

Jubilee for Africa's Debt Burden

AACC in Reflection

Introduction

Virtually every day, the media comments on the burden of debt which is strangling the aspirations of people on the African continent. Debt management has become a huge complex business. With few exceptions, debt is accepted as a negative element in the African economic body politic. Because the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are the prime sources for large loans at very low rates of interest and because these institutions are strongly influenced and managed by western powers, people in Africa are convinced that the politics of debt have everything to do with oppression and domination.

Calls for the alleviation of the debt burden have come from many sources, including the ecumenical community and latterly from the business world itself. For while it is understood that little economic progress can be achieved without borrowing money from sources external to a particular economy, there is also the understanding that there must be some proportionality between the debt incurred and the

ability of the respective economies, whether personal, national or continental, to "service" the debt.

There is general agreement that Africa's debt burden has served to render the economies of the continent dysfunctional. In the case of Mozambique, for example, the government spends twice as much on servicing its debt than it does on basic services, such as primary health care and education.¹ Africa's debt burden cannot be properly "serviced" or sustained on the basis of the existing economic structures. In other words, the present situation has become untenable. New beginnings must be made. Bold strategies must be articulated. However, because of the complexity of Africa's debt burden, there is also the need for careful analysis, for the deployment of a variety of alleviation strategies and for specificity. For the debt configurations in the more than 50 national economies in Africa and in the variety of regional entities (e.g. East Africa Corporation, IGAD, SADC) vary enormously.

Among the many protests on this subject has been the pioneer voice of the ecumenical community. With its theological base and its access to powerful biblical images and metaphors (e.g. the Jubilee), the ecumenical community is well placed to make a contribution to the

¹"Debt and Development: Time to Act, Again," by Gordon Brown. *The Economist*. Feb. 21, 1998. p. 97.

current debate and to the calls for radical change. This paper will recount the ecumenical posture of the African churches in the past while reflecting as well the current sentiments as stated in forums such as the Seventh General Assembly of the AACC, held in October 1997 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. On an end-note, this paper calls for careful examination of the variety of debt relief instruments including a rather more extensive interpretation of the call for a debt Jubilee.

AACC Initiatives on Africa's Debt Burden

Tutu statement on debt The most current and most high profile comment in the AACC context on the debt burden in Africa was made by former Archbishop Desmond Tutu in his capacity as the President of the All Africa Conference of Churches during its 7th General Assembly held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in October 1997. In his report to the Assembly, President Tutu expressed his own frustration with Africa's debt burden and proposed specific action which was subsequently and variously endorsed by the discussions and sub-groups during the Assembly. Herewith the relevant excerpt from his report.

"I called long ago for the cancellation of the crippling debt we have had to bear for so long. The IMF and World Bank are using their

crippling Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS). These are immoral, for they care nothing about the suffering of people. Jesus objected to such conduct. He said people were more important than even religious rules. He broke these to serve people. The Sabbath was made for us and not we for the Sabbath. Anything that imposes unnecessary suffering on those for whom Christ died, is wrong and immoral. SAPs do this and they must be condemned as wrong and immoral.

There are others who have joined their voices in this campaign. There is something called Jubilee 2000. We ask our friends to stand by us in this new moral crusade to have the debt cancelled following the biblical principle of Jubilee. Basically it says: "everything belongs to God; all debts and mortgages must be cancelled in the Jubilee Year to give the debtors a chance to make a new beginning."

I suggested that there should be a six month moratorium on debt repayments just to ensure that this cancellation would benefit the people, not some new elite.

The conditions should be:

a) True democratisation - when it is clear that the people

participate in decision making;

b) Respect for human rights;

c) Demilitarisation;

d) Redirecting money thus saved for the benefit of the so-called ordinary people.

If these conditions are met, then debts should be cancelled."

In his earlier pronouncements, Tutu had focused primarily on the issue of human rights as a conditionality for the cancellation of debts. In this most recent challenge he alludes to a "basket" of conditionalities on which basis consideration should be given to the possibility of such cancellation. In several of the Assembly documents and mandates there was acknowledgement and endorsement of Tutu's call, though the complexity and the specificity of the required action was not elaborated upon.

