

DUBULA CONTINUA ■ ZUMANOMICS: POLITICS BY NUMBERS ■ HIGH DRAMA AT AVUSA ■ RISE OF TURKEY

# iMaverick

BETA



**AU & SOUTH AFRICA  
FINALLY CONCEDE LIBYAN REALITY**

By KHADIJA PATEL

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# A DAY IN PICTURES



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Stoke City's Peter Crouch (L) is challenged by Tottenham Hotspur's Sandro during their English League Cup soccer match at the Britannia Stadium in Stoke, central England September 20, 2011. REUTERS/Phil Noble



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Jewish youth hold Israeli flags at the beginning of a rally march in the West Bank settlement of Itamar, near Nablus September 20, 2011. Jewish settlers protested on Tuesday against Palestinian plans to seek United Nations endorsement of statehood in the occupied West Bank, and clashes erupted in one village, underscoring growing tensions in the territory. REUTERS/Nir Elias

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Officials stand next to the carcass of an unidentified whale at Clifton beach in Karachi September 20, 2011. A dead whale was seen washed up on the beach early Tuesday morning and authorities have initiated efforts to remove its carcass, local media reported. REUTERS/Athar Hussain

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A man stands in front of his house, which was damaged by Sunday's 6.9 magnitude earthquake, at the Mangan village north of the northeastern Indian city of Gangtok September 20, 2011. Air force helicopters flew rescue workers to a remote Himalayan region on Tuesday in search of survivors of a strong earthquake that killed dozens of people in India, Nepal and the Chinese region of Tibet. Most of the casualties were near the epicentre of Sunday's 6.9 magnitude quake that bucked roads and knocked down houses in the sparsely populated India state of Sikkim, popular with trekkers for its Buddhist monasteries and spectacular trekking. REUTERS/Stringer

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A boy tries to outrun a man fumigating for mosquitoes through the streets of Lahore September 20, 2011. Two more people fell victim to the dengue virus in Lahore on Tuesday, taking the death toll to 48 in Punjab, local media reported. REUTERS/Mohsin Raza

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# IT HAPPENED OVERNIGHT



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Libya's interim Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril (Reuters)

## POLITICS

### UK

British financial leaders are discussing how to add £5 billion into the economy without departing from the government's current deficit plans, according to the BBC, with cabinet members suggesting chancellor George Osborne could raise spending on infrastructure. A treasury spokesman did say that no matter what the government decides to do, it will not abandon its objective of eliminating the deficit before parliament's tenure ends.

### LIBYA

The African Union, and South Africa, have recognised the

transitional national council as the legitimate government of Libya, at least until elections can be held. South Africa also pledged support in stability, promotion of democracy, etc., and would work with the United Nations, League of Arab States, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, the European Union and Nato.

Libya's interim Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril has declared that the country will have a full interim government within the next ten days while decisions are made about ministries and whether or not the government should be in Benghazi, Tripoli or both.

### SOUTH AFRICA

The National Union of

Mineworkers met with SA Broadcasting Corporation on Tuesday to whinge about its unhappiness at biased reporting in the national broadcaster's newsroom. While the union said the meeting went well, no details were divulged outside SABC promises for a thorough investigation. NUM will report the matter to its national executive committee on Thursday.

A National Freedom Party member, Siphon Mtshali, was shot and killed in the Vosloorus hostel in Johannesburg – he was on his way home after organising the party's Heritage Day celebrations. According to Sapa, 15 NFP members have



Mahmoud Abbas and Barack Obama (Reuters)

been killed since the party's inception.

### AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan's peace negotiations may have ground to a (hopefully temporary) halt after one of the chief negotiators and ex-president, Burhanuddin Rabbani, was assassinated by a suicide killer with the weapons hidden in his turban. This puts even more pressure on President Hamid Karzai who set up the floundering high peace council last year to attempt to negotiate terms with the Taliban, and puts a major spanner in the works of a process which was a struggle without extra arms added.

### PALESTINE

US President Barack Obama will meet with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas

today (at midnight, SAST) and urge him to drop plans to have a state recognised by the United Nations. Abbas has promised the application for statehood will be filed on Friday.

### TURKEY

CNN claims that a Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) guerrilla attack with rocket launchers on a police college in south east Turkey killed four people. A PKK militant was killed in another clash there shortly afterwards.

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## BUSINESS

### UK

A group of 450 South African miners suffering from silicosis, a lung disease caused by tiny dust particles, will sue

Anglo American in London as a result of their condition. Their representatives, law firm Leigh Day and Company, said a precedent was set when a group of 7,500 South African asbestos miners successfully sued Cape Plc over damage to their health.

### QATAR

The top dog at Al Jazeera, Wadah Khanfar, resigned after eight years at the helm without giving a reason other than saying he "decided to move on". Khanfar was with the network since 2003 as a managing director and was promoted to director general later in his tenure. His replacement has not yet been announced.

### NIGERIA

Representatives of Nigeria's National Information

Technology Development Agency, a government entity, have urged the Nigerian public to utilise their country code, .ng. In his keynote address at a conference, NITDA director general, Cleopas Angaye said utilising the local addresses would boost local content and help finances when it comes to paying for international platforms, while encouraging knowledge sharing among Nigerians.

### USA

American authorities are after Full Tilt Poker, based in the Channel Islands to exploit a loophole in online gambling laws in the US, claiming it is a giant international Ponzi scheme. The justice department claims players' credit was misrepresented to them, and the company did not have enough liquidity to pay all players, while its staff drew salaries totalling nearly \$700 million. We're waiting to see what Rick Perry calls it.

Construction of homes in the USA fell 5% in August, further than economists predicted, and maintaining signs that the sluggish economy will remain so. Economists speculate this is largely due to unemployment in the country:



Didier Drogba (Reuters)

Scott Brown, chief economist at Raymond James in St. Petersburg, Florida, said that, “won't improve until the labour market improves substantially and that doesn't look like that would happen this year.”

### GREECE

After a telephone call with its “troika”, basically the European Union and IMF who are bailing it out, Greek leaders pledged to move to a “mid-term” phase of its austerity plan, slashing its budget further, culling state jobs and selling some of its €50 million worth of state assets. Officials, getting bored of watching Greece miss its targets, will return to Athens to table the budget after storming out earlier in September and the next issue of bailout dosh looks set to wind up in Greek bank accounts.

### CANADA

Air Canada's cabin crew has reached a tentative deal with the airline and have tentatively cancelled their proposed strike which was due to begin at midnight Canadian time which would be 6:00 SAST.

### INTERNATIONAL

Google Plus is, from Tuesday, now available to everyone after a 12-week testing process, and has a new search facility to aid users sifting through content on the site. It must be just by chance that Facebook's f8 conference begins in two days' time.

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### SPORT

#### CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Football: Didier Drogba really is joining Côte d'Ivoire's truth and reconciliation commission



Peter de Villiers (Reuters)

to help promote peace in his country, and met with officials on Tuesday to discuss his role. The TRC will be based on South Africa's model. Well there you go: it wasn't Tutu's fault. We should have just added Jonty Rhodes. We are being cynical. What we meant was Lucas Radebe.

#### UK

Football: Arsenal were forced to battle back from a goal down against, erm, Shrewsbury, but did so successfully registering a 3-1 win with three men, Kieran Gibbs, Alex Oxlade-Chamberlain and Yossi Benayoun, registering their first goals for the club. Manchester United beat

Leeds United 3-0. Bolton beat Aston Villa 2-0 in a solid away win while Newcastle had to battle into extra time to beat Nottingham Forrest 4-3. Wolves hammered Millwall 5-0 and Stoke and Spurs played to a 0-0 draw, but began a lengthy penalty shoot-out which Stoke clutched 7-6 after each team had eight kicks.

#### NEW ZEALAND

Rugby: South Africa coach Peter de Villiers hinted during an interview with Die Burger newspaper that he might keep Francois Steyn at inside centre in spite of the return to fitness of Jean de Villiers. Another comment by De Villiers about his bench strength makes it seem like Steyn is his first

choice for the position while De Villiers will come on as an impact player.

#### AFRICA

Football: Confederation of African Football president, Issa Hayatou, has been appointed to two Fifa committees: organising Olympic football tournaments and the Goal bureau. The Goal bureau oversees funding for football development including youth academies and so on. Hayatou has been accused of corruption twice this year, including at a British parliamentary inquiry in which testimony was submitted claiming he was paid to vote for the Qatari 2022 bid (which ultimately was successful).



Typhoon Roke (Reuters)

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**LIFE**
**UK**

Scotland Yard has suspended its demand that the Guardian newspaper reveal the sources of its phone-hacking revelations and breaking stories, which are currently making Rupert Murdoch sweat through his newest suit. The Guardian's editor, Alan Rusbridger, welcomed the decision and said it would have been contested in court in spite of the police service's statement saying it wouldn't harm journalistic obligations.

**CHINA/PAKISTAN**

The World Health Organisation has confirmed a strain of polio which has spread to China from Pakistan; seven cases have so far been reported in Xinjiang province which is on the border between the countries. The WHO further warned that there was a risk of the nervous-system-afflicting disease spreading further during Muslim pilgrimages to Mecca.

**JAPAN**

Typhoon Roke is on its way to Japan's main island of Honshu, and, unfortunately, the Fukushima nuclear plant, and has forced evacuations of over 1 million people.

This is more than double the number who were asked to move in a tropical storm earlier in September which killed 67 people, mostly due to landslides and flooding.

**USA**

The new season of "Two and a Half Men" opened with a record 28.7 million viewers, in spite of the loss of its main character, allegedly pushed in front of a train by an ex-lover, who used to be played by Charlie Sheen. Ashton Kutcher joined the show for the first time playing a billionaire who tried to commit suicide by walking into the sea.



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## TRIAL OF ANNI DEWANI HITMEN MOVED TO HIGH COURT

The trial of Xolile Mngeni and Mziwemadoda Qwabe, accused hitmen in the Anni Dewani murder, has been moved to the Cape Town high court. The two accused appeared before the Wynberg regional court on Tuesday where magistrate Jackie Redelinghuys said a pre-trial conference would take place on 10 February. Meanwhile Britain's interior minister is expected to make a final decision later this month on the extradition of Shiren Dewani, who is accused of ordering the hit.

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## ANC CANDIDATE LIST TASK TEAM STILL WORKING

The ANC task team into the irregularities in local government candidates' lists has concluded its work in Gauteng, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal, and will begin work in the Northern



Gautrain (Reuters)

Cape on Wednesday. The task team, headed by Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, was announced by President Jacob Zuma before the 18 May local elections after protests broke out when communities rejected some of the names put forward by the party candidates list.

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## GAUTRAIN ON-TIME RECORD WORLD CLASS

Gautrain operator Bombela Concession Company said on Tuesday that service between Rosebank and Hatfield had an on-time record of 97.8% in its first 50 days of operation. This was achieved despite two service interruptions due to

cable theft, according to the company. The Sandton-airport link had an on-time record of 99.6%, putting the service among the best in the world. The service transports an average of about 28,000 people per day and its linked bus service averaged around 9,000 people daily.

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## PUBLIC PROTECTOR LOOKS TO SARS FOR HELP

The office of the Public Protector is exploring the possibility of working with the South African Revenue Service to improve its case-management system and its ability to investigate fraud, abuse of power and corruption.



Right2Know (Reuters)

Public Protector advocate Thuli Madonsela confirmed this at a SARS national legal workshop in Durban. Her office's caseload has increased in recent months after its roadshow, and an increased number of complaints by the public. The office will hear next month when the medium-term budget policy statement is released whether its application to finance minister Pravin Gordhan for additional funding for investigations has been successful.

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### DA: MAHLANGU-NKABINDE MUST GO

DA spokesman John Steenhuisen has called on President Jacob Zuma to

fire public works minister Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde because "you cannot have a compromised minister cleaning out a corrupt department", according to a Sapa report. Mahlangu-Nkabinde had yesterday announced that her department had identified irregularities in tenders for R3 billion as part of an on-going investigation. Mahlangu-Nkabinde blamed corrupt officials within her department.

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### CIVIL SOCIETY TO STEP UP CAMPAIGN AGAINST INFO BILL

The Right2Know has vowed to step up its campaign if yesterday's ANC decision to withdraw the Protection of State Information Bill turns

out to be about politics. The campaign is calling for a complete redraft of the bill so that it includes a public interest defence and limits the powers of the state security cluster. In light of the recent squabbles involving the state security ministry, the campaign says that state security should not be given excessive powers which the current draft of the bill does.

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### WORKERS LOSE R407 MILLION IN WAGES DUE TO INDUSTRIAL ACTION

According to the Department of Labour's latest industrial action report, strikes cost workers R407 million in wages



Allan Boesak (Reuters)

during 74 work stoppages which resulted in the loss of 20 million man days. The department says this is the highest over the past five years. Last year's 25-day public service strike was the main reason for the increase. The majority of strikes were compliant with the Labour Relations Act.

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### **BOESAK: WHITES LOVE MANDELA MORE THAN JESUS**

Anti-apartheid activist Allan Boesak, delivering the University of KwaZulu-Natal Steve Biko Memorial Lecture yesterday, said, "Jesus was

far too radical and Mandela didn't want to go that far because he understood our people in this country". He added that if Nelson Mandela were to say the things Jesus did, whites in the country would not like him anymore. He also said it was strange for whites to like Desmond Tutu when he is talking about forgiveness, but not when he is talking about reparations for apartheid.

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### **ZILLE BARS ADVISORS FROM TENDER PROCESS**

DA leader Helen Zille is alleged to have barred

political advisors from taking part in provincial tender processes, according to a TimesLIVE report. Zille is said to have met with civil society group Ndifuna Ukwazi where she conceded that the participation of her special advisor, Ryan Coetzee, in a provincial communication tender set a bad precedent. Zille had promised to resign if the tender was found to be fraudulent and said there would be consequences if maladministration were found. The ANC in the province meanwhile has called for her to resign, labelling Coetzee's involvement the equivalent of insider trading.



## WORLD'S BRIGHTEST MINDS CONVERGE FOR THIS YEAR'S DISCOVERY INVEST LEADERSHIP SUMMIT

For the third year running, some of the sharpest business and leadership minds gather in Johannesburg. This year's line-up includes Al Gore, Nouriel Roubini, Chris Anderson, Ricardo Semler, Dan Ariely and Taddy Blacher. Prior to the conference, a few good men had a brief back-and-forth with media in Sandton. By SIPHO HLONGWANE.

If last year's conference is anything to go by, the line-up of esteemed speakers at the Discovery Invest Leadership Summit will be a major talk-athon. The speakers last year were mostly interesting, but there was little space to engage with them on some of their ideas.

While delegates were denied that chance, the media got it on the day before the conference, where they were given an open platform to ask a few of the speakers literally anything. Each speaker is a specialist, and none a generalist, so

the press conference tended to go all over the place as each person engaged with their subject area.

Nouriel Roubini, an American economist most celebrated for predicting the 2008 housing bubble burst in 2005, held forth on the euro's financial troubles. In the wake of the news that Greece was seeking yet more debt to finance its public service bill, he said the solution for the beleaguered country was both painful and

Photo: Adrian Gore, Nouriel Roubini, Chris Anderson, Ricardo Semler & Dan Ariely. (Sipho Hlongwane for iMaverick)

**Even if Greece managed to downsize its public service bill drastically (and somehow managed to keep the enraged citizenry from setting the country on fire), and serviced its debt, Nourini reckons it still wouldn't be enough.**

necessary. "Greece should default and exit the eurozone," Roubini said. "It will be painful, but it can be done in an orderly fashion."

Even if Greece managed to downsize its public service bill drastically (and somehow managed to keep the enraged citizenry from setting the country on fire), and serviced its debt, Nourini reckons it still wouldn't be enough. He said Greece's lack of competitiveness and economic growth meant it needed a currency depreciation – which it can't do. Hence the need for a eurozone exit.

Wired editor Chris Anderson said, in response to iMaverick's question about Microsoft, the company should not be underestimated. Even though it had repeatedly failed to get into the mobile and tablet markets in any big way, he thought it had a chance with the tablet-capable Windows 8, which will be released in 2012. He said the company had been sufficiently shamed and would do a better job in future.

"The expectation is they will fail with Windows 8," Anderson said. "The company has


shown a capability to deliver great software. And they are capable of delivering Apple-quality hardware. I think the Zune was a brilliant piece of design. I'm usually mocked for saying that. The Xbox is an example of Microsoft doing fantastic work."

Behavioural economist and psychologist Daniel Ariely thought the very way banking works needs to be changed to prevent events like 2008 happening again.

"If you are paid \$5 million a year to view the world in a distorted and selfish way, you will start to believe that is how it actually works," Ariely said. "Bankers should be paid like judges. No one would want to face a judge who was paid for delivering a certain percentage of rulings in a certain way."

Ariely and Ricardo Semler, the CEO of Semco SA, disagreed on the issue of freedom. The behavioural economist believes people are demonstrably irrational, even when they make decisions which they believe to be good, and advocates for certain forms of paternalism, especially in the area of personal finance and savings. Ariely cited the Chilean system, where citizens are forced to save a certain percentage of their earnings. Left to their own devices, people tend not to save.

Semler, who achieved fame and fortune through corporate re-engineering and industrial redesign (his company has almost no hierarchy), believes if people are adequately informed, they tend to make good decisions. The two men briefly butted heads on the issue, something that probably will not happen at the summit itself.

Other speakers at the conference include former US vice president Al Gore, Graca Machel, and Absa CEO Maria Ramos. 

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## DUBULA CONTINUA: ANC ASKS TO APPEAL THAT JUDGMENT

At the end of September there will be song again on the pavement outside the Johannesburg High Court where the ANC and its Youth League's request to appeal the judgment against the singing of a certain song will be heard. CARIEN DU PLESSIS will be listening.

In the slipstream of a second defiant rendition of "Ayasab' amagwala" ("the cowards are scared") at a Cosatu provincial shopsteward's meeting, led by the labour federation's president S'dumo Dlamini, the lawyers for the ANC and Youth League leader Julius Malema have filed a five-page document asking for leave to appeal.

The ANC and Malema want the appeal to be heard by the Supreme Court of Appeal or a full bench of the High Court, and said they would take the matter to the Constitutional Court as well if the appeal should go against them. The

Photo: REUTERS

matter was set down for September 29 in the Johannesburg High Court.

