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News

By Anna Gawel

The Washington Diplomat

Italians Move Quickly to Rescue, Rebuild

As Italians scramble to dig out from the Monday earthquake that has killed at least 281 people in central Italy, officials at the Italian Embassy are busy coordinating their efforts here in Washington to keep up with the rapidly developing tragedy.

The full impact of the quake is still being uncovered as rescue workers frantically work to help the victims — and keep hope alive for survivors — amid hundreds of aftershocks that continue to rattle residents and buildings in the hard-hit city of L'Aquila and surrounding towns — historic gems located about 65 miles outside Rome.

Carlo Aalst, press officer at the embassy, provided the Diplomatic Pouch with some of the latest figures:

Various estimates have put the magnitude of the quake at 6.2 to 6.4. As of April 9, 281 people were confirmed dead, with about 10 people still missing and 1,500 injured. The first of the funerals for victims was held Wednesday, with a mass state funeral and national day of mourning planned for Friday.

Estimates on the number of homeless have been more difficult to pin down, but authorities have said that about 18,000 people are living in 31 tent cities, while an additional 10,000 people were being housed in hotels along the Adriatic coast, bringing the total number of homeless to almost 28,000.



In addition, the physical damage to architectural treasures in an area covering 230 square miles centered around the 13th-century medieval city of L'Aquila has been immeasurable. Home to some 70,000 inhabitants, L'Aquila anchors about 25 surrounding towns and villages — some of which have been completely destroyed — in the picturesque mountainous region known as Abruzzo.

The area is filled with priceless Romanesque, Gothic, Baroque and Renaissance landmarks. Aalst said that 55 churches in L'Aquila were damaged, but officials were still assessing homes and other buildings under the assumption that some type of damage is present in most buildings. Various reports have estimated that some 10,000 to 15,000 buildings were either damaged or destroyed.

But the immediate priority is combing the rubble for remaining survivors. Despite the dangers of fresh aftershocks that have rained down debris on rescuers and residents (one powerful tremor Wednesday morning reached Rome), Aalst said the rescue effort would continue into next week despite reports that the operation would switch to one of salvage and clearance at the end of this week.

"As with any tragedy there's always hope to find more survivors," he said. "Yesterday four people were rescued alive. Unfortunately what the rescuers are finding are more victims than survivors, but we won't give up."

Those four people included a 98-year-old woman reportedly trapped for 30 hours as well as a 20-year-old woman buried for 42 hours, sparking hope that survivors could still emerge.

In the meantime, another urgent focus is feeding and housing the thousands of homeless people who've been sleeping in makeshift tent cities and cars in chilly temperatures dipping down to the 40s Fahrenheit.

Earlier, officials estimated that 50,000 people had been left homeless but the figure was lowered to between 17,000 and 25,000 because many found shelter with friends or relatives.

Aalst said the government is working to provide both temporary housing — in the form of tents, trailers and hotel rooms — as well as long-term housing as soon as more of the wreckage is cleared, though that could take weeks or months.

Officials have already begun discussing rebuilding the devastated region and reopening schools, although they stressed it would take a month or two to fully assess the damage.

Aalst explained that the government will build permanent housing in “brand new cities” close to affected areas as well as on parts of towns deemed habitable. He added that scientists are coordinating with politicians in Rome to improve building codes and safety. Likewise, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi pledged to rebuild stronger homes able to withstand quakes in the seismically active region. “Don’t worry,” he said. “The reconstruction will be quick.”

The ever-colorful entrepreneur also told the homeless to take the government up on the seaside hotel accommodation it was offering: “Head to the beach. It’s Easter. Take a break. We’re paying for it,” he told people in a camp at San Demetrio. “You’ll be well looked after.”

After declaring a state of emergency shortly after the Monday quake, Berlusconi initially declined foreign aid, though he recently said Italy would gladly accept the support offered by President Barack Obama to help preserve the region’s cultural and artistic heritage.

Aalst said the embassy in Washington has set up a fund for quake victims (information is posted at www.ambwashingtondc.esteri.it/ambasciata_washington). He also noted that various private Italian-American groups such as the National Italian American Foundation (www.niaf.org) are offering relief funds.

