanja.net’s help. As with many organisations looking to use text messaging for the first time, they were confused over issues of available solutions, short codes, licenses to operate, costs, applicability and ease of adoption. As an organisation with little or no budget, all of my services were offered for free. I still need to work on that business model!

HELP installed FrontlineSMS onto a single machine, obtained a phone and a new SIM and began their tests. There were local elections planned in the weeks leading up to the Presidential elections, and they were to be used as a dry run. During the testing process I was in occasional contact with their team, but I generally left them to it. FrontlineSMS is designed to be a simple, works-out-of-the-box solution and require little or no support. Other than a couple of emails and the odd call at 3 o’clock in the morning, HELP managed to take the software and run with it with little help. The Local Government Election monitoring was a success. The main event now loomed.

Next was the launch of a website – www.mobilemonitors.org – where HELP promoted their work under their “Network of Mobile Election Monitors of Nigeria (NMEM)” banner. The site’s primary purpose was to encourage the general public to register as volunteers, and tell them how they could engage in the process. Individuals registered their mobiles by texting their name, location and polling station to the new NMEM election monitoring hub. Each volunteer was then registered on the FrontlineSMS system. On election day itself the volunteers were asked to send in two reports – the first to contain details of when the polling station opened, voter accreditation and the ballot box delivery times. The second was due when the polls closed and was to contain information on the result, counting processes, turnout and general conduct. Things were slowly falling into place.

Up until now, I was generally oblivious as to how things were going in Nigeria – I was just quietly getting on with my other work at Stanford. The first news I received that things had gone so well was an email which landed in my inbox around midday on Tuesday 17th April, which came with an accompanying Press Release. HELP were now ready to monitor the main election, and it was just four days away. The Press Release was for immediate circulation, so I put on my PR hat and started shooting mails off to my various friends, contacts and acquaintances in the social mobile world. One wrote for the BBC.

On the Thursday morning I woke to find that I’d missed seven calls on my UK mobile (it’s pre-pay, and roaming, and costs a fortune so I generally leave it on silent and never answer it. But it does receive texts for free, which makes it useful). On checking my email, I realised that the calls were from the BBC World Service. I also had an email from one of the BBC website technology editors. After some frantic conversations, I provided them with contact details for the Nigerian team. I could answer the BBC’s technical questions, but the real story was NMEM’s and I was keen for them to have the chance to profile their work themselves. For the rest of the day I watched as more and more sites picked up on the story, hoping that the BBC would manage to make contact. Friday was the last chance – once the weekend passed it would no longer be a story. Perhaps, more importantly, if the BBC did manage to get the story out then suddenly there was much greater potential to recruit infinitely more volunteers.

I got up at 6am on the Friday morning – 2pm in the UK – in case the BBC had mailed and needed any final information. I needn’t have bothered – the story was already up.

The next time I spoke to HELP was on the Saturday, just after the polls closed. Despite general disquiet about the overall election process, they were very happy at the response to their call for volunteer monitors. What’s more, FrontlineSMS worked exactly as they hoped. A result all round – after all, this hadn’t been attempted in Nigeria before (and was maybe a first in Africa?). HELP are now working through their data which will be presented to EU monitors and other monitoring groups. Sadly, in this particular case, problems with the electoral
It was NMEM who had the mission, NMEM who had the passion and NMEM who had the commitment to drive their vision forward. NMEM also found FrontlineSMS, and they took the software and ran with it. Anyone else can do the same.

In their initial report, released a few days after the polls closed, NMEM commented: “As has been highlighted by both local and international observers, the elections in Nigeria leave little to be desired. However, amidst the widespread report of fraud and rigging there were pockets of hope. In communities like Ibiono Ibom in Akwa Ibom State, 80% of the SMS received indicated calm, orderliness and a free and fair exercise. The same was indicated in reports from Kano GRA in Kano State, and Ward 3 & 4 in Calabar Municipality of Cross River State, among others. We believe that these communities should be identified and commended as an encouragement to others to imbibe fair play and transparency in subsequent elections.

It should be noted that most international observers were trained and equipped to spot and report in places where things did not go as they should. They were further sent to major urban areas where most of the heavy rigging took place. Our observers, on the other hand, were instructed to report on everything, both the good and the bad. As a result, we documented many remote/rural communities where polls were orderly, materials arrived on time and polls were relatively free and fair.”

In total, over 11,000 messages were received from the volunteer monitors, a great response. NMEM are now looking at how SMS can be used to engage Nigerians in the everyday political process. For its part, FrontlineSMS was just a tool in the process. It doesn’t do anything on its own, but it does empower. It was NMEM who had the mission, NMEM who had the passion and NMEM who had the commitment to drive their vision forward. NMEM also found FrontlineSMS, and they took the software and ran with it. Anyone else can do the same.

kiwanja.net believes that all non-profits, whatever their size and wherever they operate, should be given the opportunity to implement the latest technologies in their work, and actively seeks to provide the tools and environment to enable them to do so.
Jennifer Ojeh is a freshman at Stanford University, excited to embark on an academically and socially enriching college experience. She is a Human Biology major with a minor in Modern Foreign Languages and hopes to one day work in healthcare management. As a Nigerian-American, she recognizes home as both the Bay Area and Nigeria. Proud of her uniquely rich culture, she participates in activities on campus to share it with the greater Stanford community. In addition to being an active member of Kuumba African Dance & Drumming Ensemble, she is also trying to get more involved with Naija and SASA. Her other interests include traveling, laughing, and meeting new people.

“Welcome aboard KLM Airlines, Flight Number 226 direct from Amsterdam to Nigeria. Total flight time is nine hours and 45 minutes. Please refer to your pamphlets in the seat pockets in front of you as emergency procedures...”. I peered through the window and gazed at the expansive sky. My thoughts were just as vast. Although I had grown up with Nigerian immigrant parents, I felt like I was embarking on something completely new. I was going 'home' as my parents referred to it, but it didn’t feel like it to me. I shook in my seat as the plane dashed down the runway and took off.

I was greeted with a strong whiff of hot air as I navigated through the Abuja Airport terminal, a small airport with bare white walls and cheap ceiling fans that hung from above. As I watched black faces clamor around the carousel to claim luggage, I listened to the fusion of languages being spoken. I recognized Igbo, the language of my parents. Those around me had an outer appearance that complemented their heritage. I looked at the women who were dressed in vibrant traditional wear with thick and curly natural hair that framed their face. My head dipped downward as I looked at the blue jeans I wore and the straight black hair that dangled in front of my face. I was a spectator peering into the culture that I had acquired biologically, but only knew the half of until now.

After an eight hour drive, we arrived in Uburu, the village where both my parents are from and where most of my relatives reside. “I’m Richard”, “Sylvia”, and “Jennifer”. My siblings and I went from oldest to youngest as we introduced ourselves. Auntie Franca heard us and came out and said in a loud accented voice, “Eh eh, those are not your names. You are in Nigeria O, not America. Tell us your real names”. When it was my turn, I said Chinyere - God’s gift. In California, it was my middle name, but in Nigeria it was my first. Sudden significance was assigned to the part of my name that I often ignored. With its acknowledgement, I felt a part of something that I never had in California.

An hour before the commencement of my cousin’s wedding, my aunt deemed it necessary that my siblings and I meet our grandparents. My heart pounded as we followed her into their compound. Knowing them only through old photographs and poorly connected phone calls, I felt remote and wondered if they would even feel a connection to me. When we entered the room, excitement and joy rang in the air as the woman I took to be my grandmother chanted something loudly in Igbo. “She’s happy that you’re here and has been waiting for this day to come for a long time now”, my aunt translated. My grandfather, who had partial eyesight, slowly got up and walked toward my siblings and I. He touched each one of us gently, said our Igbo names, and whispered something lightly. He had blessed us. Although taken aback by his gesture, I reveled in knowing that someone felt a deep attachment to me despite the physical distance that separated us for sixteen years. It was as if I was here all along.

My grandmother, who I am named after, motioned for us to follow her through the house into another room. She opened a drawer and pulled out pictures of me. I saw everything from baby pictures to recent photos. We both smiled and in that moment, I saw myself in her. Our smile. I had a permanent place here in my grandparents home, in Nigeria. This is home, I thought to myself. I had finally fit all the puzzle pieces together. I felt whole.
Nothing Ventured, Nothing Gained?

A Case Study of Africa's participation in WTO dispute settlement

By Jumoke Oduwole

Abstract

The thrust of this research centers on the inadequate participation of African countries in the World Trade Organization (WTO) dispute settlement mechanism. Using the US-Upland Cotton dispute initiated by Brazil as a case study, I investigate four leading West African cotton exporters—Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad and Mali—the “Cotton 4” as a case study. Here, Benin and Chad participated in the dispute as third parties, whereas Burkina Faso and Mali were noticeably absent, despite their joint criticism of the subsidies as well as important Sectoral Initiatives on Cotton delivered by the group at two Doha Round (DDA) WTO Ministerial meetings.

In this research study, I attempt to ascertain the rationale for African countries’ decisions to participate in disputes or to ‘free ride’ within the international trade arena. I argue that the incentives or disincentives affecting these decisions stem from the following factors: (1) the inability to retaliate against developed countries under the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU); (2) financial and technical limitations in accessing the WTO DSU; (3) disproportionately heavy reliance on principal trading relationships; and (4) other socio-political and economic considerations, such as financial aid from donor countries.

Although all four factors, in fact, accounted for Africa’s inactivity in varying degrees, the findings of this research revealed that while the main hurdles were a lack of resources (capacity) and the inability to retaliate against stronger trading partners; the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) and the low volume of trade emanating from the continent were also viewed by some interviewees as significant impediments to West African participation in the DSU mechanism.

I suggest that, despite these constraints, African countries must strive to participate more effectively in WTO adjudication. I also attempt to draw attention to the urgent need for increased capacity in this area by urging African countries to prioritize human resource development as well as funding of trade issues. Such policies might serve as catalysts to enable African countries to achieve meaningful concessions through litigation that have eluded them for so long at the WTO negotiating table.

Part I: Introduction

The dispute settlement mechanism of the World Trade Organization (WTO) has been widely commended as being a vast improvement from what previously obtained under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). However, although participation by developing countries has improved significantly since its inception, smaller economies and the least-developed countries (LDCs) continue to remain, at best, on the fringes of WTO dispute resolution.
WTO Dispute Settlement Mechanisms: Utilization by African Countries

The Doha Development Agenda is the current round of multilateral trade negotiations of the WTO. Since its onset in 2001, the DDA has been inundated with problems resulting from the divergence of interests between the developed and developing countries as well as among the developing countries themselves. These problems are not new. Indeed, they stem from longstanding tensions between the developed and developing countries. The WTO has been at the core of this often-heated debate, coming under attack from its member states as well as other interested groups, and earning the organization a highly controversial reputation.

Since the advent of the WTO dispute settlement mechanism in 1995, developing countries, in general, have become increasingly active in bringing disputes before the WTO, and may, in fact, have benefited from such intervention. Despite what skeptics of the system might believe, Guzman and Simmons assert that developing countries now litigate, both as complainants and respondents, at a comparable rate to their developed country counterparts under the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding. Nevertheless, the authors identify two limiting factors—capacity (resource) constraints and political hurdles—which may affect the ability of a developing country to bring cases before the Dispute Settlement Body. However, no African country has ever initiated a complaint in the history of WTO dispute resolution, and only a handful of African countries have entered appearances in disputes as third parties. In fact, to date, only two African countries—Egypt and South Africa—have been parties to disputes under the DSU mechanism and African countries have been third parties in DSU disputes a total of 34 times. Thus, the nagging question of why African countries, in particular, are not actively utilizing the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, despite the fact that their trade interests are significantly affected by such infringements, remains unanswered.

