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The Continent

with Mail & Guardian



CAUGHT ON CAMERA

THE ABDUCTION THAT
ROCKED ZIMBABWE

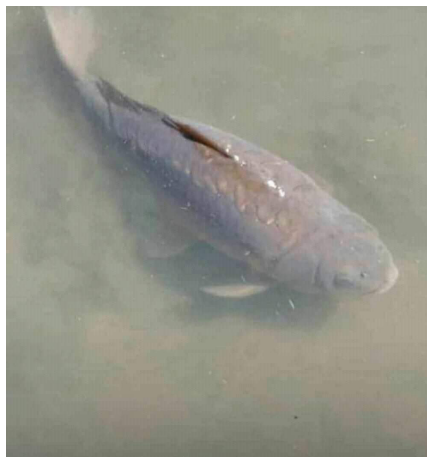
(Photo: ZimLive.com)

**WE
WON!**

Yoh! *The Continent* is the 'Best News Website or Mobile

Service' in Africa, according to the African Digital Media Awards.

Judges said: "Placing *The Continent* on WhatsApp represents the bold thinking which these desperate media times call for – it not only exploits an existing digital advantage but also responds to a peculiarly African opportunity, i.e. the widespread use of WhatsApp among communities sharing information under severe government restriction." Huge thanks to everyone who has made this possible, from our dedicated production team to our incredibly talented contributors to our enthusiastic and engaged readers. We salute you!



Rest in peace, Mafishi

For two decades, Mafishi – meaning "Big Fish" in Bemba – lived in a pond at the Copperbelt University in Zambia. The fish was much loved by students, who believed that it brought them good luck before exams. When Mafishi died on Monday, even President Edgar Lungu offered his condolences, and the university planned to embalm it. Unfortunately, before the embalmers could get to work, Mafishi's frozen corpse disappeared from the freezer. University authorities believe it may have been eaten, and have launched an investigation.

Inside:

- **COVER STORY:** Abductions in Zimbabwe are depressingly common. This one was caught on camera (p11)
- **Ethiopia's renegade election** – and Abiy's legitimacy crisis (p6)

- **Quiz:** How smart are you feeling today? (p14)
- **Continental Drift:** With friends like these...(p15)
- **Report:** The domestic workers who have been stranded in Lebanon (p18)
- **Sport:** Finally, the Premier League is back! (p23)

The Week in Numbers



(Photo: AFP)

59 years

The length of time that the only identifiable remains of Patrice Lumumba – a tooth – was kept from his family by the Belgian government. After his assassination, the body of the Democratic Republic of Congo's first post-independence leader was dissolved in acid, except for one tooth kept by a Belgian policeman. A Belgian court has ordered that it be returned to Lumumba's family.

760,000

The number of people affected by severe flooding in West and Central Africa in recent weeks. Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Ghana, Niger, Mali, Nigeria, Congo Republic and Senegal have been hit hardest. So far, at least 111 people have been killed. The flooding was caused by torrential rains in August that caused rivers to burst their banks.

238

The number of students who took the West African Senior School Certificate Examination in Chibok, Nigeria this year, according to the BBC. This is the first time that this exam has been given in the town since more than 200 girls were abducted there by Boko Haram in 2014.

97%

The percentage of people in the Diffa region of Niger who have listened to the radio during the Covid-19 lockdown, according to a survey by Radio Ndarason International and Okapi Consulting.

\$700-million

The amount of money raised by the World Health Organisation to purchase future Covid-19 vaccines for poorer countries. The fund is supposed to make sure that any proven vaccine does not only go to rich countries.

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Greece

Europe's largest refugee camp goes up in flames



(Photo: Angelos Tzortzinis/AFP)

Even before the fire swept through it, Moria refugee camp on the island of Lesbos was often described as “hell” by its occupants. Nearly 12,600 people lived in a space designed for just 2,800, with poor sanitation, minimal medical facilities, and little chance of escape to the new life of which so many had dreamed.

Its occupants came from all over the world, but predominantly Africa and the Middle East.

But now even this shelter is no more. On Tuesday it burned to the ground, leaving nothing but ash and twisted metal where the tents and makeshift huts once stood. The cause of the blaze has not been established.

As yet, there are no official plans to provide new shelter to the refugees, and local authorities have already said they will oppose any proposal to rebuild the camp. ■

Ethiopia

The renegade election

President Abiy Ahmed's government faces a crisis of legitimacy

Samuel Getachew

Ethiopia's federal government suspended all national and parliamentary elections in March, citing the risks from the Covid-19 pandemic. This week, however, Tigray – one of Ethiopia's nine regional states – went to the polls in defiance of this edict.

Turnout was high, and the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front went on to win 98% of the vote.

This has created a crisis of legitimacy for Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's administration. It has refused to recognise the results of the vote, saying that the process is null and void and against Ethiopia's Constitution. But what will it do when a new regional government is installed? And how will Tigray's new leaders deal with Addis Ababa?

"This election signifies the intense feelings of the people of Tigray in support of the right of self-determination, and the total rejection of the actions from the federal government," said Mehari Tadele,

a political analyst. He warned that a process of "mutual de-legitimation" will now begin between the Tigray region and the federal government.