Aalst said his country is grateful for the global outpouring of support. “Every [Italian] embassy around the world has been inundated with offers of help which we totally appreciate,” he told us, adding that the embassy in Washington has received condolences from across the United States.

“We’re very grateful to the American public,” he said. “We’re very grateful for their kind words that they’ve been sending to us either by phone, e-mail, even by fax, and of course the fundraising [efforts]. We’re grateful and we’re sending all the kind words back to the people of L’Aquila and the region.”

The L’Aquila earthquake was the worst to hit Italy in three decades. In 1980, a 6.9-magnitude earthquake hit the southern part of the country, killing more than 2,700, and in 2002, a quake killed 28, including 27 children.

L’Aquila sits on a hillside in the middle of a narrow valley surrounded by the Apennine Mountain range, where dozens of smaller towns dot the picturesque region — which was rocked by a major earthquake in the early morning hours of April 6 that has so far killed at least 281 people.

Cracks in the Glass Ceiling

For International Women’s Day, nations from Afghanistan to Guatemala to the United States take a time out to honor their women every year on March 8. Yet the fact that countries have to remind themselves to recognize half the world’s population shows that the ladies still have a way to go.

That was the subtle message from a group of female ambassadors who gathered for an intimate networking event hosted by the Women’s Foreign Policy Group (WFPG) for female diplomats on March 10.



"We have come a long way but we haven't come all the way," said Claudia Fritsche, Liechtenstein's veteran ambassador and a longtime supporter of WFPG. Fritsche, who set up her tiny principality's first embassy in Washington (most recently opening a new chancery along the Georgetown Waterfront), became visibly choked up talking about the demands that career women face. "I can't spend as much time with my family as I would like," she admitted.

At the same time, she said the small cadre of female ambassadors in Washington "have a special bond ... we are all friends. We all support each other."

Such solidarity is especially crucial because even though "we have made it," many young girls have not, Fritsche added, noting that even her progressive nation of Liechtenstein didn't establish voting rights for women until 1984. "Clearly we are getting there but we're not there yet."

That sentiment was echoed by Glenda Morean-Phillip, Trinidad and Tobago's ambassador, who noted that of the 23 judges in her twin-island republic, eight of them are women. "We do have a lot to be happy for and celebrate, but I know we have not yet shattered the glass ceiling. We've put lots of cracks in it," said Morean-Phillip, who herself cracked one barrier when she became the first Trinidad-born woman in her country to qualify as a solicitor (also see her profile in the April 2009 issue of *The Washington Diplomat*).



Embedding women into the legal system is integral to achieving societal integration, according to Ambassador Maria de Fátima Lima da Veiga of Cape Verde. She argued that female participation in multilateral settings like the United Nations is vital to pushing equality through global legal instruments. And those instruments are especially important in the wake of the economic crisis, which "hits women hardest."

Women in fact are already disproportionately among the poorest and most disenfranchised in the world, and bear the brunt of workplace discrimination. The United Nations estimates that the financial turmoil will plunge another 22 million women into unemployment.

Ambassador Veiga though proudly pointed out that her small island archipelago — located 300 miles off the coast of West Africa — has women in charge of the justice, defense and finance portfolios of Cape Verde's Cabinet, instead of more traditional positions such as education and family planning.

Likewise, Colombia has stacked some of its top government positions with women, one of whom recalled the story of how she came to serve as in Bogotá's foreign affairs minister. Carolina Barco, currently Colombia's ambassador in Washington, said that in 2002 she got the surprising call notifying her that President Álvaro Uribe wanted her to serve as foreign minister. "He likes the way you are thinking about Bogotá in international terms," Barco remembered being told. "And he wants the world to think of Colombia that way."



Barco also learned that Uribe specifically wanted half of his Cabinet to be women, including the position of defense. She said the president felt that women could send the message that this was a "country healing from strife" in a way that men necessarily couldn't.

"The other reason [he said] is because you will be talking about very difficult issues outside Colombia and I want to convey a warmer dialogue about Colombia, a country making peace," Barco explained. "This was a hard sell and the president felt the tone of a woman ... would be right."

"Colombia is definitely on its way to peace and on its way to prosperity," Barco concluded, "and countries listened."

