

December 2010

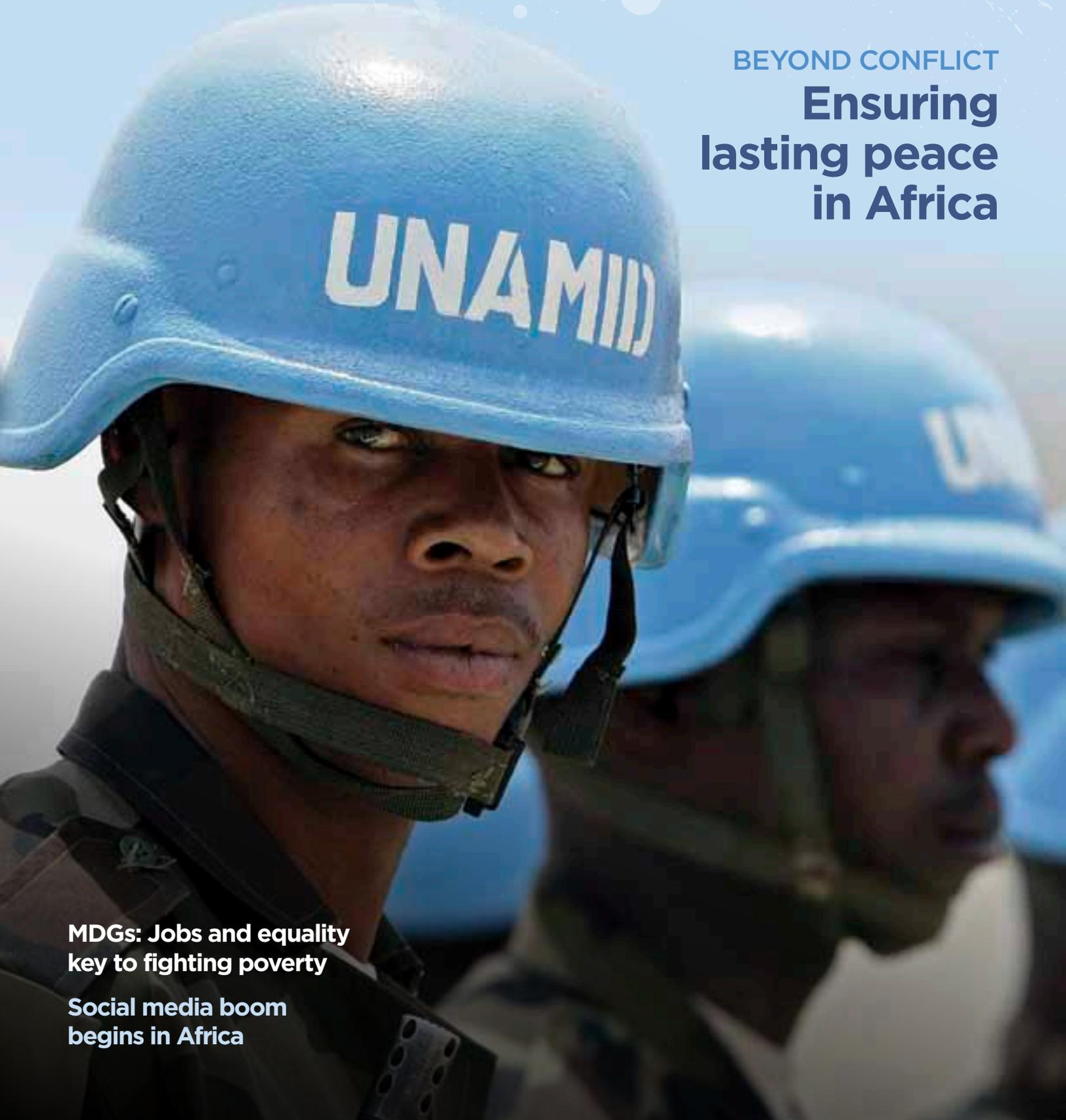
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BEYOND CONFLICT
**Ensuring
lasting peace
in Africa**



**MDGs: Jobs and equality
key to fighting poverty**

**Social media boom
begins in Africa**

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Formerly 'Africa Recovery'



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Today the responsibilities of peacekeepers extend beyond military duties to a wide range of activities in support of civilian populations.  UN Photo / Marie Frechon

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Nigerian soldiers with African Union-UN peace operation in Darfur, Sudan. UN Photo / Stuart Price.

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A social media boom begins in Africa

Using mobile phones, Africans join the global conversation

 **By André-Michel Essoungou**

In the mid-1990s, as the use of mobile phones started its rapid spread in much of the developed world, few thought of Africa as a potential market. Now, with more than 400 million subscribers, its market is larger than North America's. Africa took the lead in the global shift from fixed to mobile telephones, notes a report by the UN International Telecommunications Union.* Rarely has anyone adopted mobile phones faster and with greater innovation (see *Africa Renewal*, January 2008, April 2008).

A similar story now seems again to be unfolding. Africans are coupling their already extensive use of cell phones with a more recent and massive interest in social media — Internet-based tools and platforms that allow people to interact with each other much more than in the past. In the process, Africans are leading what may be the next global trend: a major shift to mobile Internet use, with social media as its main drivers. According to Mary Meeker, an influential Internet analyst, mobile Internet and social media are the fastest-growing areas of the technology industry worldwide, and she

predicts that mobile Internet use will soon overtake fixed Internet use.

Studies suggest that when Africans go online (predominantly with their mobile phones) they spend much of their time on social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and so on). Sending and reading e-mails, reading news and posting research

queries have become less important activities for Africans.

In recent months Facebook — the major social media platform worldwide and currently the most visited

More and more Africans are using mobile technologies to access social media tools on the Internet.

 Africa Media Online / Anthony Kaminju



*Measuring the Information Society: The ICT Development Index, 2009, www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/publications/idi/2009/material/IDI2009_w5.pdf

website in most of Africa — has seen massive growth on the continent. The number of African Facebook users now stands at over 17 million, up from 10 million in 2009. More than 15 per cent of people online in Africa are currently using the platform, compared to 11 per cent in Asia. Two other social networking websites, Twitter and YouTube, rank among the most visited websites in most African countries.

Along with regular citizens, African stars, thinkers, political leaders and companies have rapidly joined the global conversation. The Facebook fan base of Côte d'Ivoire's football star and UN goodwill ambassador Didier Drogba is more than 1 million people. Zambian best-selling author and economist Dambisa Moyo has more than 26,000 followers on Twitter. Media organizations in South Africa and companies such as Kenya Airways are using various social media platforms to interact better with customers and readers. During recent elections in Côte d'Ivoire candidates did not only tour cities and villages; they also moved the contest online, feverishly posting

campaign updates on Twitter and Facebook.

Constraints and opportunities

Africa's upward trend in the use of social media is even more striking given the low number of Africans connected to the Internet and the many hurdles Africans face in trying to go online.

Africa's Internet users (more than 100 million at the end of 2010) represent just a small percentage of the 2 billion people online around the world. In the US alone, more than 220 million people use the Internet. Within Africa, one person out of every 10 is estimated to be an Internet user (up from one in 5,000 back in 1998), making the continent the region in the world with the lowest penetration rate.

Among the many reasons for this poor showing are the scarcity and prohibitive costs of broadband connections (the fastest means of accessing the Internet), and the limited number of personal computers in use.

But these challenges simultaneously contribute to Africa's impressive growth rate in the use of mobile Internet, which in recent years has been the highest in the world. "Triple-digit growth rates are routine across the continent," notes Jon von Tetzchner, co-founder of Opera, the world's most popular Internet browser for mobile phones. "The widespread availability of mobile phones means that the mobile Web can reach tens of millions more than the wired Web." Mr. Tetzchner believes that like mobile phones, whose use has grown rapidly in Africa in recent years, the "mobile Web is beginning to reshape the economic,

political and social development of the continent."

'Seismic shift' coming

Erik Hersman, a prominent African social media blogger and entrepreneur who helped drive development of the ground-breaking platform Ushahidi (see *Africa Renewal*, April 2010), is equally enthusiastic. In an e-mail to *Africa Renewal* he notes that "with mobile phone penetration already high across the continent, and as we get to critical mass with Internet usage in some of Africa's leading countries (Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt) ... a seismic shift will happen with services, products and information."

The sense that the future holds more promise is inducing major companies to show special interest in Africa's expanding pool of Internet users. Facebook, after launching versions in some of the major African languages (including Swahili, Hausa and Zulu) in May, has announced it will offer free access to its platform to mobile phone users in various countries around the world, including many in Africa. In October Google started testing a new service for Swahili speakers in East and Central Africa. Tentatively called Baraza ("meeting place" in Swahili), it will allow people to interact and share knowledge by asking and answering questions, many of them of only very local or regional interest.

Africans are also getting ready to benefit from the fast-growing mobile Internet sector. In South Africa, MXit, a free instant messaging application with an estimated 7 million users, is the most popular local social networking platform. From Abidjan and Accra to Lusaka and Nairobi, African programmers are designing, testing and launching new homegrown platforms and tools to keep the African online conversation going. 🌍



High costs and poor connections still limit Africans' use of computers to gain access to the Internet.