Relations have been deteriorating for months, with some regional leaders even floating the idea of secession. The context here is that Tigrayan leaders dominated Ethiopia's national politics for decades, through the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front and the late President Meles Zenawi. Now they claim that the region is being marginalised by Abiy's government; and that the prime minister is trying to erode the right to self-determination of ethnic groups.

Although national and parliamentary elections were suspended, Tigray still went to the polls

"Based on our constitutional rights, the election was conducted successfully and this is an example to Ethiopia's other ethnic groups and the world," said the Tigray People's Liberation Front in the wake of Wednesday's vote.

The prime minister said the national government would not use force to stop the election, but used metaphor to warn: "Those who construct a shanty are illegal dwellers as they don't have land deeds, and they don't sleep with their eyes shut." ■

DRC

Why does this Nobel Peace Prize winner need UN protection?

In 2018, Congolese gynaecologist Denis Mukwege was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts to end the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war. He works in the Panzi Hospital in Bukavu in eastern DRC, and has treated thousands of victims of rape and sexual assault.

In July, Mukwege began to speak out to demand accountability for massacres committed in the region since 1996. This is a sensitive topic, especially in neighbouring Rwanda, whose troops have been implicated in some of these massacres. Rwandan officials have sharply criticised Mukwege's comments.

In the wake of his comments, Mukwege began receiving death threats from unidentified sources. As a result, he has been placed under the protection of United Nations peacekeepers. A large UN mission has been present in the region since 1999. ■

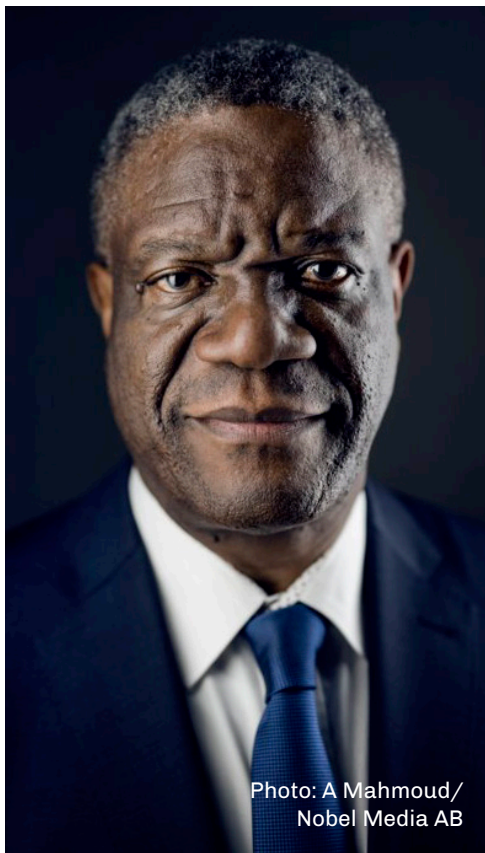
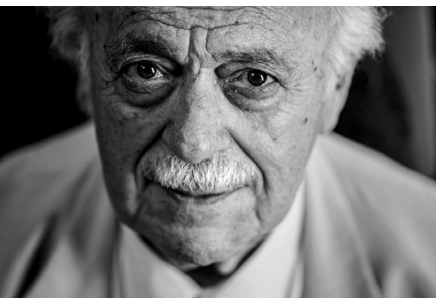


Photo: A Mahmoud/
Nobel Media AB

South Africa



A lifetime of justice

**George Bizos,
November 14 1928
– September 9 2020**

OBITUARY
M&G Reporters

South African human rights lawyer, indefatigable activist and anti-apartheid stalwart George Bizos died this week at the age of 92.

Bizos was famously part of the team who represented Govan Mbeki, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu at the Rivonia Trial, and the families of Steve Biko and Chris Hani at the post-apartheid Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings.

He defended and was counsel for many women who were prosecuted by

the nationalist government for their anti-apartheid activism, including Barbara Hogan, Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela. In recent years, Bizos also represented the families of murdered mineworkers at the inquiry into the 2012 Marikana massacre.

“George brought three items to court every day without fail — his walking stick, his worn-out briefcase and his book *No One To Blame? In Pursuit of Justice In South Africa*, first published in 1998,” activist Salim Essop noted of Bizos’s attendance of the Ahmed Timol inquest in 2017.

On his death, former first lady Graça Machel noted that Bizos was “the last of Madiba’s closest friends to depart”, and this is a sentiment echoed by many who feel he was one of the last respectable remnants of South Africa’s struggle for equality.

Asked what he had *not* achieved, some years back, Bizos said: “The poverty, there is lack of proper education, there is no proper care, the disparity between the very rich and the very poor is great in South Africa ... what [we] fought for, for many years, has not been achieved.”

Described by his dear friend Nelson Mandela as “a man who combined a sympathetic nature with an incisive mind”, the democracy South Africa enjoys today would not have been possible without his service and sacrifice. ■



Charlette N'Guessan

Last week, 26-year-old Charlette N'Guessan from Côte D'Ivoire became the first woman to win the prestigious Africa Prize for Engineering Innovation. N'Guessan and her team created BACE API, a digital system which uses artificial intelligence and facial recognition to verify identities – an invention which could revolutionise access to banking. She spoke to *The Continent*.

I'm a software engineer, but I'm currently studying data science so hopefully next year I'll be able to call myself a data scientist. That's where I met my co-founders in Ghana, they're also from different countries — from Ghana, from Nigeria and Ivory Coast, too.