But peace has been elusive for far too many women around the world, where in some countries, as many as one in three women are beaten, coerced into sex or otherwise abused in their lifetimes, the United Nations estimates. To that end, the United Nations dedicated this year's International Women's Day to the theme of violence against women, a scourge that is considered routine in many countries. Statistics variously show that between 10 percent and 50



percent of women report being physically abused by a partner in their lives. Among the millions beaten, each year 1.6 million women die around the globe at the hands of domestic violence, representing a staggering 3 percent of all deaths worldwide.

“We must stop the habitual and socially ingrained violence that mars lives, destroys health, perpetuates poverty and prevents us from achieving women’s equality and empowered,” declared U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. “Death, injury, medical costs and lost employment are but the tip of an iceberg. The impact on women and girls, their families, their communities and their societies in terms of shattered lives and livelihoods is beyond calculation.”

And the heavy toll is universal — transcending social status, religion, wealth, race or other characteristics. In the United States, for instance, studies have revealed that some 4 million women are physically attacked by their husbands or partners each year. In China, domestic violence is thought to occur in one-third of the vast country. And in Russia, estimates indicate that 14,000 women die annually from domestic abuse alone.

The pandemic is also acute in Africa, where violence against women “has become a weapon of war,” said Ambassador Faida Mitifu of the Democratic Republic of Congo. After years of strife that has claimed more than 5 million lives in the past decade alone, rape and horrifying acts of sexual violence have become endemic in the Congo (also see “Congo: The Women of Africa’s Forgotten Conflict” in the March 30, 2009, news section of the Diplomatic Pouch).

But Mitifu added that “there is a dynamic grassroots movement in Congo for women despite what you hear about,” noting that her own mother — who had eight girls and one boy — has participated in Women’s Days events for years. She also pointed out that Congo has an increasing number of women U.N. peacekeepers and is training more women to serve as soldiers to help prevent rape.



But progress cannot be made with the other half of the equation, the ladies stressed. Amina Salum Ali, ambassador of the African Union, lamented that “men control the economy, household traditions and conflict resolution, so we realize we have to work with men to end violence against women.”

A few brave men attended the Women’s Foreign Policy Group meeting, though the events are obviously geared toward women. Dozens of female enjoys turned out for the gathering at the Ritz-Carlton Georgetown residence of Maxine Isaacs, chair of the WFPG Board of Directors. Among them were women ambassadors from the African Union, Cape Verde, Colombia, Liechtenstein, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zambia, as well as female diplomats from the embassies of Angola, Brazil, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Indonesia, Morocco, Norway, Panama, Peru, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka, among others.

WFPG advances women’s leadership and highlights their contributions through international issues programs with women leaders as speakers and leadership development activities, including mentoring and internships.

Top photo from left, President and co-founder of the Women’s Foreign Policy Group (WFPG) Patricia Ellis, Ambassador of the African Union Amina Salum Ali, WFPG Board Chair Maxine Isaacs, and Ambassador of Liechtenstein Claudia Fritsche (also on the front page) attend a WFPG reception for women diplomats.

Also in attendance were, from second top photo to bottom: Ambassador Glenda Morean-Phillip of Trinidad and Tobago; Ambassador Maria de Fátima Lima da Veiga of Cape Verde; Ambassador Carolina Barco of Colombia; and Ambassador Faida Mitifu of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Photos: C. Stanley Photography

Celebrities Lend a Hand to Raise Voices

A leading woman’s NGO turned up the star power to give voice to women empowering fellow women against decidedly unglamorous odds. At the Vital Voices 2009 Global Leadership Awards ceremony at the Kennedy Center on March 19, the names of the honorees — Temitokpe Esisi, Sadiqa Basiri Saleem, Chouchou Namegabe Nabintu and others — may not have been as recognizable as that of

their hosts — Ben Affleck, Sally Field, among others — but their inspiring achievements and humbly moving messages took center stage at the high-profile event.

Affleck and Field were joined by fellow actors Maria Bello, Candice Bergen, as well as designer Diane von Furstenberg and journalist Nicholas Kristof to pay tribute to six women for their leadership both to their local communities and to the world. A packed audience in the Eisenhower Theater — including local celebrities such as Wolf Blitzer as well as various ambassadors — also stood as a testament to the success of the evening's host, Vital Voices, a nongovernmental organization that identifies, trains and empowers emerging women leaders and social entrepreneurs around the world.