Judge Colin Lamont ruled last week in the Equality Court that Malema and the ANC should be interdicted from singing the song, while “the morality of society dictates that persons should refrain from using the words and singing the song”.

The ANC and Malema argue the court “erred in effectively imposing an absolute prohibition on the song”, because that was not what the plaintiff, AfriForum, had asked for in the first place. They also say that the court, in finding the song to constitute hate speech, didn’t take into consideration the evidence presented in defence of the song, which included that the song “is indeed a liberation song sung by ANC members and the historically oppressed people in general”; that it is a song and not a chant; that the complaint took the utterances (“dubul’ibhunu”) out of context of a “liberation song” and that these should be understood in context; that Afriforum and co-complainant TAU-SA did not provide evidence that the song,

in fact constituted hate speech or “incitement of imminent harm”, or that it had caused farm killings in the past.

They also argue there is an “unlawful limitation” on the freedom of speech of Malema and ANC members if the song could not be sung.

The request for leave to appeal hardly came as a surprise. The ANC Youth League last week already said it would ask to [appeal the judgment](#), while ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe only on Monday said [the party would follow](#) the ANCYL’s lead. After a meeting of the ANC’s national executive committee over the weekend, Mantashe said the party wanted to “protect its heritage by appealing the court decision that bans our struggle song ‘ayeseba amagwala’”. He also said people should talk “to ensure that we emerge an agreement on common heritage”.

When asked what he thought about what Cosatu’s Dlamini was doing – urging unionists to sing the song in defiance, first in KwaZulu-Natal, then in Eastern Cape – Mantashe first tried to laugh it off, a little nervously.

**Mantashe said the party wanted to “protect its heritage by appealing the court decision that bans our struggle song ‘ayeseba amagwala’”. He also said people should talk “to ensure that we emerge an agreement on common heritage”.**

**It's questionable whether Mantashe's right, except that most Cosatu members are also ANC members, which surely must mean the judgment applies to them too. Lawyers so far haven't really been able to figure it out either, so life continues as usual and nobody has been charged with contempt of court - yet.**

Then he became serious and said the ANC couldn't answer for what happened at Cosatu meetings and for what Cosatu leaders were saying.

When pressed to explain the difference between the just defiance of a court judgment and criticism thereof, he became even a bit more serious. "It is the consequence of a judgment that is unenforceable, particularly if you restrict Julius Malema and the ANC from singing the song, you are saying Cosatu and the SACP are free to sing this song, the PAC and Azapo are free to sing this song. Everybody else is free to sing the song except the ANC and Julius Malema. The only person who is mentioned by name is Julius Malema."


He said if the song was sung at a Cosatu meeting, surely the labour federation was not in contempt of court.

It's questionable whether he's right, except that most Cosatu members are also ANC members, which surely must mean the judgment applies to them too.

Lawyers so far haven't really been able to figure it out either, so life continues as usual

and nobody has been charged with contempt of court - yet. Even AfriForum seemed a bit unclear about what the judgment actually means. Its lawyer, Willie Spies, reacted outside court soon after the judgment to the singing of the song by a group of young people. He said the interest group only wanted Malema to refrain from singing the song, while the group of young people singing it was leaderless.

And if the "morality of society" dictates that the words "dubul'ibhunu" not be used, where does it leave the authors and publishers of stories like this one?

Shall we just say, we're all watching the appeal with keen interest. 

#### READ MORE:

1. Dubul' ibhunu sung outside high court moments after it was banned, in [Daily Maverick](#)
2. Bad judgement made me think Malema could be right, in [Daily Maverick](#)
3. Malema's real persecution in [Daily Maverick](#)



## ZUMANOMICS: POLITICS BY NUMBERS

Here at the iMaverick, we like numbers. We think they go well with politics. And so when we get a nice big dose of them, we like to chew on them for at least five minutes before sending them on for further digestion. Because numbers matter. They tell you things. What people are thinking, and what they are likely to be thinking. In other words, they tell you the future. And yesterday ANC secretary-general Gwede Mantashe gave us some numbers that make us look again at Rule Number One of South African Politics. By STEPHEN GROOTES

It wasn't a large number of numbers, but numbering among them was the number that was numerically important. That would be the number that shows the ANC is growing, and growing fast. At the time of the Polokwane conference (if you don't remember...it rained...a lot – generally on Thabo Mbeki's head), Mantashe says the party had 621,000 members.

Now, a full year and a few months before its next conference at Mangaung (where rain in December is a little less prevalent), it has 933,000 members. That's growth of 50%. A lot.

This has huge implications. One of them is very worrying for Mantashe. It's that newer members to the ANC aren't steeped in the

Photo: REUTERS

**The race of the ANC's membership is beginning to be an issue. There's a realisation that it's not the "non-racial" movement it was in the past, and it is becoming more of a party with "a bias towards Africans in particular".**

movement's culture, its ways, how it does things. In other words, they've been attracted for the wrong reasons. They're joining the ruling party because it's the ruling party and not because it's the ANC. As a result, the party's traditions are under threat. But that's not going to stop the ANC from going for the big "One Million Members" target. It's a campaign the party has been running for some time, and it really does want that number of people to have paid up their membership fees (R12 each) for its centenary celebrations. The numbers Mantashe has given us are audited figures, so it seems pretty likely the ANC will make its target.

But this has other implications. For a start, what is the age profile of these newer members? You may remember there is a bit of a battle underway for the ANC right now, between those of a younger persuasion, Julius Malema et al., and those of a slightly more mature vintage, Cosatu and the SACP etc. The way we figure it, the [Youth League](#) has about 360,000 members. So then, ran my question, how many of the new members were under 35 (being the League's cut-off point)? The answer was, predictably, that the ANC doesn't really know. But Mantashe was at pains to point out that they are making a bigger effort to profile their members. Essentially, they need to know age, gender, race and class. The first two are usually easy to answer, the second two... not so much.

The race of the ANC's membership is beginning to be an issue. There's a realisation that it's not the "non-racial" movement it was in the past, and it is becoming more of a party with "a bias towards Africans in particular". It's tricky. But I for one am glad they're noticing. Already in Youth League conferences there is very little brown, never mind no white whatsoever. And while that doesn't really matter for now, it does if you think that the League is the ANC of the future. It would not be cool for the ruling party to be all of one race. Getting around this problem is a tricky one though.

Now, on to the provinces. There's been a big change here. The Eastern Cape has always been the biggest ANC province, one reason why Thabo Mbeki lost only 60-40 in 2007. But the province now has 220,000 members. KwaZulu-Natal now has 240,000. This is all about the Zuma factor, and the death of the IFP. The two are of course inter-related. On the one side, the IFP has been allowed to die by its ailing leader. It's been easy for the ANC to scoop up these votes. Add the Zuma factor, a Zulu leader of the ANC, who is brilliant at campaigning on his home patch, and you can see how this has happened.

Of course this is good news for Zuma. It means that he has a bigger power base to operate from. But there is a reason for caution.

**... it's easy to see why Zuma and Mantashe are looking so confident at the moment. They've looked at the numbers, they've done the maths.**

These are all new ANC members. Their support is softer than say in the Eastern Cape. These are people who either belonged to the IFP, or have not belonged to a political party before. The ANC isn't in their blood in the way it is in say, the Eastern Cape. So it's a big number, it's politically important, but it's not necessarily long-term rock-solid support.

Then we need to look north. We don't have figures for all the provinces unfortunately. But there was one important number that Mantashe let slip. In Limpopo, the ANC has 84,000 members. That's less than Gauteng with 93,000. But it's a fraction of KZN's figure. Limpopo doesn't have the populations of those two provinces sure, but when you look at the maths of ANC branches that send delegates to conference, well, suddenly it all becomes clear. Malema's home base is around a third the size of Zuma's. Hold on, perhaps Mantashiavelli didn't "let slip" anything.

Then we have the gainers and losers in terms of

membership. There's been big gains in KZN, the Eastern Cape, Gauteng and Mpumalanga. That all makes sense. But look at the losers. Limpopo is one. What is going on there? You would think that with the Youth League pushing as hard as it is to get more members, it would be one of the growth areas. It's not. An indication perhaps of how Malema and the province's premier Cassel Mathale are concentrating on, well, other things. The North-West is supposed to be another area of growth. One of the best organisers the ANC has is Fikile Mbalula, and he's a known operator there. And yet in terms of numbers, it's just not happening. And then there's the Northern Cape. That's really the DA's next target ground. It is a comment on the ethnic make-up of the area. Coloured people there, like other minorities, have started to leave the ANC. Finally, there's the ANC's disaster area, the Western Cape. Numbers are, of course, down there too. At this point, it's hard to see how the ANC is going to fix that province. It's just lost the plot entirely.

Overall, from the picture we have – and it is not complete – it's easy to see why Zuma and Mantashe are looking so confident at the moment. They've looked at the numbers, they've done the maths. And of course politics is far more complicated than just provinces. But the way provinces do appear to vote for leaders as a bloc means these numbers are important indicators of the state of play. Two weeks before Polokwane, the provinces indicated which way they would go, and the numbers turned out to be pretty much the final numbers.

And so, back to Rule Number One:

Do not bet against Jacob Zuma. 

Grootes is an **EWN** reporter.



# GWEN MAHLANGU-NKABINDE COURTS CANCELLATION OF POLICE DEALS

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The blame game continues as public works minister Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde asks the court to cancel the multi-million rand police lease contract with businessman Roux Shabangu, which she blames on officials and predecessors. CARIEN DU PLESSIS wonders if the department is swimming in corruption, or drowning in it.

---

It was Geoff Doidge who did it, public works minister Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde said in papers filed in the Pretoria high court on Tuesday, in a surprise application to cancel her department's massive R614 million

lease agreement with businessman Roux Shabangu for new police headquarters in mid-town Pretoria.

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Photo: Department of public works

**“We have not paid Mr Shabangu one cent, no work was ever started on the Durban offices and nor have we authorised Mr Shabangu’s company to complete any work on the Middestad (police headquarters) building.” – Minister Gwen Mahlangu-Nkabinde**

Pity she didn’t feel so strongly about it when she was appointed in Doidge’s place in October last year (he is now ambassador to Sri Lanka) or she could have saved some bucks on legal fees. Even though the contract was signed under Doidge’s watch in July, he put it on ice to investigate after an independent legal advisor told him it could be invalid.

When she replaced him, Mahlangu-Nkabinde promptly reinstated the lease (as well as a R1.1 billion lease of a building in Durban), and this led to Public Protector Thuli Madonsela’s finding that Mahlangu-Nkabinde was guilty of “improper” and “unlawful” conduct.

According to [Doidge’s version](#), his then director-general Siviwe Dongwana had found inconsistencies in the Pretoria lease agreement, which led to the suspension of the agreement.

But in December, Dongwana was suspended by Mahlangu-Nkabinde. He told Madonsela he felt pressured by the minister to reinstate the lease deal.

In her new-found zeal to get evil officials out of the way, Mahlangu-Nkabinde has subsequently also shipped off her acting

director-general Sam Vukela on special leave.

Despite having issued press releases about these “sabotaging” officials in the past couple of days (on Monday she announced that a departmental investigation uncovered R3 billion of tender corruption – we’re still not sure if that included the police leases), she left it to DA MP John Steenhuisen to tell journalists about the acting director-general.

Steenhuisen, on Tuesday morning before the court announcement, called for the minister to do the right thing and resign. Later he had to welcome Mahlangu-Nkabinde’s court move, although he said he found it “interesting”: “She is going to court to overturn a decision she in essence supported,” he said. The leases were illegal and voidable back then, but they now have to be voided in court, which meant extra money and trouble, he said.

Steenhuisen reckoned that Mahlangu-Nkabinde’s new-found zeal for corruption-fighting – just a few weeks ago she was declared “uncooperative” by Madonsela – could have something to do with an “explosive” auditor-general’s report about to be released, which he

**“This matter has been hanging for too long. The sooner the court decides on the validity of the lease, the better it would be for us as a company to continue with our course of business.”  
– businessman Roux Shabangu’s office**

said would be damning of her department’s procurement and financial affairs.

“She is now trying to cast herself as the saviour of the department, and trying to prepare the South African public for the report,” he said. “She said she was handed a poisoned chalice when she was appointed, but she herself drank deeply from the chalice.”

In a [statement](#) on Tuesday, Mahlangu-Nkabinde explained the situation as follows: “These contracts were entered into before I became minister. Part of the reason it has taken some time to get to the point of filing court papers is because of obstruction I received from within the department, and because I received contradictory legal advice”.

She also denied that the lease agreements had cost the South Africa taxpayer anything to date.

“We have not paid Mr Shabangu one cent, no work was ever started on the Durban offices and nor have we authorised Mr Shabangu’s company to complete any work on the Middestad (Pretoria police headquarters) building.”

She also said some officials were under investigation.

“We have the courage to say publicly we have a problem with corruption in the department,” Mahlangu-Nkabinde said.

Shabangu, who is not friends with President Jacob Zuma (the only time the President has spoken out about the matter so far, was to deny the friendship), [told Sapa](#) on Tuesday through his spokeswoman Lelo Zulu that he welcomed the court application because it would bring clarity on the matter.

“This matter has been hanging for too long,” Zulu said. “The sooner the court decides on the validity of the lease, the better it would be for us as a company to continue with our course of business.”

Madonsela’s report into the matter had found that the public works department had deviated from tender processes, that the lease agreements were not at the market rate, and that Shabangu allegedly pressured officials to finalise the deals.

The report is due to be discussed by the police and public works portfolio committees in Parliament soon.. 

#### READ MORE:

1. No-show Gwen raises ire of MPs and Protector in [Daily Maverick](#)
2. Public Protector on participatory democracy, Secrecy Bill and her office’s power and the country in trouble, in [Daily Maverick](#)

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## HIGH DRAMA AT AVUSA AMID RUMOURS OF PRAKASH DESAI'S DEPARTURE

It has been a bit of an annus horribilis for Avusa, even though Prakash Desai's still taking home a handsome incentive bonus. There was that ugly spat with Mvelaphanda over the UHC deal, Capitau was on, then Capitau was off, and that pesky shareholder activist just wouldn't leave them alone. But the worst was yet to come this week as the company's chairman and two non-executive board members resigned amid speculation that Desai would be next. By MANDY DE WAAL

Prakash Desai didn't have too bad a year in 2011, all things considered. The group chief executive officer of Avusa got a salary of R3,339 million and an incentive bonus of R2 million as a reward for performance for the 2010 financial year. The same financial year, Avusa's operational profit fell from R402 million (1999) to R250 million (2010), and net income was

almost cleaved in half, plummeting from R23 million (1999) to R12 million (2010).

This has been grating shareholder activist Theo Botha for quite some time. "A point that I have been raising with Avusa for the past couple of years is the issue of remuneration. If

Photo: Reuters, circa 1950.

you go back to 2008 and look at the operating profit before exceptional items, it comes to about R503 million. If you look at the figure now, stripping out the acquisition (of UHC), you are looking at R271 million, so you can see that there has been a downward spiral," says Botha.

"This year Mr Desai 'awarded' himself a R2 million rand bonus. Bonuses are based on the previous year, so these bonuses are being paid out for the 2010 figures. If you look at the 2010 figures and compare them to the 2009 figures, you can see that the revenue went down dramatically and the headline earnings dropped by 38%," he says.

"The financial results for 2010 show that the financial performance of every single division of Avusa, barring one, went down for the year that Mr Desai got his bonus. That given, I need to say to Mr Desai, how can you actually justify your bonus if you are not doing well when looking at the financial results?" says Botha. The shareholder activist says the answer he got at Avusa's AGM earlier this week was very glib.

A former farmer and property broker, Botha bought his first shares close on ten years ago and became a shareholder activist after this first investment in life insurers, The Sage Group, went sour because Sage didn't disclose offshore losses. Botha doesn't make money off his investments as he only buys a couple of shares at a time, but he does get to go to annual general meetings and asks some very uncomfortable questions.

These include the questions he asked at Avusa's 2011 AGM, such as: why is Desai being remunerated for what Botha feels is mediocre performance. "Desai and the remuneration committee have a different idea to what I have

regarding pay and bonuses. I believe if your divisions aren't performing, the CEO shouldn't get a bonus at all, and most of Avusa's divisions turned in dismal performances."

"I really don't know how Avusa is setting its targets, because it is obvious the targets are lower than the given financial performance. I, for the life of me, don't know how they do it," Botha says.

Botha is largely known as a trouble-maker, but he wasn't the only cause of trouble at this year's AGM. Long standing non-executive director Tom Wixley quit, citing shareholder interference. Wixley had been on the Avusa board some nine years. Also gone were Avusa chairman Dumisa Ntsebeza and Babalwa Ngonyama, who was appointed more recently. But the big surprise was market speculation that Desai himself would be forced to step down.

"Desai 'set to quit' Avusa as owners flex board muscle," declared [Business Day](#) headline this Tuesday, saying further: "Day of turmoil at top SA media group as chairman resigns, and CEO is left in no doubt that his resignation is required."

Business Day said Desai was due to meet acting chairman Mikki Xayiya and non-executive director Jacques Schindehutte to discuss his future. Xayiya is also chairman of Mvelaphanda, the shareholder Desai faced off because Mvela opposed the UHC deal. This has said to have stressed the relationship between the two more than quite considerably. Schindehutte is a board member brought in by Avusa's other large shareholders, Coronation, another shareholder who haven't exactly been thrilled with the media company's performance.

"We abstained from all votes at the AGM except for voting for Jacques Schindehutte,

and that was to send a message to the board that we weren't happy with the status quo, and that we weren't happy with the way the UHC acquisition had been integrated," says Karl Leinberger, the chief investment officer at Coronation Fund Managers. "They were businesses that were very dependent on their key founders, and their founders' relationships with key clients. The founders had left the business and the group hadn't yet found long term candidates to replace them."

The reason given by Business Day for Mvelaphanda's unhappiness with the UHC deal is because it provided the lion's share of Avusa's profits for the 2011 financial year. "Mvelaphanda did clash earlier the Avusa board in terms of the UHC offer," says Leinberger. "They had concerns around whether it was a legacy business and were they over-paying for a legacy business."


But what about the issue of shareholder "meddling", as Wixley puts it in his resignation? "I think that it is incumbent on the shareholders to communicate to boards if they are unhappy with the strategic direction of companies. If they think that value is at risk of being destroyed, I think it is their responsibility to communicate it to boards," says Leinberger adding: "We have a fiduciary responsibility to the clients for whom we manage money to protect their capital and this is part of that process."

