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Address correspondence to:
The Editor, Africa Renewal
Room S-1032
United Nations, NY 10017-2513, USA,
Tel: (212) 963-6857, Fax: (212) 963-4556
E-mail: africarenewal@un.org

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Peace eludes the world's newest nation

BY PAVITHRA RAO

On the eve of the fifth anniversary of South Sudan’s independence on 9 July, sporadic gunfire rent the air in Juba, the capital city.

What many assumed was a celebration of the world’s newest nation’s fifth anniversary turned out to be a precursor to a deadly clash pitting troops loyal to President Salva Kiir against those loyal to his deputy Riek Machar.

Fighting quickly spilled over, resulting in hundreds of deaths and causing thousands to flee to neighbouring Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda.

Although yet another ceasefire agreement came into effect on 11 July, there were still fears that, as has happened many times in the past, it could be violated.

By mid-July about 300 people, including 33 civilians and two Chinese peacekeepers, had been killed in the fighting.

The worsening humanitarian situation is now a major concern. Within the last five years, South Sudan has produced the fourth-highest number of refugees in the world, just shy of 750,000, according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees’ “Global Trends Report 2015.” The top three countries are Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia.

The latest outbreak of fighting, if not contained, is expected to exacerbate refugee outflows, particularly from cities such as Juba, Wau and Bentiu. In addition, thousands of people have sought shelter at the UN mission in Juba.

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon condemned the clashes and called for peace: “I urge President Kiir and First Vice-President Riek Machar to put an immediate end to the ongoing fighting, discipline the military leaders responsible for the violence and finally work together as partners to implement the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan.”

Hervé Ladsous, the UN under-secretary-general for peacekeeping operations, wants a stronger mandate so that UN peacekeepers can enforce an arms embargo and impose targeted sanctions on those perpetrating violence: “If this is a forewarning of what is yet to come, only a strong political and coordinated
India, Africa rekindle trade ties
Old friends explore new possibilities

BY PAVITHRA RAO AND FRANCK KUWONU

Until she travelled abroad when she started college, Zara Mwanzia had thought that chapati—the delicious bread she ate while growing up, which most Kenyans still eat—was a local delicacy. “I was surprised to find out that chapati actually originated from India,” she said, musing at how she had been wrong all those years.

Zara could be forgiven for her ignorance of the pervasiveness of India’s cultural influences in eastern and southern Africa. Tea is another Indian dietetic influence on local customs. In the Kenyan capital of Nairobi and around the country, teatime has an Eastern influence: India’s chai—a mix of milk, tea, sugar and spices—is the drink of choice over other beverages normally served at breakfast and other mealtimes.

Cultural and trade relations between India and Africa extend beyond chapati and chai, going back to ancient times—from early fourth-century trade, through Britain’s shipments of Indian labour to work on colonial projects, to political cooperation during the struggle for Africa’s independence.

“Old friends and old family”
The Indian population in Africa, including people of Indian descent, was estimated to be about 2.7 million in 2015. More than half of them are settled in South Africa, a third in Mauritius and some in the East African countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

We are “old friends and old family,” said Nirmala Sitharaman, India’s minister of state for commerce, at the Third India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS-III) in October 2015. Held every three years, the summit is used by India to discuss trade and investment opportunities with African leaders and to foster diplomatic relations.

At a time when African countries are looking eastward, shifting attention away from their traditional Western economic partners, and when Asia’s booming economies are rushing to invest in Africa, a shared history appears to help in boosting trade and investments between African and Indian “friends and families.”

A four-nation African tour by India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi in July 2016 (his first-ever), on the heels of President Pranab Mukharjee first-ever visit to the continent a month prior, is the
strongest signal yet of revived interest between “old friends.”

Data from the Indian government and the African Development Bank shows that bilateral trade between India and Africa rose from $1 billion in 1995 to $75 billion in 2015.

From 2010 to 2015, Nigeria was India’s largest trading partner in Africa with $1.6 billion export-import volume, followed by South Africa with $1.1 billion, while Kenya came third and Mozambique fourth.

Overall, since 2010, India’s exports to Africa have increased by 93% while imports rose by 28%, according to Africa-India: Facts & Figures 2015, a joint publication of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII). Africa’s share of India’s global exports rose from $17.9 billion in 2010 to $34.6 billion in 2015, according to the report.

With $64.2 billion from 2000 to 2012, Mauritius is by far the main destination for India’s foreign direct investment (FDI), according to a 2015 publication of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

Yet that amount, which represents three-quarters of India’s total FDI to Africa over the same period, is skewed because Mauritius is a tax haven for foreign investors, the report suggests. The sizable investments in Mauritius, the report says, are linked to American companies’ taking advantage of favourable fiscal rules to route their money through the country. They invest in India through Mauritian companies.

Private sector in the driving seat
India’s investments in Africa continue to expand. Bharti Airtel, the New Delhi-based giant telecommunications company, is an example of India’s extensive private-sector presence across the continent. The company has been the market leader in 18 African countries since it entered the market in 2010 after taking over operations from Kuwait’s Zain Telecom in a deal valued at more than $10 billion at the time. With over 76 million subscribers as of March 2015 and a workforce of about 5,000 people, Airtel is now the second-biggest telecom operator in Africa.

Tata Africa Holdings, with a base in Johannesburg, South Africa, is another highly recognizable Indian company in Africa. Its vehicles, including trucks, semi-trucks and public transportation buses, branded with its red-and-white logos, are common on African roads.

Tata Africa Holdings businesses go beyond vehicle assembly, however. Strongly present in 11 countries, it is also involved in information technology, chemicals, steel and engineering, hospitality, energy and mining. In 2016 the company declared investments in Africa in excess of $145 billion and a workforce of 1,500.

Other major Indian companies operating in Africa include ArcelorMittal (steel products and iron mining), Essar Steel (steel products), Coal India, Vedanta Resources (copper and other metals mining), Varun Industries (rare earth minerals), Jindal Steel and Power (steel and energy) and Apollo Tyres (tyre manufacturing and distribution).

On the other hand, India-bound investments from Africa are about $65.4 billion, according to Africa-India: Facts & Figures 2015. Most of the investments were by Mauritius-based companies, with South African multinational companies’ investments in infrastructure development, breweries and financial and insurance services accounting for less than $1 billion. But a South Africa-based Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS) report predicts African investments in India are likely to keep growing.

At the end of the 2015 India-Africa Forum Summit, Prime Minister Modi announced a $10 billion line of credit over the next five years for Indian companies wishing to invest in Africa. He also promised grant assistance of $600 million, to include an India-Africa Development Fund of $100 million, an India-Africa Health Fund of $10 million and 50,000 scholarships for African students in India over the same period.

Bolstering the links
If such announcements at the previous India-Africa summits in 2008 and 2011 are any indication, the line of credit and grant will support projects in many African countries. An earlier grant of $7.4 billion was geared toward 137 projects in 41 countries, the joint ECA-CII report pointed out, while another grant of $500 million funded capacity-building projects, including setting up specialized institutions, providing scholarships and training programmes, and implementing the Pan-African e-Network project. The e-network currently connects 48 African countries. In addition, in the past three years alone, 25,000 Africans have been trained or educated in India.

During a visit to Ghana in June this year, President Mukherjee said his African tour was part of a wider outreach and would be followed by Prime Minister Modi’s to more African countries. This, he reportedly said, meant: “Africa, we stand by you.” A month later, Mr. Modi visited Kenya, Mozambique, South Africa and Tanzania, where he signed several bilateral agreements with his hosts.

$34.6 billion is Africa’s share of India’s global exports in 2015

Outward FDI Stocks of India in Africa and the world

Source: Africa-India: Facts & Figures 2015
Development experts sum up the solution to Africa's socioeconomic and political problems in two words: good governance. If Africa's 54 countries practice good governance, these experts say, their economies will grow, poverty will be eliminated and the continent's 1.2 billion people will enjoy prosperity.