Alamy Images / Peter Treanor



THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGs) are ambitious targets for slashing poverty, improving health and education, empowering women and protecting the environment. As the 2015 target date draws closer, most agree that Africa, while registering some notable progress, will generally fall short. This prospect has prompted African leaders and analysts to emphasize the economic underpinnings of a more effective anti-poverty fight: more jobs, greater investment and stronger steps to reduce the wide gaps between rich and poor. *Africa Renewal* looks at some of the key arguments in this debate.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Anchor the MDGs to economic progress, Africans say

Summit hears calls for more job creation, investment

 **By Michael Fleshman**

For 17 years Peter worked as a machine operator in a South African textile plant. It was not high-paying work, but it paid the bills and kept his family above the poverty line. When he lost his job because foreign imports were cheaper, he told University of KwaZulu-Natal researcher Claire Ichou, he was plunged into poverty — and despair. “Peter explains very painfully how he has lost his dignity,” she wrote in an academic paper. “He declares that his wife does not respect him. He tells us that his children are starving.” In Peter’s eyes, she continued, “a man without a job is not a man and there is nothing he can do. He has no status.”

Bean packing enterprise in Ethiopia: Although more African countries have been registering stronger economic growth, poverty remains persistent.

 Panos / Sven Torfinn

As the world enters the final phase of the drive to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) — ambitious targets for slashing poverty, improving health and education, empowering women and protecting the environment by 2015 — African leaders and UN development experts are starting to focus on the economic underpinnings of sustainable progress. Lifting the most destitute out of poverty, they note, will require greater investments in agricultural and industrial production, greater job creation and policies that favour economic growth. A number of analysts argue that while the MDGs have succeeded in mobilizing both financing and political will for vital social services for the poor, they do

not adequately address the underlying economic and social causes of poverty, disease and conflict (see pages 7 and 9).

The links between the MDGs and faster, more equitable economic growth and development were frequently emphasized by African political figures and economists at the 20–22 September MDG summit at UN headquarters in New York. Malawi’s President Bingu wa Mutharika, who also serves as chair of the African Union (AU) this year, told world leaders, “For Africa as a whole, we strongly appeal to the United Nations to review the supply side [of development] to improve access of ordinary people, especially women and children, to the services envisaged under the MDGs.





Africans know how to fish, says African Development Bank President Donald Kaberuka, but they need help in building a fishing industry.  AP / Schalk van Zuydam

Most MDGs depend on the availability of more schools, more hospitals, more rural infrastructures, more boreholes, dams and wells, more trained teachers, doctors, nurses, agronomists, scientists.... Let us pay attention to the supply side if we are to meet these goals.”

A fishing industry, not fish

“Inclusive Growth and Employment in Africa,” a leadership panel sponsored by the Tanzanian, Liberian and Danish governments on 22 September, highlighted the need to strengthen the economic foundations of the MDGs. UN Development Programme Administrator Helen Clark noted that high growth rates in many African countries over the decade to 2008, driven largely by higher world commodity prices, failed to dent high unemployment rates or significantly reduce poverty. Harnessing economic development to the MDGs, she said, would require new macroeconomic policies that emphasize long-term growth, job creation, diversification, industrialization and higher productivity.

Tanzanian Prime Minister Mizengo K. Peter Pinda told the audience that creating jobs and opportunities in the countryside is critical to Tanzania’s progress on the goals, since the majority of his citizens make their living from the land, and farm incomes are well below the poverty line. Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen agreed. Noting that progress on the MDGs means that more children are living to grow up and attend school, he then asked, “But grow up to what? . . . As partners in development we must...make sure that growth supports freedom and opportunities for the individual to escape poverty.” Tanzania alone, he continued, needs to create 700,000 new jobs every year just to keep pace with the number of young school-leavers entering the work force.

Donald Kaberuka, president of the African Development Bank, received the loudest applause when he observed that when donors first began aid programmes in Africa, “they brought us fish, but we told them we had fish. Then they came to teach us how to fish, and we told them we already knew how to fish.” What Africa needs today, Mr. Kaberuka said with a smile, is for its partners to “help us build a fishing industry” that supports processing and packing industries, generates steady jobs, links up with other parts of the domestic economy and improves African competitiveness in the global marketplace.

‘Take full ownership’

Such a focus on employment and economic development has grown more important in the wake of the global economic crisis and the failure of Africa’s traditional donors to honour pledges to double development aid to the region. President Paul Kagame of Rwanda told the MDG Summit that “the MDGs must remain the international priority.” But he underscored the importance of Africa’s charting its own path: “The debate on the MDG agenda has, at times, been dominated by a few voices, primarily from the developed nations and affiliated non-governmental organizations. Despite their good intentions,

their perspective is often predicated on paternalism not partnership, on charity not self-reliance, and on promises unfulfilled rather than real change.”

President Kagame continued, “We can no longer rely on the goodwill of other nations — we neither need to, nor should want to. We must assume effective leadership, take full ownership of the development of our countries and truly deliver for our citizens.”

‘Repositioning’ the MDGs

Supachai Panitchpakdi, the secretary-general of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), cautioned that expanded social services, while important, are not sustainable without a firm economic base. Addressing delegates at the opening of the summit, the former World Trade Organization head said that “lack of productive investment and the persistence of employment in low-productivity activities have kept incomes low and restricted economic diversification in many developing countries,” putting the MDGs beyond their reach.

Excessive emphasis on social services, along with widening social and economic inequality, Mr. Panitchpakdi continued, require “repositioning the MDGs within a broader development framework. Such a framework emphasizes investment, especially in productive capacity, an equitable distribution of resources, policy space, and sustainable employment generation as the main drivers of poverty reduction.”

He concluded, “One reason we risk missing many MDG targets is that the economic model that underpinned them has, I believe, been indifferent to the kind of values behind a ‘sufficiency economy’” that provides a decent living for all. “To match the vision demonstrated back in 2000 and meet the MDGs — whether by 2015 or after — we must again find the courage and ambition to change the path of our economic development.” 



Wanted: fresh ideas for combating African poverty

Amidst global crisis, a need to go beyond the MDGs

By Fantu Cheru

The Millennium Development Goals are likely to remain important for the long-term task of eradicating poverty beyond 2015. But development policy is being challenged by a host of new and old issues brought into focus by the quadruple crises of the past three years: the food, climate, energy and financial crises. The favourable global economic and political conditions that existed when the MDGs were adopted in 2000 do not exist anymore. The crises and their aftermaths therefore require us to “think out of the box,” to ask different questions and seek new ways of social and political mobilization to tackle the structural problems that perpetuate global inequalities.

Certainly the MDGs have marked a step forward. They have received unprecedented political commitment and forged a strong consensus on fighting poverty. They have helped expand the international debate

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over sustainable pro-poor development and over how to mobilize donor support for domestic efforts, especially in health, education and other social services.

When we look back at the range of UN conferences and what came out of them, the MDGs appear to have been more successful than most other attempts at setting international targets for development issues. They also have helped some civil society groups to hold governments in developing countries accountable for their decisions.

On the other hand, as the MDGs garnered international acceptance, we got distracted from the key factor that perpetuates global poverty — the unequal distribution of power at national and global levels. We must not forget that the point of departure for the MDGs was the belief that unregulated global markets and human development go hand in hand. If countries are poor, went the argument, it is because they are not sufficiently globalized. It was a viewpoint that ignored inequality, power

School in the Congo Republic: The MDGs have been more successful than other UN development initiatives in mobilizing donor support.

Africa Media Online / Graeme Williams

relations, poor governance, civil and political rights and other issues.

Moreover, we came to believe that conquering poverty was a technical challenge that could be accomplished with more development aid. Yet the idea that aid can be the basis for development in poor countries is highly debatable. So is the notion that aid can bring any significant degree of global redistribution. Poverty is a result of international power structures, poor leadership, oppression and discrimination. It needs a political solution, not a technical one.

Uneven growth

There has been a tendency to attribute the impressive reduction in global poverty to progress in implementing the MDGs. While significant progress has been made on the MDGs in countries where government commitment is backed by strong policies and public



Kenya's horticulture industry has been hit hard by the global economic slowdown, setting back the fight against poverty.

 Panos / Fred Hoogervorst

expenditure, the global decline in poverty has been caused mostly by rapid economic growth in China, India, Indonesia and Vietnam.

The world is still off track for a number of targets. Most developing countries are projected not to meet the MDGs. There are disparities across regions and countries.

Unlike in the 1980s and 1990s, average incomes in sub-Saharan Africa have grown steadily since 2000, with growth rates averaging over 5 per cent a year. More than a third of Africans live in countries with economies that have grown by more than 4 per cent annually for 10 years, and 18 countries are classified by the World Bank as “diversified and sustained growers.”

However, this growth has been based on a boom in commodity prices and consumption that was financed by foreign transfers. Few jobs have been created. Growth has been uneven, averaging more in oil-exporting countries and less in others. Similar disparities are evident within almost all African countries, with data seeming to confirm that inequality increases with growth.

Finally, the few instances of significant poverty reduction in the

developing world today have been in countries that have danced to their own music. China, India and Vietnam, for instance, have violated virtually all the rules in the policy guidebook of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, even while moving in a more market-oriented direction.

Crisis and setbacks

While robust growth helped speed income poverty reduction in many countries, recent high food and energy prices, climate-induced declines in productivity and the global financial crisis have significantly set back the fight against poverty. For the poor, the double shock of higher food and fuel prices threatens survival.

Although sub-Saharan Africa is the region least integrated into the global economy, it has nevertheless been hit hard by the crisis. The main ways in which Africa has been affected are through declines in private financial flows, trade revenue losses, lower remittances, and constraints on aid flows, as donor countries go through their own fiscal adjustments.

These repercussions have in turn diminished prospects for the MDGs. In Kenya, the labour-intensive horticultural industry has suffered a 35 per cent drop in exports of flowers, with inevitable effects on workers. In Zambia nearly a fourth of all mining workers lost their jobs in 2008.

The slowdown in growth has reduced government tax revenues, which will

likely bring lower spending on social services — in a region where few functioning social safety nets exist.