Avusa's share price fell some 4% as news began to break about the board departures and Desai's imminent exit, although late Monday, the Avusa CEO insisted that he was still the boss.

"I guess one would have expected a stronger reaction if that market was overly concerned," said Richard Tessendorf, a media analyst with Avior Research.

"From our perspective we have been bearish on Avusa for a while now, just from the sense that we don't see the portfolio as that well positioned in terms of developments around things like broadband," he says. "If you look across their portfolio, if you look at music and gaming sales, or perhaps newspapers or at least paid for newspapers, you see a lot of headwind for those industries in the long term if you take developed markets as a case study. From that perspective I didn't think they are too well positioned."

But this hasn't dampened Capita's interest and CEO David Field says the board changes at Avusa are only about shareholders taking action. "It is not that Capita has gone away. Avusa put the announcement out that we needed treasury approval, so obviously that is something we are working on. We still have interest in Avusa, the market has an awareness of this. I don't want to be difficult but that's all I can say because it is a bit of a difficult situation."

But what of Desai? The CEO whose job is said to hang in the balance has a fixed-term contract with Avusa to the end of March 2013. So even though he may be set to leave early, he's likely to get a rather handsome golden handshake. 

#### READ MORE:

1. Desai "set to quit" Avusa as owners flex board muscle in [Business Day](#).
2. Avusa's CEO Desai may leave company: Theo Botha - shareholder activist on [MoneyWeb](#).
3. Shareholder meddling at Avusa "quite substantial" in [Business Day](#).

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JACQUES ROUSSEAU

## HOW TO STRUT LIKE A SLUT AND ITCH LIKE A BITCH

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Most of us understand what is meant by “talking the talk” and “walking the walk”. The former denotes mere words, the latter putting those words into action. Both demonstrate the power of the words we choose and use ... and power is something everyone should be extremely careful and circumspect in using.

---

On Saturday 24 September, Slutwalk comes to Johannesburg, and thousands will participate to protest victim-blaming and to affirm the right of all women to wear what they want and act as they please without fear of being misunderstood as inviting sexual assault.

Many will participate dressed in clothing meant to appear “sluttish” (in the traditional sense of the word) because part of the point of Slutwalks is to “reclaim” the word “slut” and to say that others (rapists, as well as those who deny women agency in less violent ways) don’t have the authority to impute desire where none might exist.

As I’ve [previously argued](#) in the lead-up to the Cape Town Slutwalk, calling these protests Slutwalks runs the risk of alienating some supporters who see the word “slut”



as inescapably pejorative. It also runs the risk of creating tension between those sympathetic to the cause, but divided on the appropriateness of the name.

In fact, one unfortunate consequence has been that some who question the name are thereby assumed to be unsympathetic to the cause, despite their reasons for objecting to its branding. The equation has sometimes appeared quite simple: Object to the name, and thereby reveal yourself as (at best) only partially aware of the deep-seated patriarchy and resulting lack of understanding experienced by many (probably most) victims of rape.

Another example of this easy equation is highlighted by my previous sentence, where I use the word “victim”. Criminal agents recently violated my home, three times in the space of a month. That makes me (and my family) a victim of their crimes. To call those who are victims of crimes “survivors” instead of victims is a choice, not an obligation – it can signal a certain attitude or mindset, but we start playing dangerously fast and loose with language when choosing not to use that signal as indicating a lack of sympathy.

Words mean something, and they have consequences. One way to be help being clear about potential consequences is to agree on definitions and to allow for the fact that increased miscommunication – and misattribution of motive – becomes increasingly likely if we can revise those definitions as we please. This particular slippery slope concludes with a world of Humpty Dumptys, all asserting that “When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less”.

Slutwalks have such momentum and have

achieved such significant consciousness-raising and debate that even those who oppose the name need to acknowledge that they probably do more good than harm. I’d therefore like to appeal to a post-Slutwalk consideration of how we engage with such issues and causes in future – and in particular a consideration of whether gendered epithets like “slut” merit a place in our discourse around social activism.

Besides the debates around whether (ostensibly neutral) designators like “chairman”, personal pronouns like “he” or compound words like “mankind” perpetuate a gender bias, gendered epithets constitute another class of words that reveal a bias in our language and behaviour. Apologies to sensitive readers, but there are quite simply far more negative words used to describe women than there are to describe men.

“Bitch” is a mild example – not only because it’s sometimes used in reference to men, but also because it has been stripped of much of its sexist content in usages such as “to bitch about Arsenal’s defence”. But “cunt”, “twat” or “whore” have a visceral impact and malice that “cock” or “prick” seem to lack. And then there is the word “pussy”, which, while applied mostly to men, is intended to accuse that man of being weak – just like a woman.

The primary question is this: Why do these words not get the same attention and attract the same outrage as the words “nigger” or “kaffir”? While I do believe that it’s possible to use all these words for effect – in humour, or to make a point about racism or sexism – most usages of them are instead in anger, and intended to silence or demean the target.

These expressions of contempt or hostility use words that are linked to a race or a gender,

**One aspect of seeing misogyny is perhaps recognising that words can be used to harm, and that when those harmful words are linked to race or gender, existing stereotypes regarding those races and genders can also be reinforced.**

and as I've suggested above, that race is often black and that gender is often female. But while the racist versions of these slurs are unquestionably considered unacceptable, the sexist versions operate in a context where misogyny is so deeply entrenched that it can escape notice.

As Phil Molé argues in [“The Invisibility of Misogyny”](#): “It’s not just the fact that misogyny is invisible that we need to face – it’s also the fact that this invisibility is a large part of what makes it the enormous problem it is. We cannot begin to properly address misogyny and the harm it causes unless we start being able to see it.”


One aspect of seeing misogyny is perhaps recognising that words can be used to harm, and that when those harmful words are linked to race or gender, existing stereotypes regarding those races and genders can also be reinforced. Even if you use these words without holding sexist and racist attitudes, you can have little control over how your target perceives them, and the hurt they might cause.

In the context of this weekend’s Slutwalk, these targets include those women who have been subjected to hostility through being called a slut, and who find themselves unable to see

the word as anything other than demeaning.

Furthermore, we sometimes forget other audiences – the genuine racists and sexists, who could overhear casual uses of such epithets, and interpret this to mean that their position is more broadly supported than is actually the case.

So while I can believe that the Slutwalk does more harm than good – and while I fully understand the point of calling it Slutwalk in the first place – I worry about how to reconcile it with the broader issue of how language can be used to reinforce misogyny. I imagine that many self-described feminists agree with me on sexist epithets in general, understanding them to be a subtle way of reinforcing negative attitudes towards a particular sex.

And if, in a few months’ or years’ time, a campaign is launched and marches are held to get people thinking about whether it’s appropriate to call someone a cunt, might it perhaps be the case that we’ll have little answer to someone who retorts “you’re simply missing the point to find ‘cunt’ offensive – why not simply reclaim it, just like you did with ‘slut?’” 

#### READ MORE:

1. The nuanced discussion, [Butterflies and Wheels](#)
2. The [invisibility of misogyny](#)

MABINE SEABE



# HERITAGE DAY GOES UP IN CHARCOAL SMOKE

---

It's National Braai Day this weekend, one of the most festive days on the South African calendar. But wasn't there some other intention to this public holiday other than getting a few steaks and wors to sizzle?

---

In marking South Africa's first Heritage Day on 24 September 1996, then President Nelson Mandela said "When our first democratically-elected government decided to make Heritage Day one of our national days, we did so because we knew that our rich and varied cultural heritage has a profound power to help build our new nation." Fast forward to 2011 and it would seem that our heritage and diversity are the source of discord

**I love to braai as much as (maybe even more than) the next South African, but I weep when a celebration of our diversity has been relegated to a few chops and steaks on the Weber and beers in hand.**

rather than providing the ties that bind South Africans. One only has to look at many online news websites and Twitter debates to see that our differences are profound and difficult to paper over. Our State motto “Unity in Diversity” is nothing but a philosophy, which has no bearing on everyday life in South Africa.

Once South Africa had finally achieved political emancipation for all, we were made to look past our mix of cultures, our race and our diversity – all in the name of reconciliation and “nation building”. The divisions which defined apartheid had to be locked away like a shameful secret. Instead of Heritage Month being used as a time in which we celebrate our cultures and have conversations about our dark past to find solutions for the treacherous road ahead, Heritage Day has been popularly hijacked and reduced to “National Braai Day”.

Nine provinces, 11 official languages and a plethora of cultures locally and from around the world – and our heritage comes down to a braai.

I love to braai as much as (maybe even more than) the next South African, but I weep when a celebration of our diversity has been relegated to a few chops and steaks on the Weber and beers in hand.

Braais bring people together, which is what I presume to be a pillar of nation building. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, patron of National Braai Day, said “we have 11 official languages but only one word for this wonderful institution: braai...” He went on further to say that “it has a fantastic potential to bind us together”. The idea of South Africans standing around a fire, breaking bread together and sharing stories of our heritage and culture is wonderful, but in a fractured society that is not the case. Building a better South Africa means properly acknowledging and celebrating holidays like Heritage Day.

A friend said that “I don't think I see braai day taking the place of Heritage Day; if anything it is part of it”. I feel that braai day has superseded Heritage Day and, like our other public holidays such as Youth Day and Womens' Day, is steeped in history but dishonoured by the lack of understanding and respect. While there are official functions to commemorate our public holidays, not many people pay attention to these – perhaps because all these entail are a rally and speech by the President.

We should be free to celebrate Heritage Day as we see it fit, but we should not forget what the holiday is really about. Heritage Month should be about building bridges, understanding different cultures and learning about different South African traditions. If we're willing to let this holiday go up flames, what else are we willing to compromise on? **MM**

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	<b>Kempton Park:</b> Festival Mall	<b>Menlyn:</b> Menlyn Shopping Centre	<b>Nelspruit:</b> Riverside Mall	<b>Port Elizabeth:</b> The Bridge Centre	<b>Pretoria:</b> Wonderpark Shopping Centre	<b>South Coast:</b> South Coast Mall	<b>Southgate:</b> Southgate Mall	<b>The Glen:</b> The Glen Mall	<b>Vereeniging:</b> River Square Mall		

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## AU RECOGNISES NTC

The African Union has recognised the National Transitional Council as the representative of the Libyan people. In a statement dated 19 September, the office of the chairman of the African Union said that it had received a letter from the NTC which provided assurances in line with the AU roadmap for Libya. The NTC will now occupy the Libya seat in the AU.

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## UNEXPLODED GRENADE FOUND IN KENYAN PM'S BUILDING

Kenyan police said on Tuesday that police found an unexploded hand grenade in a building that houses the office of Prime Minister Raila Odinga. Police evacuated and used sniffer dogs to search the building after the grenade was found. No other explosive



Libya's National Transitional Council (NTC) Chairman Mustafa Abdel Jalil (Reuters)

devices were found. Odinga was in the building at the time, meeting with the country's chief justice Willy Mutunga.

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## IMF: GLOBAL ECONOMIC WOES WILL AFFECT SUB-SAHARAN GROWTH

The International Monetary Fund has warned on Tuesday that while sub-Saharan African growth in the short-term will continue, the faltering US and European economies could threaten

exports, aid and capital flows in the long term. The fund's world economic outlook report outlined the potential of spill-over in the region from the global uncertainties, and revised its GDP growth forecast for sub-Saharan Africa from 5.5% to 5.2%.

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## AL-SHABAAB AWARDS WEAPONS IN KIDS' KORAN READING CONTEST

According to a BBC report, Somali Islamist group al-



Al Shabaab (Reuters)

Shabaab has awarded weapons as the prize in a children's Koran recital and general-knowledge contest. Among the prizes in the annual competition were AK-47 rifles, hand grenades and cash. The winners were said to be between ten and 17. The group controls parts of southern Somalia and has been growing its influence into Kenya.

### ILLEGAL BORDER CHECKPOINTS CLOSED IN SOUTH SUDAN

South Sudan has closed numerous illegal checkpoints

along its borders where police and security personnel are said to have been "taxing" traders. The move is an attempt to curb rising commodity prices in the country. Sixty-five unauthorised taxation units are believed to have been operating along the country's borders.

### AIR ZIMBABWE RESUMES OPERATIONS...WITH ONE PASSENGER

Air Zimbabwe resumed operations last week after it received \$2.8 million from the country's government.

The airline flew 16 passengers from Harare to Victoria Falls on Sunday and had only one passenger on the return leg. Acting group chief executive Innocent Mavhunga said that the airline expected passenger volumes to be low for the next six months before returning to normal.

### PRESIDENTIAL GUARDS MISSING AFTER CASH THEFT

Uganda's Daily Monitor reported on Tuesday, quoting inside sources, that three soldiers of the special forces



Uganda's Yoweri Museveni (Reuters)

group, the elite presidential guard unit, have gone missing since large sums of money disappeared from the state house cash office in Kampala. The paper could not independently verify the information. A spokesman for the unit has denied that any of its soldiers are involved, but confirmed that the unit is investigating the theft.

### **NIGERIA REASSURES PUBLIC OVER "KILLER" MOBILE NUMBER**

Nigeria's communications commission has been forced to tell the public that there is no truth to the rumours that answering a call from a mobile phone number could kill. A text doing the rounds in the country

warned that several people who had answered calls with the ID 09141 had died. The commission said an unscrupulous person was spreading the rumours and that only the gullible would believe it.

### **CHINESE COMPANY TO BUILD MULTI-MILLION HOUSING PROJECT IN MAPUTO**

Mozambique's Prime Minister Aires Ali laid the first stone for a Chinese-built \$439 million housing project in Maputo, according to state newspaper Noticias. Ali is reported to have heralded the project with Henan Guoji Industrial and Development as proof of increasing cooperation with China. The project is meant to create housing for the middle

class and has been criticised as few Mozambicans can afford it.

### **RESEARCH: NO SUB-SAHARAN COUNTRY WILL MEET MDGS**

Research published in health journal The Lancet says that only nine of 137 developing countries will meet the Millennium Development Goals to improve the health of women and children. Progress is speeding up in most countries but none of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa will meet the goals by 2015, experts say. The researchers commended Botswana and Rwanda for substantial progress in tackling child mortality, whereas Nigeria and Ethiopia were making the slowest progress on this measure.



## AU & SOUTH AFRICA FINALLY CONCEDE LIBYAN REALITY

Reality has finally dawned on the African Union, which announced from New York on Tuesday its recognition of the National Transitional Council as the de facto government of Libya. South Africa followed suit. It was not international pressure alone that shoved the AU closer to reality. Discord within its own ranks left it with no option but to recognise the NTC as legitimate representative of the Libyan people. By KHADIJA PATEL.

The African Union and South Africa have finally caved in to international pressure, acknowledging that power has indeed changed hands in Libya. In a dramatic move on Tuesday, South Africa's department of international relations and co-operation announced that both the African Union and South Africa now recognise Libya's National Transitional Council as the government of Libya.

The belated recognition comes after both the AU and South Africa refused to recognise the NTC, sparking speculation that African

governments were stymied by a sense of loyalty to Gaddafi in their response to the war in Libya. On 23 August, at a hastily convened press conference organised to quell rampant speculation of Gaddafi's possible whereabouts, South Africa's minister of international relations insisted the country would not recognise a rebel government. "As far as we are concerned, if this government falls, there is no government," Maite Nkoana-Mashabane said.

Photo: REUTERS

## The change of heart from the AU comes just as the NTC announced on Monday that it had delayed the formation of a government indefinitely.


South Africa and the AU came under severe criticism for their failure to recognise that Gaddafi had indeed fallen, solemnly professing neutrality to what they deemed to be a “domestic squabble”. As the no-fly zone continued to be enforced and Nato extended its military intervention in Libya by another three months, AU members like South Africa accused Nato of pursuing regime change in the country, contravening its stated mandate of the protection of civilians. While the AU did its best to put on a united front to its position on Libya, it faced mounting pressure from within to call on Gaddafi to step down and support the NTC.

At the conclusion of the AU’s “high-level ad hoc committee on Libya” in Pretoria last Wednesday, the committee stressed the need for a “united African position”, indication that the African Union peace and security council would meet in the margins of the United Nations General Assembly in New York this week “to review developments and take appropriate positions to reinforce efforts to bring peace,

democracy and development, in Libya; including ensuring a united African position”. As 20 African states have already recognised the NTC, assuring that united position has required that the AU itself change its position.

According to the AU statement the AU was encouraged by assurances made by the NTC to the chairman of the AU Commission Jean Ping, on its “strategic commitment to the African continent”, “to give priority to national unity and to bring together all Libyan stakeholders, without any exception, to rebuild the country” and a “commitment to protect all foreign workers within Libya, including the African migrant workers.”

The change of heart from the AU comes just as the NTC announced on Monday that it had delayed the formation of a government indefinitely. While the NTC officially blames a squabble over the assignment of portfolios for the delay, it is widely believed that the formation of a government is being severely hampered by dissent in its ranks.

The AU may yet have to dodge uncomfortable questions about the timing of its change of heart. Reality may well have intervened a little late, but would those advocating a stronger regional body in Africa have preferred the AU stick to its metaphorical guns – no matter how bizarre those guns actually are? 

### READ MORE:

1. Libya's NTC indefinitely postpone forming new government in [Daily Maverick](#)
2. Faced with reality, AU begins to thaw its Libya position in [Daily Maverick](#)
3. Remember, Libya is an AU matter, Zuma tells UN in [Mail and Guardian](#)

African elections are unusual in that there are always two questions to be answered in their aftermath. The Zambian elections which were held on Tuesday were no exception. Everyone, of course, wants to know who won; that's normal. But it's still too close to call. Conflicting opinion polls gave no clue in the run up to the election, which sees incumbent President Rupiah Banda take on perennial runner-up Michael "King Cobra" Sata, who's hoping to strike lucky this time round. In the absence of proper exit polls, we're still no closer to knowing who will be taking (or re-taking) Zambia's top job.

The second (and often more pertinent) question is always asked in Africa but less often elsewhere. It's about the quality of the elections themselves. Were they free? Were they fair? Were ballot boxes manipulated, was intimidation used? On these questions, we already have a clear picture of what took place in Zambia. Certainly, irregularities occurred. Some voting stations had not received voting materials in time to open voting at six in the morning, and voting in those areas was extended by the same period as the delay. There was some violence. Frustrated Sata supporters, confused about the late openings, thought the vote was being rigged; a suspect was beaten before the confusion was cleared. Michael Sata's car was apparently smashed by Banda supporters, and crowds of youth set tyres alight, burnt buses and threw stones at police who tried to maintain order. Sata himself seemed unhappy with the process. "It's becoming very difficult. Boxes without covers, papers without serial numbers, those are all the difficulties we have," he said.