In the context of AACC deliberations on the African debt question, Tutu's challenge no doubt constitutes the most specific, focused challenge to date. A quick review of past ecumenical deliberations and

initiatives are instructive, for they indicate the range of debate and the priority concerns related to the effect of debts and international monetary instruments.

Missionaries and dependence In his sweeping review of ecumenical institutions and initiatives in Africa, Utuk notes the importance of the post World War II period for purposes of ecumenical formation. Emerging African church structures birthed by the missionary endeavor were heavily subsidised by overseas "mother churches," while recognizing that much of the infrastructure of local or rural churches was locally funded. Counterpart government infrastructure was heavily underwritten by the Bretton Woods institutions, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. However, Utuk notes further, "*When the history of the Christian missionary enterprise in Africa during the twentieth century comes to be reviewed, it will be tempting to draw the conclusion that missionary funds and personnel from Europe and North America were indispensable. ...This situation will be seen as a paradox, because much of the 'aid' received will not have helped to root the Gospel in the African cultural soil.*"² In the 1970s this point was extensively discussed in the context of the so-called "moratorium" debate which called for cessation or the drastic

²Efiong Utuk. *Visions of Authenticity: The Assemblies of the All Africa Conference of Churches 1963-1992*. 1997. All Africa Conference of Churches. Nairobi, Kenya. pp. 25-26.

reduction of overseas funding and personnel, providing a breather space during which the self-identity of African churches could be developed.³ The quest for authenticity in African ecumenical life, according to Utuk, has been relentless.

Summit - AACC Commission on International Affairs In 1986 the AACC's Commission on International Affairs convened a "summit" meeting for church leaders in Cairo, Egypt. Typical of ecumenical discussion in those days, there was much focus on South Africa's apartheid regime and the need to eliminate that evil system. Apartheid was seen as an affront to human dignity and a gross violation of human rights. Resource persons to the "summit" spoke in the most eloquent fashion of the biblical basis for human dignity. Indeed, subsequent ecumenical discussions in Africa have rarely exceeded the heights of those insights and the related "laying claim" to God's provisions for the full life. Throughout these discussions, the detrimental effects on human dignity in Africa inflicted by the debt burden were cited with great effect.⁴

Human Rights - Debt Crisis Later, in 1990, the AACC's Commission on International Affairs convened a major consultation in Lesotho to

³ Ibid. Utuk. pp. 107-8.

⁴"African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights" by Amos Wako. Report: Commission on International Affairs of the All Africa Conference of Churches. Cairo, Egypt Sept. 8-13, 1986. p.1.

consider "*The Debt Crisis as it Affects Human Rights*." In Lesotho the deliberation became specific. It dealt with questions related to the rule of law, the rights of the child and the church as an actor in political affairs and as a healer of the body politic. In its recommendations, the Lesotho convocation considered the ethics of lending and borrowing, citing the following criteria: a) loans for development must accrue to the benefit of the people as a whole; b) loans should be apolitical; c) loans should not be tied to the purchase of capital goods or personnel from the lending government/institution; d) loans should not be used for military purchases; e) negotiations on loans should be democratic, involving representatives of the general public; e) the administration of loans should be publicly monitored. More recently, other recommendations urged the churches to become active in raising awareness within Africa and among their overseas partners on the intricacies and acceptable ethics related to loans, debts and economic questions generally. Very much relevant to this present deliberation, the Lesotho convocation recommended that the AACC together with the World Council of Churches call for a "*Year of Jubilee*," calling for a restructuring of the whole of the international monetary system as a basic requirement.⁵

⁵"Debt Crisis and Human Rights", by Amos Wako. *The Debt Crisis as it Affects Human Rights, Commission on International Affairs of the All Africa Conference of Churches*. Sept. 26-30, 1990. Maseru, Lesotho.

Economic Literacy In 1997 the Women's Desk of the All Africa Conference of Churches published its *Economic Literacy Manual* which was officially launched at the 7th AACC General Assembly, thus fulfilling in one remarkable effort a number of recommendations which had been accumulating in successive ecumenical gatherings in Africa. The *Manual* featured eleven modules, covering a range of issues including a broad look at the configuration of African economics, structural adjustment programmes and the debt crisis, moving near the end of the *Manual* toward creative, human-centered economic visions for Africa. While the *Manual* was intended primarily for the use of economic literacy trainers, an accompanying video entitled, "*To Be A Woman*" had been launched already in 1994, designed for educating and raising the awareness of a wide range of women and men within and outside the churches. This combination of resources comprises a tour de force in the ecumenical effort toward basic economic literacy and, hopefully, toward remedial action.⁶

The Spectre of African Debt

The manifestations of debt in Africa are manifold, from the classic, public articulations to the more obscure and poignant. Herewith selected samples.