Accountability, transparency, responsibility, equity and the rule of law are some of the characteristics of good governance, according to the UN.

The African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), an instrument established by the African Union (AU) to promote political stability, economic growth and integration on the continent, explains what good governance entails. It begins with national constitutions reflecting the ideals of democracy.

Endless journey
Another aspect of good governance, according to the APRM, is effective electoral bodies that conduct free and fair elections, follow the rule of law and are pledged to accountability, separation of powers (particularly judicial independence) and the rights of women, children and vulnerable groups, including displaced persons and refugees.

Elements of good governance as described by the APRM and the UN are largely aspirational, which makes it difficult to identify fully when a country achieves good governance. Countries are tested by a self-assessment questionnaire.

“Good governance is an ideal which is difficult to achieve in its totality... Very few countries and societies have come close to achieving good governance in its totality,” says the UN.

What that means is that most countries can only strive to practise good governance. The UN, the World Bank, the AU and other bodies encourage countries and citizens to begin a good governance
journey, and many organizations, such as Transparency International (TI), the World Bank and Afrobarometer, periodically measure distances covered.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development launched by the UN in September 2015 also concentrates on good governance. Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16, for instance, focuses on the promotion of just, peaceful and inclusive societies, while SDG 5 calls for gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls.

Also, the AU’s Agenda 2063, a roadmap that emphasizes the importance to success of rekindling the passion for pan-Africanism—a sense of unity, self-reliance, integration and solidarity that was a highlight of Africa’s triumphs of the 20th century—consists of a set of seven aims, anchored on good governance, to transform the continent’s socioeconomic and political fortunes within 50 years.

Agenda 2063 Aspiration 3 envisions an “Africa of good governance, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law,” while Aspiration 6 envisions “an Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children.”

Most governments tout their policies as geared towards good governance; the policies are then evaluated by TI and other organizations to determine if actions match words.

Measuring performance

Transparency International’s 2015 index based on a corruption perception survey ranked Botswana as Africa’s best performer, at 28 out of 167 countries, followed by Cape Verde at 40. The poor performers were Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Angola, Libya and Guinea-Bissau.

Conflict countries performed poorly, which suggests that conflicts affect good governance practices. However, the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) differs with TI over the latter’s use of “perception” as an indicator of corruption. “No single indicator of corruption should be used,” says Carlos Lopes, the ECA’s executive secretary, in a foreword to the 2016 *African Governance Report IV*.

Assessments of corruption in Africa should also include information on the activities of international players involved in asset repatriation and money laundering, Mr. Lopes says.

Another watchdog instrument is the Ibrahim Index of African Governance, an annual assessment of the quality of governance in Africa. It consists of more than 90 indicators built up into 14 subcategories, four categories and one overall measurement of governance performance.

Its 2015 report ranked Mauritius as Africa’s best performer, followed by Cape Verde, Botswana, South Africa, Namibia, Seychelles and Ghana, in that order. Somalia, again, ranked the lowest, below South Sudan, the Central African Republic and Sudan.

Mauritius shows a connection between good governance and economic development. Globally, Mauritius is ranked 32 out of 189 countries in *Doing Business 2016: Measuring Regulatory Quality and Efficiency*, a flagship World Bank report.

63.8% is the percentage of parliamentary seats occupied by women in Rwanda as it leads the world in women’s parliamentary representation.

In 2013 Mauritius confirmed its reputation as an investment destination when it became the highest-ranked sub-Saharan African country on the World Economic Forum’s Global Competitiveness Index, having overtaken South Africa. The country even has a Ministry of Financial Services, Good Governance and Institutional Reforms that fights fraud and corruption and promotes good governance.

Tempering this positive picture is the charge leveled by the charity ActionAid that Mauritius is a tax haven for illicit financial flows.

Rwanda promotes women

Some African countries have posted impressive data on citizens’ political participation, especially women’s. With 51 out of 80 parliamentary seats occupied by women (63.8%), Rwanda leads the world in women’s parliamentary representation, according to a 2015 report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, a global organization of parliaments. Senegal comes fifth on the global scale, with women occupying 64 out of 150 seats (42.7%).

Democracy is the foundation of good governance, notes the AU, which, along with regional bodies such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), denies membership to undemocratic countries. After a military coup in Mali in March 2012 and in Guinea-Bissau a month later, ECOWAS suspended both countries’ membership in the regional community.

Despite setbacks in Mali and Guinea-Bissau, a 2012 study by the African Development Bank (AfDB) showed a decline of up to one-third in coup attempts in Africa. In the study covering the periods 1970–1989 (99 coup attempts) and 1990–2010 (67 coup attempts), the AfDB attributed the decrease—which can be interpreted as an increase in democratic practices—to a vocal civil society (particularly the involvement of young people and the middle class), a changing international environment (as foreign countries have less interest in Africa’s domestic affairs), and pressure from regional groupings such as ECOWAS (which has the power to impose sanctions on military regimes).

The journey continues

Nevertheless, a lack of free and fair elections can heat up domestic politics, often leading to violence. “Flawed elections, when passed as free, fair and credible, leave citizens with little choice than to agitate for regime change,” writes Emma Birikorang, a senior research fellow at the Accra-based Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre, in an article titled “Coups d’état in Africa: A Thing of the Past?” The training centre conducts research and training in conflict prevention, management and peacekeeping.

Rigged elections often entrench incumbents in countries where democracy is under attack. The Economist Intelligence Unit’s series of *Democracy Index* reports, published by *The Economist*, a UK-based publication, assesses countries on “electoral processes and pluralism, civil liberties, the functioning of government, political participation and political culture.” It

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The art of midwifing elections in Africa
Credible electoral bodies key to ensuring peace and stability
BY ZIPPORAH MUSAU

After Kenya’s election in 2013, a challenge by former Prime Minister Raila Odinga made its way through the courts.

Mr. Odinga challenged the outcome, claiming the election had been marred by massive failures in the electronic voter identification system, the tallying system and the results transmissions system. In an affidavit, the electoral commissioners termed him a “perennial loser.”

He lost the petition and the matter was quickly settled.

With the next general elections now set for August 2017, Kenya’s Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) has become a target for the opposition. Protestors were demanding that it be disbanded for lack of impartiality.

Because the entire nine-member commission is appointed by the president, opposition critics want a change in the composition of the IEBC. The powerful body oversees elections, ensures voter lists are up to date and supervises counting.

“The question is whether the current IEBC commissioners can be impartial in an electoral contest in which my party is a contestant,” said Mr. Odinga in a statement.

This is an example of the many conundrums electoral management bodies face in many parts of Africa. “Elections are about power. They designate who will control power and lead the community,” observes Arsène Bado, a political scientist and an associate researcher at the Centre de Recherche et d’Action pour la Paix in Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire. In some highly charged situations, he notes, an election may be the “perfect trigger for conflict and political violence.”

To avoid violent eruptions, African countries are now paying more attention to ensuring conditions that are conducive to credible and peaceful elections. They are keen on building credible election management bodies to act as cornerstones of the democratization process.

In West Africa, for example, elections are beginning to serve more purposes than simply determine which leaders are elected. They are emerging as tools of conflict prevention, according to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), an intergovernmental organization based in Stockholm, Sweden, that supports democratic reform.

In 2015’s hotly contested Nigerian presidential election between the People’s Democratic Party of incumbent President Goodluck Jonathan and the All Progressives Congress of Muhammadu Buhari, a former military ruler, many feared the worst. In Africa’s most populous nation, elections have always been marred by violence, often fueled by allegations of vote rigging.

Nigeria’s Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) managed to oversee what was generally acknowledged as free and fair elections. The INEC chairman, Attahiru Jega, after being forced to postpone the elections for six weeks, was under heavy pressure from politicians to resign but resisted.