But the violence was swiftly contained, and the chief European election observer said the election was conducted in a "correct" manner, and that violence was isolated. This observation has important implications for the immediate future; it undermines Sata's claim of electoral irregularities which, if he loses, might form the basis for any potential post-election violence, and will reinforce the pressure on Banda to maintain his promise to respect the results, no matter what they are.

A good day for Zambia, a country well on the road to building a strong and stable democracy. 

## ZAMBIANS CHOOSE NEW LEADER IN "CORRECT" ELECTIONS

Zambians went to the polls on Tuesday to choose a new president, and while we don't know who won (and won't until Thursday), we can tell you how the elections were conducted, which is perhaps an even more important question. By SIMON ALLISON.

### READ MORE:

1. Voting ends in Zambian election, scattered violence in capital on [VOA news](#)
2. Zambians watch internet, social media for vote fraud on [Reuters](#)



## UHURU KENYATTA'S LIFE AND CAREER HANG IN BALANCE

Uhuru Kenyatta, Kenya's deputy prime minister, looks a model candidate for the 2012 presidential elections. He's the son of an independence leader and was a voice of reason in the recent politician [pay row](#). There's only one problem... By GREG NICOLSON.

Photo: Uhuru Kenyatta. (REUTERS)

The finance minister is one of three Kenyans appearing at the International Criminal Court today accused of planning and funding revenge attacks in the Rift Valley during the 2008 post-election violence. Triggered by disputed election results, the turmoil left 1,133 people dead and displaced more than 650,000. Kenyatta, Kenya's civil service boss Francis Muthaura and former police chief General Hussein Ali

make one half of the “[Ocampo Six](#)” appearing at the ICC to determine whether there's sufficient evidence to lay charges at The Hague.

Their hearing comes after former industrialisation minister Henry Kosgey, another Kenyan presidential hopeful, William Ruto, and radio journalist Joshua Sang appeared at the ICC earlier this month for inciting violence after their Orange Democratic Movement lost the 2007 election. Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo told the court they had promised land and 50,000 Kenyan shillings (about R4,000) to supporters who killed anyone from President Kibaki's Kikuyu tribe. The defendants argued that Ocampo lacked any tangible evidence that the killings were organised.

The new round of ICC hearings is expected to provide much drama as they involve two key supporters of President Mwai Kibaki – Kenyatta and Muthaura. Ocampo is likely to argue that they organised and financed revenge attacks by Mungiki, the banned sect thought to be the shadow behind much of the country's crime, on ODM supporters.

Kenyatta is expected to take the stand in the hearings that are scheduled to last until 5 October. We won't know who can run for president and who will be called to The Hague until the end of the year. [iM](#)

### READ MORE:

1. It's decision time for top Kibaki men in [Daily Nation](#)



## MALAWI'S DEFERENTIAL DEMONSTRATORS CANCEL PROTEST, AGAIN

Are these the politest protests ever? For the second month in a row, organisers of huge anti-government marches have called off planned demos at the very last minute after not receiving permission from authorities. Doesn't this defeat the point of civil disobedience? By SIMON ALLISON

Photo: President Mutharika. (REUTERS)

The statement from the civil society anti-government coalition was terse, and not particularly illuminating. “We have not received permission from police and district assemblies to hold the vigils [protests],” said chief organiser and spokesman Billy Mayaya at a press conference late on Tuesday night, just a matter of hours before he was due to lead thousands of Malawians in a mass protest against the increasingly narcissistic rule of President Bingu wa Mutharika. “We have decided that planned vigils should be done in one’s own home. We are calling on all Malawians to stay home, pray and reflect on the problems that are affecting this country,” he added. His new proposal is for a three day national strike, beginning on Wednesday.

It’s the second time in little over a month that Malawi’s opposition, organised under the civil society umbrella, has cancelled a planned public demonstration. Last time, it was to give government talks some more time to come to fruition, something that clearly hasn’t happened given that the UN-mediated talks were abandoned last week thanks to the glacial pace of government reform.

It’s not at all clear at this point whether Tuesday’s about-turn is a strategic decision, taken to minimise potential violence and build support against Mutharika; or whether it is in response to some explicit threat of violence. This is not an unlikely scenario given that 18 people died in July’s protests, and opposition figures have been targetted in apparently government-sponsored arson attacks. Or perhaps the opposition don’t have as much support as they claim. Either way, it’s good news for Mutharika, who will find it a lot easier to deal with praying activists in their homes than thousands of irate citizens on the streets.. [iM](#)

### READ MORE:

1. Three days stay away from work, no demo – Malawi activists in [Nyasa Times](#).

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## NO JOLLY ROGERS AT AFRICAN SEMINAR ON PIRACY

The Pirate Seminar, organised by the Institute for Security Studies in Pretoria, was a sober affair. Although there were a few naval uniforms, and one truly magnificent moustache, there were no peg-legs or parrots, and not an eye-patch to be seen. It seems that when admirals, captains, policy wonks and defence consultants meet to talk about piracy, they treat it with the gravity the issue deserves.

By SIMON ALLISON.

It's a serious problem. Estimates vary, but piracy in East Africa, almost exclusively based in one region of Somalia, costs between \$7 to \$12 billion a year in ransoms, security presence, increased insurance premiums and re-routing costs. That money isn't paid by shipping companies, businesses or governments, but is passed along to consumers in the form of higher prices for food, fuel and goods. And unless something

changes in how piracy is dealt with, things are only likely to get more expensive.

Piracy in Somalia started out of frustration. Most of them were fishermen who couldn't compete with illegal trawlers which would raid their fishing grounds, or with the boats which took advantage of Somalia's lawlessness

Photo: REUTERS

## **And Somali pirates get bolder and bolder, straying further from their coastline. One pirate attack was measured at 1,300 nautical kilometres from the Somali coast.**

to dump toxic waste in their territorial waters, badly damaging fishing prospects. So the fishermen took matters into their own hands and started exacting their own informal levies on any boats straying into Somali waters, enforced with the threat of violence. Soon others joined in, attracted by this apparently easy money – made easier by the fact that there's no institution in Somalia strong enough to do anything about it – and a thriving industry was born.

The waters around Somalia were initially excellent hunting grounds for pirates, as a relatively narrow channel between Somalia and Yemen doesn't give ships much room to manoeuvre. Security there has been tightened significantly in the last few years after the introduction of an international naval force, which has instituted a "safe corridor", constantly patrolled and through which ships can pass in relative safety. But the safe corridor ends once the ships get through the danger zone and scatter in every direction. It's here they're vulnerable again, as the Indian Ocean is simply too big to guard. With the minimal naval force present, it would be like trying to enforce traffic control in the continental US with 35 scooters, commented one panellist at the ISS seminar on piracy and maritime

security. And Somali pirates get bolder and bolder, straying further from their coastline. One pirate attack was measured at 1,300 nautical kilometres from the Somali coast. Their tactics have evolved too. Sometimes they'll pirate a small vessel such as a trading dhow or small merchant vessel, and use that as a mothership to pirate a larger vessel.

Unfortunately, there's not a lot the international community can do about it. Piracy is such an attractive career option in Somalia (one pirate's \$10,000 pay-off from one job is equivalent to two-thirds of a Somali's expected lifetime income), that even if all 5,000 working pirates were arrested today, there'd be thousands more ready to replace them tomorrow. Paradoxically, piracy can't be solved at sea. It must be addressed on shore by providing decent alternative career options and a government that can enforce its own regulations. This is easier said than done in the failed state that is Somalia, although a good start might be to bolster or at least engage with semi-autonomous states such as Somaliland and Puntland.

Failing this, only the symptoms can be addressed, and even that's difficult. Putting armed guards on ships is very effective, but also prohibitively expensive and fraught with

**South Africa, though, does have reason to worry. The slow but steady increase in West African piracy is a growing threat, as is the potential for Somali piracy to spread further south.**

legal and practical difficulties. Egypt, for example, won't allow guards to transit through their country with arms and ammunition, making it difficult to arrange their logistics. Sending more ships to the area is costly and politically unfeasible; no one wants to commit more of their navy to wander up and down the Red Sea, and anyway, unless warships are empowered to go after pirates in their bases, it can't be that effective.

A more viable option is to re-route ships, which some shipping companies are already doing. If this practice became prevalent, it would be great news for South Africa, as this means far more sea traffic rounding the Cape of Good Hope and paying the associated fees. But it would be bad news for the global economy as it would push up the prices of anything transported by sea. It would be especially bad for the Indian Ocean ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam, which might see business dry up completely.

South Africa, though, does have reason to worry. The slow but steady increase in West African piracy is a growing threat, as is the potential for Somali piracy to spread further south. Preventative action is needed, especially in Mozambique which shares Somalia's problematic combination of long coastline and weak government. Now's the time to sort out the economic issues which encourage piracy before it's too late.

But there's unlikely to be political will for this. In fact, a general lack of political will makes it very difficult to deal effectively with the pirate threat. Even though every country in the world can and does agree that piracy is a bad thing, there's a reluctance on the part of politicians to commit resources to address a problem that seems so far away, a problem which impacts only commercial interests anyway.

And commercial interests aren't trying too hard to mobilise political will because, at the end of the day, the damage caused by piracy represents but a tiny fraction of the total shipping industry, and any increased costs can be passed on to the consumer. So, in the end, it's the people that end up paying as Somalia's modern-day buccaneers continue to wreak havoc on the high seas. **fM**

**Note:** Under ISS rules, journalists are free to use all information gathered during a seminar, but cannot attribute statements to specific participants.

#### **READ MORE:**

1. Somali pirates inspire West African copycats on [Daily Maverick](#)
2. Pirates, Inc. in the [Financial Times](#)
3. Don't shed any tears for Somalia's pirates in the [Globe and Mail](#)

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# WORLD



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## AFGHANISTAN

Former Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani has been killed by a bomb which ripped through his home in Kabul on Tuesday. Rabbani had been appointed by President Karzai to begin negotiations with the Taliban and develop a framework for peace. It seems as if the attack was deliberately intended to throw the embryonic peace process off-kilter, and there are fears that this will now plunge the country into further political crisis.

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## USA

The UN's 66th General Assembly is officially open, and though there are many important issues on the agenda – Libya, Syria, Yemen – the eyes of the world will be on Friday's session, when Palestine is scheduled to submit its application for full UN membership (bar some unlikely last-minute deal). It will be presented by Palestinian President



Assassinated: Former Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani (Reuters)

Mahmoud Abbas, who will reportedly be accompanied by the mother of five Palestinian freedom fighters, all now dead. Abbas will be followed by an address by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who will have to pull some serious piece of theatre out of the bag to match that.

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## ISRAEL

Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu has asked Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas for "direct negotiations" as a last-ditch attempt to avoid Friday's bid for statehood. Both the leaders are in New York for the UN's sitting this week. Netanyahu and the US insist that only direct talks can resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Netanyahu has also said

that he believes the UN bid is doomed to fail. Palestine doesn't agree, and although Abbas told the Telegraph that he was "willing" to meet Netanyahu at the UN, a spokesman for the Palestinian delegation said that a direct meeting was not on the cards and that the Israeli PM was "playing games".

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## ITALY

Italy has become the latest victim of the Standard & Poors scythe, with its credit rating downgraded from A+ to A. S&P justified the drop by noting that Italy's government debt is the highest among A-rated countries. They also said that they believe Italy's economic reform plans will do little to boost the country's economic performance, and



A bomb explosion in Ankara (Reuters)

included a sideswipe at Italy's "fragile governing coalition". The news did nothing to raise confidence in the eurozone, with the euro falling more than half a cent.

## USA

Republican presidential hopeful Rick Perry gave a speech in New York on Tuesday where he pledged strong support for Israel and criticised Obama's handling of Palestine. Excerpts of the speech were handed to the Associated Press before the event, and revealed that Perry

slammed Obama for his "policy of appeasement" which has "encouraged" Palestine to seek statehood. Perry's speech is expedient, in that Republicans and pro-Israel activists have complained that Obama has seemingly been pushing Israel harder for concessions than Palestine.

## TURKEY

A bomb exploded in the Turkish capital of Ankara on Tuesday, killing three people and injuring at least 15. The government blamed the

outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Turkish President Abdullah Gal described the attack as "inhuman". It's the latest in a spate of attacks by the PKK, and may have been retaliation for the Turkish government's announcement in recent days that Turkey will launch a ground assault on PKK camps.

## YEMEN

Hairy stuff is happening on the streets of Yemen. Running battles between pro-government forces and



Greeks protest again (Reuters)

opponents are escalating in the capital, Sanaa. By Tuesday evening the death toll for the day's fighting had reached nine, which makes a total of 90 since Sunday, including the casualties from a mortar attack on unarmed protestors. The UN said that four children were killed by live ammunition during Sunday and Monday's fighting. President Saleh continues to stay safely out of trouble in Saudi Arabia, where he is seeking medical treatment, despite calls for his return.

## LIBYA

Libyan civilians are fleeing Gaddafi's hometown of Sirte

in a bid to escape the ongoing battles between the rebels and Gaddafi loyalists. The rebels said on Monday that they have captured the airport and other areas, but have been unable to fully rout Gaddafi's forces. The Brother Leader himself poked his head above the parapet on Tuesday, telling Syrian TV that the Nato airstrikes "could not last forever" and that his regime "represents millions of Libyans". It's still not clear where the hell he is hiding.

## GREECE

Patience among international lenders towards Greece is running out. Greece is currently in talks with the IMF and

eurozone leaders to secure it the sixth tranche of aid it desperately needs. The IMF has warned that Greece will not secure the necessary aid unless it implements the recommended reforms. After a phone call late on Monday with the relevant parties, Greek finance minister Evangelos Venizelos said the country would do whatever was necessary to secure the aid but would not allow itself to become a "scapegoat". Talks were resuming on Tuesday night.

## GERMANY

Angela Merkel's ruling coalition in Germany is facing troubles. After her coalition partners the Free Democratic Party (FDP) lost Sunday's regional election, the stability of the coalition looks uncertain. The FDP has been running a populist campaign based on exploiting voters' reluctance to use their taxpayer money on bailing out Greece, but it clearly isn't working. The issue is that the German parliament is set to vote on euro rescue bills over the next few months, and with the CDU and the FDP taking up opposing stances, they are looking like increasingly odd bedfellows.



Nic Clegg (Reuters)

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## TAIWAN

Obama's administration is expected to make a decision this week on whether it will sell Taiwan F-16 fighter jets. China is resolutely opposed to the sale as it sees Taiwan as part of its territory, and has never ruled out the use of force to bring the island under its control. While the US government's decision has yet to be formally announced, it is understood that it will seek a compromise by agreeing to upgrade Taiwan's existing F-16 AB jets while refusing their request for the more sophisticated F-16 CDs.

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## TURKEY

Despite growing tensions between the US and Turkey, the two countries have

completed an agreement to station a US missile defence radar in the Turkish city of Kurecik. The site will be protected by 50 US soldiers. The decision was hailed as the biggest diplomatic move between Turkey and the US in the last 20 years, and is said to have only been pushed through because President Barack Obama and Turkish PM Recep Erdogan are personally close. The reason for the mounting tension between the two countries is to do with Israel, with whom Turkey has an increasingly hostile relationship.

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## JAPAN

Japan's biggest weapons maker, Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, suffered a cyber attack last month which

saw viruses infect over 80 of its computers and servers. Unfortunately, they neglected to inform officials about this little setback, who then had to learn of it from press reports on Monday. This contravenes standard government policy that contractors have to immediately inform officials of any security breaches. Now they have warned Mitsubishi Heavy that this slip-up could threaten its contracts to supply the Japanese military.

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## UK

Deputy UK Prime Minister Nick Clegg has said that UK banking reforms could be implemented far before 2019, the date recommended by an independent commission earlier this month. The commission's major recommendation was that banks must ring-fence their high-street banking business from their investment banking arms in order to prevent another taxpayer bailout. David Cameron initially said that the 2019 deadline would be adhered to, but Clegg says now that the changes should be implemented "as quickly as possible".



## TWO DECADES ON DEATH ROW, NOW TROY DAVIS IS TO DIE

Troy Davis has lost his last attempt to avoid death by lethal injection later today. He's been on death row in Georgia for 22 years, convicted of a crime it seems he did not commit. Now he is a dead man walking.  
By REBECCA DAVIS\*


Photo: Georgia Department of Corrections  
handout photo of Troy Davis. REUTERS

Rejecting pleas by Davis's lawyers that shaky witness testimony and a lack of physical evidence presented enough doubt about his guilt to spare him death, the Georgia state board of pardons and paroles ruled on Tuesday morning Davis, 42, should die for killing Mark MacPhail, an off-duty police officer, in a Savannah parking lot in 1989.

Troy Davis was 21 years old when he was convicted of the murder of MacPhail. There was no forensic evidence supporting the conviction, but there was the testimony of nine witnesses - enough, the court decided, to find Davis guilty. But in the 22 years since, seven of the nine witnesses have recanted their testimonies and two others now say another man committed the crime. The state has tried to execute Davis on four occasions in the past four years, but each time has called it off, sometimes only hours before the event, because of the doubts about his guilt.

Now Davis has high-profile supporters clamouring for clemency - among them Pope Benedict XVI and former US president Jimmy Carter. Davis's case has also attracted a huge outpouring of public support, with thousands of people protesting across America last weekend holding signs saying "I am Troy Davis".

Amnesty International US suggested this public reaction was indicative of changing attitudes towards the death penalty in the country. Let's not forget, however, that the biggest cheers the audience gave on the occasion of the Republican presidential candidates' first TV debate were directed at Rick Perry for his reminder that he has presided over 234 executions in his time as Governor of Texas.

In Davis's case, it all came down to the decision of the five people on Georgia's board of pardons and paroles - and they said "No". 

### READ MORE:

1. Troy Davis to learn execution fate as protests continue in Georgia, in [The Guardian](#)





## ‘OCCUPY WALL STREET’ PROTEST – NOT QUITE CAIRO, BUT TELL THAT TO THE NYPD

The banner on the website says “the resistance continues at Liberty Plaza, with free pizza ;)” But it’s not just the emoticons that let you know this is a public protest generated by social media. The twitter feed is reporting, on day four of the #OccupyWallStreet campaign, that one activist arrested by the NYPD is in “critical condition”. Could it be the start of America’s “Arab spring”? By KEVIN BLOOM.