⁶*Economic Literacy Manual*. All Africa Conference of Churches - Women's Desk. Nairobi, Kenya. 1997.

Item: *Disempowered Governments* Many people in Africa have experienced the effects of debt in terms of the severe Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which have been prescribed in one country after another on the continent. Typically the SAPs invoke several or all the following elements: a) an emphasis on export production; 2) higher interest rates; 3) removal of trade and export controls; 4) privatization of public resources; 5) currency devaluation; 6) reduction of government spending [effectively curtailing expenditure on social services]. *"Governments [which are]...no longer able to respond to the basic needs of their people embark on ruthless repression to silence the people. In many places government workers are unpaid for many months, the universities are closed and workers laid off from jobs. Africans.....[want] a system that [puts] food on their table, medicine in the hospitals, and allows education to function and the economy to grow."*⁷

Item: *Repaying Debts for Genocide Tools* Around the world, people watched aghast while tens of thousands were slaughtered in Rwanda with machetes, grenades and small arms. According to impeccable sources, the former Rwanda Government had imported these lethal

⁷Ngoy Daniel Mulunda-Nyanga. *The Reconstruction of Africa; Faith and Freedom for a Conflicted Continent*. 1997. All Africa Conference of Churches. Nairobi, Kenya. pp. 18-19.

weapons en masse for the precise purpose of facilitating the genocide. This importation of tools-for-slaughter was the largest single importation over the past twenty year period in Rwanda. Ironically and tragically, the current Government of Rwanda is now saddled with the debts incurred by the importation of those lethal weapons. Tragedy follows tragedy: the survivors of colossal genocide and their children will be penalized by the repayment of this debt. Where in the long chain of mis-governance, immoral use of borrowed money, the actual genocide and now in the payment of the related debt might a Jubilee be launched and celebrated?

Item: *Debt Repayment to Political Non-Entities* Anglican Bishop Dinis Sengulane of Mozambique notes that African states, including his own, are being required to pay for debts incurred with political entities which no longer exist. Today Mozambique is paying for debts incurred with the former Soviet Union and the former German Democratic Republic, neither of which exists in the modern family of states. Perhaps even more importantly, such loans were typically availed and debts incurred for reasons of ideological rather than economic solidarity. They were promoted and made available at a time when Africa was shamelessly tossed about as a pawn between eastern and western ideological power blocs. When "the wall came down," allowing the Western powers to claim victory, countries like

Mozambique were literally left holding the bag. From an African, or more particularly, from a Mozambican point of view, clearly no form of the Jubilee can be equated with the demise of the Berlin Wall.

Item: *Debt and Conflict* While it is difficult to make the precise link between debt and conflict in Africa, there is a widespread sense that economic deprivation or economic constraints give rise to armed conflict. In the absence of stable and growing economic sectors, opposition leaders and leaders of marginalized minorities in Africa are quick to "take to the bush," waging rebellion against existing authorities. Liberia is the conspicuous case: Charles Taylor took to the bush in the face of his own massive financial irregularities. For purposes of accumulating power, African leaders prey on the discontented, on the unemployed and the marginalized as a means of accumulating power. Indeed, in Africa stable economic systems have given way in many countries to political regimes which have gained power, held onto power or changed power by means of mobilising the marginalized who languish on the outside of the modern sector economic order. Many people on this continent would resonate with the passage in I Samuel 22:2: "*People who were oppressed or in debt or dissatisfied went to him (David, the rebel leader against King Saul), about four thousand men in all and he became their leader.*"

Item: *Per capita debt-Tanzania* On Sunday March 15, 1998 President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania made a scholarly 30-minute presentation on the nation's external debt. The facts, as he recounted them, are stark. Currently, Tanzania's external debt stands at \$7.9 billion. If this debt were distributed equally among the population, every Tanzanian would have to pay \$250. Or in more graphic terms, if the country deployed its entire export earnings without importing a single aspirin or a litre of petrol, it would require 10 years to repay the national debt.