It's a large mission, but the numbers speak for themselves: Vital Voices boasts an international staff and team of more than 1,000 partners, pro bono experts and leaders — including senior government, corporate and NGO executives — who have trained and mentored more than 7,000 women from 127 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East since 1997. The result of this investment? These women have returned home to train more than 200,000 additional women and girls in their own communities.



But perhaps the individual voices of the 2009 Global Leadership honorees best exemplify the Vital Voices vision of “paying it forward.” The women couldn't have been any more different, but each shared a personal strength in the face of unimaginable cruelty, and each story resonated with an emotion that brought many in the audience to tears.

When Sadiqa Basiri Saleem returned to her eastern Afghanistan province after the fall of the Taliban, she discovered 150,000 girls without the ability to go to school. So she and three other women pooled their money and started the Oruj Learning Center.

What initially began as a project that provided uniforms, school supplies and funding to 36 girls blossomed just six years later into a full-fledged education movement. Last year alone, the center provided education to more than 2,700 girls in six schools and 200 women at four literacy centers throughout Wardak province. Oruj's Family Welfare Center for the Elimination of Violence Against Women also provides services to 14,000 Afghan women, in addition to training government staff, spiritual leaders and the public on women's issues.

“People can be manipulated. Women can be told they have no rights,” Saleem told the Vital Voices audience, noting that she has translated the Koran to women to explain their rights. “The Koran says both women and men should be educated. Education is a chain.”

And like chain Saleem says she hopes to pass down education to both sons and daughters, thanking the men in her family, specifically her husband and father, for their unconditional support. “This is their award, too.”

The next honoree has the support of a major corporation behind her, right when she was “ready to throw the towel in.” Temituokpe Esisi of Nigeria launched own tailoring company in 2005 but three years later her passion wasn't translating into profits. Along game Goldman Sachs and its “10,000 Women” scholarship program, which matched Esisi with a Goldman employee who taught her the skills she needed to better her business. Esisi now employs six people at her thriving Lagos-based fashion company.

“Economic empowerment is as important as political empowerment,” Esisi said, thanking Goldman Sachs “on behalf of millions of women who just need a little help.”

Profit though can also turn against women in the case of human trafficking, a lucrative global enterprise that lines millions of pockets by essentially turning women — most often girls — into human cattle sold and traded in the business of modern-day slavery. As a teenager, Somaly Mam broke free of her bonds, escaping the Cambodian brothel to which she was sold into, though only after witnessing the murder of a close friend by a pimp.

Unlike the lucky few who escape though and never look back, Mam has dedicated her life to rescuing girls from a life of sexual slavery, constantly risking her own life and that of her family in raids that have saved girls as young as 4 years old from Asian



brothels.



She then rehabilitates and reintegrates girls previously forced into prostitution. In a video on Mam's NGO, the audience saw barely teenage girls in hairpins sweetly working on the sewing machine — content after an incomprehensible life of daily rape, beatings and degradation.

"They call me Mommy," Mam told the audience. "I help them; they help me. I give them a new life; they give me a new life."

Despite the adversity — last month one of her victims was killed when she tried to escape — "I believe strongly that love is the answer," Mam insisted, to heal both the physical and invisible wounds of a new type of war against women.

In a place where war has become commonplace, the violation of women is also often the norm. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, where a decade of conflict has claimed some 5 million lives, suffering and death are nothing new.



Still, the degree of pain inflicted against women in the Congo has stunned outsiders. After traveling to the country several years ago, actor and Vital Voices presenter Ben Affleck was appalled to learn that in some areas of the Congo, as many as two-thirds of all women had been raped.

"Women are being destroyed," he said. "We men must realize that this is vital to our own survival."

He added: "As long as violence against women ... remains strictly a woman's issue, it will always be a woman's issue. We men must own it."

Women too are taking ownership of Congo's devastation and breaking their silence — literally in the case of honoree Chouchou Namegabe Nabintu, who has been reporting on Congo's violence since the 1990s, using radio airwaves to give voice to women in the conflict.