A lot of big organisations in Africa pretend that they trust young talent and they trust new technology, but they're afraid. For us, we needed to build trust ... to show what the technology can do.

There is a lot of identity fraud on the continent. So we were like, "Let's try to build a product, a solution that can solve this problem." It's a digital identification system that enables businesses, especially financial institutions, to verify their clients' identities remotely in real time and from anywhere in Africa. We are using facial AI technologies to make the process more effective and secure.

Facial recognition is one of the natural biometric systems. We didn't want to make people feel uncomfortable when they use a product.

I'm feeling good, I'm feeling blessed. Me and my team, we're happy about this prize. At some point we want to build more products in terms of security, because it's a good challenge in Africa.

One woman's fight to hold on to what is hers

Taryn Joffe

Lesotho-born, Berlin-based filmmaker Lemohang Jeremiah Mosese has returned to the big screen with a deftly crafted feature film called *This Is Not a Burial, It's a Resurrection*, which delves into themes of death, reverence and urbanisation.

In the Lesotho highlands, the fictional Nasaretha village came to be when its grounds were used as a burial place for those who died during the Black Plague.

Once the land was colonised, a church was built and the villagers' beliefs were replaced. The old was to be forgotten forever, thus ushering in the inevitable chains of progress to which the village would have to surrender.

Now, the land is to be flooded to build a dam, and an attempt is made to resettle the locals. To preserve the dead, their bodies are exhumed for reburial in the city.

Mantoa is the film's protagonist – exceptionally played by Mary Twala, who died in July – who vehemently protests the forced removals. She has been waiting



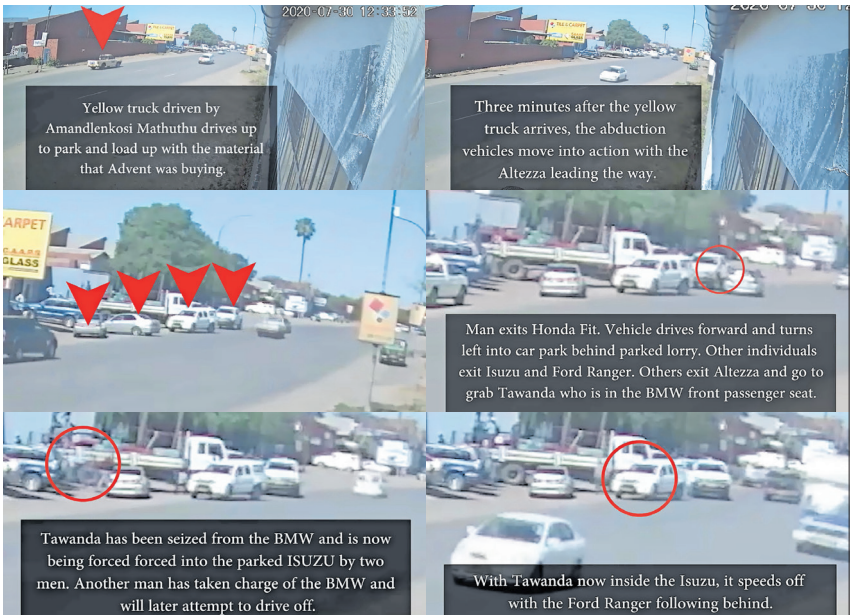
for her son to return from the gold mines. Instead, his suitcases are dropped at her feet signalling his death.

This Is Not a Burial suggests that change is inevitable, but questions the notion of development. The film leaves us asking how developmental change can be achieved without people losing their dignity and becoming further impoverished. ■

This Is Not a Burial, It's a Resurrection will be shown from September 10-18 at the Durban International Film Festival. The festival is a virtual event and tickets are free. This review is from the Talent Press in collaboration with the Durban FilmMart.

The brutal abduction that was caught on camera

Tawanda Muchehiwa is one of dozens of Zimbabweans who have been kidnapped and tortured by unidentified armed men



Terrifying ordeal: Tawanda Muchehiwa's abduction by unidentified armed men was caught on CCTV. The footage was obtained by ZimLive.com

Kudzai Mashininga

Abducted. Tortured. Dehumanised. And yet, in the brutal context of Zimbabwe's recent history, Tawanda

Muchehiwa can almost consider himself to be one of the lucky ones.

Unlike the activist Itai Dzamara, who disappeared in 2015 and has never been heard from again, Muchehiwa is alive.

And unlike the journalist Hopewell Chin'ono – and dozens of others who have been targeted by the state – he has no prosecution hanging over his head.

The 22-year-old journalism student's story began on the morning of July 30, the day before anti-government protests were scheduled to begin in major cities and towns across Zimbabwe.

Muchehiwa was inside a vehicle outside a hardware store in Bulawayo, the second-largest city and an opposition stronghold. His cousins, Advent Mathuthu and Amandlenkosi Mathuthu, were inside the shop. Waiting in the car with him was an official from the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance, Zimbabwe's official opposition.

Suddenly, several cars pulled up next to him. A tall man in a light-blue T-shirt got out of one of them and aggressively opened Muchehiwa's door. In Shona, the man shouted: "*Wasungwa!*" You are under arrest. Before he even realised it, Muchehiwa was in handcuffs and being dragged out of the car.