A disputed election would have sparked violence in the country, with consequences for the whole West African region, where Nigeria remains an economic heavyweight. Alone, the country accounts for more than three-quarters of the region’s economy.

Analysts breathed a sigh of relief when Mr. Jonathan quickly accepted defeat, conceded and congratulated his opponent, President Buhari. Many hailed the development as “historic” for the country and for Africa.
For most African leaders, the challenge has always been to guarantee an electoral process that truly reflects the people’s choice, even if it is at the leaders’ own expense.

The role of electoral bodies
Students of government see elections as political processes rather than a one-day exercise. Effective electoral management bodies are expected to midwife an election, making sure it does not end in a stillbirth.

As public political spaces gradually open across Africa, more and more citizens are using the new avenues to speak out for political, economic and social rights, and to demand greater accountability from their governments, including regular free and fair elections. Such elections require an impartial electoral management body that respects ethnic diversity to build public confidence in electoral processes and ensures transparency, integrity and fairness to all parties involved.

“In order for an electoral management body to operate efficiently and effectively, it must be staffed with individuals who are competent and have skills to manage elections in a fair and credible manner,” says John Mukum Mbaku of the Brookings Institution's Africa Growth Initiative, a US-based think tank.

At the very least, Mr. Mbaku notes, a credible electoral management body should be granted five things: decisional independence to decide freely, institutional independence to perform its functions without undue interference from the government, adequate resources, a system of accountability, and a procedure civil society can use to file complaints against members of the electoral body for illegal or unethical conduct.

In addition, there should be an impartial disciplinary system that allows for a range of sanctions against wrongdoing and abuses by electoral commissioners and staff members, including removal from office.

“The electorate ought to be adequately informed of voter rights and obligations, date and procedures of the elections, political party or candidate options available, and above all, the importance of citizens participating in the exercise,” notes the National Democratic Institute, a Washington, D.C.-based nonprofit organization that works with governments worldwide to strengthen and expand democracy.

This is important because elections and political transitions have been among the threats to peace and security in Africa in the last 20 years, according to the African Union (AU). Incidents on the actual voting day can trigger political violence, conflict or sometimes full-blown wars.

The Brookings Institution lists Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe as some of the countries where elections have aggravated societal divisions and political violence. Divided societies, including war-torn areas, can become “dangerous places” if elections are held, they say.

In response to these emerging threats to peace and security on the continent, the AU Commission created the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit to coordinate the participation of the AU in observing elections, while providing technical and electoral assistance to election management bodies of member states.

Electoral bodies are expected to midwife an election, political processes rather than a one-day event, can trigger political violence, conflict or sometimes full-blown wars. The Brookings Institution lists Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe as some of the countries where elections have aggravated societal divisions and political violence. Divided societies, including war-torn areas, can become “dangerous places” if elections are held, they say.

In Africa, the UN, EU and regional bodies, such as the Southern African Development Community, the Economic Community of West African States and the East African Community, frequently send election monitors to member states.

Additionally, the Electoral Assistance Division of the UN Department of Political Affairs provides technical assistance to help countries build credible and sustainable national electoral systems. More than 100 countries have requested and received UN election assistance since the division’s creation in 1991.

The division assists with electoral administration and planning, review of electoral laws and regulations, electoral dispute resolution, voter registration, election budgeting, logistics, procurement of election materials, use of technology, training of election officials and election security, among other aspects of the election process.

So far Africa has made progress, considering the long and treacherous path that electoral management bodies have had to navigate, experts say. This is particularly so given that at independence, African countries inherited quasi-autonomous bodies that had been tightly controlled by successive regimes using them as instruments to retain power.

“From the 1960s to the 1990s, a combination of weak electoral management bodies, legislature and judiciary versus a strong executive was fatal for electoral governance and democracy in most countries,” notes the African Governance Report 2013 published by the UN Development Programme and the UN Economic Commission for Africa. However, social movements and civil society pushed for political and constitutional reforms that ensured electoral bodies would improve.

Such improvements notwithstanding, electoral bodies still face challenges in conducting free and fair democratic elections, and some countries continue to experience flawed elections that, according to the report, are made so by electoral maladministration, manipulations and mismanagement.

For Africa’s emerging democracies, the main challenge to assembling credible electoral bodies is ensuring their independence, especially as regards appointing and removing electoral commissioners and managing ethnic diversity, funding, executive interference and negative perceptions of the body.

Other concerns include how to manage electoral bodies’ power over political parties, the professionalism and powers of the electoral bodies, the role of stakeholders as partners, electoral dispute adjudication, security for elections, and elections’ steep costs, according to the African Governance Report.

However, countries in Africa can address these concerns by enshrining the electoral bodies in constitutions or other statutory provisions.

Fortunately, in the last two decades, countries have been working round the clock to resuscitate, redesign and reorganize election management bodies to ensure operational and financial independence, professionalism, transparency and impartiality so that they can contribute to the integrity of elections, says IDEA.

Most electoral bodies in Africa have been rated fair in their performance by the UN, with Ghana, Mauritius, Seychelles and South Africa showing the best ratings for their democratic institutions.
When a survey on corruption was carried out in Ghana two years ago, more than 8 out of every 10 Ghanaians (85%) said judges and magistrates were some of the most corrupt public officials in the country.

On top of the list was the police (89%), while national government officials (86%) came second. The judiciary tied for third place with the Ghana Revenue Authority. The survey was conducted by Afrobarometer, an independent, nonpartisan network that conducts public opinion surveys in Africa.

A local journalist, Anas Aremeyaw Anas, showed that the judiciary’s high ranking was justified. He conducted an explosive undercover investigation into corruption within the judiciary, which exposed judges accepting bribes to either throw out cases or pass lower sentences.

Mr. Anas’s findings were aired on national TV in a two-hour investigative report featuring hidden camera footage, the result of two years of investigation. These recordings riveted the nation, and Ghanaians were outraged as they looked at grainy images of judges and other judicial officers accepting money or food, including a goat in one instance, in exchange for favours from the bench.

Long-held suspicion
“Justice has been wounded,” Ghana’s chief justice Georgina Theodora Wood commented a few days after the release of the incriminating footage. She said the exposé had “cast a dark shadow on the legal community as a whole, its services, its people and its credibility” and deepened long-held suspicions about the legal profession in general.

The role of the judiciary is to enforce the law and hold public officials accountable. Scandals like the one in Ghana highlight the structural weaknesses in the judiciary in many sub-Saharan African countries.

According to anti-corruption activists, the lack of judicial independence from the executive is one of the root causes of a judiciary’s inability to uphold the law. The findings of the 2016 Africa Integrity Indicators report produced by Global Integrity, an organization that promotes transparency and accountability around the world, showed that judicial independence is not guaranteed in about half of the 54 African countries.

Global Integrity data is also used to compile the annual Ibrahim Index of African Governance, a project of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation that collects data for every African country and ranks them according to how well they adhere to principles of good governance.

“We looked at whether there are influences [over the judiciary] from other branches of the government,” Sun-Min Kim, a manager at Global Integrity, told Africa Renewal. “But since judicial independence is such a broad concept, our indicators have tried to specifically assess the appointment process, for example, and the...
degree of autonomy of judges in giving rulings, whether or not the rulings were justified and if they were made public.”

In some cases judges, magistrates and prosecutors may be beholden to political interests when their careers are controlled by the executive branch. In Cameroon, for instance, the president chairs the highest judicial body, the Superior Council of Magistracy, which, among other things, oversees judicial appointments. In some parts of Africa, the president might have the final say in who gets selected for higher courts.

Appointments sanctioned by the president of a country tend to be determined by political loyalty rather than merit. When such appointees fill the judiciary, experts argue the likelihood of a government being held accountable is diminished and the door is left open to all kinds of influence, including political pressure, threats and bribery.