Who is to blame for getting Tanzania into this impossible situation? According to the newspaper article many badly conceived and poorly administered development projects are to be blamed. Former President Nyerere always insisted that such projects benefited donors more than recipients. But what is to be done now? In resigned fashion, the article concludes; *More needs to be done to reduce Tanzania's indebtedness, not necessarily by repaying cash, but by using more dynamic and imaginative and feasible remedies.*⁸

Quite apart from the heartrending effects of debt in Africa, it must also be understood that Africa's debt configuration has become exceedingly complex. Much of the literature on the subject is presented in generic

⁸"Tanzania's Huge Debts: Who? Why? How", by Robert Rweyemamu. *East African*. March 23-29, 1998. p. 9

fashion, citing (in incomprehensibly huge figures) the total continental debt load and the debt servicing ratio, again on the basis of generic continental figures. While these general statistics may be helpful to expert debt managers, they obscure, in fact, the great diversity which exists. Some African nations are poorer than others; some have refused to become enmeshed in accepting major international loans (e.g. Eritrea) while others (e.g. Kenya) have accumulated **internal or domestic** debts which extract greater sacrifices from ordinary citizens than do the loans accepted from global institutions such as the World Bank.⁹ African debt cannot easily be identified as a single unitary debt. It is better understood as a "basket" of debts; some of them are official (World Bank, IMF), some are multi-lateral (European Community, e.g. Lome Convention), some are bi-lateral (between two consenting countries), some are commercial and some have been incurred internally by governments of the day (e.g. Kenya).

It is a cruel irony that debt statistics are largely in the hands of the industrialized world where they are generated, publicized and managed with powerful effect, some would say, with neo-colonial effect. A former senior bank official who must remain anonymous cites the

⁹"Hard Choices for Nyachae". *The Weekly Review*. March 13, 1998. p.3. **Note:** By means of official treasury bonds, the Kenya Government borrows money from the public, currently paying 26% interest for the privilege! Several years ago, in more dire circumstances, treasury bonds were yielding 80%. Those with access to insider information and access became "instant" multi-millionaires.

extreme reluctance of African governments to release and publicize statistics related to debt.¹⁰ Imbalances between debtor and creditor nations are more than a matter of mere figures. For the present, Africa relies heavily on the outside world for functional information on the dimensions of the debt.

In 1990, Amos Wako, now the Attorney General of Kenya, cited the debt statistics gleaned from public sources: In 1985 Africa had a debt burden of \$100 billion. At the time Sudan and Ghana had a debt service ratio of 155% and 40% respectively. By 1980 Africa's debt was projected to reach \$230 billion; the same presenter predicted that by 1995 the debt would have reached \$605 billion. Debt servicing was projected to be 167% of the GNP and by the turn of the century it was anticipated that the cost of servicing Africa's debt would be 293% of the continental GNP.¹¹ How these figures compare with the figures conjured today must be the concern of another exercise. In this paper the point is being made repeatedly; if statistics of this kind are to be meaningful, they must be rendered manageable and approachable if any form of Jubilee is to be exercised.

Revisiting the Jubilee Injunction

¹⁰In a personal communication. Nairobi, Kenya. March 1998.

¹¹Amos Wako. "Debt Crisis and Human Rights." *Report on the Debt Crisis as it Affects Human Rights*. AACC Commission on International Affairs, AACC. September 26-30, 1990. Maseru, Lesotho.

In its most popular form, the term "Jubilee" is usually associated with 50 year anniversary celebrations, e.g. a jubilee wedding anniversary refers to a 50th wedding anniversary. This gathering is pre-occupied with one aspect of the biblical Jubilee, namely the cancellation of debts. However, a careful reading of the biblical text gives an indication that the components of the prescribed Hebrew 50th year celebrations (an elaboration of the understanding of the *Sabbath*) were at least four: 1) leaving the ground fallow 2) the remission of debts; 3) the liberation of slaves 4) the return to each individual of the respective family's property.¹²

According to the most vigorous scholarship, "the entire body of jubilee prescriptions, all the way to land redistribution, was never regularly practiced, yet [the Jubilee as metaphor] nonetheless remained alive in the mind and culture of Jews." There is evidence that food shortages were experienced on a six year cycle, lending some evidence to the likelihood that the prescribed practice of fallow farming had indeed been practiced.¹³ Thus if the validity of the Jubilee were based on the actual precedent of Jewish practice or if today it were invoked merely

¹²John Howard Yoder. *The Politics of Jesus: Behold the Man! Our Victorious Lamb*. 1994. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan. p. 60.