It was an overcast morning in downtown Manhattan, Saturday 17 September, when 5,000 citizens of the United States began their campaign to occupy Wall Street. The activists, protesting corporate greed and calling for

“justice” for bankers, held up banners that betrayed the depths of their anger: “Stop Wall St. from bankrupting our future”, “This is what

Photo: Department of public works

## You can hear bystanders swearing at the NYPD, and voices shouting from the rear of the wagons: “I do not consent to this! I do not know why I’m being detained!”

the free market looks like!” and “Wall Street is Our Street”. A 150 square-foot Stars and Stripes, with the question “Foreclosed?” emblazoned across it, was raised behind the iconic Wall Street bull. When the New York Police Department blockaded the street and pushed back the activists, they took to marching laps around the financial district, and that evening set up a tented camp in a nearby park.

“Three hundred spent the night,” reported the Guardian on Sunday, 18 September, “several hundred reinforcements arrived the next day and as we write this article, the encampment is rolling out sleeping bags once again. When they tweeted to the world that they were hungry, a nearby pizzeria received \$2,800 in orders for delivery in a single hour. Emboldened by an outpouring of international solidarity, these American indignados said they'd be there to greet the bankers when the stock market opened on Monday. It looks like, for now, the police don't think they can stop them.”

In the event, the activists were there to greet the bankers at the beginning of the week – and the police did come up with a wonderfully clever strategy to deal with it all. As of today, Tuesday 20 September, you can watch live streaming of the NYPD manhandling young men and women in raincoats; you can see them

digging their knees into the shoulder blades of these prostrate protestors, pulling their hands behind their backs, cuffing them, and shoving them into police wagons. You can hear bystanders swearing at the NYPD, and voices shouting from the rear of the wagons: “I do not consent to this! I do not know why I’m being detained!”

Why they are being detained is, as yet, a mystery. What's suspected is that at least two of the eight arrested by 19 September, the third day of the protests, had infringed the rule that says you can't wear gas masks in public if you're part of a crowd that's greater than one (sic). Intensifying the confusion was this tweet put out by Lupe Fiasco, a sympathetic rap musician who arrived in the park with his own sound system: “The police ask 2 speak 2 the leader. We told them there is no leader They didnt understand #TakeWallStreet #OccupyWallStreet HA!”

So what, if anything, can the protest amount to? Largely ignored by mainstream US media – apart from a thin blog in the New York Times and a video on Huffington Post – the fact that it's garnering a lot of attention outside America's borders is revealing. The protest was inspired by the huge street demonstrations this year in Cairo's Tahrir Square, and was organised

through a variety of social networking sites and an activist hacker group known as “Anonymous”. Russia’s news network RT got a special kick out of the phenomenon, wondering aloud whether it was the beginning of the US’s “Arab spring”.

“Wall Street greed, corruption and the lack of accountability that followed brought these Americans to the brink,” the Russians noted, with ill-concealed delight. “Over 46 million people are living in poverty in the US – with 14 million unemployed. Much of this is triggered by the shameless gambling of Wall Street CEOs.”

Next, the network quoted a protestor wearing a Franklin D. Roosevelt mask: “This very spot,” said the man, “is a site of a heinous crime that’s been perpetrated by Wall Street bankers, who, instead of guarding people’s money speculated with reckless abandon and incompetence. They clipped the wings of the American dream.”

But even the RT had to concede that the activists represent a fringe group in America. A gathering of up to 20,000 had been expected, and the eventual turnout must have been a huge disappointment for those that did make it (amongst them Roseanne Barr, who called for a combination of “capitalism and socialism into people-ism where ideas work together for a functional system.”)

Still, notwithstanding the farcical aspects of the protest – and there appear to be many – it’s the counter-actions of the authorities that may just, in the days to come, elevate it to the level of a real catalyst. According to the website [OccupyWallStreet.org](http://OccupyWallStreet.org), five people have already been arrested on day four of the protests, with one in critical condition.

**... A gathering of up to 20,000 had been expected, and the eventual turnout must have been a huge disappointment...**

Noted the site: “The first arrest was a protester who objected to the police removing a tarp that was protecting media equipment from the rain. The police said that the tarp constituted a tent, in spite of it not being a habitat in any way. Police continued pressuring protesters with extralegal tactics, saying that a protester on a bullhorn was breaking a law. The protester refused to cease exercising his first amendment rights and was also arrested. Then the police began to indiscriminately attempt to arrest protesters, many of them unsheathed their batons, in spite of the fact that the protest remained peaceful.”

As of this writing there’s been no more word of the detainee in “critical condition”. If it turns out that he’s been severely beaten – or worse – the bankers of Wall Street could have a genuine problem on their doorstep. 

#### READ MORE:

1. “The call to occupy Wall Street resonates around the world,” in the [Guardian](#)
2. “Occupy Wall Street – America’s own Arab Spring?” in [RT](#)
3. [OccupyWallStreet.org](#) – arrests, day four
4. “Occupy Wall Street Enters Its Fourth Day, Tensions Rise, (VIDEO)” in the [Huffington Post](#)



## US MILITARY NOW FREE TO ASK AND TELL

As of 00.01 on the morning of 20 September, gays are officially welcome in the US military. Tuesday saw the official revoking of Defence Directive 1332.14 – better known as the “Don't Ask, Don't Tell” policy. By REBECCA DAVIS.

We may look back now and see the “Don't Ask Don't Tell” policy as outrageously homophobic, but it's easy to forget what preceded it. The first American soldier to be discharged from the military for homosexual activities was Lieutenant Gotthold Frederick Enslin in 1778. By 1947 the anti-gay policy had formalised into a system whereby a service member found to be gay, but not engaging in homosexual activity was given an “undesirable” discharge, while those found guilty of participating in homosexual conduct were given a “dishonourable” discharge. In 1982 the department of defence issued its definitive policy that homosexuality was “incompatible” with military service. This stood until Bill Clinton took it on in the early 1990s.

“Don't Ask Don't Tell” was thus actually introduced as a compromise policy in 1993. In the one corner you had good old liberal Bill Clinton insisting that anyone should be allowed to serve in the military, regardless of sexual orientation. In the other corner, you had the Joint Chiefs of Staff and members of Congress and the public arguing that there was no place for gays in the military.

They settled on DADT as the best possible solution. Here's a trivia fact for you: in reality, the full name of the policy was “Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Pursue, Don't Harass”. “Don't

Photo: A man walks into an army recruiting center in Hollywood, Los Angeles, California September 20, 2011. President Barack Obama on Tuesday hailed the end of the policy banning gays from serving openly in the U.S. armed forces, as the Pentagon vowed “zero tolerance” for harassment of homosexuals in the military. REUTERS/Lucy Nicholson



Photo: Lieutenant Dan Choi, who was recently dismissed from the U.S. Army for admitting he was gay, speaks during a rally outside the Beverly Hilton hotel, where U.S. President Barack Obama was attending a Democratic party fundraiser, in Beverly Hills, California May 27, 2009. REUTERS/Mario Anzuoni

Ask” meant military officials could not demand to know the sexual orientation of recruits.

“Don't Tell” mandated that service members would be discharged for stating that they were homosexual. “Don't Pursue” laid down the conditions under which an investigation could be undertaken. The “Don't Harass” component is self-explanatory (although in practice there have been a number of shocking assaults on gay service-members).

DADT was challenged through the legal system throughout the 90s and 2000s, but surprisingly it was the Republicans who provided the necessary impetus to bin it: a 2004 lawsuit by the Log Cabin Republicans (the USA's largest gay Republican association) was largely responsible for overturning it. As a result of the federal lawsuit, supported by statements from Obama that the ban on gays “weakens our national security”, DADT was ruled unconstitutional in October last year.

Nobody was quite sure how many members of the military would come out on Tuesday, or how

conservative older service members would deal with the change of institutional climate. Gay rights groups were planning parties around the US, though, and Tuesday also saw the launch of the first widespread distribution of a magazine by and for gay service-members, [OutServe](#).

However, the fight for the protection of gay rights in the US military isn't all over. For a start there is no specific anti-discrimination measures to protect now openly gay service members from discrimination (for instance, being passed by for promotion). And gay service members who are legally married will find that their spouses do not receive recognition by the military, and are hence not eligible for military health insurance or social services.

Activists will no doubt be turning their attention to these issues speedily. On Tuesday, however, the focus was on celebration – and a lot of telling. [iM](#)

#### READ MORE:

1. 'Don't ask, don't tell' formally ends, in [The Guardian](#)
2. Out and Proud to Serve, in [The New York Times](#)



## NEWS INTERNATIONAL TO PAY £3 MILLION FOR HACKING OF MILLY DOWLER'S VOICEMAIL

The final nail in the coffin for UK tabloid News of the World was the revelation that the paper had hacked the voicemail of missing schoolgirl Milly Dowler. Now News International has offered her parents a payout of £3 million as compensation. By REBECCA DAVIS.


Photo: REUTERS

It's one of the largest settlements ever offered by a newspaper, and its size reflects the revulsion of the British public over the news of Dowler's phone-hacking.

The most egregious aspect of the hacking was the fact that Murdoch's journalists deleted messages from Dowler's voicemails to make room for new ones, thus leading police to give false hope to her parents that the miss-

ing girl might be alive. Dowler's parents have made no secret of their feelings towards Rupert Murdoch. When he asked to meet them in July to personally apologise, they refused to allow him into their family home, insisting on meeting in a hotel, and also refused to be photographed with him after the encounter.

They have not yet formally accepted the £3 million offer, having reportedly been asking for a figure closer to £3.5 million. The Guardian reports that the £3 million payout includes a contribution of £1 million to charity from Rupert Murdoch personally.

This is the second Murdoch-related story of the week. The first involved this weekend's broadcast of TV awards show the Emmys. Actor Alec Baldwin pulled out of an opening sketch in which he was due to star because broadcaster Fox cut out a gag in which he made a joking reference to phone-hacking at News International. Fox is, of course, owned by the Murdochs. Fox justified the action in a statement that said, "It did not wish to make light of the hacking scandal". Whatever you say, Fox. 

### READ MORE:

1. News International offers Milly Dowler's family £3m settlement, in [The Guardian](#)

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## EDITORIAL INTEGRITY ENDANGERED AS AL-JAZEERA BOSS STEPS DOWN

The Al-Jazeera network spans 25 channels broadcasting in Arabic and English, and soon to be broadcasting news in Turkish, Kiswahili and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian. The Al-Jazeera brand has grown exponentially, leading the way in contemporary news media. But the news that Al-Jazeera's director general Wadah Khanfar had stepped down, to be replaced with a member of Qatar's ruling family, raises uncomfortable questions about the expediency of the network to act independently. KHADIJA PATEL finds out that Khanfar actually holds South African citizenship and has been accused at various times of being an Islamist, a government stooge and, most surprisingly, part of an American conspiracy.

World media reeled from shock on Tuesday afternoon after Al-Jazeera director general Wadah Khanfar announced that he would be stepping down with immediate effect. Excerpts from the letter he had sent to Al-Jazeera staff announcing his decision were leaked on

Twitter long before an official statement was released from the network's headquarters in Doha. When the letter was eventually made

Photo: A general view shows the newsroom at the headquarters of the Qatar-based Al Jazeera satellite channel in Doha February 7, 2011.  
REUTERS/ Fadi Al-Assaad

**After the terror attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001, Al-Jazeera became a household – though much maligned – name around the world. Al-Jazeera had stormed the world media stage, upstaging Western coverage by broadcasting taped recordings of Osama bin Laden.**

public, it emerged that Khanfar had been trying to step down for some time now. It is unclear if Khanfar will be joining a rival media organisation and he's [tweeted](#) his amusement of the rampant speculation about his future.

The 43-year old was born in Rama, a small Palestinian farming village, where his father worked as a teacher while running a small business selling olive oil from the trees he cultivated. After meeting his wife at a protest rally at the University of Jordan, they travelled to Sudan, where Khanfar enrolled in an African Studies postgraduate program. In 1994, Khanfar arrived in South Africa and enrolled in another postgraduate program. In South Africa, Khanfar rose to prominence within Palestinian-rights advocacy circles. Khanfar is reported to have even earned South African citizenship for himself and his family during his stay here, but he was not a journalist by training – or

ambition. In 1997, Khanfar began to appear on Al-Jazeera as a political analyst on African politics and as he continued to work for the network, filing stories that ranged in scope from land ownership in Zimbabwe to the scourge of HIV/Aids, circumstances had intruded to mould Khanfar as a journalist.

After the terror attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001, Al-Jazeera became a household – though much maligned – name around the world. Al-Jazeera had stormed the world media stage, upstaging Western coverage by broadcasting taped recordings of Osama bin Laden. The American government complained bitterly about the coverage of Al-Jazeera. As Khanfar pointed out in his letter to Al-Jazeera staff, “Not long ago, then US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld unfairly attacked our coverage of Iraq while today, US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, hails our news coverage”. The world – and Al-Jazeera – were changed by 9/11. So too was Khanfar's life.

In December 2001, shortly after a US missile destroyed the Al-Jazeera bureau in Kabul, Khanfar was transferred to Afghanistan. On the eve of the Iraq war, he managed to get into the autonomous Kurdish zone, covering the war from there with distinction. He soon became the Baghdad bureau chief and in October 2003, proceeded to become Al-Jazeera's director-general.

During his tenure, Khanfar has been criticised by Arab liberals for lending the network, what they believe, is a decidedly Islamist slant. Critics condemn Khanfar for being a member of the Global Muslim Brotherhood and a member of Hamas. Al-Jazeera broadcasted the sensational [“Palestine](#)

**When revolution stormed through the streets of Egypt, it was Al-Jazeera which led global coverage by cleverly mixing traditional journalism with citizen journalism sourced on social media channels. Al-Jazeera's approach to coverage of the Egyptian revolution earned applause from across the world.**

[Papers](#)", which revealed staggering concessions made by the Palestinian Authority under Mahmoud Abbas in negotiations with Israel and the US. In response, Abbas accused Khanfar of waging a campaign against him, and Al-Jazeera of distorting his positions, inciting violence and trying to destroy him by leaking the documents. In the midst of the revelations made by the Palestine Papers however, the Egyptian uprisings against Hosni Mubarak were about to begin. When revolution stormed through the streets of Egypt, it was Al-Jazeera which led global coverage by cleverly mixing traditional journalism with citizen journalism sourced on social media channels. Al-Jazeera's approach to coverage of the Egyptian revolution earned applause from across the world. In defiance of American networks, which previously refused to broadcast it in the US, Al-Jazeera has begun to slowly make inroads into the American television audience.

Social media has been a hallmark of Al-

Jazeera's recent success, taking the network to new audiences while reshaping the way news is covered across television, the internet and mobile phones. Al-Jazeera's social media division is actually headed up by another South African, 27-year-old Riyadh Minty, who dropped out of university in Johannesburg at 18 to work for a mobile marketing start-up. Khanfar hired him in 2007, first to work on the network's mobile presence and then to head up its social-media division. Through Khanfar, South Africans have wielded considerable influence at the network's English news channel.

While South Africans have much to be proud of in Al-Jazeera, the news channels have been severely criticised for a pronounced bias in its coverage of the Arab gulf states, particularly Bahrain. While the Arab uprisings everywhere from Libya to Syria has been covered extensively by Al-Jazeera, critics believe the network enforces a policy of censorship in its coverage of Bahrain – a policy that they feel is exemplified in

the severe lack of coverage of anti-government movements in Bahrain. Al-Jazeera of course contends that though it may effectively be a parastatal of the Qatari government/royal family, it acts entirely independent of its ownership in editorial decisions.

However, it is not just loyalty to the royal family and the pursuit of Islamist interests that Khanfar has been accused of. The last dump of leaked US diplomatic cables by WikiLeaks in August were pounced on by detractors of the network who believe the cables reveal Al-Jazeera tows the line of the US government. In one particular cable issued by the US Embassy in Doha and signed by then ambassador Chase Untermeyer, details of a meeting between an embassy official and Khanfar is revealed. During the meeting, Khanfar is reported to have agreed to tone down and remove what the US deemed "disturbing Al-Jazeera website content". Taken out of context, the excerpts from the cables currently being used to depict Al-Jazeera as part of a grand, American conspiracy are damning, but placed within the context of the entire cable message and the many blunders Al-Jazeera have made historically, the cables prove the efficacy of the network in its reach of the most powerful players in the diplomatic world.

Reports that Khanfar will be replaced on Wednesday by Sheikh Ahmed bin Jassim Al Thani, an executive at Qatargas and a member of the country's ruling dynasty, have raised questions about whether Al-Jazeera will now be able to withstand the various pressures placed on the head of the network, and still maintain editorial integrity. Media watchers question whether the post-Khanfar era at Al-Jazeera will

**However, it is not just loyalty to the royal family and the pursuit of Islamist interests that Khanfar has been accused of. The last dump of leaked US diplomatic cables by WikiLeaks in August were pounced on by detractors of the network who believe the cables reveal Al-Jazeera tows the line of the US government.**

see its owners rule the network with a tighter fist through a director general who, no doubt, will be tasked with growing Al-Jazeera, while at the same time ensuring the interests of the owners and their friends remain pristine.

Speaking on Al-Jazeera Arabic late on Tuesday night, Khanfar insisted that his departure would not affect editorial policies. Time will tell. 