Significance of WTO Dispute Settlement

Agricultural disputes now account for 20% of all cases brought to the WTO Dispute Settlement Body. Although the DSU mechanism has been praised for benefiting developing countries in particular, some scholars have contended that this conclusion is not entirely the case, because LDCs often lack sufficient incentives to seek redress within the system. However, despite these notable improvements in both the law and jurisprudence of WTO dispute settlement, the vast majority of developing countries remain passive. Here, I attempt to analyze why LDCs continue to shun the system, in spite of the fact that the more powerful countries routinely violate these weaker countries’ rights under WTO agreements, greatly affecting their trade interests in the process.

Using the US-Subsidies on Upland Cotton dispute initiated by Brazil in 2002 as a case study, I intend to investigate the factors responsible for four West African countries’ (all heavily dependent on cotton exports for the stability of their economies) participation (or non-participation) in a dispute that fundamentally affects their trade interests. Based on a thorough analysis of this case, and some of the underlying theories relating to these issues, I hope to uncover an explanation for Africa’s perceived insouciance regarding the WTO DSU mechanism. The next section delineates the case study as well as the data collected. In Part III, I analyze the findings against the backdrop of economic political theory informing litigation and Part IV concludes the study, outlining policy recommendations and possible future research in this area.

Part II: Case Study: The “COTTON 4” and the US-Subsidies on Upland Cotton Dispute

“What we want is progress…. I am not worried about American interests. I am concerned with international trade interests, with Brazilian farmers, with African farmers, with developing-country farmers. I have support inside the government, in US newspapers, in talking with Americans…. For me, I win both ways. I win if I win, and if I lose, I still win because I’m helping to change. I add another brick. There’s a lot of support for the [cotton] case. It’s a complete distortion.”
The US-Upland Cotton dispute marked the first (and only) instance in which a developing country has challenged a developed country’s protectionist measures regarding cotton.

Cotton in Context

Cotton is undoubtedly the most important natural fiber of the 20th century. African cotton production is dominated by 14 former French colonies in West and Central Africa (WCA) known as the “Franc Zone.” Cotton is the only cash crop for many of the region’s farmers, accounting for 30% to 60% of all exports earnings in the region and 5% to 10% of the region’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Thus, despite the Franc Zone’s relatively small proportion of world cotton production, the importance of the commodity to the region as a major economic driver is undeniable.

Although the leading world cotton producers are China, the United States and India; the United States and the Franc Zone, dominate world export trade, jointly accounting for approximately 50% of all raw cotton exports. However, there is wide disparity between the two blocks. Despite the fact that WCA farmers have greatly increased efficiency and quadrupled their production capacity since the 1980s, export earnings have stagnated or fallen. Moreover, these farmers receive only 30% to 40% of the market value of their produce because of the purchasing system in place in WCA; this situation is further compounded by the impact on the region’s farmers by the controversial subsidies being paid to U.S. cotton farmers. The tensions surrounding these subsidies eventually resulted in the United States appearing before the WTO DSB in the dispute that forms the basis of my research.

The US-Subsidies on Upland Cotton Dispute

On September 27 2002, the government of Brazil requested consultations with the U.S. government, regarding alleged illegal subsidies to U.S. upland cotton. Thereafter, several third parties registered an interest in the case. The US-Upland Cotton dispute marked the first (and only) instance in which a developing country has challenged a developed country’s protectionist measures regarding cotton. In this dispute, two members of the Cotton 4—Chad and Benin—entered appearances as third parties; Burkina Faso and Mali were noticeably absent, despite repeated, highly-publicized criticism of the U.S. government with respect to the subsidies in question by all four countries. In September 2004, the Panel issued its report, which was substantially in Brazil’s favor.

The “Cotton 4”: Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad & Mali

As the developing countries gathered bargaining momentum on the cotton issue, four West African cotton exporters—later known as the Cotton 4—became increasingly vocal in their demands for fair trade in cotton. The Cotton 4 presented their first proposal, “Poverty Reduction: Sectoral Initiative in Favor of Cotton” in 2003 at Cancun, Mexico. The Cotton Initiative describes the damage that the illegal U.S. cotton subsidies are causing to Franc Zone cotton farmers, calling for their immediate elimination; there were also clamors for adequate compensation to be paid to affected WCA countries during the phasing out of the illegal subsidies.

In response, the United States Trade Representative put up a spirited defense on this issue and maintained that U.S. trade policies on cotton do not harm Africa.

Description of the Data

My methodology comprised an analysis of the substantial body of literature in this subject area. I also conducted nine in-depth telephone interviews guided by a standard interview that I designed for purposes of this study. The participants were selected on a non-random, purposeful basis in order to reach well-qualified individuals in the field with the knowledge relevant to the research topic, and included: country trade representatives, representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and experienced trade lawyers. To avoid informant bias, in addition to interviewing persons with a direct interest in the case, I also selected and interviewed some neutral, but informed, stakeholders to provide triangulation for the information gathered. Thus, I interviewed trade representatives from Brazil and the United States; as well as affected West African countries. I also interviewed trade lawyers who have represented African countries as third parties in WTO disputes and representatives of NGOs working in this area.

Being an exploratory study of the problem, and due to limited pool of WTO cases which African countries had participated in, as well as limitations of time and resources, I decided to analyze the US-Upland Cotton dispute because of the importance of cotton to several West
African countries. Moreover, the existence of the Cotton 4, and particularly the dichotomy inherent in their participation in this dispute, gave me a perfect opportunity to address the point and find answers to my research questions. My hypotheses are that African countries do not utilize the WTO DSU as complainants against developed countries for the following reasons: (1) the inability to retaliate against developed countries under the WTO Dispute Settlement Understanding (DSU); (2) financial and technical limitations (capacity constraints) in accessing the WTO DSU; (3) disproportionately heavy reliance on principal trading relationships; and (4) other socio-political and economic considerations, such as financial aid from donor countries to be challenged.

The Findings

Two main trends emerged from the interviews. The first trend, surprisingly, seemed to question whether African countries actually want to (or even ought to) use the system, whereas the second trend centered on the issues surrounding the capacity of these countries to utilize the system, in terms of financial as well as human resources, as it currently exists. Therefore I present the findings under these two broad categories.

Participation: Do LDCs want to use the system?

The obvious starting premise of this research is the fact that smaller developing countries and LDCs want to utilize the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, but lack the capacity or resources to do so. However, the data revealed that there might be several other factors at play. For example, Interviewee #4 first touched on this issue by commenting on the general lack of awareness and knowledge of WTO legislation among the public sector, the private sector, and civil society in his country. Since WTO disputes are typically fueled by the needs of affected interest groups within the affected home country, his statement revealed that perhaps LDC governments as well as the private sector, which generally lack strong lobbying groups in sectors such as agriculture, may simply have insufficient motivation to instigate trade disputes. However, he went on to note the disparities among African countries in size, government structure, political, economic and trade orientation, resources and level of development, so this situation may not be generalizable to the larger context.

Interviewee #8 also alluded to the lack of motivation of African countries from a purely economical perspective when we suggested that such countries might have disputes that simply do not meet the material level of WTO trade, since countries with less trade volume are generally not very involved in WTO disputes. This view was again echoed by Interviewee #7, who added that much of West Africa’s trade falls within the purview of the Generalized System of Preferences, which enables developed countries to make concessions in favor of LDCs on an autonomous basis; as a result, trading under such terms is unlikely to generate disputes. Furthermore, Interviewee #5 noted that these preferential agreements usually have conditions attached to them that are not regulated by the WTO, “so how can LDCs challenge developed countries under such conditions?” In contrast, he asserted that, for instance, the African, Pacific and Caribbean countries (ACP), which have trade agreements with the European Union outside of the WTO, are more likely to resolve any trade disputes with the E.U. on a bilateral basis and, as a result, these disputes are unlikely to escalate to WTO dispute settlement.

Moreover, the sense of futility which a West African country may experience with WTO dispute settlement surfaced when Interviewee #4 stated that there were no guarantees of compliance by the developed countries, should a dispute be decided in favor of an LDC. Emphasizing the importance of compliance with panel reports to the system, all but one of the interviewees extensively discussed the inadequacy of DSU remedies within the context of enforcing such compliance. Most interviewees also stated how the inability of these West African countries to effectively retaliate against stronger trading partners adversely affects LDC participation. In fact, most interviewees expressed the fear of ‘reverse retaliation’ from the developed countries as a real and present threat to these countries. Interviewee #3 elaborated on this point by stating that, “AGOA’ retaliation will take place if a group of African countries takes the United States to the DSU.” Thus, the ‘politics’ of deciding whether or not to sue a developed country is an essential consideration for most developing countries.

Despite the above comments, some interviewees believed that West African dispute settlement participation (both in willingness and in action) is now gradually improving. According
to Interviewee #5, since Brazil’s demystification of the cotton issue, “African countries are now following dispute processes, as well as trying to understand the rules and procedures better from finished cases.” In his view, this improved attention, in addition to the interest that the ongoing DSU reform is receiving from the African Union (AU), is indicative of the learning currently taking place within these delegations. Indeed, Interviewee #1 also pointed to the economic significance of cotton to the region, which proved to be a sufficient economic incentive for two Cotton members to register a third-party presence in the US-Upland Cotton dispute.

In considering the benefits gained from the third-party participation of Benin and Chad, apart from the significant systemic implications of the suit for cotton producers around the world, the interviewees expressed their divergent opinions on West African participation in the process with similar results. According to Interviewee #8, although third parties generally have very little input in disputes, the value of such participation is that the countries’ views are made known and, as such, the two West African countries were able to express the importance of the cotton issue to their economies directly to the Panel. Interviewee #5 also observed that, as third parties Benin and Chad were privy to direct information about the dispute, while Interviewee #2 commented that the two countries had some “satisfaction” because their interests were reflected in the panel’s reports. Significantly, Interviewee #7 noted that for the first time, these countries “got their say” and shared the magnitude of suffering, and, as a result, this case gave them a higher political profile in the WTO. This point was reiterated by Interviewee #4 when he mentioned Benin and Chad’s credibility and stated categorically that neither of these countries had suffered or faced any particular negative consequence because of their participation in the dispute.

When the focus shifted to Burkina Faso and Mali, who were not third parties in this dispute, all of the interviewees said that these countries did not suffer any adverse effect from having remained inactive in the adjudication of the cotton issue. Interviewee #7, however, seriously questioned their non-participation because of the potential benefits that, in his opinion, all four members of the coalition could have reaped as a cohesive force. Interviewee #2, on the other hand, welcomed the publicity that the coalition was able to attract to the plight of African farmers, despite the split in participation, which in his opinion, positively impacted the outcome of the dispute.

Interestingly, one of the non-participating members of Cotton said, “Actually, my government is not formally a part in this dispute for unknown considerations! Yet, as one could see, [ ] has been one of the most active actors, be it within the negotiating framework or in different conferences and high-level bilateral and multilateral meetings with strong and public declarations. The government of [ ] and that of the other three countries would consider opening a case on their own if the situation for their producers were not to improve (sic) because of any further delay in the current Brazil-USA dispute settlement concerning upland cotton.” He went on to note that despite the fact that only Chad is currently a third party in the ongoing compliance dispute between Brazil and the United States regarding the implementation of the cotton panel report, the Cotton continue to work together on this dispute. Another West African Interviewee also mentioned the fact that his government did not join the Cotton coalition or participate in the dispute, primarily because of “red tape.” Nevertheless, he declared that his government has been “supportive” of the issue.