He was bundled into another vehicle, which sped away. His relatives were taken in a different car to a police station. Shortly afterwards, Muchehiwa was moved into a different car – a white Ford Ranger, number plate AES 2433 – and taken to an undisclosed location.

"I suffered horrific abuse at the hands of the five agents over the next three days," he told the *Mail & Guardian*. "They beat me with logs and sticks, mainly on my buttocks and under my feet. I suffered injuries on my buttocks and kidney."

His captors were under the impression

that Muchehiwa was co-ordinating the July 31 anti-government protests in Bulawayo and Matabeleland. He says he wasn't. They questioned him about his uncle, Mduduzi Mathuthu, the editor of the ZimLive news site, which has published a series of damning exposés about alleged government corruption.

At that moment, Mathuthu was in hiding, after state agents had raided his home. He is still in hiding.

The agents threatened to kill Muchehiwa, and pointed a gun to his head. They said they would hang him and then throw his body into a nearby dam. He overheard them on the phone, presumably speaking to their bosses, asking what they should do with him.

Three days later, at about 10pm on August 1, his abductors dropped Muchehiwa outside his home. They told him to join Zanu-PF, the ruling party, immediately. If he did, and used social media to support the regime, they would give him a university scholarship and a job after the 2023 elections.

"I'm so terrified about leading a normal life in Zimbabwe, because I now know what the regime is capable of," Muchehiwa said. "My family was so terrified, but they were happy that at least I came back alive. They had lost hope. After three days, they thought I wasn't going to come back."

A pattern of abuse

These types of arrests are part of a disturbing pattern. In Zimbabwe, dozens of opposition leaders, activists and outspoken critics of the government have been abducted in mysterious

circumstances, and are usually tortured before being released.

This was a feature of the late president Robert Mugabe's regime, but it has intensified under President Emmerson Mnangagwa. According to the United Nations' Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, there were 49 cases of abductions and torture in Zimbabwe in 2019, without any investigations leading to perpetrators being held to account.

The government denies knowledge of these abductions. It has also accused its opponents of inventing abuses.

OTHER PROMINENT ABDUCTIONS:

- **Comedian Samantha Kureya**, aka Gonyeti, was seized from her home in August last year by armed men who told her she was "too young to mock the government" and forced her to drink sewage.

- **Peter Magombeyi, the head of the Zimbabwe Hospital Doctors Association**, led a strike of Zimbabwe's junior doctors in September last year. Shortly after, he was kidnapped from his house in Harare. Five days later, he was dumped in a town 18km outside the capital, dazed and in pain.

- **Three female opposition leaders – MP Joana Mamombe and youth leaders Cecilia Chimbi and Netsai Marowa** – were arrested in May for attending a protest during lockdown. They were taken from a police station by unidentified armed men, who beat and sexually assaulted them before dumping them on the side of a road a day later. When they went to lay a complaint they were charged with fabricating allegations.

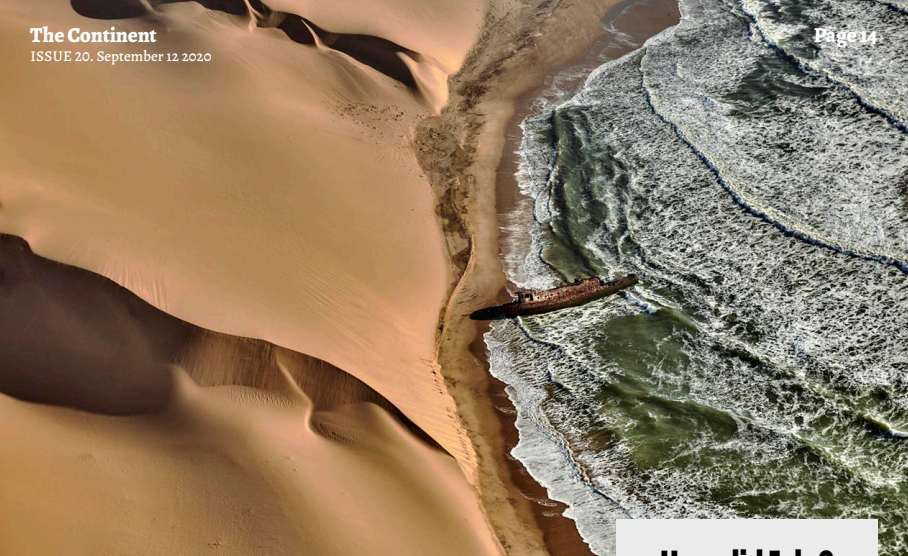
The government has consistently denied any knowledge of these abductions. It has also accused its opponents of inventing abuses. "A certain political party is losing credibility because of its 'cry wolf' antics," said government spokesperson Nick Mangwana. He added: "Fake abductions damage our economic prospects."

Muchehiwa's abduction, however, was captured on CCTV cameras. The footage is grainy but unmistakable. Just as he described it, his car is surrounded by several others. He is dragged from it by a man in a light blue shirt, and forced into another vehicle. Other CCTV footage shows him being transferred shortly afterwards into a different vehicle – a white Ford Ranger, the number plate AES 2433 clearly visible.