#### READ MORE:

1. What Wikileaks Tells Us About Al Jazeera in [Foreign Policy](#):
2. Al-Jazeera boss Wadah Khanfar steps down to be replaced by Qatari royal in [The Guardian \(UK\)](#)
3. After 8 years of service leading Al Jazeera, I have just announced that I am moving on in [Doha News](#)
4. Al Jazeera director general steps down in [Al Jazeera](#)
5. The end of the Al Jazeera decade? In [Foreign Policy](#)

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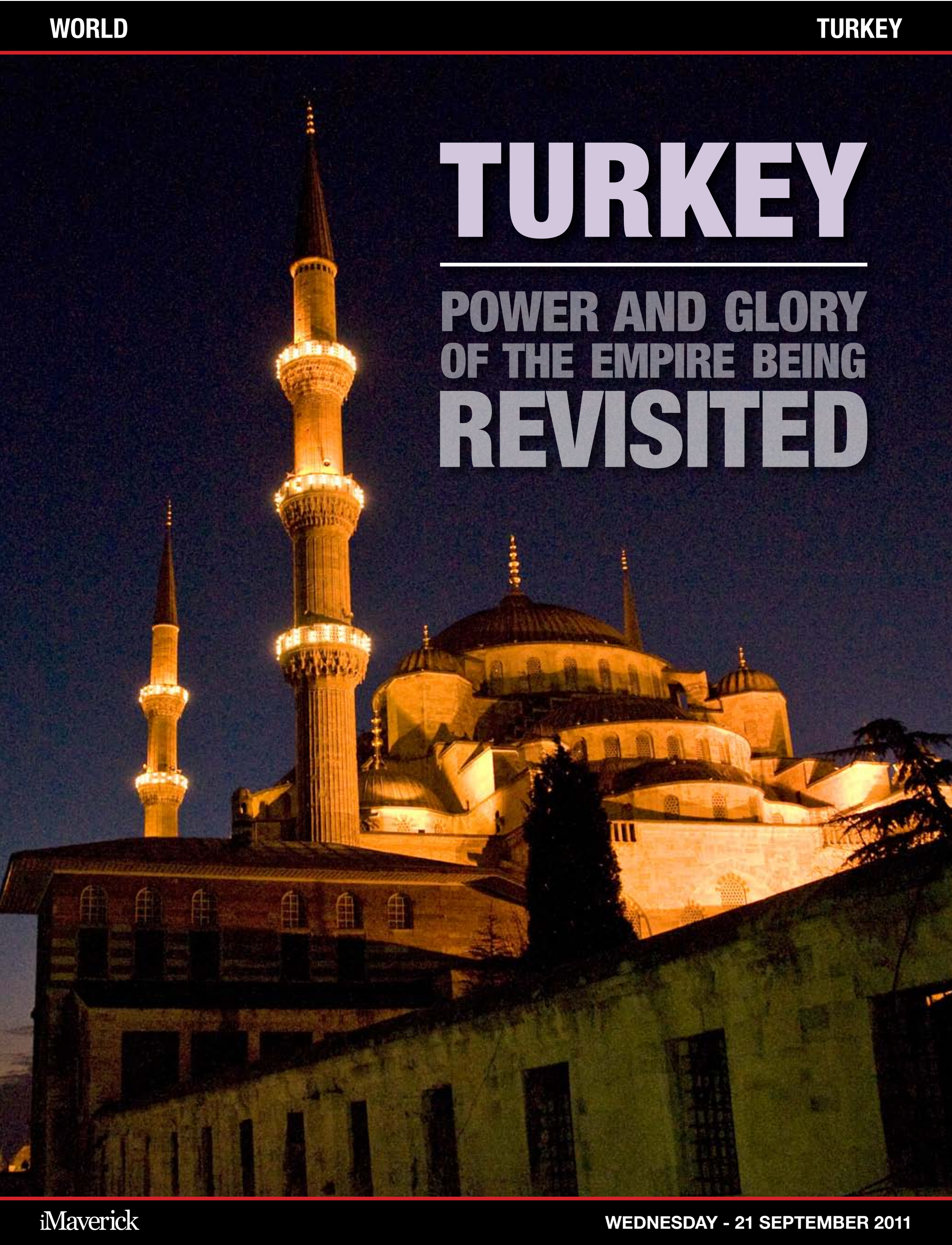


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# TURKEY

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*By the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire was at the zenith of its power – spreading fear throughout Europe. Its territories ranged from deep inside Central Europe to the Persian Gulf, across North Africa to the Atlantic and to the border of Poland. The following centuries saw its powers gradually eroded. Until now.*

*By J BROOKS SPECTOR.*

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Turkey's retreat from its enormous empire began almost immediately after the unsuccessful Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683, reaching its culmination in its disastrous participation in World War I on the side of imperial Germany.

In defeat, the Ottoman state was stripped of all of its remaining territory, except for Asia Minor and a nub of European territory surrounding Constantinople – now renamed Istanbul. And once the Greek population fled Turkey after the failed Greek invasion of Anatolia in 1922, the Kurds were the only remaining major ethnic minority inside the country – especially after the slaughter of Armenians during World War I.

Following World War II, Turkey gained American support to cope with Soviet Union's growing military pressure, participated in UN operations in the Korean War and eventually became a full member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (Nato) in 1952. More recently, Turkey has pushed hard to become a member of the EU, demonstrating its “westernness”, rather than anything that would have put the spotlight on its more “oriental” history and heritage. Since the 1920s, Turkey has been

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Photo: Blue Mosque, Istanbul. REUTERS

## Through the Cold War era, Turkey integrated its security policies with the US and Nato, save for near-constant antipathy towards Greece.

dramatically reshaped into a modernist Islamic society within an officially secular state, but where the army has had a privileged place as the protector of modern Turkey.

Through the Cold War era, Turkey integrated its security policies with the US and Nato, save for near-constant antipathy towards Greece. This antagonism flared up most notably over the 1974 Turkish invasion of the northern third of Cyprus to provide a safe territory for ethnic Turks during the civil war and in response to the enosis (unification) policy of the Greek military regime in the early 1970s towards Cyprus. To balance Arab power, the Turks and Israelis – both non-Arab nations in the Middle East – found in each other the kind of ally that also satisfied America's desire for an interlocking security architecture for the region, as well as for Turkey and Israel's own security doctrines for coping with their difficult neighbourhood.

But in recent years, an increasingly confident Turkey has become a major manufacturing

nation as well. Buy a refrigerator in South Africa, and if it was not made domestically or in Germany, chances are it came from Turkey. Culturally, too, Turkish pop music, television, and international radio are increasingly popular throughout the Middle East as well.

Turkey has increasingly become an exemplar for social and political activists in the region as well. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's recent visit to Egypt saw him punting the merits of the Turkish model of Islamist-led democratic capitalism on Egyptian TV saying, "Management of people, management of science and management of money. If you do those three, you will accomplish your goal".

Now, in the wake of the Arab Spring, Turkey seems to have found an opportunity to expand its influence in the region as the Arab world is undergoing a fundamental metamorphosis. Moreover, the clumsy Israeli 2010 boarding operation onto relief ships bound for Gaza, and chartered by activists from Turkey, provoked widespread Turkish ire and strident diplomatic responses. This has fueled Turkey's move away from its longtime strategic partnership with Israel.

Assessing Erdogan's Egyptian visit, the New York Times reported:

"He is seeking to enhance his regional celebrity and bolster Turkey's standing as a potential role model for Arab states fitfully inching toward democracy. His visit comes at a moment when the revolutions of the Arab Spring have thrown into question much of the established order that has prevailed in the region for the last 30 years, including the terms of Israel's uneasy peace with its neighbors, in particular, Egypt.

“Once a close ally of Israel, Turkey accelerated its growing stature across the Arab world — and further upended the regional order — when it downgraded diplomatic relations with Israel and expelled its ambassador early this month after Israel refused to issue an apology for a deadly commando raid last year aboard an aid ship trying to break the embargo of the Gaza Strip. But even before the recent flare-up with Israel, Mr. Erdogan was already lionised across the region for his commitment to Islamist politics, pluralistic constitutional democracy and energetic economic development....

“‘The Turkish state is in its core a state of freedoms and secularism,’ Mr. Erdogan said,

explaining Turkey’s support for the Arab revolutions. ‘The world is changing to a system where the will of the people will rule. Why should the Europeans and Americans be the only ones that live with dignity? Aren’t Egyptians and Somalians also entitled to a life of dignity?’”

Meanwhile, this growing closeness between Egyptians and Turks, along with the continuing hostility of the Iranians, is making the Israelis feel increasingly isolated in a neighbourhood where only six months ago, they had reason to believe the stability emanating from their tacit alliance with Mubarak’s Egypt and their long-standing ties with Turkey (bolstered by the US and underscored by their military superiority) would provide relative stability – even if not a



Photo: Turkey's Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan speaks to the Libyan people on the 80th anniversary of the martyrdom of Libyan resistance hero Omar al-Mukhtar, near the shrine of his burial place in Benghazi September 16, 2011. REUTERS/Esam Al-Fetori



Photo: Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu (REUTERS)

lasting, stable peace – for security challenges. This gave them the ability to maintain their occupation of the West Bank, even as critics charged it was at the cost of Israel’s moral centre and that it brought a demographic time bomb into the equation as well from the birth rates that continue to shift the population balance towards Palestinian Arabs inside “Greater Israel”.

Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, the architect of his country’s new strategic vision, has pointed to the Palestinian statehood/UN membership vote, among other issues, to describe a region in the midst of a transformation. Turkey, he said, was “right at the center of everything,” adding that “This will not be an axis against any other country — not Israel, not Iran, not any other country, but this

will be an axis of democracy, real democracy. That will be an axis of democracy of the two biggest nations in our region, from the north to the south, from the Black Sea down to the Nile Valley in Sudan.”

Davutoglu’s comments came after recent visits by Turkish leaders — Erdogan and Davutoglu among them — of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Davutoglu’s criticisms of old allies and Turkey’s embrace of new ones underscores Turkey’s newly confident stance, especially as it moves to position itself on what it sees as the right side of history in a region that is increasingly unrecognisable from just a year ago.

For Turkey, of course, this reorientation is recognition the Middle East is a vast potential economic zone of influence, markets and

possibilities for investment. This, in turn, is leading some to question whether Turkey should press so ardently to be invited into the European Union. Given the eurozone's current troubles, the attractions instead of Turkey's historic sphere of influence and former power will grow.

For example, foreign minister Davutoglu predicts Turkey's \$1.5 billion investment in Egypt would grow to \$5 billion within two years and that their trade would grow to \$5 billion by the end of 2012, from \$3.5 billion now, and then increase to \$10 billion by 2015. Underscoring his point, 280 businessmen accompanied the Turkish delegation, and they signed about \$1 billion in contracts in one day of the trip.

Analysts also argue the world should expect more Turkish efforts towards the western Balkans. Several of the states there – Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania - have Moslem majorities and they were historically part of the Ottoman world. In addition, even further afield, there are those formerly Soviet, but ethnically Turkic, lands of Central Asia.

Not everything is coming up roses of course. Turkey's relationships with some neighbours are still problematic, to say the least. Relations with the former Soviet republic of Armenia are plagued by historic enmity towards the Armenian people and the 1915 Armenian Genocide. Its relationships with Greece and the ethnically Greek Cypriot nation are as difficult as ever and now include disagreements over oil and gas exploration and exploitation in the Aegean Sea and in the sea between Turkey and Cyprus. And its relationship with Syria has degraded dramatically since Bashar al-Assad began his violent crackdown on dissent.

Nevertheless, with a population of nearly 80 million people, and an economy now seen as, alternatively, one of the “next 11” rapidly developing nations or one of the CIVETS middle tier nations, Turkey's economic and political influence seems almost certain to grow. But this growth almost certainly will be directed away from that long-sought economic integration with Western Europe and towards these new opportunities. Curiously, while Erdogan was in Egypt, he visited a cemetery for Turkish soldiers who had died in Egypt during Ottoman rule, using that ambiguous moment to mark a growing closeness between the two regional nations. The symbolism for Turkey's new moves may still need a bit of fine-tuning. 

#### READ MORE:

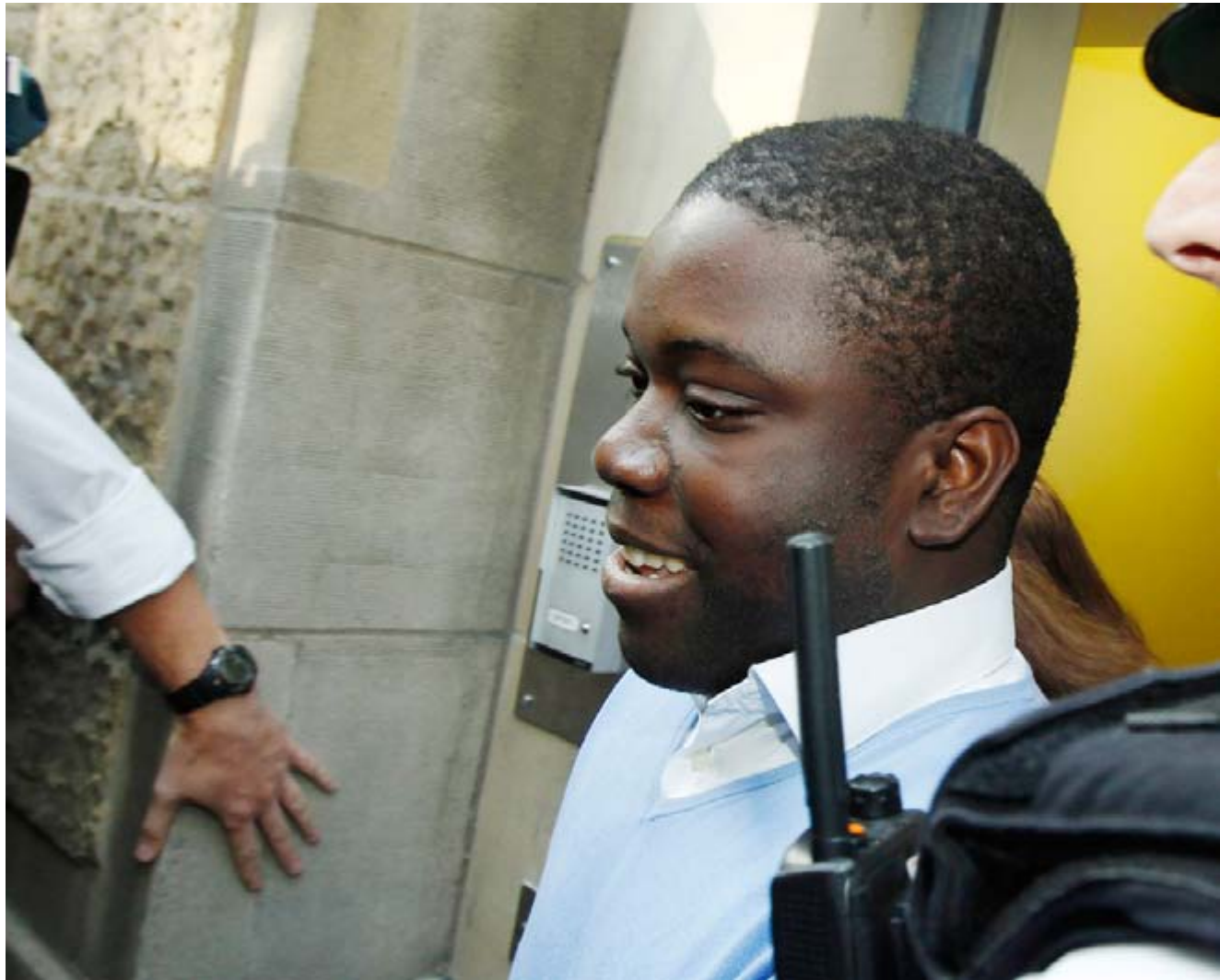
1. Premier of Turkey Takes Role in Region in the [New York Times](#)
2. Turkey Predicts Alliance With Egypt as Regional Anchors in the [New York Times](#)
3. Israel and Turkey, Foes and Much Alike in the [New York Times](#)
4. Turkey's New Regional Diplomacy: Ambitions and Constraints Turkey, Middle East, The Arab Spring and Middle East Unrest from the Brookings Institution ([a major US think tank](#))
5. Turkey will be fine if its bid for EU fails, says Gul in the [Hurriyet Daily News](#)
6. Turkey's gunboat diplomacy makes waves in region on [Reuters](#)
7. Television becomes Turkey's new weapon to seduce the Arab world on [France 24](#)
8. Western Balkans: is Turkey back? from the Center for Strategic and International Studies [website](#)
9. Turkey's Approach to Euro-Atlantic Security from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [website](#)

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# BUSINESS



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## SOUTH AFRICA

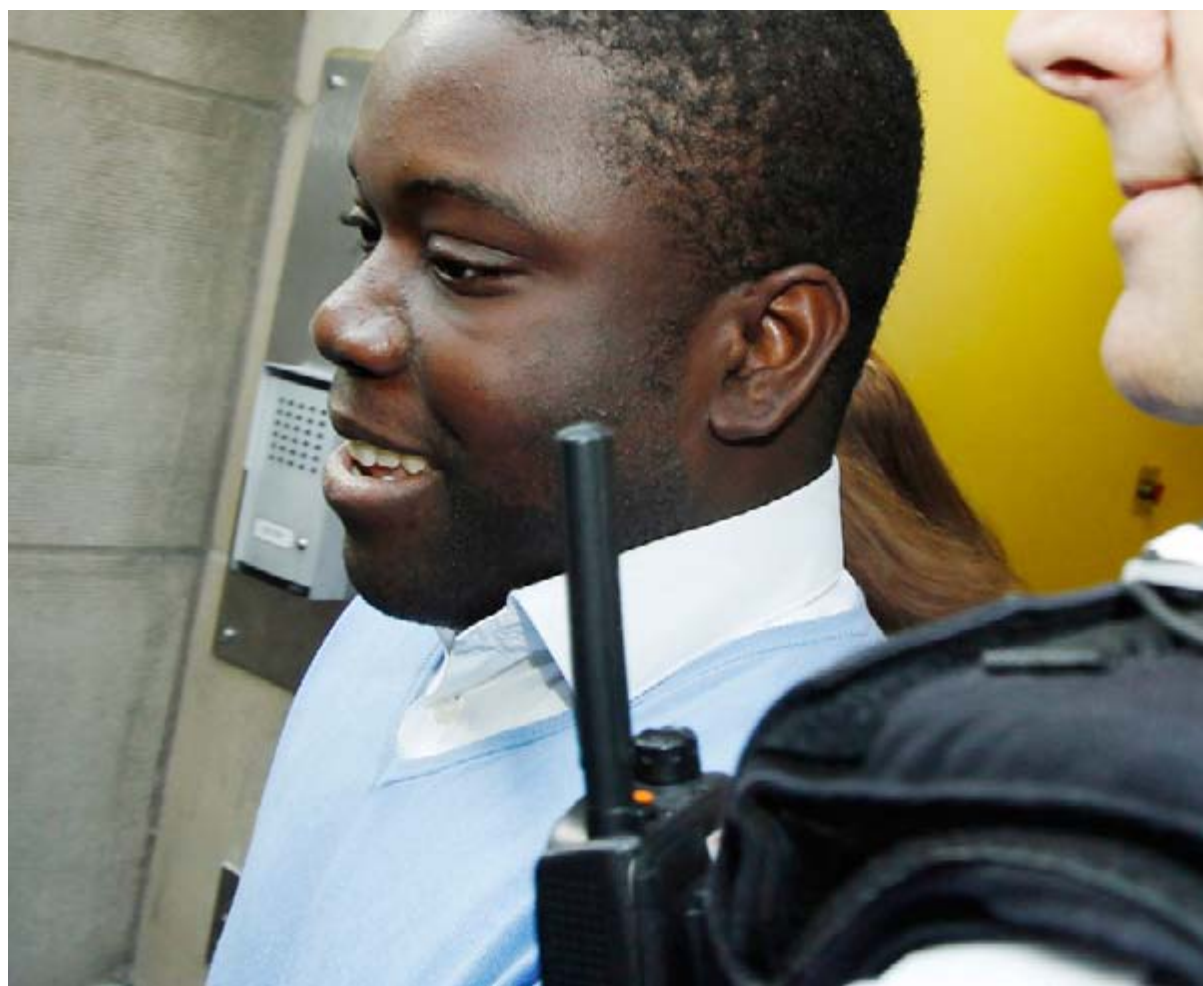
The JSE All Share Index gained 1.24% to close at 31,344. Early trading was volatile as investors digested news of the Italian ratings downgrade. Royal Bafokeng Platinum gained 5.2% as platinum counters enjoyed a buoyant day of trading. South Africa's largest shipping company lifted to highest levels in five months after announcing it would sell R2 billion of new shares to Remgro Ltd. Grindrod advanced 4.3% while Remgro fell 0.2%.