In sum, the lack of awareness in the domestic setting of many African countries coupled with the low trade volumes and an inability to ensure compliance even after favorable panel decisions may be the conventional reasoning regarding West African participation or non-participation in WTO dispute settlement. Political considerations, such as the fear of losing future benefits from developed country trade partners, also typically play a major role in the decision. However, based on the interviews, it appears that there is a possibility that the successful participation of Benin and Chad as third parties, without any adverse consequences such as retaliation in any form from the United States, and the higher profile that these countries now enjoy within the WTO system may have bolstered the confidence level of West African countries in this regard. As a result, the long-standing trepidation may actually be waning, and West African countries may actually now be more aware and more willing to participate in WTO disputes. This shift in thinking seems to be indicated in a speech of President Compaore of Burkina Faso on behalf of the Cotton in October 2006, speaking at the ‘Cotton Day’ held at Washington D.C., in which he stated that the coalition had not excluded the possibility of initiating a full case against the United States if the cotton issue remains unresolved.
Capacity: Can LDCs actually use the system?

The argument with respect to the inability of less developed countries to participate actively in WTO dispute settlement due to their lack of financial and technical capacity is generally well known. However, the eight interviewees for this research addressed this issue from various perspectives. While there was a consensus that LDCs were limited by their incapacity due to a lack of resources, the interviewees’ opinions differed on the extent to which this factor adversely affects such participation in the WTO dispute settlement mechanism.

As discussed earlier, the thorny issue of enforcing compliance with panel reports comprised a significant portion of the discourse. The interviewees raised the lack of capacity of the LDCs to effectively retaliate against stronger trading partners who had infringed on their rights under WTO rules. Such inability, which stemmed from insufficient trade volumes, negated any meaningful impact of LDC retaliation. Interviewee #5 said that, in practice, there is no de facto compliance with panel reports by major countries and that smaller developing countries lack the capability to exert pressure on these stronger countries. Interviewee #3 concurred with this point and called for a critical look at the legal scope for cross-compliance because “smaller countries cannot handle retaliation, which is painful; and litigation is expensive.” In his opinion, litigation and the retaliation that emanates from disputes only benefit major countries. Interviewee #5 echoed these same views.

The main capacity constraints that were raised repeatedly in all of the interviews conducted were financial and technical constraints. The high cost of litigation as well as the highly technical nature of WTO adjudication was frequently discussed. In particular, the small size of the African delegations was glaring, since all African trade diplomats interviewed were responsible for large portfolios in Geneva, of which WTO issues were only a part. The West African interviewees all identified these same constraints: the complicated nature of the dispute proceedings, often requiring foreign expertise, and the extremely high cost of such litigation. Interviewee #1 described the proceedings as being ‘too heavy’ for LDCs. By this, he meant that, “working on your position, (and) collecting data to prove your case can take weeks or months to gather. It is very difficult for a small delegation because they still have to participate in other WTO functions.”

According to Interviewee #4, the limited number of experts at the national level in addition to the costs (financial, time and human resources) of the procedures, which could be very high, limits African participation. “[It] might be too heavy a tool, too ‘costly’ for developing countries, particularly those from Africa; it’s certainly of a high complexity (sic).” He also cited the lack of communication and coordination between African governments and the private sector and the lack of institutional infrastructure as other limiting factors. Interviewee #3 stressed that while larger countries can hire consultants to engage in economic studies, the small size of African delegations in Geneva, although they may have demonstrated analytical capacity, cannot effectively reach their governments since the level of awareness and training of ministry officials in their home countries is often inadequate.

However, Interviewee #7 said he “wouldn’t put [LDC capacity constraints] as Number 1 because there are resources available—such as the WTO advisory center, NGOs, private firms—but African countries are not adequately utilizing these resources or taking advantage of help available.” Interviewee #8 also commented that the Advisory Center for WTO Law now addresses the issue of the lack of resources and expertise for these countries, offering a sliding-fee scale and pondered whether that resource is being effectively utilized by LDCs. Therefore, he encouraged African countries to enter disputes as third parties in order to gain valuable experience but acknowledged that the small sizes of delegations from poor countries greatly limits such participation. In addition, Interviewee #5 called for “better organization” on the part of LDCs, continued interest in learning about the DSU, and greater investment in the training of their people.

Part III: Analysis of the Findings

I now turn to an analysis of why LDCs do not participate in WTO adjudication by applying basic litigation theory as well as relevant political economic analysis to the findings of the case study in Part II.
Basic Rationale for Litigation

In this section, I identify aspects of domestic litigation theory and apply them to an international trade context. In general, basic litigation theory is comprised of three parts: the aggrieved party deciding whether or not to sue, a possible settlement between the parties, and, failing that, proceeding to trial. According to Steven Shavell, at an individual level, when a party believes that she has suffered a loss and makes the decision to institute an action against another party, the bringing of the suit necessitates incurring legal and filing fees. These costs exist in addition to the time and energy she is likely to expend on the process. However, an aggrieved party only has an incentive to sue if the cost of the suit is less than the expected benefits derived from the suit. Likewise, the rationale for instituting an action by a country, though perhaps tainted by economic and political factors at a much higher level since a country is a complex matrix of various interests, would equally be subject to a cost-benefit analysis.

In analyzing developing country abstention in WTO disputes, again, two clear themes—emerge from the body of literature on the subject. Accordingly, all four of the hypotheses outlined at the beginning of this study fall under either (or both) of these two categories. The data collected also confirmed the fact that the relative strength of countries, in political terms (which translates into economic implications), as well as the resources available to a country to commit to WTO dispute settlement proceedings, largely determine which countries are able to bring cases before the WTO Dispute Settlement Body.

First, I consider the ‘Power’ concept, which highlights the political and economic costs attached to a developing country or an LDC instigating a dispute against a developed country. A crucial factor related to this concept is the level of diversity (or concentration) that an exporting country enjoys with its trading partners. Bown argues that, with WTO anti-dumping measures for instance, the higher the value of a product imported into the U.S. market, the more likely the affected country is to initiate consultations against the United States to challenge the measure, because the affected country is sensitive to the harm being caused by the breach of trade rules.

While Guzman and Simmons agree with Bown’s theory, they contend that although such countries are, indeed, more likely to institute a complaint, they are also more likely to settle the dispute before it reaches the panel stage. In the course of researching factors that cause disputes to move from the negotiation stage to the panel stage, Guzman and Simmons found that one of the factors which affects a potential settlement of a dispute prior to litigation might be the relative economic or political power of the parties. They propose that in bilateral relationships, in particular, the measure of the relative economic power of the parties affects the negotiations significantly because countries with high dependence on access to a particular country’s markets would be more likely to make concessions in order to retain the current market access they enjoy. Similarly, Bown also notes that countries that are less diversified in their export markets are less likely to initiate disputes in the first place, again because of market access concerns based on heavy reliance on developed countries. These countries are,

Bown argues that, with WTO anti-dumping measures for instance, the higher the value of a product imported into the U.S. market, the more likely the affected country is to initiate consultations against the United States to challenge the measure, because the affected country is sensitive to the harm being caused by the breach of trade rules.
Therefore, not in a position to diffuse the negative impact of such illegal policies by channeling their exports to other markets.

These arguments are borne out by my findings because the West African cotton exporting countries with their low trade volumes and inability to retaliate against developed countries are more concerned with retaining their share of market access in the developed country markets. This lack of market diversity thus prevents the instigation of disputes by these countries. In addition, some scholars have found that the inability of a smaller economy to effectively retaliate against a stronger economy under existing WTO remedies has resulted in a sense of apathy among LDCs towards the DSU mechanism. This point appeared verbatim in my interview findings. This is a systemic issue that impacts all developing countries in varying degrees, but the smaller economies are obviously the most affected group.

However, if we assume that all WTO member countries will comply with the adopted panel reports, thus eliminating the retaliation problem, can smaller developing countries and LDCs actually participate in the system? According to Guzman and Simmons, the primary reason for the dearth of developing country participation in WTO dispute settlement is the lack of capacity. Here, by "capacity," the authors mean the inability of a small country to identify, investigate, and litigate an infringement of that country’s rights under WTO trade rules. The authors also contend that poorer countries will file fewer cases because of their financial and technical limitations. Thus, my research findings confirm that both the 'power' and 'capacity' issues affect LDC participation in WTO disputes to varying degrees.

Part IV: Conclusion

Much has been written about the poverty and underdevelopment in Africa in the context of the imbalance in international trade. The WTO system is currently being tested. The outcome of the ongoing Doha Development Agenda will demonstrate whether developing countries are serious about making much-needed changes to the multilateral system of trade. In addition to the expected findings, this study brought to light some candid perspectives on the issue of the non-participation in WTO adjudication by African developing countries. Interestingly, the data showed that the much-touted ‘power’ theory had a less than expected effect on West African governments’ decisions about whether or not to participate in disputes. Nevertheless, the inability to ensure compliance from developed countries through retaliation due to insignificant trade volumes and conditional GSP agreements is a systemic problem that may require an alternative approach on the part of smaller developing countries. I proposed the deployment of 'reputation' costs to castigate recalcitrant developed countries which refuse to effectively implement WTO panel and Appellate Body reports. Here, African countries, although powerless to retaliate in economic terms, can shift the burden to other effective forums, such as the international media, and by 'naming and shaming' violators of international trade rules.

Although West African countries do suffer from a critical lack of resources to actively participate in the system, the majority of the interviewees were candid enough to state that there are currently a limited number of capacity-building resources that are available to these countries but have largely remained underutilized. Thus, LDCs need to be better organized and prioritize human resource development in this area.

This exploratory study has highlighted some interesting results; however, future research is necessary in this area. LDCs need to participate in, and win, disputes. Winning WTO disputes will improve the country's profile and "raise the bar" at the negotiation table. Brazil has become the leading developing country in international trade adjudication, having successfully challenged both the United States and the European Communities single-handedly. As a result, these disputes have significantly raised the profile of Brazil within the international community. Perhaps most importantly, African countries that share similar trade interests should maximize synergy by pooling resources and coordinating efforts to efficiently monitor trade practices by other countries. For instance, the Cotton 4 and other WCA countries, particularly in the Franc Zone, could form a strong coalition to protect their specific trade interests with respect to cotton, since together they account for 10% of world exports. If well implemented, such policies might serve as catalysts to enable African countries to achieve the meaningful concessions through litigation that have eluded them for so long at the WTO negotiating table.

Perhaps most importantly, African countries that share similar trade interests should maximize synergy by pooling resources and coordinating efforts to efficiently monitor trade practices by other countries.
The punishment for forgetting

An open plea to Mr. ARV maker

By Dithapelo Medupe

Have you ever forgotten the birthday of a dearly loved one?
Say your grandmother, parent, sibling or child
What was the punishment for such an oversight?
Silent treatment
An earful to last you until their next birthday
Never anything drastic like the ending of the relationship

In Africa forgetting is punished more severely
My cousin lying on his back
His head wrapped in a black cloth
His eyes closed
Never to be opened again
Women dressed in black worn out from nights of violent silent sobs filing past his thirty year old body
A slow procession of cars to his final resting place
My twenty something old male relatives skillfully lifting sand laden shovels to fill up his grave
At their age they have had a lot of practice
A lot of people forget

Mr. ARV maker how could you forget that people forget
Your ARV’s have resuscitated most of Africa
I have seen emaciated men and women with bulging eyes that usually signal certain death from HIV rise and walk
But like a jealous lover your ARV’s want a hundred percent commitment
No room for forgetting
My cousin forgot
Feeling suicidal he drank himself into oblivion a couple of times so he could forget to take the pills
That was enough
He developed resistance
The nurses told him to wait for death at home

I hope you are working night and day Mr.ARV maker
To make your pills more forgiving
I hope you have not hung up your white lab coat yet
The pills you have now punish Africa too severely
Self-manslaughter and suicide should not be as easy as one or two forgotten pills
Forgetting is as human as breathing is
Your pills should not punish Africans in the perils of AIDS for being human.