The crisis will substantially increase the costs of achieving the MDGs by 2015. Low-income sub-Saharan countries in particular will not be able to finance those costs without additional international aid and/or debt relief. But aid levels are unlikely to rise. Donor commitments were not being fully met even before the crisis.

Beyond the MDGs

From the outset the MDG concept was grafted on the powerful political and economic ideology of unfettered markets as the foundation for human development and poverty reduction. But the global financial crisis has demonstrated that unregulated markets pose a “clear and present danger” to human development.

We know well that economic growth is meaningless unless it is accompanied by measures to reduce structural inequality in society. So the post-MDG agenda should focus on addressing the underlying structures of production, distribution and ownership — and of power — that perpetuate imbalances.

The current crisis provides new openings for activism — opportunities to engage seriously in mass political mobilization to create genuinely redistributive structures and institutions at local, national and global levels.

This means that we need new politics that empower the poor, and values that advance common objectives and ethical principles. We need new institutions that really work on behalf of the marginalized segments of society. There also must be incentives to improve productivity growth, jobs and incomes, as well as resources for realizing human aspirations and human security and for enhancing the capacity and dignity of the individual. 



Jobs and equity key to Africa's poverty fight

Progress on MDGs requires more than social safety nets

 By Yusuf Bangura

Africa has the highest poverty rate in the world. Even though some countries are on track to meet the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of halving poverty by 2015, most are likely to fall well short. Income inequality in Africa remains higher than in most other regions, while gender, ethnic and regional inequalities persist.

Such injustices endure for a variety of reasons, argues a new report by the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), *Combating Poverty and Inequality*. The report, which was launched just before the September MDG summit of the UN General Assembly, highlights problems that have not been adequately addressed by the MDG approach. These include poor or unstable economic growth — which has failed to generate productive employment — and the fragmentation and underfunding of social policies. Moreover, governments have been ineffective and their policies unresponsive to citizens' needs, so the poor lack influence over public policies.

Following Africa's economic contraction of the 1980s and 1990s, growth picked up from 2000 through 2007, thanks to a boom in commodity prices and improvements in the world economy. This helped countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali and Senegal to reduce poverty. But even for these countries poverty remains high and growth has not transformed their economies or delivered decent jobs.

Employment and equity

In the world's high-income countries, economic growth fuelled a shift from agriculture to industry and from industry to services. But Africa has not been able to follow a similar course. Instead, industrialization in much of the continent has been



Tea plantation in Rwanda: To boost rural incomes, more investment is needed to improve agricultural productivity.  Africa Media Online / Ariadne Van Zandergen

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Metalworker in Ladysmith, South Africa: Despite the country's well-funded and extensive social protection programme, joblessness remains widespread.

📷 Africa Media Online / Guy Stubbs

stunted or narrow, while productivity in agriculture and services has been low.

As a result, labour markets have been segmented and unequal. There is widespread underemployment, incomes in informal and agricultural activities remain low and even relatively diversified economies such as that of South Africa experience persistent and large-scale unemployment. The terms and conditions of work are particularly poor for women.

Growth with jobs has been elusive for two reasons. First, globalization has weakened the links between agriculture and industry. Urban people are

stagnated. Second, free-market ideas continue to dominate macroeconomic policies, emphasizing tight spending, privatization and liberalization. From that perspective, employment is regarded as a byproduct of growth, with no need for specific policies.

But to achieve growth that is equitable and creates jobs, deliberate policies are required. Among other things, African governments could:

- connect agriculture more productively to industry and other sectors,
- expand domestic production and raise the demand for locally made goods and services,

“ In the 1980s economic crises and extreme pro-market policies led to severe cuts in social expenditures.”

fed largely by imported food, which undermines domestic agriculture. Countries also import most of their manufactured goods rather than expanding domestic production. So agriculture and industry have

- invest in infrastructure and education to improve skills and the quality of employment for women,
- avoid austerity policies during periods of slow growth,
- promote progressive taxation, and

- demand global reforms that reduce sharp fluctuations in commodity prices and interest rates, phase out agricultural subsidies in rich countries and grant African exports more access to Northern markets.

Universal social protection

Social investments can also drastically reduce poverty levels. During the 1960s and 1970s, public spending on education and health grew rapidly in most African countries. Primary and secondary school enrolment rose and infant mortality declined.

But in the 1980s economic crises and extreme pro-market policies led to severe cuts in social expenditures in most countries. The burden of financing shifted to consumers through user fees. In Kenya, government spending on basic services fell from 20 per cent of total expenditure in 1980 to only about 12 per cent in 1997. As a result, low-income groups generally had access only to poor-quality services and could ill afford the fees required for better amenities.

In recent years, popular pressures and shifts in aid allocations towards basic services have led to increased social spending. Social assistance schemes such as free health care for children, pensions for the elderly and cash grants for the poor have proliferated. Yet Africa still spends only about 3.5 per cent of its gross domestic product on social protection, compared to an average of 4.5 per cent in all low-income countries, 10.5 per cent in middle-income countries and 20.6 per cent in high-income countries.

In countries where targeted social programmes are well funded and reach many people, results have been positive. This is the case in South Africa, where one in four people receives an income financed out of general taxation. Yet even there, poverty reduction has been seriously constrained by widespread joblessness and the high levels of inequality

inherited from the apartheid era. In countries where such programmes are limited, targeting has failed to make significant and sustained inroads into poverty.

Social policies for reducing poverty must be grounded in universal rights. They must aim for redistribution, protect people from the risks of unemployment, sickness and old age, and enhance the productive capacities of individuals and communities. They cannot be separated from efforts to create employment.

States and politics matter

Countries that have reduced poverty in relatively short periods had political systems that deliberately promoted growth and enhanced welfare. For the most part they also built and maintained competent bureaucracies, institutionalized rights and had competitive democratic regimes.

In Mauritius, one of Africa's oldest democracies, small farmers collaborated with agricultural labourers and urban trade unionists to force the state to institutionalize social rights. These organizations contributed to the formation of the first nationalist party, the Mauritius Labour Party, which spearheaded social reforms. Today all major parties in Mauritius, which alternate in government, regard social rights as citizens' rights. There is a universal basic pension, free primary and secondary education and comprehensive free medical care.

During the anti-colonial struggles and early independence period, parties in other countries also had strong ties with urban and rural organizations and social movements. But the descent into one-party and military dictatorships, economic crises and the adoption of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s loosened the ties between citizens and states.



Cashew sorting factory in Mozambique: To stimulate economic growth with job creation, Africa's agriculture needs to be connected more closely to industry.

 Richard Lord

Today, in the design of anti-poverty strategies, many countries rely on the participatory procedures of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), supported by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. But the PRSP consultative process does not give citizen groups the power to effect real change. Participation is often limited to

president, who was worried about the rural vote, to discuss agricultural policy. That led to an agreement to cut interest rates on agricultural loans, remove import taxes on agricultural inputs, issue a moratorium on farmers' debts and institute dialogue between the farmers' organization and the agriculture ministry. In general, however, limited electoral

“Competitive elections have opened up possibilities for demanding accountability from leaders.”

selected non-governmental organizations, without the involvement of associations of informal and formal workers, farmers or artisans, whose livelihoods are directly affected by development policies.

Competitive elections have opened up possibilities for demanding accountability from leaders. Taking advantage of a national election in 1993, the 400,000-member farmers' federation in Senegal forced the country's

competition and the weakness of social movements in Africa have made it difficult to sustain gains.

Africa's experience so far suggests that anti-poverty measures that are not linked to production systems, broader social policies and politics will have limited results. Economic, social and political policies and institutions need to be consciously coordinated to achieve the maximum impact. 🌍



Securing lasting peace in Africa



Modest progress in overcoming conflicts, but challenges persist

 **By Ernest Harsch**

Thanks to Africa's own efforts and to enhanced international support, the continent is more peaceful today than it was a dozen years ago, says UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. In 1998, when the UN issued its first major report on the "causes of conflict" in Africa, there were 14 countries in the midst of war. Now there are four.

Yet in addition to those nations still afflicted by armed conflict, others remain politically fragile, notes Mr. Ban. They have weak institutions, vulnerable economies and growing numbers of jobless youths. They face a host of new challenges ranging from transnational crime to climate change. If left unaddressed, such problems may lead to the resumption of old conflicts or the outbreak of new ones. To avoid a resurgence of war, the Secretary-General argues in a new report,* African countries and their

*Implementation of the recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General on the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa: Report of the Secretary-General, A/65/152, 20 July 2010.

Painters decorating a wall in Juba, South Sudan, as they speak with a man who lost his leg during the civil war. Although most of Africa's protracted wars have ended over the past decade, some countries still are mired in conflict and peace remains fragile in many others.

 Panos / Sven Torfinn

outside partners need to "provide the minimum conditions for human sustenance" and forge a security policy "that has people, development and social issues at its core."

African leaders share those priorities. Last year a summit of the African Union (AU) designated 2010 the "Year of Peace and Security." That emphasis, says Jean Ping, chairperson of the AU Commission,

reflects a determination “to deal once and for all with the scourge of conflicts and violence on the continent.” Today’s leaders, Mr. Ping adds, “simply cannot bequeath the burden of conflicts to the next generation of Africans.”

African solutions

Mr. Ban’s report, which was submitted to the UN General Assembly on 14 October, is a comprehensive review of developments since the first such report of his predecessor, Kofi Annan. Beyond assessing the achievements and shortcomings of the past 12 years, it takes up the new challenges facing the continent. The findings and recommendations are based on extensive consultations with African and other UN member states, as well as with the AU, other African regional institutions, civil society and academic groups, and various UN departments and agencies. The central message of the 1998 report remains true today, Mr. Ban finds: “Only Africa can provide solutions to Africa’s problems.”