Affleck presented the Fern Holland Award to Nabintu along with her countrywoman, Marceline Kongolo-Bicé, who founded SOS Femmes en Dangers, an NGO to assist rape victims. The group has educated hundreds of rape survivors and introduced a micro-credit financing program for victims of sexual violence.

Yet the successes belie the harsh reality that still plagues Congo's women. Kongolo-Bicé herself was imprisoned at age 13 for refusing a military order to marry a local commandant, also losing her father and older brother to violence.

Journalist Nabintu has also witnessed unspeakable horrors, which she described to the shocked Vital Voices audience — including stones and tree branches shoved up women's genitals and gasoline poured on vaginas not to kill but to injure and humiliate.

"But breaking the silence is just the beginning," Nabintu said. "What we now need action. We need zero tolerance."

As American activist Eve Ensler pointed out in a video on the Congo, rape is no longer a war crime but a war strategy. "It's not just scud [missiles]," she said, "it's 50 men with AIDS going into a village."

Added former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright: "Women hold the fabric of society, and by humiliating them and treating them like animals you undo peace."

Still, America's first female secretary of state acknowledged that at the end of the day, "for better or worse we leave," which is why grassroots efforts are so important.

But as much as women can do from the ground up, there still has to be help from the top down. To that end, the Vital Voices final "Global Trailblazer" honoree personified that top-down approach: current Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.

Clinton's mantra of "human rights are women's rights" inspired legions of women around the world during her highly visible eight years as first lady, then as a U.S. senator, and finally during her own run for the White House.

Today, as secretary of state, Clinton vowed to continue her high-profile fight for women's rights as America's top diplomat.

"From the continued scourge of human trafficking; to unequal laws that still discriminate against women; to inadequate access to credit, which denies women the chance to take good ideas and turn them into businesses; to the under-representation of women in both the public and the private sector; to the abuse of women as a tactic of war — these challenges affect all of us," Clinton said. "So I pledge to you that I will do what I can do in this new position, with the strong support of President Obama and the administration, to put women's rights on the agenda as a central part of American foreign policy."



Likewise, she encouraged all women to break the silence "refuse to be pigeonholed, to be degraded, demeaned, ignored and marginalized, to find their own vital voices."

Want to hear more inspiring voices? Visit the Vital Voices at www.vitalvoices.org for complete coverage of the leadership awards. In addition to recognition by Vital Voices, Goldman Sachs's "10,000 Women" business education initiative was honored — along with the South African Small Enterprise Foundation — by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) at a March 4 gala hosted by Kuwaiti Ambassador Salem Al-Sabah and his wife Rima, with special guest Cherie Blair, wife of former British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Full coverage can be found at www.icrw.org.

And Secretary of State Clinton hosted various Women's Day-related events, which included paying tribute to "International Women of Courage" from Afghanistan, Guatemala, Iraq, Malaysia, Niger, Russia, Uzbekistan and Yemen. For information on all events, visit www.state.gov/g/wi/.

Front page: "Global Trailblazer" honoree Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is congratulated by the women of Vital Voices Global Partnership during the group's 2009 Global Leadership Awards at the Kennedy Center.

From top photo to bottom:

President and Chief Executive Officer of the Vital Voices Global Partnership Alyse Nelson, second from right, joined actors and presenters (from left) Sally Field, Maria Bello and Candice Bergen backstage at the 2009 Vital Voices Global Leadership Awards.

Honoree Somaly Mam, left, and actor Ben Affleck attend the Vital Voices Global Leadership Awards reception.

From left, Sadiqa Basiri Saleem, Temituokpe Esi, Chouchou Namegabe Nabintu, Annie Rashidi, Marceline Kongolo-Bicé and Emilie Ngo Nguidjol pose at the Vital Voices Global Leadership Awards reception.

Greta Van Susteren, right, talks with Vital Voices honoree Sadiqa Basiri Saleem of Afghanistan at the Global Leadership Awards.

Photos: Sharon Farmer / sphotoworks

Honoring Friends of Hungary

On March 16, fellow columnist Gail Scott of The Washington Diplomat was decorated with one of Hungary's highest honors for foreigners at Hungary's National Day celebration in Washington commemorating the 1848-49 Revolution and Freedom Fight. Scott was honored along with journalist James Morrison of the Washington Times, as well as Sally Painter, principal with Dutko Worldwide and managing director of Dutko Global Advisors, and Maximilian Teleki, president of the Hungarian American



Coalition.