Zimbabwean journalists were able to trace the vehicle. It is owned by Impala Car Rental, and was returned on August 6 with a damaged suspension. Impala Car Rental's owner, Thompson Dondo, has said he would release further information only to the police.

"I believe the Impala boss must understand that, as a victim who was abducted in their car, I have a right to know my captors," Muchehiwa said. "They mustn't cover up or say they will disclose information to the police who were also involved in my abduction and obviously have an interest in covering up the tracks," he said.

"My message to the outside world is that the Mnangagwa regime has declared war against its citizens. The windows of democracy are closing in too fast." ■



SO, YOU THINK YOU'RE A REAL PAN-AFRICAN?

Take this quiz to find out how well you really know our continent

1. What is the world's longest river?
2. True or false: The lion is the national symbol of seven countries on the continent.
3. Porto-Novo is the capital of which country?
4. What is Kenya's second largest and oldest city?
5. Which country has been ruled by England, France and Germany and gained independence in 1960?
6. Zambia's Livingstone Airport is now called Harry Mwanga Nkumbula International Airport. True or false?
7. In which country might one visit the Skeleton Coast (pictured)?
8. João Lourenço is the president of which country?
9. Which country is referred to as the Warm Heart of Africa?
10. Which tree is known as Africa's tree of life?
11. Which Congolese musician was known as the "King of Rumba Rock"?
12. Which country's flag features a grey crowned crane, its national bird, right in the middle of it?

How did I do?

WhatsApp 'ANSWERS' to +27 73 805 6068 and we will send you the answers immediately.

0-4

"I think I need to start reading more newspapers."

5-8

"I can't wait to explore more of this continent."

9-12

"The Pan African Parliament has me on speed-dial."

With friends like these...

Samira Sawlani

It's all about the Mali

You and I have been so responsible during the pandemic, but we miss hanging out with our friends. That's why we're jealous of West African regional bloc Ecowas, which got to meet up in Niger for its annual summit this week.

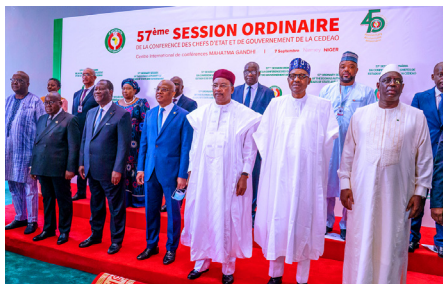
You know how it goes when old friends get together: lots of catching up, plenty of banter and joshing – and the occasional ultimatum thrown down because (plot twist!) this isn't a reunion, it's an intervention!

Okay maybe we're not so jealous anymore. Not of Mali, anyway, whose new military leaders have been given till Tuesday to name a civilian prime minister and president. Or else!

(We're not sure what the "or else" involves. No Fortnite for a fortnight? Or the annexation of Timbuktu?)

Ah well. Friends fall out with one another. It happens. Like over in Guinea, where the opposition coalition has booted out a bunch of its members.

The FNDC was formed to present a unified resistance to Alpha Conde's plans for a third term. But now the solidarity is crumbling: the coalition says members who contest this year's polls can't be in the group anymore, as they are legitimising an illegitimate election.



Reunited and it feels so good: Ecowas leaders in Niamey

Meanwhile the Constitutional Court has approved the prez's candidacy. So much for justice being its own reward.

Matters of the heart

With international travel off the table, it's been rough for long-distance relationships. For some, that mad, dizzy rush of romance has ebbed – you know, the fluttering of eyelashes, the whispering of sweet nothings, the granting of licences to carry out environmentally destructive mining in national parks...

Coincidentally, that last bit is exactly what happened to China, which was all set to dig for coal in Zimbabwe's Hwange Game Park. But China's coal feat has given way to Zimbabwe's cold feet, after the government decided to ban mining in game parks, under pressure from



Off track: Kenya's railways are losing a suspicious amount of money (Photo: Tony Karumba/AFP)

environmental lawyers.

See you later, excavator? In a while, Crocodile.

What else is cooking?

Thank goodness for the internet and social media. At least we've kept in touch with friends and family, sharing selfies and the latest goss, and of course co-ordinating resistance to oppressive dictatorial regimes.

Not so much in Uganda, these days. The Communication Commission now requires the registration (and authorisation) of all "persons offering or planning to commence the provision of online data communication and broadcasting services" including online TV, radio, newspapers, podcasts, videos, blogs, streams and basically anything involving the internet.

Does this apply to ... everyone? If we're Ugandan, do we now need "authorisation" before we share a video of ourselves cooking up some Matooke and beans?

Or, with elections just months away, is it just to prevent people from comparing notes on their favourite Wine, or from moving their attention from cookbooks

to cooked books?

Speaking of which, Kenya's railway has posted a loss of nearly 22-billion shillings (around \$200-million), and taxpayers are concerned that the gravy train is apparently not just a metaphor anymore.

The gravy's in short supply, though. Maybe that's why President Kenyatta has moved oversight of the Kenya Meat Commission from the ministry of livestock to ... *checks notes* ... the ministry of defence? There must be some missed steak!

Through thick and thin

For all the small comforts we have had to do without, there are many others for whom the losses are far greater.

In Luanda, medical doctor Silvio Dala was arrested by Angolan police for not wearing a mask. He died in police custody.