Africa can, in fact, claim much of the credit for the past decade’s improvements. Foremost among the African initiatives was the creation of the AU in 2002, out of the weaker Organization of African Unity. The AU has set up a variety of new institutions and mechanisms for preventing and managing conflicts. These include a Peace and Security Council, a panel of senior dignitaries and several AU peacekeeping operations. There also are preparations to establish an African standby peacekeeping force, ready to deploy at short notice.

The UN has responded by revitalizing its engagement with the AU. Four years ago it launched a 10-year programme to help build AU capacities, and in July established in Addis Ababa a UN Office to the AU headed by Assistant Secretary-General Zachary Muburi-Muita. In August the UN and AU held the first meeting of a



joint task force on long-term strategy for peace and security.

The UN currently provides logistical support to the 6,200 AU troops in Somalia and works side by side with the organization in a joint operation in the western Sudanese region of Darfur (see page 19). At various times regional African organizations in West, East and Southern Africa have also undertaken peacekeeping or mediation efforts, with UN support.

Doing it better

The UN’s emphasis on partnership with regional organizations reflects a general evolution in thinking about the world body’s peacekeeping efforts. As Mr. Ban noted during a General Assembly debate on peacekeeping in June, successful operations are often “a shared responsibility.” Lakhdar Brahimi, a former Algerian foreign minister, argued in the same debate that “the UN cannot go everywhere and do everything.” The organization should undertake commitments only when it has sufficient resources and political support to do a good job, said Mr. Brahimi, who in 2000 led a special UN panel on peacekeeping reform.

UN peacekeeper with villagers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Today, peacekeepers’ responsibilities go well beyond military operations and embrace a wide range of activities to support civilian populations.

 UN Photo / Marie Frechon

Realism about the UN’s abilities does not mean that the organization has pulled back from direct engagement. In 2010 Africa accounted for seven of the UN’s 16 peacekeeping missions (see map, page 15). Their combined strength of 63,300 troops was three-quarters of the worldwide total.

Since the 1990s the focus of UN operations has widened well beyond traditional military activities such as enforcing peace accords, protecting relief workers and disarming and demobilizing former combatants. The seven UN peacekeeping missions in Africa also have 9,320 police officers and just over 15,000 international and local civilian personnel. Together with the troops, they help refugees and displaced people return to their homes, monitor human rights, support the reform of local police and court systems, strengthen the media (see page 16), help communities rebuild damaged schools and health clinics

and lay some of the groundwork for economic and social recovery.

Resource ‘mismatch’

In their Security Council speeches and on other occasions, the world’s wealthy donor countries repeatedly emphasize the importance of achieving security in Africa. But as Mr. Ban notes time and again in his report, there is frequently a “mismatch” between the rhetoric and the resources provided. That gap is reflected in the constant shortfalls in responses to the UN’s appeals for humanitarian aid, and in the difficulties in finding donors to fund key peacebuilding projects. Grandiose pledges to double aid to Africa have yielded only modest increases.

Peacekeeping operations themselves have not been immune to problems of funding. To some extent UN missions have access to sizable budgets because they are funded by “assessed” dues, the mandatory payments that the UN levies on member states, with the wealthier ones paying the

Former combatants in Liberia at an agricultural training programme: As more African countries end their armed conflicts, peace missions are concentrating more on post-war recovery and reconstruction.

 Africa Renewal / Ernest Harsch

largest share. But the large numbers of UN peacekeepers on the ground in Africa and elsewhere often create severe budgetary strains and sometimes limit the size and duration of missions.

For African-led peacekeeping operations the problem is more acute. African countries that provide troops are generally poor, have limited military or logistical equipment and must depend on the uncertain contributions of external powers, chiefly North American or European.

The African Union and the Economic Community of West African States have demonstrated their commitment by mounting several peacekeeping operations over the years, often at very short notice in especially critical periods, Nigerian Foreign Minister Henry Odein Ajumogobia noted at a 22 October Security Council debate on African peacekeeping. Too frequently, he added, they “then have a lack of equipment and logistical support let them down,” resulting in the failure of some missions.

Adekeye Adebajo, executive director of the Centre for Conflict Resolution in Cape Town, South Africa, concludes from this that the AU should not be so eager to field

peacekeeping missions. The AU, he argued in a lecture in New York in late October, should “stop acting like an international guinea pig.”

Several participants in the Security Council debate cited one possible solution: that AU peacekeeping operations authorized by the UN receive funding out of the UN’s assessed dues, a proposal originally raised two years ago by an AU-UN panel.

Post-war rebuilding

Since the 1990s era of multiple protracted conflicts has now given way to a series of peace agreements, more attention has shifted to the complex tasks of post-war recovery and rehabilitation.

One key recommendation of the 1998 report was that a “peacebuilding” structure be established to assist such efforts. The UN Peacebuilding Commission was set up in 2005, and has subsequently helped mobilize international support for recovery efforts in Burundi, the Central African Republic, Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone. Mr. Ban has declared eight other African countries eligible for such support (Comoros, Côte d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Somalia and Sudan).

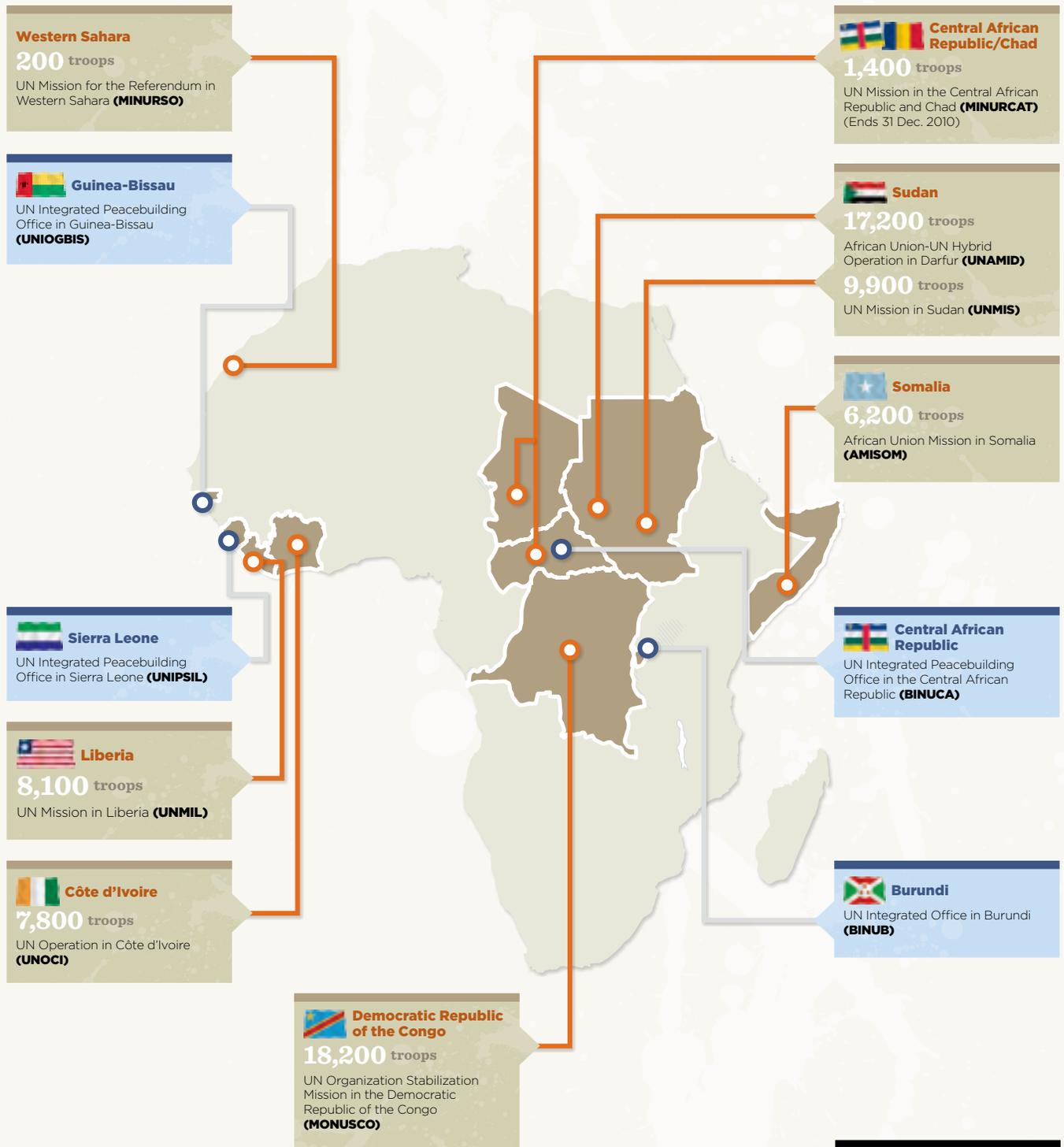
Whether carried out by the Peacebuilding Commission, UN Development Programme, Department of Political Affairs or other UN organizations, peacebuilding projects span a wide range of activities. These include electoral assistance, judicial reform, measures to strengthen health and education, revival of domestic markets, support for agriculture, and job creation, especially for young people.

To be successful and lasting, such efforts cannot be imposed from outside. “They must be owned and



UN and African peace operations

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions, 2010



Source: UN Africa Renewal, based on November 2010 data from the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN Department of Political Affairs and African Union.

Key

- Peacekeeping Mission
- Peacebuilding Mission



Can 'peace radio' survive in peacetime?