Comair Ltd shed a further 8.2% to follow on a similar loss on Monday. Media company Avusa recovered slightly from a 4% drop to close only 2.2% down on the day. After resignations by the senior members of the board, rumours still abound of an exit by the CEO, Prakash Desai.

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## UK

The FTSE 100 Index closed up 2% to finish at 5,363 after erasing early losses as mining counters rebounded off a



Kweku Adoboli, formerly of UBS (Reuters)

two week decline. Stocks fell earlier in the day when Italy had its credit rating cut by S&P from A+ to A. S&P cited weakened economic growth and a "fragile" government as reasons for the downgrade.

Brevan Howard Asset Management LLP is set to return \$2 billion to investors of its largest fund, making good on promises to cap the fund size to \$26.9 billion. Investors are happy to take receipt of the surplus funds as it helps maintain a good return on investment ratio and keep investment decisions of the fund under the radar.

The UBS board is set to meet in Singapore, home

of the Swiss Bank's biggest shareholder. The board is set to meet its largest shareholder, the Government of Singapore Investment Corporation, after uncovered unauthorised trading losses of \$2.3 billion earlier this week. Something tells us things could get loud.

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## EUROPE

Continental stocks climbed as Greece described talks with the EU as "productive" and the US Federal Reserve is likely to provide further economic stimulus packages. EON AG and RWE AG, Germany's largest utilities climbed more than 3.5% as a court suspended a nuclear-fuel tax.



Ben Bernanke (Reuters)

## US

Federal Reserve chairman, Ben Bernanke, is set to announce the switching into longer-term bonds in a process known as “Operation Twist” which aims to bend the yield curve of held securities. The market is however hoping to hear the Fed plans to implement additional economic stimulus measures, given the market optimism priced in on Tuesday.

The IMF cut its forecast global growth estimate and warned of severe repercussions if Europe fails to reign in its debt crises. World growth estimates were revised to 4% this year and next, compared to previous

estimates of 4.3% and 4.5% respectively.

Google and Oracle are set to meet again in an effort to resolve the patent dispute of alleged Android infringements of Oracle patents. The big chiefs held the discussions as Google’s Larry Page and Oracle’s Larry Ellison spent Monday in closed talks. Oracle claims that Google owes \$6 billion for infringements by Android, now running on 150 million mobile devices. Google reckons its closer to \$100 million.

Hewlett-Packard VP, Scott McClellan, made a public booboo by revealing a little more than his job status on networking site, LinkedIn.

McClellan tipped off competitors by posting details of HP’s new web-storage initiative, before realising his faux pas. Social networks are fast becoming the playground of corporate sleuths seeking to uncover secrets on behalf of clients.

The makers of “Angry Birds”, Rovio Entertainment, are working on building alliances with retailers such as Starbucks in efforts to reach new customers and sell a wider range of products. The smartphone game has been downloaded over 350 million times, prompting Rovio to extend the business into merchandising, hence the move to in-store promotions with retail partners.



## ESKOM GETS A SLIGHT TINGE OF GREEN

Eskom, that coal-binger of note, has commissioned a firm to build two modest solar plants near coal power stations in Free State and Mpumalanga.  
By SIPHO HLONGWANE.

Photo: REUTERS

ABB, the European power and automation technology group, will construct two solar photovoltaic plants for Eskom.


The greenfield projects will be located next to the Lethabo coal power station in Free State and the Kendal coal power station in Mpumalanga. Both power plants will measure one hectare in size.

“At the Kendal power station, ABB will provide a fixed tilt solar PV power

plant with a station capacity of 620kW and production potential of 11,445,398kWh (kilowatt hours) a year,” ABB said in a statement. “At the Lethabo site, the installation will comprise a single-axis tracking solar PV power plant with a peaking capacity of 575kW and a production potential of 12,491,479kWh a year.”

The solar plants will provide power to the existing stations and should be completed by the end of November.

According to both Eskom and ABB, some sort of solar power technology skills transfer is expected to happen.

“These orders will afford ABB in South Africa with the opportunity for transfer of skills in solar technology which will complement and further enhance the local capabilities in engineering and project management,” said Carlos Pone, ABB’s country manager for South Africa. 

### READ MORE:

1. 2 solar power plants for Eskom in [Sowetan](#)
2. ABB to build solar power plants in South Africa in [ABB](#)

# Are you ready for your HUMAN CLONE?



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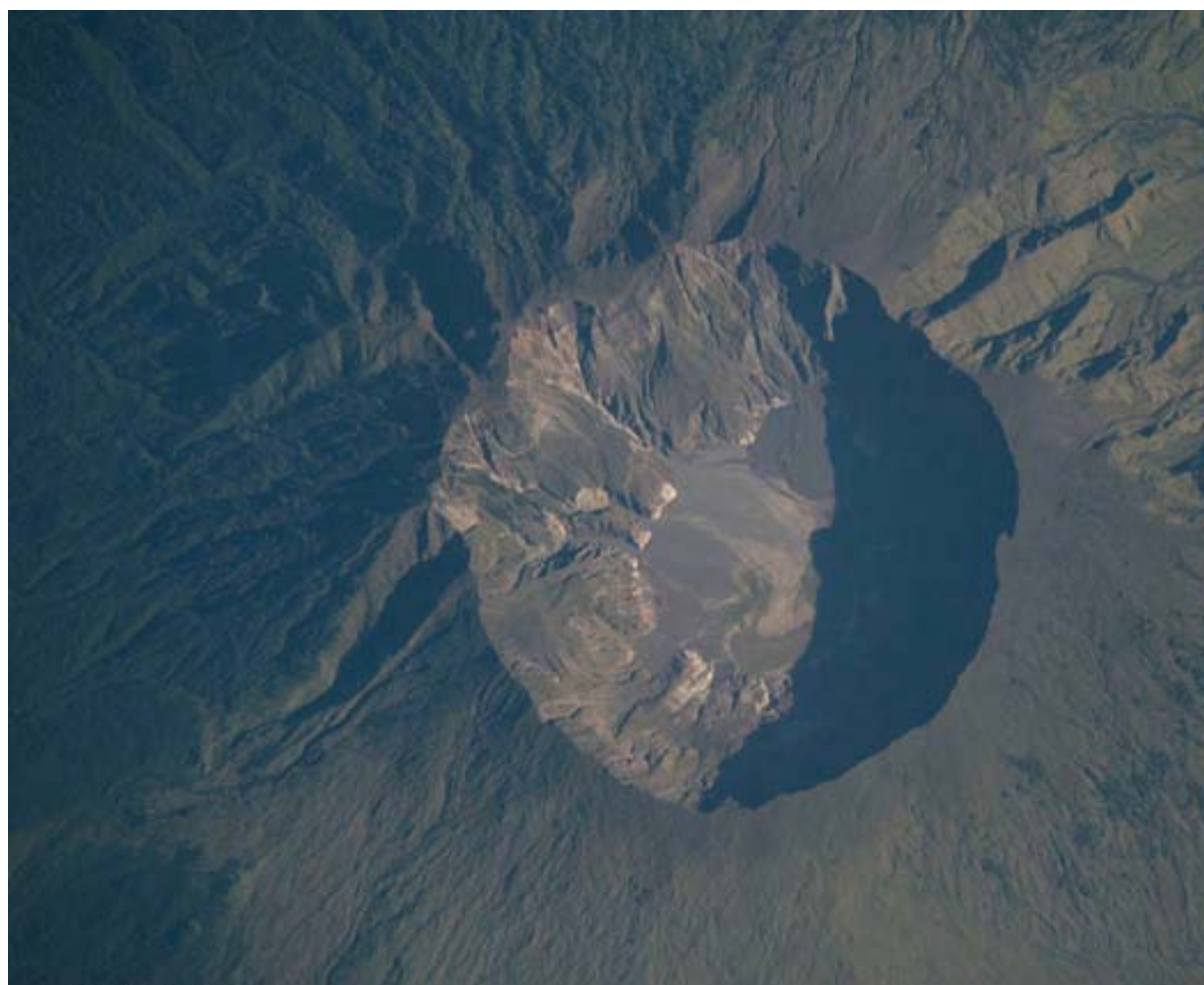
## SWITZERLAND

Do you have a lonely guinea pig craving the company of other guinea pigs? Do you live in Switzerland? You're in luck! Animal lover Priska Kung has launched a "rent-a-guinea-pig" service to provide companionship for guinea pigs who have lost their partners. And in Switzerland, lone guinea pigs must by definition have lost their partners, because it's illegal to keep a guinea pig on its own as a result of them being such sociable creatures. Kung rents out the little creatures for around 40 euros, and is getting two to three enquiries per week. What a wonderful world.

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## USA

A new survey by the Global Language Monitor shows that we all have our priorities firmly in place. The most mentioned words on TV in 2011 thus far were "royal wedding" (thanks



Tambora, as it was a few years ago (Nasa)

Wills and Kate) and Charlie Sheen's favoured catchphrase throughout his manic episode, "winning". Others topping the leader-board were "Oprah" (presumably due to the ending of her TV show), "Obama-vision" (does anyone actually use that?), "Fukushima" (the site of Japan's nuclear disaster), and, for reasons we can only speculate about, "zombies".

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## INDONESIA

We don't mean to cause unnecessary alarm, but the world's deadliest volcano is alive again. The eruption of Tambora in Indonesia in 1815 was the largest ever recorded, though overshadowed by

the (smaller) subsequent eruption of Krakatoa because the telegraph had just been invented. Now Tambora has started rumbling ominously again, and farmers living on the slopes who know their history took no chances earlier this month, packing their belongings and fleeing. The government has tried to persuade people to return, but they've taken some convincing. By Monday, however, most had trickled back. Come on, wouldn't you also run?

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## GERMANY

A new film that depicts Nazi General Erwin Rommel as a war criminal and Hitler's



Erwin Rommel (Reuters)

pet has caused outrage among members of Rommel's family. The "Desert Fox" is generally presented as a "Good Nazi" and a decent military commander, with even Churchill calling him a "great general". The producers, ARD-Films, have said that their screenplay was based on months of research and the work of "leading historians". In particular, Rommel's 82-year-old son Manfred is objecting to the notion of his father's cosy relationship with Hitler, calling the film "lies".

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## USA

With Charlie Sheen permanently off the set of *Two and a Half Men*, the

sitcom had to figure out a way to kill off his character. The first episode of the new series premiered on Monday night, starring his replacement Ashton Kutcher, and turns out they wrote out Sheen in a pretty grisly way. The episode opened at Sheen's character's funeral, where it is explained that he fell in front of an oncoming train and his body "exploded like a balloon full of meat". Revenge of the scriptwriters, perhaps?

On the same topic, Charlie Sheen has finally reached a settlement with Warner Bros for the sitcom. The amount is said to total \$100 million, with \$25 million to be paid to him in the next two weeks. Sheen did not get as much

as he'd asked for – he also wanted to be paid for all the upcoming episodes in which he won't appear. Fair enough, Warner Bros. He will, however, get royalties every time old episodes of "Two and a Half Men" are aired.

---

## AUSTRALIA

The ABC TV network is in trouble after airing a comedy show which showed an actress playing PM Julia Gillard draped in an Australian flag after having sex with an actor playing her partner, Tim Mathieson. Conservative MPs said on Tuesday that the state broadcaster should have its funding cut for "degrading the office of Prime Minister", as



Caption (Reuters)

well as making "disrespectful" use of the flag. Gillard herself has laughed it all off, and a spokesman for ABC said that they didn't see why the flag "can't be draped over our Prime Minister as a symbol of love". Coitus politicus, to coin a phrase.

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## SINGAPORE

The world's most expensive bottle of whisky has been sold – at least, a Chinese businessman has put down a deposit to buy it from the duty-free at Singapore airport, where it's on sale. Who knew you could buy old single-malts on lay-by? Anyway, the 62-year-old bottle of Dalmore

costs \$199,400 and is one of only 12 bottles in the world. Chivas Regal this ain't.

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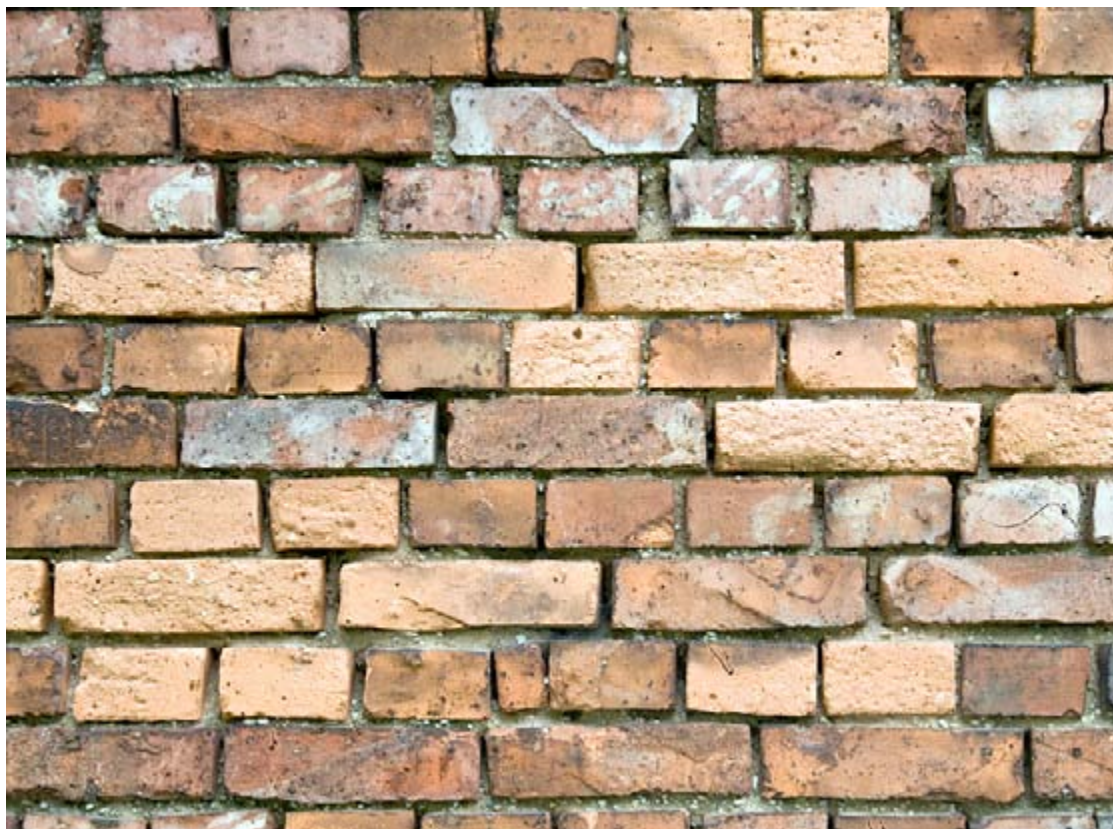
## UK

Ticket inspectors on UK trains have released a list of the ten worst excuses used by people caught on trains without a ticket. Topping the list of the fare-dodgers' claims was the immortal "I'm related to the Queen so I don't need a ticket", but other classics included "I thought the railway was free", "I'm in the Zimbabwean SAS, on covert ops", and "What's a ticket?" The last one probably threw the ticket inspector into existential confusion.

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## USA

A Washington man is suing Starbucks for concealing a hidden camera in a toilet. William Yockey's young daughter pointed out the camera to her father while they were using a unisex bathroom in a branch of the coffee giant. The creepy thing is that this is just the latest of these claims to be laid against Starbucks: branches in Florida, California and Connecticut were all identified this summer as having hidden cameras in their toilets. Starbucks has yet to explain whether this is company policy or the actions of some pervy renegade employees. Skinny mocha latte to go, hold the surveillance.



## COULD YOU BUILD A HOUSE FOR \$1,000?

Could you build a house for less than R10,000? It seems fantastically impossible. Even our notorious RDP houses cost several times that. A group of architecture students and professors at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology came up with a herculean task: could students design a house that costs about R7,700? By SIPHO HLONGWANE.

Photo: REUTERS

We'll get right to it – the MIT students who attempted to design and build a \$1,000 house didn't succeed. Ying chee Chui, a 2011 graduate of MIT's Department of Architecture, built a house for the university's "1K house" project in Mianyang, a city in China's Sichuan province.


The house is described as being "a modular layout with hollow brick walls with steel bars for reinforcement and wooden box beams," by Wall Street Journal,

and can apparently withstand a 8.0 earthquake.

The final cost, minus the land, was \$5,925. As impressively cheap as that was (R43,850), it was still way off the target.

"There is a huge proportion of the world's population that has pressing housing needs," said Tony Ciochetti, a professor at MIT's Center for Real Estate, to WSJ. "Can you build affordable, sustainable shelter for such a large population?"