And hundreds of thousands of people are suffering in Niger, Sudan, Burkina Faso and Senegal, where flooding continues to destroy property, livelihoods and lives.

So to all our friends – near, far, thriving or surviving, absent or departed – we're thinking of you.

We miss you. ■



Stranded: Domestic workers forced to sleep on the street outside the Kenyan Consulate in Beirut (Photo: Anwar Amro/AFP)

‘We just want to go home’

Abandoned first by their employers even before the Beirut explosion, then by their own governments, African workers in Lebanon just want to return home. But it’s not that simple.

Zecharias Zelalem

Outside Ethiopia’s consulate in Lebanon’s capital Beirut, around sixty young women brace themselves for another night of sleeping on the street. They used to be employed as housekeepers, but the combination of a crippling economic crisis, the Covid-19 pandemic and the devastating explosion that levelled the capital’s port last month, has meant that they have been laid off and kicked out of their employers’ homes.

These women are desperate to return home. But after being abandoned – most of them without pay – they can’t afford a plane ticket home, and there is little prospect of further income. “There’s no money or jobs here,” says Genet, an 18-year-old Ethiopian woman. She’s sleeping on concrete,

cushioned only by a thin blanket. “I suffered too much, even before becoming homeless. I just want to return to my family.”

Since May, thousands of domestic workers of various nationalities have been abandoned by their Lebanese employers, who claimed they were no longer able to afford to pay them. Under Lebanon’s notorious kafala system, where visas are sponsored by individual employers, these workers have few to no rights, and no means of redress.

Members of Egna Legna Besidet, an organisation run by Ethiopian domestic workers, visit the women outside the consulate twice a day to deliver food and sanitation items. “We are trying to find them shelter,” volunteer Hana Ashenafi tells the *Mail & Guardian*. “But until we do, I deliver food and drink here twice a day. I also go to the embassies of Kenya, Sudan and Gambia before my day ends. These women are in danger of starving, and their governments aren’t doing anything.”

Whereas the Philippines organised repatriation flights to bring many of their 30,000-odd nationals in Lebanon back home this year, African governments have been hesitant or unwilling to do the same.

A CNN report revealed that Kenyan consular staff encouraged women to take up sex work to pay for their airfare. After the explosion on August 3, which killed 190 people, caused more than \$10-billion in property damage, and left an estimated 300,000 people homeless, frustration boiled over. Kenyan women turned on their consulate, protesting outside and demanding staff facilitate their departures home.

Like Kenya, Ethiopia has also been heavily criticised for its perceived neglect of stranded citizens in Lebanon. In an emailed response to the *M&G*, Tsion Teklu, a state minister at Ethiopia’s foreign ministry, denied that the government was unresponsive and declared that a plan to identify and repatriate citizens had registered some success. He said more than 250 migrant workers had been able to pay for their own return tickets, while an additional 165 tickets were booked by individual donors and charities.

“It’s like prolonging the nightmare,” said Ashenafi, the volunteer. “We are tired of fighting to survive. The abusive working conditions, being thrown out and then the explosion. How much more terror must we experience before our lives start to matter?”

‘We are tired of fighting to survive’

“I just want to go home, even if I find work I won’t want to stay.” Tsion, like her compatriot Genet, is also 18. She has been scarred by her experiences in Lebanon.

“I spent a year and six months working in a home. They let me eat

once a day and when I complained, my employer would hit me. He once punched me in the mouth and my teeth bled. I was never paid. They owe me 18 months of pay. When I complained about not being paid, they took me to a police station and falsely accused me of theft.”

It is not uncommon for employers to falsely accuse domestic workers of theft to avoid having to pay salaries. Tsion spent five months at a women’s incarceration facility and had nowhere to go to when she was released just weeks ago. She has been spending her days on the pavement outside the consulate for the past two weeks.

Genet, who was initially reluctant to share her story, decides to open up when she hears Tsion speak.

“I escaped my employer’s home in Baalbek where I worked for a year. He was abusive, a horrible man and he owed me six months’ pay. But he told the police that I had stolen the family’s gold. I spent a year and three months in prison for nothing.”

Genet says her case was never taken to a judge and she would likely have never left had she not caught Covid-19 in the cramped prison. “After I started coughing they let me out. The others were afraid to approach me. That’s why I’m out now. I couldn’t even contact my family during my time in prison. My brother thought I was dead until I called him last month.”

Under the kafala system, women like Genet and Tsion are ineligible for legal representation and have no legal redress when abused.

According to the country’s General Security Intelligence Agency, as many as two domestic workers in Lebanon die each week, on average: many by suicide following unending abuse; others simply murdered.

Lebanon’s labour restrictions for migrants have garnered global condemnation. The death of Ghanaian domestic worker Faustina Tay last March – and Lebanon’s subsequent refusal to prosecute her abusive employers – severely tarnished the country’s image.

On Saturday, Lebanese Labour Minister Lamia Yammine announced in a tweet that her office would soon implement a proposed amendment to migrant worker laws that would “abolish the sponsorship system and enshrines the rights of migrant domestic workers”.

It is unclear if the proposed amendments to the kafala system would entail the inclusion of migrant workers in the country’s labour law. But

As many as two domestic workers in Lebanon die each week, on average: many by suicide following unending abuse; others murdered

Homeless: An Ethiopian domestic worker outside the Ethiopian consulate in Beirut

(Photo: Marwan Naamani/DPA/Picture Alliance/Getty)



most domestic workers just want to go home.