Exposition

My poem is not a protest against anti-retroviral drugs; it is aimed at asking those who have the power to improve the drugs to improve them. In Botswana ARV’s are free for all but the problem is that once you have started the regimen you have to be totally committed or you will develop resistance and die. A summer ago I attended my cousin’s funeral who had forgotten to take a few pills.

I thought it was too harsh a punishment for forgetting and I usually express my thoughts through poetry hence I wrote this poem. I understand that it might be too dark or too radical for your publication, if that is the case please feel free to reject it. The important thing for me is that I wrote it and in the process of writing it, I confronted the death of my cousin and began my healing process.
Living And Dying In Rwanda

By Max Rettig

Accidents happen in Rwanda like they do anywhere else. He wasn’t the first to fall off his bike and he won’t be the last. Kids in America die crossing the road. They get sick and can’t be saved. They even fall off their bikes. All cause anguish in their own right. But this death strikes me differently. Because he is Rwandan? Because his family is poor? Because his death was preceded by some 500,000 un-accidental others only 13 years ago?

I am in Rwanda studying genocide and its aftermath, but I inhabit two worlds at once. In town, in the market, and in a friend’s home, I see a beautiful and vibrant, if muted, country. People smile, drink beer, make jokes, and hold hands. Just over a decade after the genocide, Rwanda’s pockmarks have been patched up and painted over. In Rwanda’s cities, houses spring up behind big, strong gates. Crews shovel dirt and mix concrete for the new government building in town. Kids shuttle off every morning in bright blue pants and skirts to bright-blue-roofed schools. Schools and shops no longer bear the scars of bullets, and the few crumbling buildings could pass for old and neglected—not pillaged and burned.

But at night, when I return home, passages and photographs in books vivify an alternate world that is past but still fresh. This world, of course, lives on, day-in and day-out, in my imagination and in the memories of all Rwandans, I’m sure. That school over there beyond the hill, it was a massacre site. That boy across the street in a dirty and ripped shirt, his mother was raped before a spear pierced her back. That man laughing over a Primus with friends in the cabaret, he macheted the family buried somewhere underfoot. More than a decade later, the physical reminders of these lives and this destruction have disappeared from view.

I am in Rwanda to observe Rwanda’s local genocide trials and to understand whether, and how, they contribute to reconciliation. These semi-traditional trials are called gacaca, which means “justice on the small grass” in Kinyarwanda. One day each week at gacaca, survivors, perpetrators, and bystanders revisit 1994 Rwanda, reliving the horror to do justice for genocide. The community huddles under the tin roof of the open-air market to avoid the blazing sun, or the drenching rains, depending on the season. There, they listen to widows tell how their families were hacked and burned before their eyes and to prisoners confess—or deny—everything. The silences are perhaps even more powerful. Wives keep quiet about where their husbands were that day in April and men say nothing about how their neighbors one day disappeared. The judges (called Inyangamugayo—those who detest dishonesty) struggle to sort truth from fiction.

But even as stories of genocide unfold a few feet in front of me, it is hard to imagine death by the hundreds of thousands. I can’t fathom the violence.

Then a body appears on the side of the road. Dead, age 12, bike accident. The body lies wrapped around a tree-trunk half-way down a steep hill, bleeding from the arms, from the side of the face, and from the skull. Next to him is his friend, still conscious but injured and bloody. There is only one bike; the second boy must have been riding on one of the makeshift backseats that are so common here.

I encounter this scene driving home from a gacaca in a town overlooking a vast tea plantation—the hillsides steeped in green. A police officer flags me down because there are
Music

MTV (Music Television) launched its African channel in 2006. MTV Base Africa has continued to make its mark across the continent, partnering with television stations to broadcast various MTV programs and promote African musicians. Through their efforts, musicians like Tic Tac of Ghana and Hip Hop Pantsula of South Africa have been able to get the services of world-class American video directors to make music videos to accompany their latest albums.

MTV has also awarded the best African musician award three years running as a category at the Europe Music Awards. Nigeria’s 2Face Idibia was the inaugural winner in 2005, followed by South African Afro-pop group Freshlyground. D’Banj, another artiste from Nigeria, won a closely contested race for the 2007 award, beating out Jose Chameleone (Uganda), Jua Cali (Kenya), Hip Hop Pantsula (South Africa) and Samini (Ghana).

After gaining worldwide fame for his debut hit, ‘African Queen’, which was also on the soundtrack for Hollywood’s Phat Girlz, Innocent Ujah Idibia released his sophomore album, ‘Grass to Grace’, in late 2006. It was going to be difficult to outdo ‘Face to Face’, his first album, but even though it did not have a surefire timeless single like African Queen, it had enough songs to garner him countless awards. Prominent among them was the best African Musician

Continued on Page 19
A tourist is bedazzled by a kaleidoscopic display of carefully arranged rugs. Morocco, like many other Arab nations, are famed for their rugs, the handiwork of highly-skilled craftsmen. The skills needed to create such masterpieces have been handed down over the centuries.

Typical rural Moroccan houses set against a backdrop of the majestic Atlas mountains. The flat roofs are employed for various uses, not least relaxation.

LEFT: A souk at night, lit up by the lights of the many vendors that line its streets. Souks, or markets, are the central hubs in which the bulk of entertainment and commercial activities take place.

Offerings here include coffee shops, rug and clothing stores and shops catering to tourists’ souvenir needs.

A visit to an Arab country is never complete without total immersion in a souk and its offerings.

Iberia Elster took these and many other beautiful photographs on a trip she took to Morocco in mid-2007.

If you want to take a look at the other photographs or talk to her about Morocco, you can reach her by email at ielster@stanford.edu
The Atlantic and Indian Oceans mix at the southernmost tip of the continent. The scenery is made even more breathtaking by the backdrop of mountains that plunge directly into the oceans. The natural beauty of the Cape makes it one of the most visited tourist sites in South Africa. A definite must-see for any visitor of this nation.

A colonial-era cottage nestled in greenery a few kilometers from the Cape of Good Hope. This cottage is one of a series of cottages that provided observation points for the defense of the Cape Colony during the early days of colonialism in Southern Africa.

The Cape of Good Hope in all its majesty. This is the most southernmost point of the African continent.

Eugene Adogla took these and many other beautiful photographs of the Cape of Good Hope on a trip he took to South Africa in December 2007. If you want to take a look at the other photographs or talk to him about his South African experience, you can reach him by email at eadogla@stanford.edu.
award at the 2007 Music of Black Origin Awards in the United Kingdom. ‘Grass to Grace’ embraces many styles from reggae to pop. “If love is a crime” is the second coming of African Queen, “True love” proves Idibia’s talent at writing love songs while “My love” is a danceable feel-good track that features Ghana’s heavyweight hiplife group, VIP. “Ebe like say” is a track tailor-made for elections and politics, and it appropriately came out before Nigeria’s 2007 elections. “For Instance” is another song that decries society’s ills and takes shots at politicians for failing their people. Other songs include “One love”, “No shaking”, “I dey feel like”, “See me so”, and “Ocho”.

In the wake of his success, Tufa ce has set up a Non Governmental Organization (NGO), the Innocent Idibia Foundation. He created the NGO to help less privileged people access quality health care, irrespective of their ethnic or religious background in Nigeria.

2007 would be remembered for an illustrious musician lost to Africa forever. Lucky Dube, aka Africa’s Bob Marley, was a victim of a violent crime in South Africa on October 18, 2007. Lucky Dube had millions of fans across the breadth of Africa. He was the most successful African reggae artiste, with his records becoming regular features in public places, car stereos and at various events. He will be sorely missed.

**Literature**

Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie was named winner of the Orange Broadband Prize for Fiction. She beat five other contenders for the £30,000, women-only award, including Kiran Desai, shortlisted for her Booker Prize winner ‘The Inheritance of Loss’. Adichie’s novel, ‘Half of a Yellow Sun’, is her second work and set during the Biafran War of the 1960s. Ngozi’s first novel, ‘Purple Hibiscus’, was also shortlisted for the award - formerly known as the Orange Prize for Fiction - in 2004. ‘Half of a Yellow Sun’ tells the story of people caught up in the unfolding political turmoil in West Africa, whose loyalties are acutely tested when troops advance on the dusty university town they inhabit. The novel examines ethnic allegiances, moral responsibility, class and race. Ngozi was born in 1977 and hails from Aba State, Nigeria. She was educated in the university town of Nsukka. She earned a Masters degree in creative writing from Johns Hopkins University. She is presently a Hodder Fellow at Princeton University, teaching introductory fiction.

**Film**

The 2nd edition of the African Movie Awards came off on March 13th, in Nigeria. The ceremony was dominated by Nollywood movies even though a lot of effort was done to market it all over Africa. Nigeria’s ‘Sitanda’ was the big winner, picking up the awards for the Best Picture, Best Director, Best Nigerian film and Original Screen Play. ‘Amazing Grace’ (Nigeria) picked up the honor for Best Cinematography, while ‘Irapa da’ was awarded the Best Indigenous film. ‘Apesin’ (Nigeria) won the accolade for Achievement in Costume. South Africa’s ‘Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon’ won the award for Best Documentary feature. Nigeria’s ‘Snake Girl’ scooped the award for Best Visual Effects while Burkina Faso’s ‘Mohili’ won in the Best Editing category. The Best Original soundtrack award went to ‘Iwalewa’.

‘Abeni’ also won the award for Best Sound. ‘Azima’ was awarded for Achievement in Make-up. Samuel Olaseinde won the award for Best Performance by a child for his virtuoso performance in ‘Abeni’. The Best Upcoming Artist was awarded to Ali Nuhu for his role in ‘Sitanda’. Ghana’s Jackie Agyeman picked up the award for ‘Best Actress in a Supporting Role for her part in ‘Beyonce (The President’s Daughter)’. Her screenmate, Nadia Buari, lost out to Chioma Chukwuwa (‘Sins of the Flesh’) for the Best Actress in a Lead Role. Bruno Iwuoha (‘Sins of the Flesh’) won the award for Best Actor in a Supporting Role while Olu Jacobs was awarded for Best Actor in a Lead Role for his performance in ‘Dancing Heart’.

**Photo Credits:**
- Lucky Dube: http://www.reggaemovement.com/Reviews/DSC09211.jpg
- Half of a Yellow Sun: http://images.amazon.com/images/P/1400044162.01.LZZZZZZZ.jpg
- Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon: http://www.cinemathequeontario.ca/images/filmimages/con_sunday_lARGE.jpg
- Sitanda: http://www.naijrules.com/revpost/data/5/SITANDA.jpg

**Web Resources:**
- [Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie](http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/
- [Kiran Desai](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kiran_desai)
- [Half of a Yellow Sun](http://www.cinemathequeontario.ca/images/filmimages/con_sunday_lARGE.jpg)
- [BBC News](http://www.bbc.co.uk)
- [Orange Prize for Fiction](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange_Prize_for_Fiction)
- [Half of a Yellow Sun](http://www.bbc.co.uk)
- [South Africa’s ‘Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon](http://www.cinemathequeontario.ca/images/filmimages/con_sunday_lARGE.jpg)
- [Nigeria’s ‘Snake Girl](http://www.naijrules.com/revpost/data/5/SITANDA.jpg)
- [Ghana’s Jackie Agyeman](http://newsimg.bbc.co.uk/
- [Bruno Iwuoha (‘Sins of the Flesh’)](http://www.bbc.co.uk)
- [Chioma Chukwuwa (‘Sins of the Flesh’)](http://www.bbc.co.uk)
- [Olu Jacobs](http://www.bbc.co.uk)
Later, when I tell my Rwandan friend, Francine, about the dead body, she says, coolly, “It was his time to go to God.” Then she laughs quietly, nervously.