Even when the independence of the judiciary may be formally and legally guaranteed, the risk of interference is still present. In Angola, for example, Judge Joaquim de Abreu Cangato, a long-time official of the ruling party apparently with no judicial background, was appointed in March 2000 to the country’s supreme court, according to the Committee to Protect Journalists 2016 report. This was despite the fact that judicial independence is enshrined in the country’s law.

Of the 54 African countries surveyed by Global Integrity, 11% have a “completely independent” judiciary, while 30% are “not completely independent”. Among those found completely independent were Botswana, Cape Verde, Mauritius and South Africa.

Checks and balances

Some African countries have made significant progress in ensuring judicial independence. Botswana’s judiciary, for example, “is generally considered independent despite concerns over the president’s unfettered power to appoint high-level judges,” says Marie Terracol, the programme coordinator on whistleblowing at Transparency International, an anti-corruption watchdog. However, Amnesty International has raised concern over President Ian Khama’s suspension this year of four high court judges.

South Africa has a mixed record when it comes to judicial independence. The recent ruling by the Constitutional Court, the country’s highest judicial body, upholding corruption allegations against President Jacob Zuma, was internationally hailed as a sign of the judiciary’s independence, wrote The Guardian, a British newspaper.

“The President has failed to uphold, defend and respect the constitution as the supreme law of the land,” a unanimous court found earlier this year, after President Zuma and his government failed to comply with the recommendations of the public protector, Thuli Madonsela, to repay public money spent upgrading the president’s private home.

Slow progress

In 2011, Mogoeng Mogoeng, South Africa’s chief justice, was appointed by President Zuma over then deputy chief justice Dikgang Ernest Moseke, who was widely viewed as having been more experienced and better qualified. Civil society organisations and opposition parties opposed the appointment, claiming that the executive was trying to stifle the independence of the court and possibly skew its decisions in its favour. But as the South African Constitutional Court decision showed, judiciary appointments, even by politicians, do not always tie judges’ hands.

For its part, Cape Verde, generally considered one of Africa’s strongest democracies, appoints its judges and magistrates through a selection process based on merit.

In 2007, when many African countries were planning judicial reforms, Transparency International looked at corruption in judicial systems in its annual global corruption report, focussing on political interference and bribery involving court personnel. It recommended greater transparency, fair court processes, training of court officials and greater involvement of the civil society.

Some African countries have made significant progress in ensuring judicial independence.
Unleashing the power of Africa's civil society

BY KINGSLEY IGHOBOR

A Liberian women’s peace movement led by 31-year-old Leymah Gbowee did something extraordinary in July 2003 to force Liberian warlords to sign a peace agreement that ended 10 years of a bloody civil war.

After months of fruitless negotiations, hundreds of women, members of Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, gathered at the venue of the peace talks in Accra, Ghana, and sat at the entrance to the conference hall. They looped their hands and vowed to stop the warlords from leaving the venue until they had reached a peace agreement.

Security guards attempted to arrest Ms. Gbowee for obstruction, but she was not about to go without a fight. “Let me make it easy for you,” she told the guards. “I am going to strip naked, right now, and you can take me to jail.” As she began to undress, the security guards ran away. In Liberian and Ghanaian cultures, it is a taboo for men to see a naked woman in public.

Soon after, the warlords and rebels softened their positions and signed a peace agreement. United Nations peacekeepers later disarmed and reintegrated more than 100,000 combatants and conducted general elections.

Mostly for her efforts in mobilizing women to help end the war, Ms. Gbowee (and Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf) bagged the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize.

Civil society as watchdogs

The Liberian women’s struggle and ultimate success suggest the potential power of civil society in Africa. Civil society has provided an opening for youth seeking employment opportunities and democratic reforms in many countries, as in Liberia and in the countries of the Arab Spring in 2010 and 2011, when young people organized themselves on social media and utilized civil disobedience that unseated the governments in Tunisia and Egypt. A wave of unrest followed in Algeria, Jordan and Yemen, among others.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) also function as watchdogs of accountability. In 2013, Kenyan citizens were so angered by an effort by members of parliament to increase their own salaries and allowances that they brought about a dozen blood-soaked pigs and piglets to parade in front of the parliament building.

Boniface Mwangi, a photojournalist-turned-activist and organizer of the Occupy Parliament march, referred to the MPs as “Mpigs,” highlighting the parliamentarians’ unprincipled appetite for money. “We have spilled the blood on the pigs to show that the MPs are greedy,” said Mr. Mwangi.

A study by the UK-based Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority and the International Monetary Fund revealed that Kenyan MP’s basic pay was 76 times that of the country’s GDP per capita. That gap is second only to Nigeria’s in global ranking. This buttressed CSOs’ opposition to the pay raise. After the “bloody pigs” spectacle, the MPs accepted $6,300 per month instead of the $10,000 they had initially requested. Even President Uhuru Kenyatta directed the salaries commission to slash his salary from $340,000 to $185,000 per annum.

Flexing muscles

The Kenyan CSOs declared victory, although some Kenyans saw the result as insufficient. “Slashing the salaries of MPs or that of the president is just a drop in the ocean,” said Verah Okeyo, an award-winning Kenyan journalist, in an interview with Africa Renewal. “The wage bill is still too high. The MPs make the news, but civil society still has a lot to do to make government accountable.”

The World Bank lists the key elements of good governance as open access to information, efficient public-sector management and the adoption and implementation of policies that benefit citizens, among others. Nongovernmental organizations and community- or faith-based organizations, among other groups, usually find themselves forced to adopt a confrontational approach to make governments enact policies that benefit the citizenry.

The Arab Spring involved citizens ...
mobilising to demand social justice, free elections, and the reform or replacement of autocratic governments. Grassroots movements such as Y'en a Marre (We've Had Enough) in Senegal, Le Balal Citoyen (the Citizen’s Broom) in Burkina Faso, and the Black Monday Movement in Uganda took their cue from the Arab Spring, employing citizen action to achieve good governance.

In a collection of essays titled *Good Governance and Civil Society Participation in Africa*, published by the Addis Ababa-based Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa in 2009, civil society’s oppositional role is viewed as an effective strategy for dealing with intransigent governments.

Governments with enormous powers to control the socioeconomic life of citizens are feeling greater pushback from civil society. Also, as democracy takes root across the continent, civil society organizations are more openly playing their watchdog role.


The 2014 *CSO Sustainability Index for Sub-Saharan Africa*, developed by the US Agency for International Development (USAID), commends CSOs for performing a vital function in providing services and materials to needy populations. In contrast to the varied attitudes of authorities towards advocacy organizations, nearly all surveyed countries reported that governments generally recognize and approve of CSOs’ service-providing role.

Many CSOs in Africa partner with governments on development issues. In March 2015, for example, 60 participants, including representatives of African governments and CSOs from across the continent focusing on good governance, met in Addis Ababa and agreed to jointly fight corruption on the continent.

However, there are CSOs, such as Burkina Faso’s Le Balal Citoyen, that work to expose ills in society and are reluctant to work with governments. Some governments criticize such CSOs as focusing on bad situations to attract foreign funding.

These governments perceive CSOs as “foreign-funded agents of the opposition.” That was an opinion heard at the US-Africa Leaders’ Summit, organised by President Barack Obama and the White House and held in Washington DC, in August 2014 for African heads of state and government in good standing with the US, as well as African and US business leaders, and private-sector and nonprofit organizations.

**Funding dependency**

Egypt and Morocco, for example, forbid CSOs from engaging in “political activities,” according to a USAID report titled *CSO Sustainability Index for the Middle East and North Africa*. Without a clear definition of what political activities are, activists fear arbitrary enforcement of laws that restrict civil society activities.