Radio Okapi reporter interviewing Congolese youths: The UN station in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has 20 million listeners, more than any other radio station in Francophone sub-Saharan Africa.

 Fondation Hirondelle / Lâm Duc Hiên

But an abrupt departure can leave a media void, threatening efforts to restore peace.

Whether that exit strategy can be modified in the future depends to no small extent on developments in Sierra Leone. Established 10 years ago as the UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) entered the war-ravaged West African country, Radio UNAMSIL soon became the country's most successful radio station. Then in 2005 the Security Council asked UNAMSIL, as it was winding down, to support the establishment of an independent public service broadcaster. Finally in March 2010 the former UN station's administration passed under the control of a Sierra Leonean board.

According to Mr. Orme, although the success of Sierra Leone's experiment remains to be seen, it represents a better option than simply closing down as a UN mission withdraws. As he argues in a report, "This is one replicable model for UN radio transitions to local control, and merits attention at UN headquarters and in neighbouring Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, where the peacekeeping missions and their radio services are due to wind down soon." He is doubtful, however, that the Sierra Leone example will attract enough attention among policymakers at UN headquarters in New York.

As UN missions end, the future of viable independent stations remains uncertain

 **By André-Michel Essoungou**

In conflict zones, one radio station is worth five army battalions, a former chief of UN peacekeeping operations once said. Listeners and numerous expert studies confirm that "peace radios" — often established by UN peacekeeping missions — have been powerful weapons for peace. So far there have been seven UN stations in countries emerging from traumatic

civil wars, from Sierra Leone to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). They have provided balanced and reliable information, offered a voice to minorities and contributed to a sense of national belonging.

Beyond helping to ease tensions and counteract malicious propaganda (see *Africa Renewal*, October 2007), such radio stations have been important training grounds for local journalists and technicians, who make up most of their staff. They have thus strengthened professional standards in countries where media outlets have often been the mouthpieces of particular political actors.

Yet when the time comes for the UN to leave, until recently that has meant simply "pulling the plug," Bill Orme, a media expert at the UN Development Programme (UNDP), says regretfully.

This is not surprising, remarks Susan Manuel, chief of the Peace and Security Section of the UN Department of Public Information. “UN radio stations are transitory by definition. They were not originally designed to last after the peace missions. But the successes they have had over the years caused this approach to be seen as flawed.” Nevertheless, notes Mr. Orme, “When reviewing peacekeeping missions, not only is the focus mainly on the political and the financial aspects, but also those radio stations established by the UN represent a tiny portion of the mission’s budget. They easily go unnoticed.”

Models for transformation

There are different ways in which the UN may be able to leave behind a viable radio station after withdrawing. In Sierra Leone, with the transition to an independent public service station, the country’s president has named a board that includes government officials as well as political opposition and civil society representatives. The aim is to maintain the station’s editorial independence and ability to provide the public with balanced and trusted information.

This model — dubbed the “BBC model” by some media development practitioners — is costly. Even for a wealthy country such as the UK, the BBC’s budget (around \$5.7 bn annually) represents a lot of money, notes Jonathan Marks, a media researcher and consultant with extensive experience in radio in Africa. In countries emerging from war, like Sierra Leone, such a model may not be sustainable “unless you have a very good plan on how to finance it, as well as clear editorial guidelines.”

A broadcaster at Radio Okapi: After the UN leaves, can successor radio stations secure enough financing to keep operating?

 Fondation Hironnelle / Lâm Duc Hiên

Another model is currently being pursued in the crisis-prone Central African Republic. There the former local UN radio station (Radio MINURCA) is being transformed into a private independent broadcaster by Hironnelle, a Swiss foundation with experience in supporting media in conflict-afflicted countries, often with UN backing. Based in Bangui, Radio MINURCA was launched and run by the UN from 1998 to 2000, and then shut down when its equipment was packed and sent to Sierra Leone. But with support from various donors, Hironnelle soon brought the station back on the air under a new name, Radio Ndeke Luka.

From the outset the foundation planned for the station’s transition

into a private entity, Jean-Marie Etter, Hironnelle’s president, explains to *Africa Renewal*. “Doing it properly takes time,” he says. “As soon as we got there, we started preparing for this transfer. It is the right thing to do.” The transfer is not yet completed, since donor financing remains necessary. But even if it ultimately works, Mr. Etter cautions against simply trying to copy this particular experience. “Each context is different. What could work in Sierra Leone or the Central African Republic might not in Congo or in Sudan.”

Others propose yet a different option: maintaining the infrastructure and a portion of the editorial staff of a UN station with the goal of supporting local media development. Some point





As Burundi refugees return home after the end of the war, radio is one of the most important sources of information and communication.

 Alamy Images / Ton Koene

external partners have in effect taken charge of most of the media business in the region,” she adds. Professionals working at externally financed media outlets tend to be the only ones who are well paid. In the DRC, Ms. Frère notes, Radio Okapi’s annual budget (estimated at \$10–13 mn) is 26 times higher than that of the second biggest radio station. The average salary for journalists at Radio Okapi is 10 times higher than that for journalists at other Congolese stations.

Despite the transfer to local control in Sierra Leone, the former UN station still relies on donor support, including from the UN Peacebuilding Fund. Radio Ndeke Luka in the Central African Republic is equally dependent on donors, with more than 80 per cent of its annual budget funded by them.

No genuine transfer in control will be effective until such stations are able to generate enough revenue to survive on their own. “Radio stations are expensive to run. Until the economic situation improves, there

to the importance of the UN’s Radio Okapi in the DRC, which delivers comprehensive and unmatched national news coverage and, with 20 million listeners, is the most popular radio station in Francophone sub-Saharan Africa. Radio Okapi could be turned into a national news agency to provide content for the rest of the media, suggests Lena Slachmuis, country director of Search for Common Ground, a US non-governmental group specializing in media development in crisis zones. Francis Rolt, an independent consultant on media development in Africa, believes such a transformation would at least mean that the “UN is pulling out gracefully.”

Challenges ahead

Whatever the option, whether the successors to UN radio stations survive after peacekeepers leave will also depend on a country’s political and economic evolution. With weakened political institutions, countries recovering from conflict need reform of their security sectors, the restoration of law and order, mechanisms for protecting human rights, and free and fair elections. The success of such efforts can have a major impact on whether post-war stations remain independent,

balanced and trustworthy, or succumb to the risks of censorship and partisan manipulation. “The evolution of the media sector goes hand in hand with that of the whole political context,” notes Mr. Etter of Hironnelle.

Most analysts also point to the potential economic hurdles. In stable countries with growing economies, media outlets can raise revenue from advertising and public contributions. But in post-war countries economies are often in tatters and government budgets are tight.

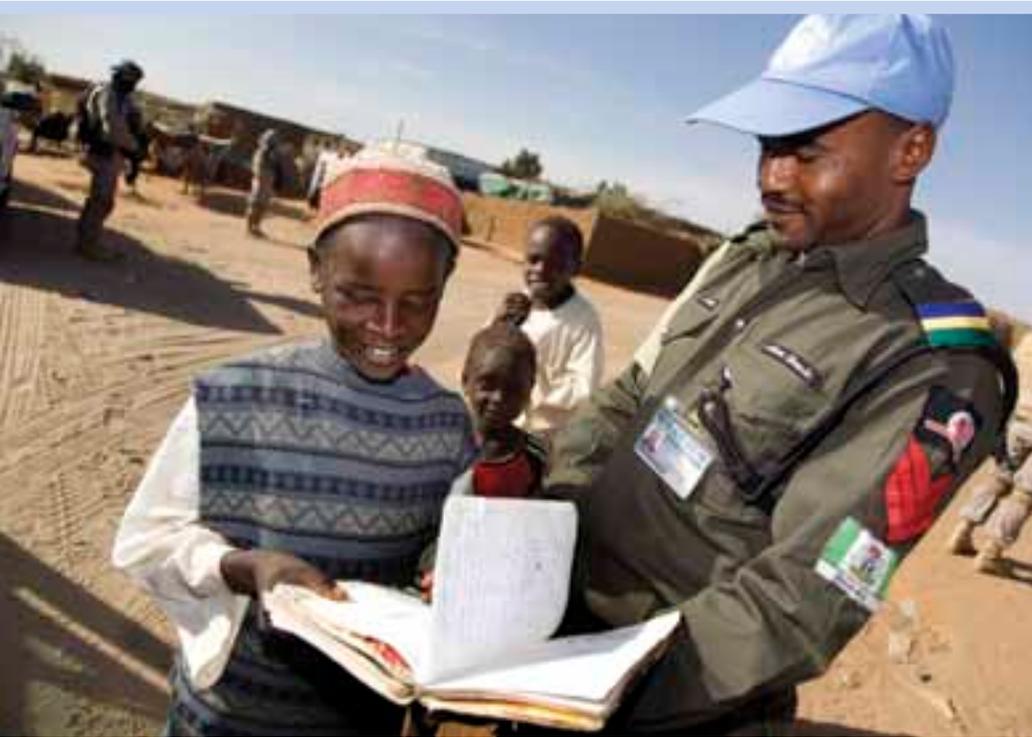
“Whether the successors to UN radio stations survive after peacekeepers leave will depend on a country’s political and economic evolution.”

In Burundi and the DRC, for instance, the media could scarcely survive without external donor contributions, argues Marie-Soleil Frère, a researcher at Université Libre de Bruxelles in Belgium. “Collectively,

is little chance for success without outside financial support,” concludes Mr. Rolt. “In Congo, Sierra Leone or Sudan, radio just has to become a profitable business, like in Kenya or South Africa.” 