MIT is now working on another project, to produce houses for earthquake and tsunami ravaged Japan, for \$10,000 each.

Even though it will take a while before you can build a house for the price of a desktop computer, you can bet that housing tenderpreneurs will be having wet dreams about the prospect of getting massive RDP housing tenders, and then building the houses for dirt cheap and pocketing the difference. 

### READ MORE:

1. Is it possible to build a house for \$1,000 in [Wall Street Journal](#)
2. MIT's \$1,000 house challenge inspires groundbreaking designs in [Inhabit](#)


# THE MYSTERIOUS CASE OF THE GERMAN 'FOREST BOY'

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Here are all the facts we have so far. On 5 September a boy who appears to be about 17 years old arrived at Berlin's City Hall carrying a rucksack, a tent and a sleeping bag. He said his name was Ray and that he had been living with his father in the woods around Berlin for about five years. But his father had recently died in a fall, so he buried his body and did what he had been instructed to in case of emergency: he followed his compass north to Berlin.

Ray said he and his father moved into the forest following the death of his mother in a car accident. Civil servants told the Telegraph that he was clean, did not look like a vagrant and that his first words upon arrival were: "I'm all alone in the world, please help me". But these words weren't in German.

The single most mysterious aspect of the case is that the boy can speak only a few words of German, but is fluent in English, which he speaks with a slight accent.

Now linguists are working with the boy to determine the provenance of his accent and psychiatrists are trying to help him uncover more about his past. The British consul in Berlin has been called in to work with police in the event that Ray turns out to be British, and authorities are preparing to launch a global appeal via Interpol for any information on his identity. Stay tuned... 

They're calling him the "Forest Boy": a teenager who arrived in Berlin a fortnight ago saying that he had been living in the woods for years. But he claims to know nothing further about himself - and neither does anyone else at this stage. By REBECCA DAVIS.

## READ MORE:

1. Police say they believe 'forest boy', in the [Daily Mail](#)

# Hold talks with MBA's, LLB's, BA's & BABEs

Your worst nightmare. You're with a group of high-flying socialites but you don't get what they're talking about. You try to change the conversation, but football's not their thing. They're laughing. Are they laughing at you? You spill your drink. Then you wake up with a start.

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## NEW ZEALAND

Australia winger James O'Connor has been ruled out of the Rugby World Cup match against the United States on Friday because of a hamstring strain. O'Connor underwent an MRI scan on Tuesday which showed a minor strain, and a team spokesman said the Wallabies had decided to err on the side of caution and exclude him from consideration for the Pool C match.

Argentina skipper Felipe Contepomi says he is hopeful of turning out against Scotland on Sunday but would not give too many details regarding his fitness. The flyhalf was forced off the field during his side's opening World Cup encounter against England after a blow to the ribs and missed their second match as a result of the injury.

Italy coach Nick Mallett praised his team's offensive abilities after they ran in nine tries during a 53-17 win over Russia on Tuesday. The



Andre Villas-Boas (Reuters)

Azzurri managed just six tries in their entire 2011 Six Nations campaign and failed to cross the whitewash in their opening World Cup game against Australia.

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## INDIA

The Champions League Twenty20 governing council has shifted the four matches scheduled to be played in Kolkata away from the city due to recent heavy rain. Eden Gardens was due to host matches on 25, 27 and 29 September, but the Cricket Association of Bengal (CAB) has agreed that they should be moved for the good of the tournament.

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## UK

### FOOTBALL

Chelsea manager Andre Villas-Boas has revealed he complained to referees' chief Mike Riley about the officiating during his side's 3-1 defeat at Manchester United. The Blues found themselves 3-0 down at half-time on Sunday, but replays showed that Chris Smalling and Nani were both offside for their respective goals, which should not have counted.

Former Aston Villa and Liverpool boss Gerard Houllier concedes his management career is probably over due to health concerns. The 63-year-



Caption (Reuters)

old, who underwent open-heart surgery ten years ago, had little choice but to end his tenure at Villa Park in April after being admitted to hospital with chest pains.

### FORMULA ONE

Bernie Ecclestone hopes Formula One returns to South Africa and Mexico in the near future. The Kyalami Circuit in South Africa hosted races from 1967 until 1993, while the Autodromo Hermanos Rodriguez in Mexico City held 16 grands prix from 1962 until 1992. South African officials have put out feelers in recent months about returning to the

F1 calendar with a race in Cape Town, but they are yet to make an official announcement.

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### EUROPE

#### GOLF

Jose Maria Olazabal has blasted the big-name players who opted not to take part in the Vivendi Seve Trophy last week. This after seeing Paul McGinley's Great Britain and Ireland team secure a solid three-point win, their sixth in a row, over Jean Van der Velde's Continental Europe in France on Sunday. Olazabal,

the current Ryder Cup skipper, realised that the event clashed with the FedEx Cup play-offs, but said he was unhappy that major winners like Rory McIlroy, Martin Kaymer and Graeme McDowell, who were not involved in the American event, had not made themselves available for the Seve Trophy

### FOOTBALL

Werder Bremen goalkeeper Tim Wiese has branded the German Football Association "clueless" for handing him a three-match suspension. Wiese was shown a straight red card in Saturday's 1-1 draw with Nurnberg for pulling back striker Christian Eigler, thereby preventing a clear goal-scoring opportunity.

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### AUSTRALIA

Tim Nielsen has stepped down as head coach of Australia after confirming that he will not be applying for the new position created by the Argus review. Nielsen has served as head coach since 2007, winning nine out of 15 Test series and overseeing success in 17 of the 25 one-day series during his tenure.



## FABREGAS WINS LAWSUIT AGAINST MAG FOR ARSENAL COMMENTS

The exit of Francesc Fabregas from Arsenal caused a bit of a stink when a magazine claimed that he had said that he was leaving because he believed that Arsenal were no longer capable of winning trophies. Which he says he never, ever said. Fabregas has now confirmed that he's received an apology, retraction and damages from the offending magazine. By SIPHO HLONGWANE


Photo: REUTERS

FC Barcelona midfielder Francesc Fabregas tweeted that he had got an apology, retraction and damages from Sport magazine, which attributed a quote slagging off Arsenal

to the former Gunner's captain.

Cesc tweeted: "Got the apology and retraction from that magazine that made up an interview about me. Can't believe some journalists. I will also get ... damages that I will give to charity. Hope it teaches them a lesson. I would NEVER say a bad word about Arsenal Football Club".

The quote attributed to the player said that he had left the north London club because he wanted to "be in a club that is able to win the big titles year after year and I don't see that kind of future for Arsenal".

Sport themselves admitted that actually, there had been no interview – as they had previously pretended. "On 16 September 2011 we published an article described as an interview with Cesc Fabregas," they said in a statement. "In fact, there was no actual interview (the player was speaking at two press events) and Fabregas did not say the words attributed to him, including and in particular about Arsenal. We were unaware of these matters when we published the article which was written by a freelance journalist. We apologise profusely to Mr Fabregas for any damage caused." 

### READ MORE:

1. Cesc wins damages over article in [ESPN Sport](#)
2. Cesc wins damages over "interview" in [Yahoo Sport](#)
3. Cesc denies fear over Arsenal exit in [ESPN Sport](#)

The annual flagship event Viva La Vida will be held at the Natural History Museum, London on 14 December 2011, to mark the end of the 2011 golfing season and to help raise vital funds for brain cancer research.

"Viva la Vida" which translates as "Live the life" will be a celebration and commemoration of Seve Ballesteros and the legacy he left behind. Unseen footage of Seve will be screened for the first time, and some of Seve's friends will provide moving insights into his life and career.

The event will also include top entertainment, fine dining and a money-cant-buy auction, and will be attended by top personalities from the world of sport, music and screen.


Paul McGinley, an ambassador for Viva La Vida and a Ryder Cup team mate of Ballesteros, said: "Seve was an inspirational man both on and off the golf course. I am truly honoured to be an ambassador for his official tribute event, Viva la Vida, which will help raise money for Seve's foundation in aid of Cancer Research UK.

"He more than anybody was responsible for bringing me to the game. I remember fondly my days at the Irish Open as a kid where to me Seve was the only attraction! Particularly driving the par four 16th off his knees in practice.

"I'll always remember Seve for his compassion, personality and dedication, and am looking forward to honouring and celebrating his unforgettable career and life through this fantastic event."

In 2009, Seve Ballesteros set up his foundation in partnership with Cancer Research UK with the aim of being the biggest funder of brain cancer research in the UK.

The Foundation has already raised more than £1.5 million towards ambitious and vital research. This event marks the continuation of Seve's legacy and his fight to find a cure for brain cancer.

Ivan Ballesteros, Seve's nephew and manager before his death, said: "Seve's determination to help others through his foundation has been truly inspirational. By attending Viva la Vida, you will not only experience unique insights into Seve's life, you'll also be helping keep his legacy alive by funding vital research into brain cancer". 

# MCGINLEY LEADS SEVE TRIBUTE DINNER

Paul McGinley will lead off the tributes at a star-studded Viva La Vida evening in aid of the Seve Ballesteros Foundation, which is in a partnership with Cancer Research UK.

By GOLF365.COM



## RWC PREVIEW: TONGA VS JAPAN

Japan coach John Kirwan has likened Wednesday's clash with Tonga to a World Cup Final for his team, it's a game they desperately want to win against opposition they consider beatable – and for good reason too. By JOURNALIST.

Japan have won the last five contests between the two teams, with the results spanning across four years. The last clash between the two nations was as recent as July and it was a humdinger, ending in a one-point victory for the Cherry Blossoms.

The men from Asia are looking to claim their first World Cup win since beating Zimbabwe in 1991, and signs suggest that this is the moment they've long been waiting for.

While Kirwan conceded defeat to New Zealand by selecting a second-string team, his outlook on the Tonga game couldn't be more different.

There are only two changes to the team that did duty in Japan's opening clash against France with the injured duo of Ryukoliniasi Holani and Koji Taira missing out. Alisi Tupuailai comes in for Taira at outside centre, while skipper Takashi Kikutani moves from flank to number eight to accommodate the inclusion of Itaru Taniguchi on the blindside.

It's not only the personnel that is different though with the Cherry Blossoms adopting

Photo: REUTERS

**Needless to say, the game is a big one for Tonga. The men in red have already dropped three places in the IRB rankings after their poor start to the competition, and are in danger of losing much of the credibility they took from their opening game.**

a hard-hitting approach that perhaps isn't normally associated with them.

"We watched them on film, but they play a real simple game. We've figured out their strengths as well as their weaknesses," Taniguchi said of the Tongans.

"We're not just going to try to stop them, we're going to hit back. My guess is that they think Japanese players will sit there and take it, so imagine how surprised they might be if we took it right to them."

Tonga coach Isitolo Maka certainly isn't underestimating the Japanese.

"I was very impressed with the way they played France," said Maka.

"I knew that was the team they would play against us. I knew they would play their second team against the All Blacks. So you can't read much into the All Blacks game."


While Kirwan has rung the changes in a fairly methodical manner, the Tongan camp looks a little less settled.

Only Taniela Moea, Kurt Morath and centre Siale Piutau would have played all three games of the tournament. But while that is not too much of a concern, what is more worrying is that Maka hasn't even been able to keep Moea and Morath in one position, with Moea switching back between scrum-half and fly-half and Morath making use of the number ten and 15 jerseys.

Tonga will be without captain Finau Maka for the clash, with the flanker ruled out by a rib injury. Hooker Aleki Lutui takes over the captaincy and he is joined in the front row by Taufua'ao Filise and Soane Tonga'uiha, with the trio re-establishing the partnership forged against New Zealand.

Lock Paino Hehea and loose forwards Sione Kalamafoni and Viliami Ma'afu come into the pack while full-back Vungakoto Lilo and winger Sukanaivalu Hufanga join the back-line.

Needless to say, the game is a big one for Tonga. The men in red have already dropped three places in the IRB rankings after their poor start to the competition, and are in danger of losing much of the credibility they took from their opening game.

After a strong second-half showing against the All Blacks, there is no doubt the Ikale Tahi will feel they let themselves down against Canada; now is the time to prove that was just a blip rather than a downward curve. 

## PREVIOUS RESULTS

- 2011: Japan won 28-27 in Suva
- 2001: Japan won 26-23 in Apia
- 2009: Japan won 21-19 in Lautoka
- 2008: Japan won 35-13 in Sendai
- 2007: Japan won 20-17 in Coffs Harbour

## PLAYERS TO WATCH

**For Tonga:** Outside centre Siale Piutau grabbed a brace against Canada and generally looked dangerous on defence. Tonga will be looking for him to put in some barnstorming runs through the middle of the Japanese defence.

**For Japan:** Despite having limited opportunities against New Zealand, Hirotohi Onozawa looked a lively and willing runner. With better ball set to be on offer against Tonga, the experienced winger will have a chance to show how dangerous he can be.

**Head-to-head:** Fly-halves James Arlidge and Kurt Morath are both key figures for their teams so their battle could be crucial in deciding the outcome of the game. The two are both goal kickers, and in a game that could be tight, their performance from the kicking tee could be a defining moment.

**Predication:** History suggests there are never runaway victors in this contest but with brave Blossoms appearing the team to have more momentum heading into the clash, Japan should take it by seven!

## THE TEAMS

### Tonga

15 Vungakoto Lilo, 14 Fetu'u Vainikolo, 13 Siale Piutau, 12 Alipate Fatafehi, 11 Sukanaivalu Hufanga, 10 Kurt Morath, 9 Taniela Moa, 8

Viliami Ma'afu, 7 Sione Vaiomo'unga, 6 Sione Kalamafoni, 5 Paino Hehea, 4 Tukulua Lokotui, 3 Taufua'ao Filise, 2 Aleki Lutui (captain), 1 Soane Tonga'uiha.

*Replacements: 16 Aloisio Ma'asi, 17 Alisona Taumalolo, 18 Halani Aulika, 19 Joseph Tu'ineau, 20 Samiu Vahafolau, 21 Samisoni Fisilau, 22 Viliame Longi.*

### Japan

15 Shaun Webb, 14 Kosuke Endo, 13 Alisi Tupuailai, 12 Ryan Nicholas, 11 Hirotohi Onozawa, 10 James Arlidge, 9 Fumiaki Tanaka, 8 Takashi Kikutani (c), 7 Michael Leitch, 6 Itaru Taniguchi, 5 Toshizumi Kitagawa, 4 Luke Thompson, 3 Kensuke Hatakeyama, 2 Shota Horie, 1 Hisateru Hirashima.

*Replacements: 16 Yusuke Aoki, 17 Nozomu Fujita, 18 Hitoshi Ono, 19 Sione Talikavili Vatuvei, 20 Atsushi Hiwasa, 21 Takehisa Usuzuki, 22 Murray Williams.*

**Date:** Wednesday, September 21

**Venue:** Northland Events Centre, Whangarei

**Kick-off:** 19:30 (07:30 GMT)

**Weather:** Maximum 19° C, minimum 9°C, dry, westerly breezes

**Referee:** Dave Pearson (England)

**Assistant referees:** Alain Rolland (Ireland), Stuart Terheege (England)

**Television match official:** Giulio De Santis (Italy)



## BEHIND THE SUCCESS OF THE ENGLAND'S ODI TEAM

Winning more games than they are losing, reaching the knockout stages of the World Cup, and providing intermittent entertainment; England are a 50-over outfit transformed under head coach Andy Flower, as they are in Test cricket. PETER MAY investigates possible reasons why.

### BEING UNAFRAID TO INNOVATE

English cricket has an inbuilt fear of change, evidenced by their spectacular lack of success in ODIs since tobacco sponsorship went out and coloured clothing came in. The only reason they didn't try to use a supersub at the 2007 World Cup was because they never really understood how it was supposed to work, and Michael Vaughan thought it impolite to ask. No more.

Flower's reign has seen an investment in the unorthodox cricketers so central to limited-overs success – in particular Eoin Morgan and Jade

Dernbach, who both received media criticism during early wobbles but are now indispensable. India were, to put it mildly, fed-up by mid-September but it was nevertheless the home team who had all the ideas on the field.

### ALASTAIR COOK ACTUALLY LOOKS GOOD

Having in the Ashes won over the doubters about his appetite for the toughest challenges in Tests, the left-hander has to do it all again

Photo: REUTERS

## England have won 38 of 64 tosses in ODI cricket since Flower became the head coach on a permanent basis.

in one-day cricket. His appointment as 50-over captain looked a classic regressive England ODI move, but he has impressed so far.

Most important, of course, is his own performance. As usual the top ten batsmen in the ODI rankings – Hashim Amla, AB de Villiers, Shane Watson, Jonathan Trott, Kumar Sangakkara, MS Dhoni, Michael Clarke, Michael Hussey, Virat Kohli, Tillakaratne Dilshan – are more proper Test batsmen than wild one-day slashers.

There is no prior reason to say that Cook cannot be an ODI asset, but he will have to play differently to have a chance. Having seen Andrew Strauss convert himself late in his own ODI career, Cook knows he has the opportunity and the environment. The admission that he nearly dropped himself for the curtailed second ODI at Southampton was a further confirmation of a hitherto hidden flexibility.


### NO FAVOURITES

I wanted to see Stuart Broad dropped for the Test series against India and was in good company. Surian Botham said as much too, and when the all-rounder kept his place, he seemed to owe it to the T20 captaincy rather than form – Flower and Strauss wanted too badly to keep the "three kings" brains' trust together. Broad winning player-of-the-series justified the selectors' faith (not to mention the general public's scepticism of mine and Botham's punditry skills).

Subsequently Flower showed that being in the inner circle was not enough. Cook's stock could hardly be higher at the moment, yet when Broad and Morgan fell injured and the 50-over skipper declared his availability to lead in T20, Flower pretended not to hear and blithely turned to Graeme Swann.

The competition for middle-order places is the next place where loyalty will be tested; Jonny Bairstow's debut knock puts him on a plane to India while it's still whispered that Cook and Jonathan Trott cannot play together in limited-overs cricket. Who would drop the ICC Player of the Year? Flower would.

### CHEATING AT THE TOSS. POSSIBLY

England have won 38 of 64 tosses in ODI cricket since Flower became the head coach on a permanent basis. The probability of winning such a high proportion is very small – little more than 8% – and the only occasion in his two-and-a-half year reign that Flower has missed an ODI (in Dublin last month), his skipper called incorrectly. As Napoleon said, "Give me lucky generals. Or failing that, a Zimbabwean with a two-headed coin". 



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