When we arrive about twenty minutes later, the first body is still leaking blood, which pools in the plastic creases of my flatbed. The second boy is conscious, but his legs are badly fractured and he screams in pain. Either the bends and breaks of the road, or the site and smell of his friend’s body next to him, must have made the conscious one sick: when we reach the hospital, blood and vomit line the plastic creases of my truck’s flatbed.

If hope had been slim for the first boy when I pulled off the road, the last sliver vanishes as we enter the hospital compound. No doctors in white coats rush to hook the boy up to a machine to make him live again. I observe no commotion; I hear no urgent instructions. The first boy’s fate has been accepted without protest, it seems. When the hospital attendants finally arrive, they place the second boy on a stretcher and wheel him unceremoniously to some inner room. He winces as the stretcher bounces along the uneven pathway. The attendants do not react.

Outside the hospital morgue, children, almost all in casts of some sort, and adults, there to visit, peer at the body, their expressions flat. My expression is flat too, mimicking theirs. But I expect to see someone cry for the boy who had lived only a fraction of his life, for the mother who had lost her son, or for the other boy who had lost his best friend and who will live to feel the guilt of surviving—a familiar feeling here. For me, and maybe for the Rwandans now peering at it, the body recalls the memory of so many others.

Of course, the body isn’t a genocide victim. It’s just a boy who fell off his bike in a country where the roads twist and turn around steep hills—fertile and beautiful, but dangerous too. He was going too fast because the brakes on his fourth- or fifth-hand bike were poor, and no helmet could cushion his fall: he couldn’t afford one. His death was an accident, terrible luck, and he died because his head, instead of his leg or his arm, smashed into a tree on the way down the hill. But in my imagination, the body in the back of my truck is from another era, an era when corpses were the norm and friends with broken legs the miracle.

Later, when I tell my Rwandan friend, Francine, about the dead body, she says, coolly, “It was his time to go to God.” Then she laughs quietly, nervously.

An American might have said the same thing. After all, we have to believe in some reason for the death of a 12-year old boy. But in Francine’s voice, I hear not a trace of shock or compassion, that hurting-to-the-core sadness I expect. Her parents were murdered and buried not far from where the boys fell off their bike, though she doesn’t know exactly where. As we sit together in my house, the syncopated rhythms blaring from the night guard’s radio and the faint outline of a guava tree visible through the window, I wonder about her reaction. Maybe Rwandans have already seen so many premature, brutal, and senseless deaths that one more is just one more. Maybe she can’t feel the boy’s death because it would make her feel too many others.
Reflections

On A Haas African Service Fellowship

By Maya Wolpert

On February 11, 1990, I watched my dad cry for the first time in my life. As I sat with him on our couch, watching the television broadcast of Nelson Mandela’s release from his 27-year incarceration on South Africa’s Robben Island, I didn’t understand the weight or importance of the event I was witnessing, nor did I know the impact it would have on my life seventeen years later. On July 9, 2007, I watched my father cry for the second time in my life, as he, my mom and brother walked away from the small house I would live in, alone, for the next nine weeks in rural South Africa.

For me, South Africa has always been a distant and hazy part of my identity, a country I knew more about from history class than from the familial perspective, as my dad had left when he was 17, too young to feel a very strong connection to his birthplace. This year, though, after nineteen years of failed attempts at family trips to the beautiful country, I decided to take matters into my own hands. I applied for Stanford’s African Service Fellowship, and after months of late-night international phone calls, a grueling interview process, and one very serious argument with my parents over the relative safety of living alone in one of the world’s crime capitals, I finally received the phone call telling me that I had been granted the funding and that I would be spending my summer in South Africa doing AIDS relief and research.

Now, after an incredible three-week family vacation that took me and my family all over the country, it was time to start my work. It is difficult to describe that first day and the paralyzing fear and loneliness that gripped me as my family drove away, but once I had talked myself out of booking an immediate flight home, my experience quickly changed to being the most rewarding, satisfying, and transforming of my life.

From July 9th until September 1st, I lived and worked in Acornhoek, a small, rural town in Mpumalanga Province, very close to the Kruger National Park in South Africa. The greater Bushbuckridge area, of which Acornhoek is but a tiny part, was created as an apartheid homeland, an area sectioned off for black people who were, of course, prevented from living in designated white areas under the apartheid system. Most of the land distributed to blacks in this way was without resources, infertile, and heavily overpopulated. As a result, Bushbuckridge is now home to some 500,000 people, 85% of whom live below the poverty level. The local HIV infection rate is almost twice the already shocking national average, and access to basic services is poor: more than half of the homes do not have piped water within a 5-mile radius, and few have constant and reliable access to electricity. Forty percent of adults have had no education, less than 5% have completed secondary schooling, and almost none of the schools have electricity or water.

What you can’t know looking at these statistics, however, is what life is actually like in Acornhoek. The unemployment figures with which I familiarized myself before my trip could not prepare me for the overwhelming generosity I encountered when my neighbor, himself unemployed, brewed for me some of his “famous ginger tea” to cure my cold. Knowing the local prevalence rates of HIV and TB and malaria did nothing for me as I sat on the floor during an AIDS support group meeting, holding hands with the patients on either side of me, trying desperately to learn the words of their prayers. And a familiarity with the area’s history did not equip me with a way to thank the elderly woman who, after spending the day with me discussing her life and the hardships she’d faced as a result of being poor, brought in vegetables from...

Maya Wolpert is currently a sophomore majoring in Human Biology, concentrating in biomedical ethics, and minorin in Spanish. She spent the summer doing AIDS relief and research in South Africa on a Haas African Service Fellowship, and works part-time as a research and administrative assistant at the Stanford Center for Biomedical Ethics. In her free time, she loves being with her friends, throwing parties, cooking, and traveling.
Celebrities spend millions of dollars on “Save Africa” campaigns that, while generous, perhaps do more for their own publicity than for the countries whose governments, cultures, and languages all seem to blur under one umbrella heading: Africa. But spending time in a community supposedly in need of “saving,” I found myself setting aside the pity and worry I had cultivated at home, and instead enjoying the same hope and love of life I found in the faces of the people I encountered. Once I stopped trying to find a way to improve the lives of everyone in Acornhoek, I realized that perhaps what the community needed wasn’t an outsider seeking to better their quality of life, but rather an outsider who would share with them stories from her life and who would, in turn, hear their stories and bring them home. Time and again I heard my colleagues and friends saying, “When you go home, just make sure people know that we’re not the pitiful and penniless creatures they think we are. We may not have much, but it doesn’t mean we have nothing.”

Certainly, giving of one’s time, energy, and money to people who have less is a noble endeavor. And I think that most people who contribute to such causes do so out of compassion and sincere generosity. But next time the plate is passed and you are called upon to donate to the “poor, starving people of Africa,” I would urge you to take a moment and consider that the beneficiaries are, in fact, real people, complete with histories and families and stories all their own. Know that they, too, experience life’s greatest joys and its most bitter sorrows. And then, armed with the knowledge of this humanity and a real concern for all people, I hope you’ll find a way to meaningfully participate in the collective goal of improving the world.

Celebrities spend millions of dollars on “Save Africa” campaigns that, while generous, perhaps do more for their own publicity than for the countries whose governments, cultures, and languages all seem to blur under one umbrella heading: Africa.
Foreign or African Languages as Media of Instruction?

A Case for Kiswahili in East Africa

By Sangai Mohochi

Introduction

Language has many functions in our lives, including serving as an identification marker. Because of its centrality to our lives, language matters have always been quite emotive. That, perhaps, explains why language decisions are known to result in upheavals in places like India, Norway, and South Africa. Probably it is in the realm of medium of instruction that decisions on language have not been easy and are rarely unanimous. This is understandable because there can hardly be any education without language. In this article, we shall briefly revisit the medium of instruction debate, take a look at the situation in the East African states, and finally present an argument for the choice of Swahili as medium of instruction.

The Medium of Instruction Debate

Long before the African continent came into contact with outside influence, Africans had their different forms of education. They used to pass on their traditional values and practices from one generation to another. That education, in whatever form, needed language to transmit content. Therefore, African languages were in use as media of education long before modern formal education. Then missionaries came along, introduced formal education and changed the content but retained the use of the languages, at least initially. Bamgbose (1976) credits them by saying that "they established the tradition of beginning education and early literacy in the mother tongue, a tradition which was to persist in the educational policy of many African countries". However, during the colonial period, different administrations pursued separate policies. While in the British and Belgian colonies the local languages were largely retained, in areas under the French and Portuguese, the use of mother tongues in education was prohibited. Still, even in the British colonies, starting with the Phelps-Stoke Commission in 1922 to date, there have been numerous policy changes on the issue of mother tongue education.

A United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Committee of Experts, convened in 1951 to look into the language of education issue, in its report of 1953 stated that the language best suited is one which the schoolchildren can use effectively. The report said:

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (quoted in Fishman, 1968: 281).

This view has greatly influenced debates and decisions on medium of education in many parts of the world. The UNESCO report further recommends that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in the education system as possible, then a second language be introduced. According to Bamgbose (1976), the opinion expressed by the Committee of Experts has been restated by other experts, commissions, and national bodies.
For a long time, Swahili has been viewed with a lot of suspicion in Uganda. At the start, missionaries resented it since it was seen as a perpetuation of Islamic doctrines due to its coastal origin and association with Islam.

Obanya (1999: 82) identifies eight reasons repeatedly cited which he calls, and rightly so, fallacies. They include: the multiplicity of languages alluded to earlier; multi-ethnic populations in urban areas; the level of technical development of African languages; the official status of indigenous languages in most African countries; the hostility of Africans to the study of their own languages; lack of personnel and of appropriate materials; the high cost of educating in indigenous languages; and the long term ill-effects (on the learner) of education in the mother tongue. He then proceeds to give counter arguments in favour of African languages. These are: the availability, in most cases, of lingua francas; the presence of dominant languages in urban centres; languages grow and develop according to demands of changing times; they are silently gaining ground, unofficially in official circles; the real issue is lack of motivation to learn the languages in a school situation because in real life people actually take much pride in knowing them well; there might be shortages of books but other materials are readily available as are personnel; the final benefits outweigh the costs; and research has shown that there is no negative effect associated with beginning school in the mother tongue.

Finally, Obanya (1999) stresses that the arguments brought forth so far are neither linguistic nor pedagogic, but appear to be related to a fear of the unknown. Mother tongue education is a long debate that cannot be adequately discussed in such a short article (for a more detailed account, see Fishman, 1968; Bamgbose, 1976; Fasold, 1992; Chimera 1998; Tumbo-Masabo & Chiduo, 1999; Owino, 2002).

The Situation in East Africa.

In East Africa, like other former British-controlled areas, English has dominated most official functions, including education. With Tanzania, which uses Swahili in primary education being the only exception, English is taught as a compulsory subject and used as medium of instruction from primary 3 to the university. The role of other languages is minimal, if at all, since in certain regions it is straight to English. Starting with Uganda, we will now briefly consider the situation in individual countries.

Uganda

The language question in Uganda is more complex than it is in neighbouring Kenya and Tanzania. English is the language of education, serving as medium of instruction save for the early years of education. For a long time, Swahili has been viewed with a lot of suspicion in Uganda. At the start, missionaries resented it since it was seen as a perpetuation of Islamic doctrines due to its coastal origin and association with Islam. They favoured Luganda. This became the popular position among many people. It has also been associated with the army, the police, and consequently, their brutal tendencies. Overall, its advancement in Uganda has had two main challengers: Luganda and English. Although several political leaders (especially Idi Amin and Milton Obote) made attempts to give it a bigger role generally, it is the current government that has shown more openness to the use of Swahili and other languages alongside English in education.