¹³Donald Blosser. (PHD dissertation) *Jesus and the Jubilee: The Year of the Jubilee and its Significance in the Gospel of Luke*. 1979. U. of St. Andrews. Cited in Yoder, p. 73.

as a legalistic device for the accomplishment of justice, its appeal and significance would be missed. On this point Yoder quotes Blosser;

The Jubilee is not simply a theological concept providing insight into the nature of God, it is a guide for living which is to be observed in normal daily practice among believers.... These Jubilee acts are not simply to be expected in the future, they are to be given concrete expression among the people of God in the present...what had been expected in the future can now be experienced in the present because we are now living in the new age,characterized by Jubilee activity among the believers. ¹⁴

The essential premise of Yoder's thesis in his widely recognized study is that the "Year of the Lord," Isaiah's rendering of the Leviticus Jubilee, was permanently inaugurated [invoked] with Jesus' reading and pronouncement in the Nazareth synagogue (Luke 4:16-18). Thus are believers in the Judeo-Christian tradition empowered to invoke and give witness to the ethical demands of the Jubilee in a world which has become increasingly interdependent and increasingly complex. "When one member suffers, all suffer" is no longer a pious adage; it has become as compelling and current as the daily CNN broadcast.

¹⁴Yoder. p. 74.

As with many fundamental ethical principles, the practice of a cyclic invocation of justice is not confined exclusively to the Judeo-Christian story. Echoes of this ethic are found among practitioners of African Religion. From the Gabbra people of northern Kenya comes the story of a 50 year justice cycle. While there has been some debate about the precise prescriptions being followed, evidence seems to suggest that certain of the jubiliary requirements were practiced, the most recent such cycle having been celebrated in the early 1980s.¹⁵

Toward an African Debt Jubilee

· ***Selecting Debt Relief Tools*** Just as there are many kinds of debts, so there exists a bewildering "basket" of tools designed to mitigate debt. In the case of official debt there are the tools designed by the consortia of creditors. The relatively informal combine known as the Paris Club has developed elaborate tools which facilitate the *turning over*, the *consolidating* or the *re-scheduling* (among other options) of existing debt, usually for purposes of rendering a debtor nation eligible to receive another tranche of aid which can then be applied toward interest payment on previously incurred debts! Another instrument recently designed jointly by the IMF, the World Bank and the Paris

¹⁵Harold Miller. "Jubilee: 1981". Published in the Missionary Messenger (Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions) in December 1981 and in the Festival Quarterly (Intercourse, PA) of November-January 1980-81.

Club is known as the *Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPCI)*. Uganda, being a favorite student of official debt managers, is the first country in Africa to benefit from the deployment of this instrument; debt to the tune of \$385 million will be cancelled.¹⁶

In addition to the official instruments of so-called debt relief, there are market-controlled debt relief instruments. These include *debt conversion funds* which involve the use of *discounted debt* to buy shares on local stock exchanges; or *asset swaps* in which creditors sell their privately held debt for about 75% of the face value, then resell the local currencies for dollars; there are market instruments known as *debt buy-backs* and *mezzanine debt* instruments, among others involving exceedingly complex management regimes.¹⁷ By any measure, debt management, including debt relief by means of existing instruments becomes extraordinarily involved.

· ***Selecting Jubilee Instruments*** In as much as we deliberate as a Christian community, let us as a first order of commitment, embrace the biblical Jubilee as a foundational ethic by which the new community lives. By definition, such a commitment would take the

¹⁶"After IMF Review, Uganda Still on Course for Debt Relief", by A. Mutumba-Lule. March 9-15, 1998. *East African*. Nairobi, Kenya. p.23.