In short, African CSOs face the twin challenges of inadequate funding and hostile governments. This has led some donors to work directly with CSOs instead of governments. Andris Piebalgs, a former European Commissioner for Development, says that between 2007 and 2013, the EU funneled €5 billion ($5.5 billion) of its development aid to Africa through CSOs.

CSOs can receive significant amounts of funding depending on their areas of focus, says Ms. Okeyo, the Kenyan journalist. CSOs dealing with health and social issues such as HIV/AIDS, reproductive health and the rights of women usually get more funding than others, she added.

Inadequately funded CSOs lack independence and financial sustainability, says Lars Benson, senior programme officer for Africa at the Centre for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), a non-profit, private sector organization that provides financial support in the form of grants to non-government business organizations.

One way for CSOs to achieve financial independence is for donors to move away from funding grant-specific activities and instead shift to a model of investing to create local trust funds that will sustain organizations, suggests Natalie Ross, former programme officer at the Aga Khan Foundation USA, which funds African CSOs involved in poverty-alleviation activities.

Benson cites the example of the Voice of Addis Chamber, a radio station in Ethiopia that received seed money from CIPE but is now able to sustain itself through advertisements and private sponsorships.

Some CSOs are successfully sourcing funds locally, notes USAID. In Egypt, the Gozour Foundation for Development, which supports poor communities, receives funding from Egyptian banks — Barclays and Commercial International Bank. Other faith-based organizations, including the Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (CEOSS), which promotes social justice and intercultural harmony, and Caritas Internationalis, a global confederation of over 160 national Catholic charities that supports poverty-alleviation efforts, also depend, to some extent, on local funding.

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**As democracy takes root across the continent, civil society organizations are more openly playing their watchdog role.**

Other income-generating avenues available to CSOs are membership and services fees and the sale of products such as carpentry, prints or crafts.

Despite the successes of the Voice of Addis, Caritas and others in gaining local funding, CSOs still need external help, says Flora Oyakhilome, the community mobilization officer at the at Edo State Agency for the Control of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. “It is difficult getting support locally, most civil society organizations will tell you. And funding from abroad is not coming like before. Our work is suffering.”

Faced with sometimes hostile governments and with foreign funding drying up, African civil society groups are battling to survive the tough times. But they will continue to strive to improve their societies. “This is what we live for,” says Ms. Oyakhilome.
A new era for African media

Enter digital media with tweets, blogs and a plethora of new voices

BY ZIPPORAH MUSAU

The advent of digital media has turned the media landscape upside down. The news cycle moves at lightning speed, thanks to live tweeting, blogging and citizen journalism, all unknown just a few years ago.

Fibre optics have revolutionized the telecommunications industry, the Internet is getting cheaper and faster and more communities are logging on, even in remote areas in Africa. More people use their smartphones to receive digital content than ever before.

To remain accessible, conventional media practitioners in Africa are adapting to a new media world that is time-sensitive and more interactive. Advocacy journalism, in particular, is growing exponentially—bloggers and citizen journalists are mobilizing for various causes, including good governance.

Although a lot has changed in media technology and operations over the last 15 years, society still looks to the media to play its traditional role—to inform, educate and entertain.

In Africa the media plays an even more critical role, that of deepening and institutionalizing democracy. Citizens need to be informed as nations take on new responsibilities in a globalized world.

“Media plays an important role in building an informed society. Citizens need credible information from a media that can skillfully moderate debate and provoke meaningful conversations that can lead to transforming Africa,” says Eric Chinje, chief executive officer of the African Media Initiative (AMI), a Nairobi-based pan-African organization that seeks to strengthen the continent’s media.

To play its role effectively, according to Mr. Chinje, the media must see itself as instrumental to ensuring and improving the quality of life in society.

“Journalists see themselves as watchdogs. Instead, I see the media as a leader. Watchdogs just sit down and watch, but a leader stands up and leads. You have to walk and work,” Mr. Chinje said in an interview with Africa Renewal.

Africa needs journalism that innovates and supports innovation in a modernizing continent, he says, one that not only grows, but promotes growth and the development of society. It needs journalism that not only generates the ideas that are the engine of social transformation, but also moderates the debates that emerge from these societal changes.

This year, the link between media freedom and sustainable development was emphasized during World Press Freedom Day on 3 May, following the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by world leaders.

“The importance of free and independent media to inform the citizens of the world is crucial to the achievement of the SDGs,” said Irina Bokova, the director-general of UNESCO, adding that at this time of turbulence and change across the world, including new challenges that require global cooperation and action, people need readable, reliable and independent information.

“Free and independent media...is very instrumental in cleaning up corruption and enhancing bureaucratic accountability,” says John Mukum Mbaku, a senior fellow at the US-based Brookings Institution’s Africa Growth Initiative — a group that conducts policy research and analysis to help achieve sustainable economic development in Africa.
“Investigative reports about corruption not only inform the public about venality in the public sector but can also force the government to take action to improve efficiency in the public sector and enhance economic growth and development,” Mr. Mbaku told Africa Renewal.

In Nigeria, for example, during the 2015 presidential election, the media helped the opposition carry its message to the people and stepped up in forcing government accountability. In Ghana, an investigative journalist, Anas Aremeyaw Anas, has broken dozens of stories of corruption and organized crime.

The increase in investigative stories exposing corruption in many other countries across the continent, even those with authoritarian regimes, has helped put governments on their toes. In Kenya, North Africa, and South Africa the media have been notably vocal in keeping the citizens informed and exposing ills facing society.

Still, Mr. Chinje thinks a lot more needs to be done: “We see a few cases, far between, of the right stuff. Once in a while, one can spot one or two good stories, but that is not enough to light up the profession.”

The media itself needs to engage in capacity building, he says, which the AMI is trying to bring to the continent through training.

“Media technology has changed, but the thinking among the editors has not changed. Politically, socially, the populations, everything around us has changed, but the media has not rethought its purpose in a changing Africa,” says Mr. Chinje. He proposes greater debate and awareness among the media themselves so they can “rediscover” their informational role in society.

While few dispute media’s importance in society, the numerous challenges they face in Africa threaten to reverse the gains made so far.

Digital media were welcomed across the continent, but technological adaptation to new media technology continues to pose a major challenge in many media houses. Unreliable Internet connectivity and outdated equipment mean that journalists have no access to the critical tools of their trade, or must make do with inadequate systems in a digital world, which may hinder their work.

However, according to Mr. Chinje, the biggest challenge for journalists in Africa is a lack of capacity to do their work effectively. “You cannot inform if you are not informed,” he says, adding that many of them lack training in interpreting complex information, including data that needs skilled interpretation.

Media organizations across the continent, lacking an independent funding source, have historically struggled with financing shortfalls. This is partly because the majority depends on capricious government advertising to stay afloat. Any small criticism could result in the cancellation of adverts worth thousands of dollars. In many countries the government or its agencies are the biggest advertisers.

While governments seek favourable media coverage, often sending out self-serving press releases that tout the good job they are doing in governing the country, journalists are obliged to look for the cracks and contradictions in these messages.

Traditional media (newspapers, TV, radio) in Africa and worldwide are also losing revenue streams as readers and listeners shift toward free digital content. As audiences migrate to other news venues, traditional media’s influence and, by extension, advertising revenues diminish.

As a result of media’s newfound courageous voice and anticorruption exposés, press freedom is in jeopardy in Africa, with the media being increasingly targeted for restraint or even shut down in some countries.

Nigeria, for example, tried unsuccessfully this year to enact a vaguely worded social media bill that suggested draconian punishments for saying the wrong things online. Chad, Congo Brazzaville and Uganda blocked social media during elections, and the move was contemplated even in such professed democratic countries as Ghana.

In Liberia, the government this year shut down the privately owned Voice FM. In 2015, journalists were killed on the job in five countries—the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Somalia and South Sudan. Whether from government, armed groups or terrorists, threats and attacks on journalists make it risky for them to do their work.