The National Education Commission of the 1980s made important recommendations which were supported in the White Paper on Education of 1992. Among others it says "In all primary schools English and Swahili to be compulsory subjects, with gradually increasing emphasis on Swahili." It further points out the need to strengthen its teaching in secondary education as a prelude to its use in teacher training. (McGregor 2000: 7). On the other hand, there are those who are opposed to the governments warming up to Swahili (Nsibambi: 2000). It remains to be seen what direction will be followed. It is encouraging, however, to note that its teaching in primary schools has started in many places. The government has recently stated that this will be extended to all public schools. Also promising is the pledge by Kenya and Tanzania to assist with teachers and other experts if requested.
Kenya

In Kenya, Swahili’s place in education today is a result of a long journey of changing fortunes. Although missionaries had preferred the use of mother tongues, Swahili had replaced those languages as language of instruction in upper levels of education as early as in 1909 (Chimera 1998: 52). Chimera (op. cit.) proceeds to give a good historical development of the place of Swahili in education by giving a summary of all the major commissions’ recommendations on Swahili. The 1949 Beecher Commission recommended the use of vernaculars in the first four years after which English was to take over. Swahili was ignored. The Binns Report wanted Swahili eliminated completely save for places where it was the mother tongue since it was an obstacle to the teaching of English and other vernaculars. The Prator/Hutasoit Commission in the late 1950s ushered in the New Primary Approach, or the English Medium Approach in which English became the only language of instruction in all grades. The Kenya Education Commission, 1964, the first after independence endorsed it, adding only that Swahili would be a necessary subject. It was followed by the Gachathi Commission of 1970 which extended its status of necessary subject to high school. The Mackay Commission, 1981 made it a compulsory examinable subject in primary and high school.

Swahili is also taught in the universities and other colleges for students who choose to study it. It is the language of instruction in the first three grades of primary education in the Coast province, areas around it, and in urban areas. Kenya’s commitment to giving Swahili an important role in education seems clear. For instance, the yet to be implemented Presidential Education Commission Report (the Davy Koech Report), despite proposing a reduction of subject numbers in the curriculum, wants Swahili maintained. In higher education, the situation is brighter than Tanzania’s. It is offered in six out of the seven public universities and student numbers at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels in all of them is usually bigger than the case in the University of Dar es Salaam. Sadly though, on the language of instruction front, there is very little effort presently.

Tanzania

Tanzania has been by far the most successful country in the promotion of Swahili. In the pre-independence and early independence years Swahili was used as medium of education in early primary school after which English took over. In 1967 a decision was made to use Swahili in all primary education and in 1970 it became medium in the primary school teacher training colleges. According to the plan, it was to start serving the same role in higher education in phases starting in 1971. Consequently, the National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA), the Institute of Curriculum Development and other relevant agencies embarked on a major language development programme in readiness (BAKITA, 1999). That did not happen. In 1982, a Presidential Education Commission (the Makweta Commission) recommended that the use of Swahili begin in secondary education in 1985 and in higher institutions including universities in 1992. Before that was to be, in 1984, the government issued a statement emphasising the need to strengthen English as medium of instruction in higher education. A government policy statement in 1995 reiterated the same. Then in 1997 the government under a new leader, very vaguely, mentioned its commitment to preparing to use Swahili in higher education.

BAKITA (1999: 5) cites many research projects that have been carried out in Tanzania on language of education. These results of all cited projects emphasized the need for the use of Swahili, giving very plausible reasons. It was found, for instance, that in actual fact, Swahili is used in many secondary schools because students and teachers alike have problems with English. 50% of students in secondary schools in Tanzania understand very little, if any of what they are taught using English. In practice, 75% of the teaching in form one is done in Swahili. Mulokozi (2000: 2) notes that a good number of students who know the content of various subjects taught eventually fail in their final examinations since they are unable to answer the questions well in English.

However, the government has continued to drag its feet on this issue. This is despite the work that has been done to prepare the language for the role. According to Kiputiputi (1999), BAKITA alone had come up with six thousand terminologies for use in science and mathematics education. Scholars at the Institute of Kiswahili Research (TUKI) based at the University of Dar es Salaam and other language experts have prepared numerous manuscripts in Swahili and all that remains is governmental commitment and funds. The excuse that African languages are not fully developed for the purpose does not hold any more with regard to

In Kenya, Swahili’s place in education today is a result of a long journey of changing fortunes.
Swahili. Indeed lack of political will is the one most important factor that has delayed the introduction of Swahili as medium of instruction in higher education in Tanzania. Another impediment of note has been small numbers of people with dissenting views.

A Case for Swahili

From the foregoing, one may ask, why Swahili? It is not even a mother tongue to a large majority of East Africans. Indeed it is not but we do not think English, French and other foreign languages are the answer. In discussing the question of language education and medium of instruction specifically, we need to take into account, as advised by Brann (1979: 485), "the personal development of the individual pupil or language group and the needs of present society in its national and international aspirations. From the point of view of individual development, educationists have been unanimous in their opinion...that is, best individual development requires that the individual be taught in his mother tongue...." But still what language qualifies to be ones mother tongue? According to UNESCO's report of 1953, the mother tongue is defined as:

The language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication...a mother tongue need not be the language which his parents use; nor need it be the language he first learns to speak, since special circumstances may cause him to abandon this language more or less completely at an early age (Fasold, 1992: 281).

In most urban centres in east Africa, due to migrations occasioned by employment and the search for a "better" life, residences are composed of people from different ethnic communities who speak different languages. Of necessity the language used for communication and in early education is Swahili especially in Kenya and Tanzania. Children born and brought up there speak it initially, then learn English and possibly the language of their parents much later, if at all. In that case then, Swahili becomes their mother tongue. Besides, even in rural areas it is so widespread and commonly used that Chimera (1998) calls it a second first language for most Kenyans and Tanzanians. These positions do not seem to be clear to most people in policy making bodies. The result of East Africa's failure to give serious consideration to the wider use of African languages in education has been and will continue to be linguistic imperialism and intellectual colonialism. This, of course, at the expense of the much preferred linguistic self determination. The question that needs to be answered is whether, more than 40 years after independence, that should continue to be the case.

East Africans need not be stuck in the kind of linguistic colonialism mentioned above. Neither do they need to worry about multiple vernaculars. Instead they should strive to further develop them. In Swahili the region has a weapon that can enable it to attain linguistic self determination and ensure that it guards against intellectual colonialism. Bamgbose (1976: 15) asserts that "In the residual cases, therefore, although the use of a language other than the child’s mother tongue is certainly not the ideal, the use of another language which he already speaks as a second language is to be preferred to that of a language completely foreign to his community." While taking note of the numerous factors militating against the use of mother tongues as media of instruction in all communities presently, and believing in the need to use African languages in education as much as possible, East Africans settle for a mid-point by fronting Swahili, an African language in place of English. They, however, support the strengthening of the use of other local languages in lower primary, and effective teaching of English to serve as a language of international communication.

Conclusion

This article has dealt with the language of instruction debate within the east African context. In Uganda, the main concern is the role that Swahili should play generally and in education specifically. There is plenty to be done here. While Kenya has managed to give Swahili a reasonable role as compulsory and examinable language up to secondary education, no attempts have been made to extend its use as language of instruction beyond lower primary. Tanzania has used it in primary education and the current debate is on extending its use to secondary and higher education. There is hope for Swahili mainly due to its widespread use rather than an understanding of the need for the use of local languages for education that will empower the learners and prepare them to serve their nations. An education that is relevant to the unique needs of the East African and the global world at the same time. Such an education cannot be achieved through the use of foreign languages.
A Medical Student’s Reflections

On the HIV Epidemic in Northern Tanzania

By Lena Winestone

"That child’s mother died during childbirth – there was too much blood and she had no way of getting to a hospital," one of the caregivers at the Cradle of Love Baby Home recounted as she introduced us to the orphans she had handed us moments before, practically as we walked in the door. We walked into an unfamiliar scene, unattended infants and toddlers scattered across the floor in a single small room. When asked if many of the children there were infected with HIV, the caregiver proceeded to point to 13 of the 23 babies in the room, including the one that I was holding.

Suddenly, as I gazed at this innocent child that had lightened my day only moments before, the room seemed darker, as if the sun had just gone behind a cloud, and oppressively hot; the air felt stifling. Although I was aware that more than 15 million children had been orphaned by HIV/AIDS, this was the first time I had held an HIV-positive child in my arms. I heard one of my classmates begin to weep. I don't think any of us fully comprehended that we would be entering a place filled with so much sorrow when we had bumped into a staff member outside on the dirt road off a main highway in Northern Tanzania. We learned that the orphanage only houses children under the age of two. Unlike in America, I was surprised to find that orphans in Tanzania are more likely to be adopted after the age of two because they are more independent and resilient and thus more likely to survive with little attention or resources.

Some of my colleagues went back to Cradle of Love the following day and the day after, but it was a long time before I finally decided to return to Cradle of Love. Some people dealt with the tragic nature inherent in an AIDS orphanage by throwing their efforts into helping in every way they could. I, on the other hand, avoided being confronted with the heartbreak of sick and abandoned children until I had mentally and emotionally come to terms with the reality of their situation. Eventually I began to appreciate that Cradle of Love was a not a place of sadness any more than a hospital was – it was a place of healing. That is not to say that all the infants there recover, many die, but they are not alone like so many orphans. They have people who care for them. In fact, they live under better conditions than many children whose parents are still alive, getting regular meals and access to medical treatment.

Upon my return to the orphanage several weeks later, someone immediately handed me a bowl filled with uji (porridge) and sent me to work. I was amazed at the speed with which these babies eat. Before I was even able to fill the next spoonful, their mouths were open and ready for the next bite. It was as if they didn’t eat fast enough, they wouldn’t get fed enough.

After I finished with feeding, I began to play. I told one of the babies to ‘nipe tano,’ or give me five. He got really animated and began vigorously whacking both my hands. After dinner, one of the workers took him to change him into his pajamas. She brought him back out and said that he had been asking for me. She told me that his name was Cory. We played for the next hour and he seemed to be a typical, happy child. He was very good at mimicking, so we talked about all sorts of things, with me saying phrases and him repeating them back.

I later discovered his story. Cory tested positive for HIV when he was only a week old. When Cory arrived at Cradle of Love, he had pustules all over his body, caused by a virulent bacterial infection. He was put on an antibiotic, which soon cleared up the sores, but shortly thereafter,
he developed a fungal infection. Look at Cory now, it wasn’t apparent that he had gone through any of this intensive therapy several months ago. Cory is among the extremely lucky 6% of HIV-positive children in sub-Saharan Africa who receives medical attention, and among an even slimmer percent to recover so dramatically.

In Tanzania, when a baby ‘tests positive for HIV,’ it means that antibodies against HIV have been detected in the baby’s bloodstream. However, these antibodies could reflect a variety of situations: for example, they could be the result of passive transfer of antibodies from mother to child through the placenta, rather than the result of HIV itself inducing the production of antibodies in the child’s bloodstream. Moreover, neonates acquire antibodies in two ways: one, antibodies are transmitted from the pregnant mother in the same way that nutrients and oxygen reach the fetus, or two, antibodies are formed by the baby’s immune system in an attempt to protect the child from the virus. Therefore, currently available serologic testing equipment in Tanzania cannot definitively determine infants’ HIV status before 18 months at which time maternal antibodies dissipate. I am certain that the absence of the more accurate diagnostic test is mostly due to a lack of monetary resources, but I wonder if it also reveals something about the underlying values that determine the allocation of resources. With such a high infant mortality rate, knowing the true HIV status of infant may be of less practical value.

In contrast, the standard of care in the United States is to immediately confirm a positive antibody test in a newborn using PCR to detect viral DNA. According to Dr. Naftal Ole King’ori, the Arusha Regional Medical Officer, an international NGO is in the process of setting up a modern molecular biology laboratory in Usa River, Tanzania, which would be capable of measuring viral load. It will serve the entire Arusha region with a population of almost 1.3 million and will be the first center of its kind in Tanzania serving the general public.