Migrant domestic worker lobby group This is Lebanon, known for using Facebook to publicly shame employers into halting their abuse, launched a crowdfunding drive to support the repatriation of stranded migrant workers. Patricia, a case worker with the group who uses a pseudonym to avoid endangering colleagues, says the lackadaisical approach of African governments towards their citizens in Lebanon is what's behind their initiative, which has raised more than \$33,000 so far.

"They are all trying their hardest to avoid shouldering the costs," Patricia says. "Not just Ethiopia, other countries too. The president of Sierra Leone arrived in Beirut to receive medical treatment but hasn't bothered to ask about his nationals who are stuck here. As for women from smaller countries such as Togo and Côte d'Ivoire, only God knows how they'll ever get home."

"Tweaking the kafala system would be too little too late for hundreds of thousands of women who need rescuing," she says. "Domestic workers aren't interested in staying."

The *Middle East Eye* reported yesterday that nearly 40 stranded Gambian domestic workers had had their repatriation costs covered by an NGO after their government refused to shoulder the burden.

"[Our own governments] are prolonging the nightmare," said Ashenafi. "We are tired of fighting to survive. The abusive working conditions, being thrown out, and then the explosion. How much more terror must we experience before our lives start to matter?" ■

Mozambique must stop attacking media freedom

Deprose Muchena

On August 24, Mozambicans woke up to news of a petrol bomb attack that had wrecked the offices of *Canal de Moçambique*, one of the country's independent weekly newspapers.

This was clearly a well-orchestrated attack on independent journalism and media freedom in Mozambique, which are protected by the country's Constitution and other regional and international instruments. The aim? To restrict media freedom, intimidate and harass the newspaper and weaken if not derail its culture of investigative journalism.

The attack came just four days after the newspaper published an investigative story alleging corruption and mismanagement by politically connected individuals and senior government officials at the ministry of mineral resources and energy.

The newspaper had already irked the political establishment by reporting on the ongoing conflict in Cabo Delgado, where hundreds of people have been killed and tens of thousands of others displaced since 2017, despite the Mozambican authorities preventing local and international journalists from

accessing the region to document the conflict.

The targeting of *Canal de Moçambique* over its revelations is a sad reflection of the shrinking space for human rights, including the right to freedom of expression and free press. Human rights defenders, journalists and media houses in Mozambique continue to come under attack for doing their job and exposing allegations of human rights violations and abuses.

These chilling stories of attacks on journalists in Mozambique are not a coincidence. They demonstrate a well-coordinated, sustained and increasingly brazen attack on the right to freedom of expression and media freedom in the country by the authorities. This escalating crackdown threatens to muzzle journalists or lead them to self-censorship for fear of vicious reprisals for doing their job.

When journalists stop telling the truth about what's going on in their country, when they stop exposing wrongdoing and corruption allegations due to the personal cost involved, everyone suffers. ■

Deprose Muchena is Amnesty International's director for East and Southern Africa

Digital taxes, Covid-19 deny democracy a poll position

Anne Abaho

Uganda is gearing up for an election campaign with a difference. According to the 2021 election roadmap released by the electoral commission, mass gatherings are banned in order to prevent the spread of Covid-19. Instead, campaigns will be held virtually or “scientifically”. This major change raises challenges for democracy.

Virtual campaigns present a major challenge to democracy

Uganda is used to mass rallies, and its socioeconomic inequalities mean that many citizens will be excluded from an online campaign. Although the country has 300 licensed FM radio stations and 30 television stations, it has one of the lowest internet penetration rates in Africa (14%). More than half of the adult population have access to radio and mobile phones, but only 34% and 13% accessed television and internet in 2015. Worse, following the introduction of the 2018 social media tax, access to online campaign platforms such as WhatsApp and Twitter is the preserve of the wealthy.

This has major implications for the strongest opposition candidate, Bobi Wine. His 700,000 Twitter followers are a powerful resource, but are unlikely to win him an election in a country where more than 74.3% of people are rural dwellers, with only 9% accessing the internet. In the absence of rallies, running a successful election campaign requires strong pre-existing political structures. At present, this is something that only the National Resistance Movement, with its stronghold in the rural areas, enjoys.

Things could get even harder for the opposition. In response to Covid-19 the government plans to distribute 10-million radios and 140,000 television sets to over 70,000 villages to relay academic programs. Critics suggest that this is a clever move to enable the ruling party to broadcast directly into people’s homes. Moreover, while the opposition laments restrictions to broadcast media, some have suggested that the campaign has already exposed their unreadiness to offer viable policy options. As virtual campaigns drive media stations to hike charges, funding and a clear communications strategy will be necessary for victory.

But the real losers could be poor and marginalised communities who, unless the social media tax is removed and media coverage is equalised between candidates, will be forced to sit on the sidelines. ■

Dr Anne Abaho is a lecturer of International Relations and Security Studies in Uganda. This analysis was produced in partnership with Democracy in Africa





The rivalry resumes: Manchester City's Pep Guardiola and Liverpool's Jürgen Klopp during a Premier League showdown at Etihad Stadium on September 9, 2017. (Photo: Tom Flathers/Getty Images)

Defending from the front

English football is finally back, and the Blues are splashing cash to crash through the thin Red line

Luke Feltham

Can Liverpool be figured out?