As the digital media world expands, new challenges have emerged. Without editorial oversight, information is unchecked and rumours gain credence over truth. Tales of corruption and other gaffs by public officials spread like wildfire on the Internet, making governments even more reluctant to give press interviews than they ever were.

Apart from government censorship, which makes it difficult for various African media outlets to perform their jobs effectively, Mr. Mbaku says that they grapple with poor or non-existent infrastructure for printing and distributing newspapers, poor Internet connectivity and inadequate preparation of media workers.

**Way forward**

To build better strategies and survive the turbulence, media providers need to adapt to the demands of their society.

The most crucial survival strategy for Africa’s media is to migrate to cell phones and the Internet, and to generate content in local languages so it is accessible to a majority of citizens. Except for a few media outlets in North Africa that publish in Arabic and a few around East Africa that publish in Swahili, most media in Africa use English, French, Spanish or Portuguese—all European languages. This means news content may not easily be accessible to the majority of citizens, who are not literate in these languages.

The media and government in many African countries may be at loggerheads, yet the media is considered the “fourth estate” after the three arms of government—the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. “Government and media are two sides of the same coin. If they fight they destroy the coin,” remarks Mr. Chinje. “The government brings policy and the media should bring information about those policies to enrich the ideas and improve their implementation for the good of society.”

African governments need to enable the media to function effectively as an instrument of development and peaceful coexistence. This, according to Mr. Mbaku, can be accomplished by constitutionally guaranteeing press freedom and removing many of the bottlenecks, such as government censorship, that have constrained the ability of the press to carry out its mission effectively and unhindered.
Let's close gap between humanitarian needs and resources
— Stephen O’Brien

Stephen O’Brien is the United Nations under-secretary-general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator. In May 2016 in Istanbul, Turkey, he oversaw the first ever global humanitarian summit where representatives of 173 countries, as well as NGOs, the private sector and civil society, met to chart a new path for global humanitarian assistance. In this interview with Africa Renewal's Franck Kuwonu, Mr. O’Brien shares his thoughts on the summit.

Africa Renewal: What is your overall assessment of the humanitarian summit? Did the UN achieve its goals?
O’Brien: It really was a gathering with high energy and it exceeded all expectations; it delivered concrete outcomes. I am delighted that it has enabled us to secure the political will to move forward.

Ahead of the summit you said the world’s humanitarian needs were too big and needed to be lessened. How big are these needs and to what extent were they addressed at the summit?
Every humanitarian need is defined by every single human being in need. In total there are about 100 million to 135 million people in the world today who are in need. That number would be the population of about the 11th- or 12th-largest country in the world, which is Japan. These people have no flag, they have no state. They have little money. They are in the most vulnerable and challenging of circumstances. So it is really important to have in mind that the growth of those in need cannot be met by the amount of resources available now. That gap has to be addressed. Either we reduce the needs or we increase the amount of available resources or we do both.

Which option is more likely?
We should aim to do both because even if we reduce the number of conflicts in the world, there will still be increases in humanitarian needs. I’m referring to Syria or Iraq or Yemen or South Sudan today. Eighty percent of the world’s humanitarian needs are caused by man-made conflicts. So the more we can stop or resolve conflicts the better.

One way to lessen the humanitarian burden, it’s often suggested, is to prevent conflicts before they arise or to quickly resolve them once they happen. The summit recognized that political will is key to effectively preventing and ending conflicts. Is political will alone enough?
The most difficult thing in any meeting is to generate will. But unlike most summits, where one is seeking to generate money, this summit was designed to generate the political will to take forward the agenda for humanity set out in the UN Secretary-General’s report in advance of the summit. So we have a real plan to meet the needs of the most vulnerable people.

At the summit, there was also talk about ensuring greater respect for human rights and humanitarian law. One critical question is: How could greater respect
for human rights and humanitarian law impact the humanitarian situation?

You have to start somewhere, and one of the main things you start with is will. We know that often these laws are violated with impunity. We need to make sure that impunity is stopped. And to do that we need the will of those who have signed up to those obligations to make sure that these violations are exposed and, where appropriate, punished.

Now that the summit is over, what has really changed for a refugee in a Syrian

camp or somewhere in Europe, or in South Sudan, Mali, Niger or Chad?

First of all, you will recognize that the world came together to put humanitarian affairs front and centre of attention. Second, you will recognize that really specific things can happen at a summit, such as making sure that we have the commitment and the funds for education and emergency. Often it is the children of displaced people who get no education. We also saw a charter for those living with disabilities adopted to make sure that they also have humanitarian assistance that is highly responsive to their needs. So these are some of the concrete items which came out. These are important interventions for anyone currently in need of humanitarian assistance. Note that, post-summit, there is a commitment to make the necessary changes to meet needs that are not currently being met.

How soon would those commitments materialize into concrete action?

I am hoping that in the next few weeks or months, we will have champions to lead the charge to make the changes necessary to deliver better on our commitments to humanitarian action. We should expect to see a real shift in the quality and the quantity of the humanitarian aid that we are able to give. We will be able to work much better together along with our development partners and with the whole of what is now being called an ecosystem—beyond the UN family, including others who make significant contributions to humanitarian actions.

The UN secretary-general said he was disappointed Western leaders failed to show up. Yet most of their countries are major financial contributors to humanitarian responses. Did their absence affect the outcome of the summit?

I don’t think it did, because we had 173 countries out of the 193 UN-recognized countries who attended. Fifty-five heads of state and government attended. We were very pleased that Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, representing the G7 countries, was able to attend and to make a very significant contribution. Indeed, she articulated much of the thinking that has led Germany to be so generous in taking in so many refugees in recent times.

Delivering timely assistance to populations in need requires money, yet funding requests are rarely met in full. How is it that in the face of human suffering it appears there is not enough generosity to save lives?

I genuinely believe that the world’s citizens believe in giving humanitarian support to those gravely in need, wherever they are, whoever they are and however their need has arisen. But, of course, even with the increased generosity of the world in support of humanitarian action, we find that the gap has grown wider because the needs are getting much more exponential. Whilst the world is generous, its generosity is not sufficient to meet the needs, so we need to be very careful to do what we can to close that gap. Which is why reducing the demand is as important as trying to raise the resources available.

The summit appears to have agreed on a “Grand Bargain.” What does that mean, and how will it work?

That is primarily a sort of informal conversation that took place among a number of donors, representatives of those who were interested, the United Nations family of humanitarian providers, and other agencies or entities such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. In exchange for greater efficiency, effectiveness and transparency with available resources, we should expect multi-year financing.

According to the secretary-general, the summit was a turning point, not an end point. What are the next milestones?

As we were making preparations for the summit and bringing people together, with 9,000 registrants, I said that it would be a departure point—a turning point. It turned out to be more than that; it turned out to be an accelerator of ambition and determination to deliver better for the people of the world who have needs and for those who are able to deliver for those needs. And so the secretary-general was of course right. It is a turning point. It has helped sharpen not only our attention and the awareness of these needs but also our ability and our moral imperative to seek to meet those needs. And that’s why, as we move forward, we will need to measure very carefully all those who make commitments to action to deliver on the agenda for humanity, which is set out in the secretary-general’s report.
Africa after Brexit
African economies may be severely affected by Britain’s exit

BY AMELIA TAN

By 6:30 a.m. on 24 June, less than 12 hours after a successful referendum on Brexit (Britain’s exit from the European Union), South Africa’s currency, the rand, took the first blow. It plunged by almost 8% from R14.33 to R15.45 against the US dollar, its steepest single-day decline since the 2008 financial crisis.

Brexit sent shock waves through the global markets, including those in Africa.

Investors in African markets panicked because many economies (such as Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zambia) were already reeling from low commodity prices exacerbated by a sluggish global demand. In these countries, Brexit added salt to the wounds of injured economies.