By chance, I had the privilege of visiting the dispensary where this laboratory will be setup. A dispensary is somewhat similar to a walk-in outpatient clinic where medications are also supplied. I observed one of the doctors there as he conducted his interviews in Kiswahili. We also talked at length about what the most common illnesses were; he had a handwritten chart on the wall of the disease burden from 2003. Malaria, acute respiratory infections, and minor surgeries such as tonsillectomies were the most common diseases seen in Usa River. I noticed that neither HIV nor tuberculosis was represented on the chart, although I had expected the prevalence of both to be relatively high.

Without any explanation about why they were not included on the charts, he opened a log on his desk, and responded that they had documented 84 cases of HIV. Detecting my interest in the HIV epidemic, he offered to take me down to the center where they refer their patients who test positive. Elated, I agreed, and he led me down a dirt path to DREAM - Drug Resource Enhancement against AIDS and Malnutrition. I asked what kinds of services are provided for HIV-positive patients; he seemed to think it was obvious that they provide treatment with antiretrovirals (ARVs) and home-based care, including nutritional support as well voluntary counseling and testing (VCT).

DREAM is an AIDS therapy program, funded by the Community of St. Egidio, designed to provide access to free ARV treatment to the poor in Africa on a large scale. So far, 5,000 people are receiving ARV treatment. The program began in Mozambique, but has recently expanded to Malawi, Guinea, and Tanzania, among other countries. Despite being free, the program aims at excellence in treatment, providing the best existing range of drugs and regular blood testing. It is linked with a nutrition program as well as guidance and sanitary education by volunteers who themselves are HIV positive. These measures encourage new patients to adhere to their treatment and come to their appointments. The compliance rate is very high - 94 percent -- and the annual cost of the program per person is $800.

I talked to the doctor who runs the clinic, and was amazed at how closely treatment regimens in Tanzania resembled those offered back in the U.S. When I asked questions about whether they check patients’ T cell counts or use cocktail therapy, the answers were invariably, “Of course, how else could we treat them appropriately?” As I reflect on what seemed like a surprising response, I am reminded of meeting Dr. Joia Mukherjee, the medical director of Partners in Health, which is a highly successful non-profit healthcare organization that strives to bring the best of western medicine to the poorest of the poor. She had used the same matter-of-fact tone to describe a paradigm shift in which people stop thinking about what we
can do and instead think about what we must do. We should then use resources to do what we have deemed necessary. At the time, I hadn’t believed that this approach was realistic or practical. Seeing it indisputably put into practice, it simply made sense. It made me realize that as a healthcare provider I have an obligation to provide the care my patients need and to find ways to avoid compromising clinical standards literally at all costs. Although many challenges regarding implementation of this principle come immediately to the fore, namely the sustainability of such an approach, the case of DREAM reveals that humanitarian spirit working on a micro-scale to address the specific needs of communities can bring the successes of Western medicine to bear in a resource-limited setting.

Despite the promise and success of DREAM in its select locations, there are an estimated 1.8 million HIV-positive people in Tanzania, and in 2003, 160,000 deaths occurred as result of the epidemic, or 438 per day. Just think -- that’s the entire student body of the medical school, dropping off the face of the planet, every day. Although I was very impressed with the services provided at DREAM, I discovered that it is by no means typical of what goes on in Tanzania. In fact, a study conducted by USAID found the level of ARVs use in Tanzania to be one of the lowest in the region. Half a million people are currently awaiting treatment, while only 17,000 patients have been placed on treatment this year. More disturbing still is that “there is a very big gap in ensuring that [ARVs] collectively reached those targeted... large consignments of ARVs meant for country districts have been lying idle, sometimes expiring in government stores due to non-utilization.”

Considering that seventy percent of the Tanzanian population lives in rural areas, better ways to distribute medications to those who need them must be developed. Despite the existence and successes of programs such as the Cradle of Love Baby Home and DREAM, there is clearly still significant progress to be made in Tanzania so that its citizens living with HIV/AIDS receive the treatments they need and deserve. Although health infrastructure poses a significant barrier, the tangible institution of a molecular biology lab to measure viral loads in the near future represents a positive step along the way. We can only hope that the HIV pandemic will serve as an impetus for creating primary healthcare systems equipped to treat chronic illness and ultimately improve the health status of the populations afflicted with HIV/AIDS and other illnesses across sub-Saharan Africa. Perhaps the Corys of sub-Saharan Africa – and across the world – will be given the opportunity to live long, healthy lives such as those we take for granted here in the developed world.

Half a million people are currently awaiting treatment, while only 17,000 patients have been placed on treatment this year. More disturbing still is that “there is a very big gap in ensuring that [ARVs] collectively reached those targeted ... large consignments of ARVs meant for country districts have been lying idle, sometimes expiring in government stores due to non-utilization.”
Thank ma, for carrying us nine months in your waist.
Thank ma, for giving birth to the human race.
Thank you mama for giving us grace.

Thank ma, for preparing the delicious food on our plate
Especially the wonderful fufu that we just ate,
It was nourishing, filling, and it taste great.

Thank ma, for empowering us with our strong mental state,
For infusing us with culture, respect, and faith
For the discipline and boldness that we demonstrate.

Mama, you raised us with no vex.
Though at times, it seemed like you had no rest.
Thank you for encouraging us to reach our apex.
Oh, mama, you are the best!

Sweet mother you have raised your children well.
Look at us... We excel!
Sweet mother, we never forget the suffering that you suffered for us.
Sweet mother, in you we trust.

People whisper, claiming you’re feeble... too old
They think they can check you into a nursing home.
But now it’s time for them to be told
We know our tradition: nursing homes, we don’t condone!

Your, educated children are returning home.
Like our tradition, we care for you now that we are grown.
We’ll learn from your wisdom and avoid disgrace
We’ve returned to enrich this cozy place.
With newfound skills we’ll improve our tone,
And with love, expand our happy home.
Reflections

On Youth and Modern Governance in Contemporary Egypt

By Rania Sweis

Introduction

Today, scholars of post-colonial Africa view “youth” as a powerful emergent category intimately tied to class, social reproduction and the effects of newly institutionalized neo-liberal economic reforms throughout the continent (Cole 2005; Honwana and De Boeck 2005; Comaroff and Comaroff 2000). This conjecture is particularly salient in the context of contemporary Egypt. According to recent policy literature generated by the Egyptian state and Cairo branch of the U.S.-based Population Council, youth, or those between the ages of 14 and 24, comprise one of the fastest growing and most economically vulnerable social groups in the region. In 2005 alone, nine new youth community centers were constructed in the country’s most poverty stricken areas, the first of their kind in Egypt’s history. Under the auspices of USAID, the United Nations Population Fund and the U.S.-based Population Council, the centers offer a range of services tailored for the special needs of youth including reproductive health, mental health, sports and training for the eradication of “outmoded” practices for changing times. What could such a profound emphasis on the contemporary trials and tribulations of “youth” reveal about the workings of modern governmentality in Egypt and other African states undergoing transformations in the state and markets?

In this article, I am concerned with the ways in which a particular form of youth governance redefines ideal notions of the young healthy body, and the ways in which this ideal healthy body—depicted as free and rights-bearing—figures into new constellations of the newly privatized labor market and post-Nasserist “de-nationalized (Sassen 2001)” Egyptian state. While youth and coming-of-age speak to the heart of the anthropological tradition, one centered on the social reproduction of culture (Mead 1928), recent studies are only beginning to explore linkages between shifts in newly liberalized markets and the politicization of the body which, in Foucauldian terms, serves the health, welfare and security of national populations. With the rise of Egypt’s historic infitah (open-door economic policies of 1974), the opening of markets also saw an influx of economic aid and international development programs aimed at alleviating Egypt’s apparent youth security threat, depicted in the powerful metaphor of the demographic time-bomb, or angry young men of color (Hendrickson 2004). While focused on the individual bodies of the young and poor, such projects introduce new conceptualizations of what “youth” should constitute, revealing insights into complex entanglements of globally circulating aid and discourses, national interests and generational subjectivity. To better explicate this point, I take the specific case study of the Ishraq (Arabic for ‘enlightenment’) Youth Program currently underway in rural Upper Egypt. It clearly demonstrates how a global youth initiative centered on the training of adolescent girls and boys promotes a universal model of youth and a specific form of “biological citizenship” (Rose 2007; Petryna 2002) best suited for Egypt’s neo-liberalized state and markets.

Egypt’s Youth-Poverty-Population Matrix

Egypt is currently host to what has been labeled one the world’s greatest population “problems” (see Mitchell 2002). It is a country possessing a long, contested history of population governance beginning, at the very least, in the colonial era and spanning contemporary international developmental policy (El Shakry 2005, Ali 2002). This history is well
In Ishraq, I learned how to do things that were different from what I had done all my life.

“In Ishraq, I learned how to do things that were different from what I had done all my life.”

This collusion illuminates the state and international community’s growing dedication towards managing youth as a means of managing the nation and reducing a purported dual population boom and youth threat.

The Forgotten Class: Vulnerable Girls and the Ishraq Program

“In Ishraq, I learned how to do things that were different from what I had done all my life.”

--Ishraq participant

In the eyes of many international development organizations, young girls in Egypt’s rural villages comprise what is known as a “forgotten class”: the most vulnerable of poor populations who lack both education and health services and suffer from confinement in the home and childhood marriage. It is for these reasons that Save the Children Egypt along with the Population Council and Egypt’s Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) launched the pioneering Ishraq program for adolescent girls in the Minya governate of Upper Egypt in 2001. Ishraq, Arabic for “enlightenment” from the root sh-r-q, (to rise) is described in Population Council publications as an experimental intervention into “traditional” communities where children lack schooling and mobility. In short, Ishraq targets those adolescent girls and boys who lie outside the official purview of the state and constitute the most excluded and vulnerable youth populations (aged 13 to 15) during a critical life-transitional phase. Youth meet in centers four times a week, for 3-hour sessions in groups of approximately 25 under the guidance of trained community leaders. Program objectives are lauded as reinforcing reliable access to girls of their legally established rights by increasing respect for their capacities, first within their families, next in their communities, and finally at the level of national policymaking. Ishraq is also dedicated to the training of adolescent boys to “address domination in the home and harassment of girls in public.” Together, these objectives are achieved through a series of class sessions designed around literacy, life skills, physical health, documented and thus remains beyond the scope and intent of this paper. What is of vital importance to the study at hand is the shifts in population politics subsequent to the infitah and their effects on new forms of modern governmentality—defined as the art of government which takes the health, welfare and security of population as its primary goal through the politicization of vital life processes (Foucault 1991, 1978, 1977). The recent liberalization of the Egyptian economy opened pathways for the formation of new governing institutions funded by the United States and the U.K. and designed to better manage Egypt’s population via youth reproductive health and well-nest programs. This collusion illuminates the state and international community’s growing dedication towards managing youth as a means of managing the nation and reducing a purported dual population boom and youth threat. It also produces an inextricable youth-poverty-population relationship in government discourse where the object “youth” undoubtedly appears as a problem to be intervened upon, disciplined and cultivated through the introduction of new technologies of the self.

One of the most prominent of the new governing bodies is The Ministry of Health and Population (MOHP) based in Cairo and established in 1996; it signaled a merger between family planning, health and youth services. Here, youth appears as a bounded and politicized site of governmental intervention. In the Cairo branch of the U.S.-based Population Council, the last decade has also witnessed a growing emphasis on the critical role of youth in new and innovative national population policies such as Letting Girls Play and Ishraq. And Save the Children, operative in Egypt since 1982, sponsors a range of health and community projects solely targeting youth; Tomohat Shababeya (Youth Ambitions) and Naseej (Fabric) are two of their newest additions.