In the football media, we love to talk of teams getting “figured out”. It happens to everyone, no matter how good you are. Fall victim to this fate and you land up

in our sports pages as the stubborn duck who failed to adapt.

Liverpool is not there yet but when the moment hits you it tends to be swift and without warning.

Jürgen Klopp's strategic novelty comes from his aggressive use of his fullbacks. Modern defenders have long been expected to surge forward, but in Trent Alexander-Arnold and Andrew Robertson he has two that don't just support the attack, they are a fundamental part of it.

Klopp likes to build from the flanks, crisscrossing from side to side with long balls that often bypass the midfield entirely. The fullbacks work in tandem

with the famed front trident Mohamed Salah, Sadio Mané and Roberto Firmino to create one-two opportunities and space for scything overlapping runs.

Which brings us to our original question: how do we stop it? Every team that beat this Liverpool iteration, or came close to doing so, was able to force an advantage via the space left behind by the fullbacks.

The front three work so magically well together because Klopp has a laissez-faire attitude to their defensive duties and allows them to flit up front without tracking back. This leaves Alexander-Arnold and Robertson vulnerable to be hit when they're on the back foot. Generally the midfielders, Georginio Wijnaldum the prime example, do an exceptional job of covering for them, which is why this obvious "weakness" has not been more thoroughly exposed.

Make no mistake, however, there are 19 Premier League managers working tirelessly on a formula to force open those cracks more effectively.

Blue money speaks

Manchester City is first in line to benefit from any Liverpool slip-ups but the far more intriguing storyline to follow then is whether Chelsea can also force their way into the title conversation after an epic spending spree.

While the market has mostly reeled under the pandemic, the Blues have tucked into their Eden Hazard-funded savings and have spent over £200-million to procure some of the hottest talents in Europe (the returning interest of oligarch

owner Roman Abramovich also helps).

The Blues were a beautiful mess in Frank Lampard's debut season in top-flight management. Under the circumstances – a transfer ban and the loss of Hazard – a fourth-place finish was an admirable achievement but the end result didn't mask the shambles we saw at Stamford Bridge on occasion.

While the market has mostly reeled under the pandemic, the Blues have tucked into their Eden Hazard-funded savings and procured some of the hottest talents in Europe

The real excitement remains up front. Christian Pulisic, fully recovered from his injury woes, put his name down as one of the stand-out players in the league after the restart. With the creative talents of Hakim Ziyech and Kai Havertz arriving to supplement his enterprise, and Timo Werner adding a deadly poacher's touch, it's scary to think of the attacking potential of this team.

That's all theoretical for now, but if the parts fall together, we could see something exceptional. Of course, with promise comes expectation. Lampard has acknowledged his honeymoon is now over. He will know better than anyone what happens to managers who fail to impress the Roman emperor. ■

PHOTO ESSAY

Jürgen Schadeberg



Photographer
Jürgen
Schadeberg, 2016
(Photo: Alberto
Domingo)

Jürgen Schadeberg died on August 29, aged 89. The iconic German-born photographer emigrated to South Africa in 1950, where he documented life under the apartheid regime. As the lead photographer for *Drum* magazine from 1950-1959, he helped to transform it into Africa's foremost publication on politics and culture, and train a younger generation of black photographers who would go on to have stellar careers.



**Nelson Mandela
in the law office
he shared with
Oliver Tambo,
Johannesburg,
1952**

**The gambling
quartet,
Sophiatown,
1953**

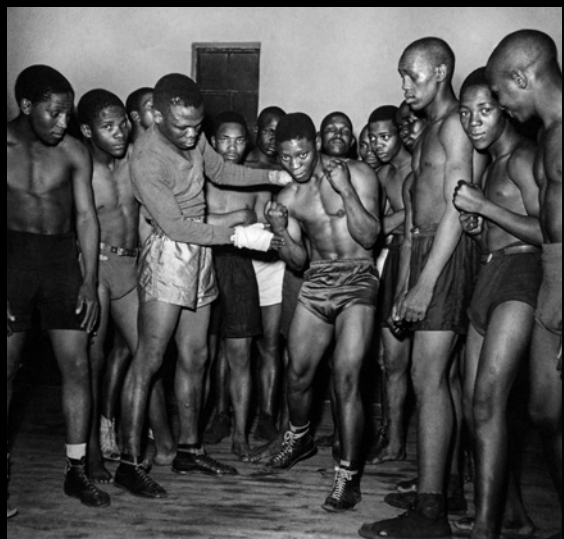




Actress and singer Dolly Rathebe in a portrait for *Drum*, 1955



An impromptu performance in Sophiatown, a suburb of Johannesburg, 1955



A crowded boxing gym in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, 1950s



The Big Picture

Unsafe passage: This picture, taken on Tuesday this week, shows a group of migrants being rescued by a Spanish charity after spending more than 20 hours at sea in the Mediterranean. The migrants in this particular boat – a precarious vessel that departed from Libya before being found in international waters – are from Egypt, Morocco, Sierra Leone and Somalia. So far this year an estimated 554 people have died making the dangerous crossing. (Photo: Ricardo Garcia Vilanova/AFP)

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