On what happens next, experts are uncertain, and African governments may need to redefine their trade and diplomatic relations with a post-Brexit Britain and Europe.

Trade and investment will be affected most by Brexit. Most of the trade arrangements the UK has with African countries were negotiated through the EU. This means the agreements will cease to apply or will have to be renegotiated when the UK finally leaves the EU, a process that will take two years from the time it officially informs the EU of its intention to pull out.

It will be a difficult time for Africa, as the UK will no longer shape and lead some of the most important initiatives on the African continent that form the basis of co-operation between Europe and the continent. Trade agreements often take considerable time to hash out, and the uncertainty of the intervening period could complicate exports to the UK.

The emerging markets and frontier asset markets will be affected too. South Africa, a former British colony and one of Africa’s advanced economies, could be hardest hit, among others.

In short, South Africa’s economy suffers whenever the British economy slumps. Many South African companies are listed on both the Johannesburg and London stock exchanges, and several South African banks depend on British cash reserves. Since the country exports 10% of its wines to the UK, for instance, the industry is already bracing for future losses.

Impact on trade
South Africa, the UK’s largest African trading partner, will bear the brunt of Brexit.

When Brexit takes effect, considering that the UK is South Africa’s eighth-largest import and export market in global terms, according to 2015 data, South Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP) could shrink by 0.1%, setting the economy on a downward spiral, predict Raymond Parsons and Wilma Viviers, professors at South Africa’s North-West University. “Slower economic growth as a result of potentially weaker trade and investment ties with traditional overseas markets means less job creation and yet higher unemployment.”

Brexit will cost Britain’s GDP a cumulative drop of 2.75 percentage points in the coming 18 months, say Jan Hatzius and Sven Jari Stehn, economists working with the investment bank Goldman Sachs.

Larry Fink, chairman of the world’s largest asset management firm, BlackRock,
predicts that the GDP could fall to as low as -1%, effectively a recession, described by economists as two consecutive quarters of negative growth. Analyst agree, noting that Brexit could lead to a slowdown in trade with the EU, lower investor confidence and high unemployment.

This is not good news for South Africa and Britain’s other African top trading partners, particularly Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt.

**Nigeria**

After South Africa, Nigeria is Britain’s second-largest African market, with Kenya coming third.

Before Brexit, bilateral trade between Nigeria, Africa’s largest economy, and Britain was worth about £6 billion ($7.9 billion), and had been projected to reach £20 billion ($26.6 billion) by 2020. With Brexit, that projection looks overly optimistic.

Nigeria is grappling with falling oil prices, its main income source. Crude chemicals and allied materials make up almost a quarter of Nigeria’s trade with Britain. A potential drop in oil demand coupled with low oil prices could dim the Nigerian economy’s prospects for recovery.

Tunji Andrews, a Lagos-based economist, says Nigeria cannot rely on the EU to make up for the shortfall in earnings if the British economy goes into a recession.

The International Monetary Fund announced in July that Brexit will likely plunge the Nigerian economy into a recession this year, shrinking by 1.8% from the earlier 2.3% growth projection. British government statistics show that foreign direct investments in Africa doubled between 2005 and 2014, from £20.8 billion ($27.6 billion) to £42.5 billion ($56.5 billion).

**Kenya**

Kenya, Britain’s third largest market in Africa, could witness capital flight after Brexit, leading to falling exports. This would weaken the Kenyan shilling and make imports more expensive for a country that has already seen a 10% increase in import bills in the past five years.

Kenya’s lucrative cut flower industry, for which Britain is the second-largest export market after the Netherlands, could suffer. A trade deal on flower exports between the East African country and the EU was in the works before Brexit.

If a trade deal between the East African Community and the EU is stalled by Brexit, Kenya stands to lose billions of shillings, which could lead to uncertainty for Kenyan exports.

Kenya will now have to negotiate separate deals with Britain and the EU—a potentially difficult task. Without such deals, Kenya may lose up to 4 billion Kenyan shillings ($39 million) a month, predicts the Kenya Flowers Association, which represents flower businesses in the country.

The direct impact on trade aside, Brexit is expected to affect British development aid to Africa. Britain contributed about £409 million ($543 million), or 14.8%, to the European Development Fund (EDF)’s 2014 budget, which the EU uses to support development in poor countries. Without Britain’s contribution, the EDF will have less money, and this will affect EU-funded projects, including road construction projects in countries like Tanzania.

Britain can directly finance projects in Africa through its international aid programmes, such as the Department for International Development, but it can only support a small number of countries, says Kevin Watkins, a Brookings Institution non-resident senior fellow.

A limping British economy with a potentially weakened currency may not continue the current level of assistance to countries such as Ethiopia and Sierra Leone that rely heavily on British aid. In 2014, for example, Britain provided £238 million ($416 million) in aid to Sierra Leone, which was 6.8% of the country’s economy, according to the World Bank. That same year, Ethiopia received £322 million ($425 million), 0.8% of Ethiopia’s economy.

Besides exports and international aid, a sluggish British economy may slow remittances by the African diaspora in Britain. Remittances provide a much-needed cash injection into African economies. In 2014, for example, Nigerian immigrants in Britain remitted $3.7 billion, the most among African immigrants.

**Prospects for change**

Despite fears that Brexit could dislocate African economies, some experts see positive developments for countries like Libya and Zimbabwe, currently under EU sanctions championed by Britain, according to The Herald, a Zimbabwean daily. With Brexit, the EU might be encouraged to review these sanctions and possibly re-engage with these countries.

“Britain will be able to focus more on our bilateral relationships with Africa and with our traditional partners and to really look at Africa for its needs rather than looking at it through the prism of the EU, that is an outdated model that may have fit in the 1970s but is wholly inappropriate now for the UK or a wholly inappropriate way to define the UK-Africa relationship,” says James Duddridge, a former British minister for Africa and a Brexit supporter, in an interview with Radio France Internationale. Without the EU, he said, ties between Britain and Africa will get stronger.

Earlier this year, Mr. Duddridge criticised the EU’s decision to reduce funding for the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which is helping to bring peace to that country. The decision was against Britain’s wishes, he says, adding that Britain could in the future decide to deploy its own troops to Somalia.

The good news is that Africa can actually seek assistance elsewhere. Africa’s trade with Europe, estimated at €106 billion (US$116.6 billion) in 2016, has been eclipsed by China’s. Worth an estimated $300 billion, China is Africa’s top trading partner currently.

The World Bank confirms that China became sub-Saharan Africa’s “most important export partner” by 2013, accounting for 27% of the region’s exports “compared with 23% for the EU and 21% for the US.” Although at 9%, sub-Saharan Africa’s exports to India are the fastest-growing globally.

With China, the US, Brazil, India and others strengthening their relations with Africa, the continent could look elsewhere if its ties with Britain or the EU get complicated in a post-Brexit era.

For Africa, therefore, it’s probably premature to press the panic button. 📈
Pan-Africa passport to open up borders
AU launches a continental passport while Brexit closes doors

BY TONDERAYI MUKEREDZI

The image of Rwandan President Paul Kagame and Chadian President Idriss Déby proudly holding the first two copies of the newly launched pan-African passport at the African Union (AU) summit in the Rwandan capital Kigali this month marked the type of historic moment rarely seen at such gatherings, where outcomes are often measured in declarations or resolutions.

With the launch of the new pan-African document, the continent moved up a notch towards the free cross-border movement of goods and people—in direct opposite to Brexit, the decision by British voters to exit the European Union.

The AU will issue the new biometric or electronic passport only to African heads of state, foreign ministers and diplomats accredited by the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. It will bear the AU’s name and that of the issuing country. The plan is for African governments to roll it out to their citizens by 2018.

Many thought the move was well overdue, since one of the AU’s regional trading blocs, the 15-member Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), has been offering 90-day visa-free entry to member states’ citizens since the late 1970s.