The Population Council’s Letting Girls Play initiative, already implemented in Mali, Kenya and Egypt, stands out as an interesting program; it emerged in the past decade through the convening of sports experts and reproductive health researchers who concluded that there is “growing evidence that strengthening the right of children to play enhances their healthy development and builds stronger communities.” In essence, sports are viewed as a prophylactic for the effects of social and economic underdevelopment as well as gender discrimination. The successful implementation of sports programs serve to promote self-esteem and decrease stress and depression among poverty stricken adolescent girls as stress and depression, according to the report, manifest in somatic symptoms. Yet such attentiveness towards the healthy development of girl bodies, of biological life, may serve as a de-politicization devise, deflecting attention away from the political-economic underpinnings of global poverty and the imposition of structural adjustment packages in many African states (Mitchell 2002; Sassen 2001; Ferguson 1994) and onto individual bodies. The Ishraq program, to which I now turn, does an even better job of concretizing the ways in which this distinct somatized understanding of subjectivity and attentiveness toward developing young bodies is an integral component of international development projects for Egypt.
Developing the young female body, its health, vitality and comportment, serves as a key metaphor for developing the body of the healthy secure nation in the literature on Ishraq. Naturalized notions of the youth citizen who understand her nationality, allegiances and distinctions in biological terms is advocated, as Rose puts it: “biological senses of identification and affiliation make certain kinds of ethical demands possible: demands on oneself, on one’s kin, community and society (133).” Through the promotion of this form of biological citizenship, the empowerment and self-actualization of youth girls occurs through an essentially somatic experience—running, kicking soccer balls and performing jumping jacks—ensuring their visibility in community spaces. Here the health and optimization of the bodies of young girls is a powerful means through which the political is reformulated and legitimized in a time of economic reform.

Concluding Remarks

In this essay, I have shown how governance works through and within the social category “youth” in contemporary Egypt. A growing interest in poor youth as the grounds through which new biopolitical technologies are performed for the development of the nation is embedded in recent processes of neo-liberal economic reforms and the opening of markets. The model of youth promoted by transnationally sponsored population projects underway in areas of Upper Egypt carries with it a set of discourses and practices that buttress the production of a free, rights-bearing youth subject. This particular governmentalization of youth also points to the nature of how scholars understand the political constitution of life itself in contemporary African contexts.

In a recent book published by Nikolas Rose, a prominent scholar of modern governmentality, a clear distinction can be drawn between population control in the 20th century, which was associated with the health and prosperity of the nation, and new forms of biopolitics taking shape in liberal societies of the west. He argues that we no longer see concerns over the quality of race and the survival of the fittest as we did in the 20th century; instead, we are witnessing a new and more optimistic economy of biopolitics tailored towards the “the government of life (70).” In this moment of the government of life, new forms of individual rights emerge along with self-government and the desire for physical health and self-fulfillment. Rose explains:

Biopolitics today no longer operates in a problem space defined by population, quality, territory, and nation. Individual substitutes for population, quality is no longer evolutionary fitness but quality of life, the political territory of society gives way to the domesticated spaces of family and community, and responsibility now falls not on those who govern a nation in a field of international competition but on those who are responsible for a family and its members.

Rose believes the definitive feature of our contemporary era of biopolitics is a somatic individuality (biological life) and a will to health that becomes opened up to choice, responsibility and experimentation. In the case of Egypt, this individualized will to health is reflected in new population policies for youth in programs like Ishraq and the simultaneous rise of numerous youth-community centers, youth-centered health care, youth reproductive education, youth-related outreach and youth sports programs that emerge through budding configurations of power, knowledge and expertise. Ishraq relies upon trained community members to implement its policies and run more effective youth seminars. Yet in states such as Egypt, these privatized models of health and wellbeing function in tandem with enduring models of biopolitics concerned with the health, welfare and security of the territorialized nation-state and the reduction of its population that dates back to the colonial era (Abu-Lughod 2005; Hamdy 2005; Ali 2002). What we witness therefore is an amalgam of entangled and enduring discourses and practices centered on the development of the modern nation and the production of an individualized will-to-health based on rights, personal freedom and the alleviation of the physical symptoms of poverty. In lieu of these findings we may question the ways in which the recent governmentality of youth in Egypt informs particular kinds of biopolitics animated by new assemblages of global and national politics. For instance, in what ways do the international discourses of youth such as those promoted by Ishraq undermine those of the nation-state, or models of the family? On a more intimate level, what experiential or “epistemic divides (Adams 2005)” separate the experts who produce and implement new youth-programs (youth counselors, doctors and sports instructors) and the young who participate?
John and Jean Comaroff believe that youth stand for many things at once: for the terrors of the present, the errors of the past, the prospect of a future. It is perhaps for these reasons that contemporary governments increasingly view youth as the paradigmatic figure to be protected and disciplined for the cultivation of better future populations in neo-liberal times.
Nigerian Pride

By Comfort Nwankwo

Pride is an understatement of the way I feel when I talk about my homeland
Land of warriors and queens, chief priest, and kings, we sing songs of victory,
history indented in them like a finger print my people we are unique
quick to our feet we stick to the beat of the drum. Fearless and brave we are the beginning and
end of a storm.

Our voice booms through the streets because when we speak you can’t help but listen
We command with our voice
Nigeria kwenu, kwenu, kwezuenu!
A nation held hostage by corruption
Yet the people still strong

Our backs where once bent on our own land and now we struggle to walk tall
Fighting for a better tomorrow by being stronger today
I Rep. Nigeria because that is my name
And many may say this pride is in vein
Scorn me for not holding my head down in shame

And yes I’m sick of the pain caused by the diseased greed killing my countries name
But I look at the faces on my people and that’s where my pride lies
My pride lies under the mango tree
As my grandmother tells the story of the tortoise who tried to fly in order to flee
Broke his back and that’s how the squares on his back came to be

My pride lies on that very soil I learned how to cook with palm oil
How to fry the cassava till it becomes gari, how to pound yam until it became fufu
My pride lies in the arms of my mother rocking me to the breeze, she calls me Nwam, her
child.
See pride is an understatement of the way I feel when I talk about my homeland
The people are my land

The soil is my land
The deep breaths of humidity and smoke that elevates from the piles of burning plastics
That is my land
I don’t use the tactics of painting Nigeria as completely fantastic
But I love my country, my people, my culture, my tradition, my language, my heritage,
See pride is an understatement of the way I feel about Nigeria.
BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND NOTES

Nothing Ventured, Nothing Gained?

Unlike the GATT dispute settlement procedure, which was heavily criticized for being highly political and power-based, the WTO introduced a rule-based adjudication system that was expected to be fair, transparent, and power-blind. Significantly, the WTO introduced the WTO dispute settlement mechanism over the objection of the United States, which had initially refused to endorse it, because each panel report is automatically approved by the Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) unless all the members of the body agree to disallow it, as will an Appellate Body.

Hemmat, Benoît. "The Legal System as a Dish or the Bosom Reborn." By the 1960s, newly independent developing countries called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in an attempt to achieve greater justice in world trade. The NIEO was seen as a way to end the economic dependency of developing countries on developed country enterprises; second, to promote the accelerated development of the poorer regions of the world, and third, to introduce appropriate institutional changes for the global management of world resources in the interests of mankind as a whole. See Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO); GA, Res. 26/240 (S-VI), UN, Doc. (May, 1972), para. 282. The NIEO was also seen as a means to the self-reliance of less developed countries, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economies. The WTO is a formal institutionalization of these concepts.


Guarner, Andrew T. and Beth Simmons. "International Disputes Resolution: Power Play and Capacity Constraints: The Sovereignty of WTO Dispute Settlement." The objectives of the NIEO were three-fold: first, to eliminate the protectionism that inhibits the growth of world trade; second, to achieve sustainable development while protecting and preserving the environment.

The Marrakesh Agreement also recognized the fact that there is a need for “positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries benefit from an increased flow of development assistance... and to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade. The objective of the NIEO was three-fold: first, to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade; second, to achieve sustainable development while protecting and preserving the environment; and third, to introduce institutional changes for the global management of world resources in the interests of mankind as a whole. See Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO); GA, Res. 26/240 (S-VI), UN, Doc. (May, 1972), Para. 282. The NIEO was also seen as a means to the self-reliance of less developed countries, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economies. The WTO is a formal institutionalization of these concepts.

Bown, Chad P. and Bernard M. Hoekman, "WTO Dispute Settlement and the Missing Developing Country Cases: Towards a Sustainable Reading Culture." Kaplan: Fountains Publishers, 6-15.


The changing face of the cotton industry in the last decade, due to the end of the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA) and the Marrakesh agreement also recognized the fact that there is a need for “positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries benefit from an increased flow of development assistance... and to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade. The objective of the NIEO was three-fold: first, to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade; second, to achieve sustainable development while protecting and preserving the environment; and third, to introduce institutional changes for the global management of world resources in the interests of mankind as a whole. See Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO); GA, Res. 26/240 (S-VI), UN, Doc. (May, 1972), Para. 282. The NIEO was also seen as a means to the self-reliance of less developed countries, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economies. The WTO is a formal institutionalization of these concepts.

The Marrakesh Agreement also recognized the fact that there is a need for “positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries benefit from an increased flow of development assistance... and to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade. The objective of the NIEO was three-fold: first, to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade; second, to achieve sustainable development while protecting and preserving the environment; and third, to introduce institutional changes for the global management of world resources in the interests of mankind as a whole. See Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO); GA, Res. 26/240 (S-VI), UN, Doc. (May, 1972), Para. 282. The NIEO was also seen as a means to the self-reliance of less developed countries, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economies. The WTO is a formal institutionalization of these concepts.

Bown, Chad P. and Bernard M. Hoekman, "WTO Dispute Settlement and the Missing Developing Country Cases: Towards a Sustainable Reading Culture." Kaplan: Fountains Publishers, 6-15.


The changing face of the cotton industry in the last decade, due to the end of the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA) and the Marrakesh agreement also recognized the fact that there is a need for “positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries benefit from an increased flow of development assistance... and to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade. The objective of the NIEO was three-fold: first, to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade; second, to achieve sustainable development while protecting and preserving the environment; and third, to introduce institutional changes for the global management of world resources in the interests of mankind as a whole. See Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO); GA, Res. 26/240 (S-VI), UN, Doc. (May, 1972), Para. 282. The NIEO was also seen as a means to the self-reliance of less developed countries, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economies. The WTO is a formal institutionalization of these concepts.

The Marrakesh Agreement also recognized the fact that there is a need for “positive efforts designed to ensure that developing countries benefit from an increased flow of development assistance... and to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade. The objective of the NIEO was three-fold: first, to eliminate the barriers that were designed to tilt the skewed balance in world trade; second, to achieve sustainable development while protecting and preserving the environment; and third, to introduce institutional changes for the global management of world resources in the interests of mankind as a whole. See Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (NIEO); GA, Res. 26/240 (S-VI), UN, Doc. (May, 1972), Para. 282. The NIEO was also seen as a means to the self-reliance of less developed countries, secure a share in the growth in international trade commensurate with the needs of their economies. The WTO is a formal institutionalization of these concepts.
The word Sauti - Swahili for voice - captures the spirit of the Stanford Journal of African Studies. Sauti is committed to ensuring that student voices are heard both within and without the Stanford community. Through the reproduction of research compilations and personal narratives of field experiences, we seek to highlight critical African issues, to ignite meaningful discussions and to invoke calls to action. Although Africa gains most of its global attention by virtue of its ‘problems’ and ‘needs’, the continent possesses troves of opportunity. It is our aim to present a balanced view of the continent, juxtaposing the ills that bedevil Africa with the awe-inspiring events and developments that are primed to propel the continent into an era where its troubles are but relics of history.