Darfur: an experiment in African peacekeeping



UNAMID officer from Nigeria looks over a student's school work at a North Darfur camp for displaced people.

UN Photo / Albert Gonzalez Farran

Since its deployment in late 2007 the mission has been hampered by shortages of personnel and a lack of aircraft and other equipment, much of which must be contributed by donor countries. The mission has also been the target of attacks on its staff and vehicles, and has been hamstrung by official restrictions on its movements in the vast region. Critics charge that despite some degree of success, the force has never been supplied with the military capacity and political backing needed to adequately protect the civilian population and support humanitarian efforts. Yet the mission, they argue, still absorbs significant resources, at a current annual budget of \$1.8 bn.

Difficult circumstances

The most intense fighting in Darfur began in 2003 with clashes between local rebel groups and Sudanese government forces supported by a pro-Khartoum militia known as the Janjaweed. Atrocities, including attacks on civilians and mass rapes, have been common. The UN estimates that 300,000 Darfuris have died and more than 2 million are internally displaced. An additional 250,000 people have fled into neighbouring Chad.

The head of UNAMID, the AU-UN joint special representative for Darfur, Ibrahim Gambari, told *Africa Renewal* that after signs of progress in 2009, violence and instability are again on the rise (see *Africa Renewal Online*, <http://bit.ly/can9q7>). Despite the challenges facing UNAMID, Mr. Gambari believes that such hybrid operations can work.

Is African Union-UN hybrid a model for the future?

 **By Michael Fleshman**

When people discuss hybrids they are usually talking about the improved seeds favoured by farmers or about cars that combine petrol engines with large batteries for better fuel economy. But in the war-ravaged Darfur region of western Sudan, the UN and the African Union (AU) are testing a different kind of hybrid. That experiment, the African Union-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID), is a 26,000-strong peacekeeping force deployed and commanded

jointly by the UN and the AU, the pan-African political organization, to protect civilians and support a shaky peace process.

Whether UNAMID can succeed is the question. The Darfur mission marks the first time in the UN's 60-year history that command of a peacekeeping operation has been shared with another international body. The unprecedented arrangement is a product of dire necessity, created only after the Sudanese government rejected proposals for a standard UN mission. Even then authorities only reluctantly approved the joint operation, which replaced a previous, but weaker AU force, following assurances that the new mission would retain an "African character." The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations provides logistical support for the mission in cooperation with the AU Peace and Security Directorate.

“It wasn’t designed right from the start to be a hybrid,” he points out. “It was just circumstance that pulled it in that direction” – referring to the Khartoum government’s objections to a solely UN presence. “Because the government of Sudan was not comfortable with a pure UN peacekeeping force, the Africans stepped in” in 2004 with an AU force that eventually totalled about 7,000 troops.

“What the Africans lack is not the will to serve, but the logistics as well as the financial support for peace missions,” Mr. Gambari continues. “The international community committed enormous resources to support the African mission,” and laid the foundations for UNAMID’s structure as a largely African force supplied and financed by the UN.

Practical cooperation

UNAMID has now “been in business” for more than two years, Mr. Gambari notes. “And with all the challenges I think we’ve found it extremely useful” in strengthening practical cooperation between African and UN peacekeeping

Ibrahim Gambari, head of joint African Union-UN mission in Darfur, meeting with elders at a camp for displaced people: Africans want a bigger role in designing and carrying out peace operations in Africa.

UN Photo / Albert Gonzalez Farran

operations. “Sadly, I think Africa will continue to require international support for peacekeeping. The Africans themselves are now asking to be partners in the design, execution and implementation of peacekeeping operations. I will do my best to implement the resolutions of the Security Council and the wishes of the AU so that this is regarded as a model for the future.”

Greater African involvement in the planning and execution of peace operations also brings political dividends, Mr. Gambari argues. “If you’re an African country, this will tie you more into committing to it.... Plus it will be difficult for an African government to kick out a mission that is authorized by both the AU and the UN,” noting that the continued presence of UN peacekeepers in Chad and the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been questioned by those governments.

Verdict uncertain

For some analysts, however, the jury is still out on whether the potential benefits of hybrid missions outweigh the complexities that can come from divided lines of authority and added layers of bureaucracy.

Alison Giffen, the deputy director of a US thinktank, the Henry L. Stimson Centre’s Future of Peace Operations programme in Washington DC, told

Africa Renewal that both the UN and the AU had learned valuable lessons in tactical and logistical cooperation from UNAMID. The experience has also strengthened Africa’s ability to manage and deploy peace forces. “But at this point I would say that UNAMID is still producing more ‘lessons learned’ than ‘best practices.’”

Despite a commanding African role in the Darfur operation, she notes, the Sudanese government still imposes arbitrary restrictions on the movement of UNAMID personnel, delays supply shipments and creates other obstacles. “The government has been good at playing the UN and the AU off of one another,” she says.

The fact that the mission remains underequipped and below strength underscores another potential weakness of the hybrid model: excessive reliance on troops from very poor countries. “African troops generally are good troops,” Ms. Giffen explains. “But they lack the equipment, logistics and training to deploy effectively into difficult conditions like those in Darfur. And the international community has been very slow to step into those gaps.”

Ms. Giffen also notes that planning for another innovative approach to peacekeeping in Africa, a rapid deployment African Standby Force under sole AU command, is entering an advanced stage, with three of the five envisaged brigades nearing operational readiness. This means that Africa is developing a range of options for peace operations, from traditional UN missions to hybrids and interventions by subregional groups such as the Economic Community of West African States.

For Mr. Gambari, the challenge is to demonstrate to the sceptics that hybrids can work. “We still have to prove that UNAMID is indeed a much better model than pure UN peacekeeping operations,” he acknowledges. “I like to think it is. We are working very hard to make sure that it achieves its mission.” 🌍





Stakes high in vote on Sudan's south



Major push to preserve peace and organize referendum

 **By Michael Fleshman**

With Sudan moving towards a referendum to determine whether the south remains part of the country or secedes, the United Nations and the rest of the international community have launched a major diplomatic push to keep the troubled process on track. The referendum, together with a separate poll on the status of the

disputed oil centre of Abyei, is scheduled for 9 January 2011.

The votes are the centrepiece of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the government in Khartoum and the Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM) that ended more than two decades of civil war in the south. More than 2 million people died during the conflict and some 4.6 million were driven from their homes.

Granting the southern Sudanese the right to self-determination was an extraordinary provision on a continent where colonial-era borders are considered untouchable. The complex accord also established an interim national unity government,

UN helicopter delivers voter registration materials to Torit, in southern Sudan, in advance of the referendum.

 UN Photo / Tim McKulka

including a regional government in southern Sudan headed by the SPLM. In addition, it set a formula for revenue sharing between north and south, allowed residents of the border town of Abyei to choose whether to affiliate with north or south, created a local power sharing formula in two violence-stricken border states and established lasting ceasefire and security arrangements.

'A ticking time bomb'

The CPA envisioned that implementation of the plan would "make unity attractive" to southerners and

perhaps persuade them to stay part of Sudan. But after nearly six years and the presence of more than 30,000 peacekeeping troops in two separate missions (in southern Sudan and Darfur), tensions remain high and the prospects for unity have grown dimmer. Many observers now expect that southern Sudan will vote for independence, and are uncertain about the Khartoum government's response. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described Sudan as "a ticking time bomb" in September.

That same month UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon warned world leaders in New York that delays in preparations for the south Sudanese and Abyei polls were jeopardizing the scheduled date of 9 January. "The Sudanese people cannot afford a resumption of conflict," he said. "The stakes are high, for Sudan, for Africa, for the international community."

Since then there has been a flurry of diplomatic activity, including establishment of a UN panel to monitor preparations for the referenda headed by former Tanzanian president Benjamin Mkapa. The Security Council sent a mission to Sudan headed by US Ambassador Susan Rice, and UK Foreign Secretary William Hague chaired a high-level Security Council meeting on Sudan in November.

“The Sudanese people cannot afford a resumption of conflict.”

—UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon

Signs of progress

Africa has also ramped up its diplomacy. In mid-November former South African president Thabo Mbeki, the head of an African Union High-Level Implementation Panel on Sudan, announced a "framework agreement" by the parties to resolve an array of post-referendum issues that are contributing to the tensions.

These include the demarcation of borders, citizenship and civil rights issues, the resolution of longstanding ethnic, land and political disputes in Abyei and, most critically, a formula for revenue sharing in the event of southern independence. About 80 per cent of the petroleum reserves in Sudan, Africa's third largest producer, are located in the south, and agreement on the allocation of oil revenue is considered vital to the success of the referendum and to future north-south relations.

Mr. Ban and other speakers at the November Security Council meeting welcomed the launch of voter registration in south Sudan and noted that senior officials from both sides had affirmed their commitment to peacefully resolve remaining problems and respect the will of the voters.

Good news — and bad

But as *Africa Renewal* went to press at the end of November, such signs of progress were tempered by reminders of the remaining challenges. The continuing conflict in the western Sudanese region of Darfur is chief among them, as is the threat of violence over the continuing political deadlock over Abyei. The Security Council is considering increasing the number of peacekeepers with the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) in the south during

the voting and UN humanitarian officials are seeking \$63 mn to stockpile relief supplies in the event of civil unrest. "The coming months are likely to be difficult for the people of Sudan," Mr. Ban told the Security Council in November. "The government of Sudan, the government of southern Sudan and the referenda commissions must rise to this challenge." 🌍

Lasting peace

from page 14

led by affected communities," says Mr. Ban, "with the full participation of local institutions and community organizations, especially the private sector, civil society, women, youth and children."