¹⁷"Solution to Debt Problems" by Benedict A. Karaimu. March 12, 1998. *The Star*. Nairobi, Kenya p. 15. In personal communication, the author set out a dizzying array of additional instruments currently in use.

form of a continuous jubiliary relational process among all members of the committed community. In this case, the Jubilee 2000 could serve as an important symbol of the jubiliary commitment, but would not by itself constitute the essence of the Jubilee ethic. For Jubilee is an ethic for life, not merely an event to be celebrated symbolically every fifty years.

Taking into account some of the peculiar debt patterns in Africa, giving consideration to the variety of debt and the variety of debt alleviation instruments, there are obviously some genuine problems with cancellation as the solution for existing debts. The most straightforward problem has to do with specificity. Which debt is to be cancelled? If there is to be cancellation for an official debt incurred thirty years ago, what is the educational or remedial value for those involved in administering the governments in Africa today? Does it not become a matter of "easy come, easy go," thus making a mockery of what should otherwise be considered serious economic and political tools? Which economic instruments will be deployed to move into the vacuum left by the politics of debt and debt repayment? Does the debt cancellation process promise any insights or participatory education on the manner in which good loans must be acquired, serviced and monitored by well-informed, democratically appointed watch-dog agencies? In short, the successful and celebrated cancellation of debt,

however selected, may be a necessary but certainly not a sufficient exercise for the reconstruction of Africa.

· ***Public information on debt*** For many reasons, expertise on debt is dominated by Northern, industrialized countries. It stands to reason. Debtor countries would be delighted to have their debts forgotten by creditor nations or agencies. In some African countries no payments on debts are made until the creditor nation or agency comes round to collect! (Kenya's Central Bank only recently instituted a debt monitoring department. Until then the Bank waited for the creditor to tingle the deadline or due-date bells!) It may well be that debts in Africa were incurred too easily and shrouded in too much secrecy or too much "expertise." Should not loans entered into by a state be publicly explained and debated? Do African parliaments have sufficient voice or expertise in this regard? Indeed, why should the acquisition of official loans not be dependent upon referenda, seeking approval from the respective publics, both in the creditor as well as the debtor nations? Obviously, mechanisms governing these kinds of issues require high levels of expertise. And they require high levels of collaboration between informed publics in creditor and debtor nations.

· ***Ecumenical mobilization of debt relief*** If it is accepted that Jubilee is an on-going process and if it is generally accepted that money is

necessary to the economic advancement of peoples, then it is clear that concerned communities in the North and in the South, in debtor nations as in creditor nations, will need to develop and mobilize much more sophisticated tools of analysis, access and mutually beneficial action. Let it be agreed that a symbolic cancellation of specifically identified African debt is both necessary and helpful as a global event in the year 2000. But let it also be agreed that such an event is not sufficient to the resolution of Africa's debt burden. An embrace of the Jubilee calls for new commitments to new relationships between the creditor North and the debtor South, between the ecumenical North and the ecumenical South. It calls for new forms of governance in Africa in which monies acquired and monies expended benefit all people in a public, participatory manner. The Jubiliary life together is vastly more demanding than is a single Jubiliary event.

End Note

"The President Comes to Town"

As of this writing, Bill Clinton, President of the United States is on tour in Africa. According to his speech in Ghana, he is "proud" to be undertaking this unprecedented trip in Africa. A coalition of activist organizations/persons have addressed an appeal to African heads of

State and Governments in Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe, imploring them to use this opportunity to:

-firmly put your position behind accelerated debt relief for Sub-Saharan African countries

-urge the US President to give firm commitment to influence international financial institutions to accelerate debt relief for Sub-Saharan Africa

-obtain President Clinton's support for the Jubilee 2000 for total cancellation of external debt of Sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁸

May the Jubilee come to Africa, in many forms.

Reality Check

As he was about to arrive in Entebbe, Uganda, one of Bill Clinton's security people was taking charge of the situation, rather against the sensibilities of a local security officer. Said the American security

¹⁸"Uganda Debt Network Press Release". *East African*, March 23-29, 1998. p. 15.

officer to the Ugandan security officer: "Buddy, wherever Air Force One lands, that is an area of American sovereignty." Obviously, we are not yet living in a jubilarious world.

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