On behalf of the Hungarian President László Sólyom, Hungarian Ambassador Ferenc Somogyi presented the four with the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit of the Republic of Hungary for their contributions to strengthening U.S.-Hungarian relations.

"This is a precious honor for me," Scott told the ambassador, Washington VIPs and the Hungarian-Americans gathered at the awards ceremony held at the embassy. "I am named after my maternal grandmother who was also a writer but it is through my father, Dr. Michael Puzak and his family, that I have my Hungarian heritage," said Scott, author of "Diplomatic Dance: The New Embassy Life in America."

"For me, it is this half of me that has always explained everything else: the Hungarian passion, the Hungarian determination, the Hungarian love of culture and stirring Gypsy music, and especially those irresistible Hungarian cheese pastries. I never felt more at home than when I was in Budapest."

Painter of Dutko Worldwide was commended for her promotion of NATO enlargement and her assistance in support of Hungary's inclusion in the U.S. Visa Waiver Program, while Teleki was commended for his devotion to Americans of Hungarian heritage.



Top photo from left, James Morrison of the Washington Times, Gail Scott of The Washington Diplomat, and Zoltan Feher, press attaché at the Hungarian Embassy attend an awards ceremony that honored Scott and Morrison with the Order of Merit of the Republic of Hungary.

Bottom photo from right, Ambassador of Hungary Ferenc Somogyi honored Maximilian Teleki, president of the Hungarian American Coalition, and Sally Painter, principal with Dutko Worldwide and managing director of Dutko Global Advisors, for their work strengthening U.S.-Hungarian relations.

Front page photo: Kyle Samperton

Camaraderie, Cooperation, Conservation at Africa Environment Day Special to the Diplomatic Pouch contributed by Patrick Haggerty

To celebrate the seventh Africa Environment Day on March 3 — established by the African Council of Ministers in 2002 to highlight conservation and sustainability in Africa — the South African Embassy brought together speakers from both African and American agencies to discuss "Conservation, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa: The Way Forward."

The March 23 event was hosted by the African Wildlife Foundation and the African Union and featured ambassadors from African countries including Gabon, Liberia, Tanzania and Rwanda, as well as U.S. Acting Assistant Secretary of African Affairs Phillip Carter and Franklin Moore of USAID.

South African Ambassador Welile Nhlapo introduced Patrick Bergin, CEO of the African Wildlife Foundation, who praised the discussion for bringing together African and Washington officials to offer fresh ideas on how to promote environmental causes in a continent beset by human conflict.



Carter, representing the State Department, spoke about recent U.S. initiatives in Africa and of the importance of conservation to governmental stability. Moore of USAID praised the profound development Africa has undergone while cautioning that further development must come hand in hand with conservation in order to keep Africa growing and prospering.

Each African envoy then focused on the conservationism in

their respective nations. Liberian Ambassador Milton Nathaniel Barnes, whose country is still recovering from a brutal civil war, said that "if there was any good thing to come out of the war it is that we are at ground zero. Everything is broken, but we can build from scratch and make it right."

Rwandan Ambassador James Kimonyo, meanwhile, discussed the universal competition between man and land. He noted that Rwanda has the highest population density of any country in Africa, which is why Rwanda's mountainous terrain has been terraced to allow people to live and farm along the hills. However, people have also been moving into the country's marshes, drying out the delicate ecosystem for farming and affecting Rwanda's climate.



Ambassador Ombeni Sefue of Tanzania spoke of his government's efforts to protect indigenous wildlife and forests while expanding economic growth at the same time. He pointed to a recent dam project that had to be scaled back to protect a small toad species that lived in the area.

As the discussion made clear, it will take cooperation and vision to make pair conservationism with economic success happen, and if the participants gave any indication of the future, Africa has hope on both fronts.

Top photo : Dr. Patrick Bergin, CEO of the African Wildlife Foundation, leads the discussion with African ambassadors, including Milton Nathaniel Barnes of Liberia (bottom photo) and Ombeni Sefue of Tanzania (front page), at the "Conservation, Governance and Economic Growth in Africa" seminar held at the South African Embassy.

Photos: Patrick Haggerty

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