Better leadership

More broadly, the Secretary-General notes, "ownership" has become increasingly prevalent across Africa. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a plan adopted by African leaders in 2001, sets out the continent's main security, political, economic and social priorities and allows "for greater ownership and leadership of Africa's own economic and social policies." In 2010, the NEPAD Secretariat was transformed into the NEPAD Planning and Coordinating Agency; it is linked more directly to the AU's central structures, which should facilitate better coordination between the continent's development and security efforts.

To avert a return to conflict in countries emerging from war — and to prevent new outbreaks elsewhere — government conduct and capacities must improve across the continent, the Secretary-General says. Even though the past decade has seen an increased number of peaceful transfers of power through democratic elections, many governance problems remain.

Well-governed and democratic states are vital if Africa is to tackle the many problems that breed conflict, such as widespread corruption, stark economic inequalities and the exclusion of certain ethnic and social groups, the Secretary-General states. "Opportunities for peace and development in Africa," he concludes, "will depend on the strength of African states to perform their roles effectively." 🌍

Africa needs a strategy for 'emerging partners'

Report assesses growing ties with China and other Southern economies

By David Mehdi Hamam and Katrin Toomel

The global development landscape is changing rapidly with the growing role of China, Brazil and other "emerging" economies. In this new context, African countries have seen a significant increase in trade, foreign direct investment and official development assistance from the South. While China is the most significant partner, interactions are also increasing with India, Brazil, Malaysia, Turkey and several other countries, reducing Africa's dependence on its traditional partners and opening new policy space for African governments.

The changes have been rapid. Africa's total trade with emerging economies grew from just \$8.8 bn in 1990 to \$148 bn in 2007. Between 2003 and 2009,

David Mehdi Hamam is chief of the policy analysis and monitoring unit and Katrin Toomel is a programme officer at the UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa.

China forgave \$2.57 bn in debt owed by 31 African countries.

However, "While some emerging economies have a strategy for Africa, Africa does not have a strategy towards the emerging economies," notes a new report of the UN Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA). So that both sides can gain from this relationship, African countries need to adopt a coordinated, coherent strategy and exercise greater ownership over their growing interactions with emerging economies, urges the report, *Africa's Cooperation with New and Emerging Development Partners: Options for Africa's Development*.*

So far, the impacts of this new interaction have been mixed. African consumers have benefited from the influx of low-priced consumer goods. The provision of generic medicines and insecticide-dipped mosquito nets has helped fight disease. New roads and conference centres are being built.

However, manufacturers targeting their own domestic markets have been hurt by competitive imports from emerging economies. In large infrastructure projects, for example, Chinese

*The report is available at:

www.un.org/africa/osaa/reports/emerging_economies_2009.pdf

competition has squeezed South African companies out of the market.

Meanwhile, Africa's exports to emerging markets are still dominated by unprocessed primary products. In China's imports from Africa, the share of oil increased from 22 per cent in 1995 to 78 per cent by 2006.

The main challenge for Africa is how to benefit from the new opportunities, while minimizing the negative impacts. The report urges African countries to take coordinated steps to ensure that cooperation with their new partners brings economic diversification and industrial development in Africa, while also supporting the continent's integration into the global economy.

The report urges African countries to adopt a strategy whereby trade with emerging economies is tied to measures to promote Africa's development and infrastructure needs. When seeking foreign direct investment, African countries should direct such flows to sectors that can stimulate domestic investment, create jobs, spur regional economic integration and boost productive capacity.

For their part, emerging economies must recognize that their long-term access to Africa's natural resources depends on developing a mutually beneficial relationship. Ultimately, South-South cooperation should not be pursued for its own sake, but rather "as a mechanism for ensuring a better quality of life for the world's poor," noted Cheick Sidi Diarra, the UN special adviser on Africa, at the 20 September launch of the report. 

Employees at a Chinese-run factory in Kampala, Uganda.  Panos / Sven Torfinn



Africa Watch

Africa gets 10 seats on board of UN Women

Ten African countries have been elected to serve on the Board of the newly-created Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, known as UN Women. The election, held in November by the UN Economic and Social Council for the 35 elected seats (out of a total of 41), saw the following African countries join the agency's governing structure: Angola, Cape Verde, Congo Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Libya, Nigeria and Tanzania.

Of the remaining elected board members 10 came from Asia, 4 from Eastern Europe, 6 from Latin America and the Caribbean and 5 from Western Europe. Elected members serve two- or three-year terms. The 6 non-elected seats are from the major donor contributing countries.

UN Women is headed by Under-Secretary-General Michelle Bachelet, who just prior to her appointment was Chile's first female president (2006-2010) and had previously served as minister of defence and minister of health.

UN Women was established on 2 July 2010 by the UN General Assembly to better promote women's rights. The new body merges four organizations, the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of

Women (UN-INSTRAW). Its annual budget is expected to reach at least \$500 mn – double the combined resources of the four agencies it incorporates.



Under-Secretary-General Michelle Bachelet, head of the new agency UN Women, created to promote gender equality and women's empowerment.  UN Photo / Paulo Filgueiras

UNAIDS: 'Breaking the trajectory' of the epidemic

New cases of infection by HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, have declined by 20 per cent globally over the past decade, reports the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS). They have fallen by an even larger percentage in some African countries hit hardest by the disease. According to the agency's 2010 report,* an estimated 2.6 million people contracted the virus in 2009 – 500,000 fewer than in 1999. Five countries – Ethiopia, Zambia, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and South Africa (which has the largest number of people living with HIV in the world) – have cut new infections by more than 25 per cent since 2001.

Another 29 African countries have stabilized infection rates – a sign that anti-AIDS education and prevention

efforts are working, UNAIDS says. With greater access to testing and treatment programmes and improved drugs to prevent transmission from mother to child at birth, "We are breaking the trajectory of the AIDS epidemic with bold actions and smart choices," said Mr. Michel Sidibé, executive director of UNAIDS. Fatalities due to AIDS are declining even faster, to 1.8 million last year from 2.1 million in 2004.

But sub-Saharan Africa still accounts for almost 70 per cent of the world's people living with HIV and 72 per cent of AIDS-related deaths. "The challenge now," Mr. Sidibé noted at the report launch, "is how we can all work to accelerate progress."

* www.unaids.org/globalreport/default.htm

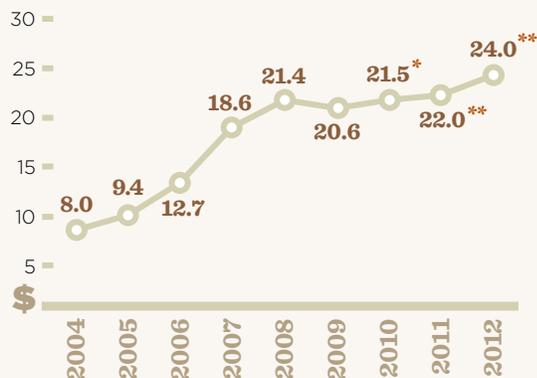
African remittance flows are back up

After a slump in 2009, migrant financial remittances back to Africa are again on the rise, according to a World Bank study. By the end of 2010, Bank estimates show, Africans abroad will have sent back a total of \$21.5 bn, posting a 4.4 per cent rise, after a decline of 3.7 per cent the year before. The Bank also forecasts that the amount of money African migrants send back to their countries of origin will reach \$22 bn in 2011 and \$24 bn in 2012 (see graph).

The World Bank's *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011* points to the global economic crisis as the main reason for the previous slowdown. In 2007, the total amount of money sent home by migrants from Africa grew 46.7 per cent, then the highest rate in the world. Growth slowed to 14.9 per cent in 2008 before contracting in 2009.

The Bank's estimates and forecasts, however, are based on incomplete data. "The lack of reliable and timely data for most African countries makes it difficult to judge the actual extent of the flows," note the study's authors. A major portion of remittances to sub-Saharan Africa goes unrecorded for two main reasons. First, most transfers are made through informal channels. Second, only about half of the countries regularly report annual remittance data. Some report no remittance data at all, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Zimbabwe, which are believed to be significant recipients of remittance flows.

Migrant remittances to Africa
\$ bn



* Estimate. ** Forecast.

Source: UN Africa Renewal from World Bank, Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011.

Appointments



UN Photo / Meik Gatten

The UN Secretary-General has appointed **Zachary Muburi-Muita** of Kenya to head the recently created UN Office to the African Union in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Mr. Muburi-Muita, as a career diplomat, previously served as Kenya's ambassador to the UN, among other positions.



UN Photo / Evan Schneider

Jack Lang of France has been appointed by the UN Secretary-General as his special adviser on legal issues related to piracy off the coast of Somalia. In a long and varied career, Mr. Lang has served as minister of culture and president of the National Assembly's foreign affairs committee, as well as a special presidential envoy to Cuba and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.



UN Photo / Evan Schneider

Following consultations with the Executive Board of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the Secretary-General has appointed **Babatunde Osotimehin** of Nigeria as the agency's new head. Prior to this appointment, Dr. Osotimehin, a medical doctor by profession, served as his country's minister of health from December 2008 to March 2010, and then as the provost of the University of Ibadan's College of Medicine. At UNFPA, he replaces Ms. Thoraya Ahmed Obaid.



UN Photo / Devra Berkowitz

The UN General Assembly has elected **Joan Clos** of Spain as under-secretary-general of the UN Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat). Among other posts, he previously served as Spain's minister of industry, trade and tourism and as mayor of Barcelona, and was chairman of the UN Advisory Committee of Local Authorities. At UN-Habitat, he replaces Anna Tibaijuka of Tanzania, who now chairs the steering committee of the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council.



UNICEF / Ramoneda

Martin Mogwanja of Kenya has been appointed by the UN Secretary-General as deputy executive director of the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF). He previously was UNICEF's representative in Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Pakistan.

Greenpeace: EU ships threaten African fishing

European fishing fleets in West Africa are threatening the survival of local fishing communities and marine resources in the region, according to a report* by the non-governmental environmental organization Greenpeace. These fleets have the capacity to catch two to three times more fish than is ecologically sustainable, already depleting European waters. West Africa is now facing the same prospect, Greenpeace warns, as vessels of the European Union (EU) account for the majority of the foreign presence in the region.

For a period of five weeks between February and April 2010, a Greenpeace ship monitored the waters of Mauritania and Senegal. It identified 61 EU ships out of 93 foreign vessels (and a total of 126). The report also cites observations of declining fish stocks from people in local communities. "I used to be able to catch about 20 groupers in one day," a fisherman from Dakar, Senegal, told Greenpeace. "Now, I can't catch more than two."

*How Africa Is Feeding Europe  <http://bit.ly/d5Nk50>

Senegal cuts malaria infections

Senegal recorded an impressive 41 per cent drop in malaria infections in 2009. A total of 175,000 persons were affected by the disease that year, down from nearly 300,000 in 2008, according to a report by the country's Malaria Control Programme, which is part of a UN-supported effort against the epidemic known as the Roll Back Malaria (RBM) Partnership.

It is the first West African country to record such a spectacular achievement in the battle against an illness that kills more than 900,000 people every year across the continent. Awa Marie Coll-Seck, executive director of the RBM Partnership, remarked that "this improvement puts Senegal on a par with Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Zambia, which have also significantly alleviated the burden of malaria."

According to the report, Senegal's success rests on strong prevention efforts (insecticide-treated mosquito nets and indoor spraying), rapid diagnosis and effective treatment (mostly artemisinin-based combination therapy). Two other factors were also crucial, said Ms. Coll-Seck: strong political will and adequate funding (\$130 mn over the past five years).

Africa Agenda

25-26 Jan 2011 Johannesburg (South Africa) Green Power Conference

A platform for the industry to debate the outcome of the World Climate Summit in Cancun and propose how Africa can participate in the global carbon market.

@ info@greenpowerconferences.com,
 www2.greenpowerconferences.co.uk

25-31 Jan 2011 Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) Africa Union Summit

On the theme "Towards greater unity and integration through shared values." Contact Mr. El Ghassim Wane

+ 251 11 551 7700, @ waneg@africa-union.org,  www.africa-union.org

6-11 Feb 2011 Dakar (Senegal) World Social Forum

The premier gathering of the world's civil society and non-governmental organizations.

 <http://fsm2011.org/en/wsf-2011>

16-18 Feb 2011 Brussels (Belgium) Arab-African Crans Montana Forum

Top decision makers will focus on the role

of Europe and the Mediterranean and the challenges of Arab-African cooperation.

 +377 9770 7000,  +377 9770 7040,
 info@cmf.ch,  www.cmf.ch/home

23-25 Mar 2011 Abuja (Nigeria) 2011 Conference on Financial Services in Africa

Academics and professionals of the financial services sector will discuss the challenges of the financial crisis. Contact Professor Chiaku Chukwuogor

@ chiaku.chukwuogo@globip.com, 
www.globip.com/conference2011/index.htm

4-6 Apr 2011 London (United Kingdom) Africa Gas Summit

Contact Laurence Coldicott

 + 020 7827 5970,  + 020 7242 1508,
 laurence.coldicott@terrapinn.com, 
www.terrapinn.com/2011/africa-gas-summit

7-10 Apr 2011 Johannesburg (South Africa) Africa's Future Education

Endorsed by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in partnership with Education Southern Africa and Proximity Educational publishers. Contact Andriette Ferreira,

 +27 11 256 3600, @ andriettef@nepad.org,  <http://nepad.org/conferences/africas-future-education>

WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE

1-2 Dec 2010 Tunis (Tunisia) Public Private Partnership Africa Conference

A platform for stakeholders to promote infrastructure development. Organized by Africa and Middle East Trade Ltd. Contact Laura Sitzia,

 + 44 207 700 4857, @ trade@ametrade.org,  www.ametrade.org

4-5 Dec 2010 Cancun (Mexico) World Climate Summit

Organized by the United Nations as a follow-up to the last climate change conference in Copenhagen in December 2009, with a focus on the future commitments of industrialized countries under the Kyoto Protocol governing greenhouse gas emissions, as well as the needs of developing countries for adapting to changes in the earth's climate. Contact Jens Nielsen,

 + 45 33 88 5150, @ jens@wclimate.com,  www.wclimate.com

Africa Books

Sudan at the Brink: Self-Determination and National Unity by Francis Mading Deng (Fordham University Press, New York, USA, 2010; 70 pp; pb \$9.99)

Le Temps de l'Afrique by Jean-Michel Severino and Olivier Ray (Editions Odile Jacob, Paris, France, 2010; 352 pp; pb €25).

Conversations avec moi-même by Nelson Mandela (De La Martinière Eds, Paris, France, 2010, 512 pp; pb €23.00)

Africa's Liberation: The Legacy of Nyerere by Emeka Anyaoku, Ana Camacho et al (Fahamu Books and Pambazuka Press, Oxford, UK, 2010; 216 pp; pb £12.95)

How Africa Works: Occupational Change, Identity and Morality, ed. Deborah Bryceson (Practical Action, Sterling, Virginia, USA, 2010; 308 pp; \$39.95)

Le conflit de Casamance : ce que disent les armes by Jean-Claude Marut (Karthala, Paris, France, 2010; 420 pp; pb €33.25)

What Is Left Unsaid: Reporting the South African HIV Epidemic, eds. Kristin Palitza, Natalie Ridgard et al (Jacana Media, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2010; 408 pp; pb R195.00)

Ressources minières en Afrique : Quelle réglementation pour le développement? ed. Bonnie Campbell (Presses de l'Université du Québec, Québec, Canada, 2010; 255 pp; pb €26)

Elections et média en Afrique Centrale by Marie-Soleil Frère (Karthala, Aubervilliers, France, 2009; 364 pp; €28.00)

Land Grab? The Race for the World's Farmland, eds. Michael Kugelman and Susan L. Levenstein (Wilson Center, Washington DC, US, 2009; 69 pp; E-Publication: Free)

Les hommes politiques Maliens et Africains by Mohamadoun Baréma Bocoum (L'Harmattan, Paris, France, 2010; 310 pp; pb €29.50)

Black Africa 1945-1980: Economic Decolonization and Arrested Development by D. K. Fieldhouse (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, Abingdon, Oxon, UK, 2010; 268 pp; hb \$105)

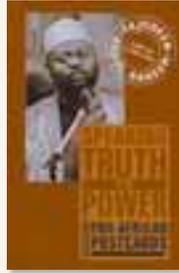
L'Afrique à part : Afrique du Sud, 1978-1980 by Jean-Pierre Cambefort (L'Harmattan, Paris, France, 2010; 384 pp; pb €34)

Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation, ed. Sue Onslow (Routledge, Kentucky, USA, 2009; 272 pp; hb \$125)

The Deadly Ideas of Neoliberalism: How the IMF Has Undermined Public Health and the Fight against AIDS by Rick Rowden (Zed Books, London, UK, 2010; 288 pp; £18.99, \$34.95)

Speaking Truth to Power: Selected Pan-African Postcards

by **Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem** (Pambazuka Press, Oxford, UK; 2010; 253 pp; £14.95)



Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, a tireless activist, writer and public speaker, was killed in a road accident in Nairobi, Kenya, on 25 May 2009. His untimely death at the age of 48, which ironically came on African Liberation Day, stunned many across the continent and the world. This posthumous book is a collection of his "pan-African postcards," weekly commentaries originally posted on the Pambazuka website (www.pambazuka.org). The topics range from the importance of empowering women and Africa's poor to the role of the African diaspora and the construction of the African Union.

They include hard words of criticism for both African autocrats and the bureaucrats of the international financial institutions who help finance them.

"Tajudeen did not hesitate to speak the truth to those in power," Salim Ahmed Salim, a former secretary-general of the Organization of African Unity, commented in the book's preface. Mr. Abdul-Raheem's words reflected his actions. He opposed military dictatorship in his native Nigeria, led the Pan-African Movement headquartered in Uganda, helped found the London-based group Justice Africa and in 2006 became the Africa director of the UN Millennium Campaign, to build support for the Millennium Development Goals. 🌍

Sortir de la grande nuit. Essai sur l'Afrique décolonisée by Achille Mbembe (Editions La Découverte, Paris, France, 2010; 243 pp; pb €17.00)

The Translator: A Tribesman's Memoir of Darfur by Daoud Hari (Random House, New York, NY, USA, 2008; 224 pp; hb \$23)

Nollywood: The Video Phenomenon in Nigeria by Pierre Barrot (James Currey Publishers, Oxford, UK, 2008; 176 pp; £14.95, \$22.95)

Nous faisons le rêve que l'Afrique de 2060 sera ... by Serge Tchaha, Eugène Nyambal et al (L'Harmattan, Paris, France, 2010; 450 pp; pb €39.50)

Le VIH/SIDA : incapacité matrimoniale ou chef de nullité du mariage canonique? by Darius Bamuene Solo (L'Harmattan, Paris, France, 2008; 178 pp; €18)

L'Afrique n'attend pas by Hervé Bourges (Actes Sud, Paris, France 2010; 183 pp; pb €18)

Forthcoming from *Social Research*:

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ISBN 978-1-933481-23-4, ISSN 0037-783X. For info and to order: socres@newschool.edu

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