Visas in Ghana
One sign that the region is making progress in dismantling intra-African trade barriers is that while the AU was launching its new passport, Ghana, a member of ECOWAS, was starting to issue visas upon arrival to citizens of all 54 African countries. Prior to the move, Ghana offered visa-free entry only to ECOWAS citizens.

According to the African Development Bank’s *Africa Visa Openness Report 2016*, acquiring a visa is a huge challenge for travellers, with Africans still needing visas to travel to 55% of other African countries. Only 13 out of 54 countries offer liberal access (visa-free or visa on arrival) to Africans.

Integrationists say restrictions on movement across borders go against the continent’s goal of becoming “One Africa” and further negate the spirit of the AU’s Agenda 2063, the continent’s long-term economic blueprint. They maintain that visa-free regimes promote intra-African trade and investment, facilitate business and create employment opportunities.

So far Seychelles is the only country in Africa that has abolished visa requirements for all African countries, with Ghana, Mauritius and Rwanda having made great strides. Namibia and Zimbabwe have also made notable progress.

In March, Zimbabwe scrapped its requirement for visas for citizens of members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), another AU regional trading bloc. The country is already one of only nine African countries offering e-Visas, which allow visitors to apply online and pay for a visa on arrival, facilitating easy and hassle-free travelling.

Likewise, Namibia scrapped visa requirements in May for all holders of diplomatic or official passports from AU member states. Although the visa exemptions do not apply to all Africans, they are widely seen as a precursor to a continent-wide visa-free regime.

Southern Africa ranks as the third most open sub-region in Africa. It allows the highest number of the world’s population into its countries without visa restrictions, while East Africa is the continent’s most visa-open sub-region.

Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda share the East Africa Tourist Visa, an open visa initiative for citizens from the three countries. In the coming months, Rwanda could very well follow Seychelles’s footsteps, as it is carrying out a study expected to recommend abolishing visa requirements for all African nationals. In the meantime, Burundi and Tanzania have opted to stay out of the common tourist visa initiative for security reasons.

Yves Butera, spokesperson for the Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration, said removing visa restrictions would promote African unity and help the continent reduce its dependence on donor aid.

“The idea of an Africa with seamless borders is the way to go. Africa is endowed with vast natural resources, including minerals and rich soil. If we can combine our strength, then we could live without financial help from Western and European countries,” he told *Africa Renewal*.

Mr. Butera said his country’s non-restrictive visa regime has allowed more visitors to visit Rwanda, which has boosted trade and development and created jobs.

“We support the idea of visas on arrival; if necessary we should remove visas to Rwanda so that people can freely visit our country and other African countries,” he said. “As well, the idea of open visas and/or visas on arrival is beneficial to us because it facilitates the ease of doing business between our country and other countries, and that helps investors to come here easily, and to spend, which creates revenue and jobs.”

He urged other African countries to adopt visa-free policies, which is one of the
many elements that have lifted Rwanda to its ranking among the top three easiest places to do business in Africa. A high ranking on the World Bank’s ease of doing business index means the regulatory environment is conducive to starting and operating a company.

The World Tourism Organization (WTO), a UN body that promotes tourism, notes that Africa has made significant progress in simplifying the issuance of visas since the organisation started monitoring tourism visa policies in 2008.

“In 2008, Africans comprised on average 88% of the world’s population to apply for a traditional visa prior to departure. This has decreased to 57% in 2015, because many African countries have introduced travel facilitation measures such as visa on arrival and e-Visa,” Rut Gomez Sobrino, a WTO media officer, told Africa Renewal.

WTO research has shown that tourist visa facilitation can deliver important benefits by increasing tourist numbers and generating more income, said Ms. Sobrino, adding that “[visa facilitation] is also a key element in fostering regional integration, and we are thus very pleased to see the progress that is being made in Africa.”

This is corroborated by the Africa Visa Openness Report, which observes that Rwanda, a country that abolished work permits for East African Community citizens to support its open-visa policy, has increased its trade with Kenya and Uganda by at least 50%, while the visa-on-arrival policy has increased African arrivals in Rwanda by an average of about 22% per year. Foreign nationals, however, may be charged up to $100 for a 90-day East African Tourist Visa or $30 for a 30-day Rwandan visa purchased at the airport.

For a seamless Africa to be a success, the WTO says it is imperative to continue to push for the elimination of visa requirements, the continuous liberalization of international air transport to the benefit of all stakeholders, the promotion of initiatives (such as one-stop border posts) that reduce delays, and the creation of interregional and international transport and road transit. A one-stop border post merges two stops in a national border control process into one to reduce transit costs and facilitate the easy movement of passengers and goods.

What are the threats?
The greatest threats to a borderless Africa lie in the prospect of increased risks to national security and heightened exposure to regional conflicts, contagion from public health crises and the movement of the jobless from many parts of the continent. African countries with strong economies tend to attract a large number of migrants from poor countries.

The lack of technological infrastructure and capacity to issue biometric passports is likely to create problems for many African countries. Only 13 of the 54 African countries currently offer biometric passports.

However, the experiences of Mauritius, Rwanda, Seychelles and the ECOWAS bloc show the positive effects of open-visa policies on economies, and that governments can address security concerns and economic migration by investing in new technologies, effective traveller identification management systems and integrated border controls.

For full integration, open visas should also be accompanied by free movement of goods and the removal of high, protective tariff barriers.

According to the World Bank, intra-African trade costs are around 50% higher than in East Asia, and are the highest of intraregional costs in any developing region. In its December 2015 brief, “Deepening African Integration: Intra-Africa Trade for Development and Poverty Reduction”, Anabel Gonzalez, the bank’s director of trade competitiveness, notes that because of high costs, Africa has integrated with the rest of the world faster than with itself.

Effective regional integration, she suggested, must involve more than removing tariffs; it must also involve addressing on-the-ground constraints that paralyze the daily operations of ordinary producers and traders. This is done through regulatory reforms and building the capacity of institutions tasked with enforcing the regulations.

Africa seems to be going where the EU is coming from, given the Brexit experience and the anti-immigration sentiment sweeping Europe; the majority of its citizens are keen on moving towards a more integrated continent, although outbreaks of xenophobia have been reported. Integration starts with making it easier for people and services to move freely across national borders.

The new AU passport is an important new addition to the steps Africa is already taking to achieve the goals embodied in the Agenda 2063 vision.
Most news headlines from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) have one thing in common—their focus on conflict, particularly in the eastern part of the country. True, conflict is not new in the DRC, which has seen outbreaks in one form or another over the past three decades.

Of late, however, worries are mounting over presidential elections slated for November this year. President Joseph Kabila, in power since 2001, is bound by term limits to step down after having won elections in 2006 and 2011. His one-time ally now turned rival, former governor Moïse Katumbi, has declared his intention to run for the presidency, a decision that has not gone down well with some of President Kabila’s allies who would like to see him run for a third term.

At the same time, the sentencing of Jean-Pierre Bemba, a former Congolese militia commander, last month, by The Hague-based International Criminal Court, for war crimes and crimes against humanity was a reminder of the most tragic episodes of the violent conflicts—use of child soldiers, sexual exploitation, rape and pillaging—that have marred the DRC and parts of the African Great Lakes region over the last two decades.

Yet beyond the troubling media headlines and the reminders of a bloody past, the country’s economy is performing almost unscathed. Except for a slump in 2009, when the economy grew by only 2.8%, economic growth has averaged 7.7% over the last five years. According to the World Bank, this is “well above the average in sub-Saharan Africa.” Economic growth in 2016 is expected to rise to 8%, which will make DRC’s one of the fastest-growing economies in the world.

**Minerals and investments**

The DRC may not be the most developed country in the Great Lakes region, but its vast and varied mineral resources present huge development potential. The country is a major supplier of cobalt, copper, diamonds, coltan and tin to global markets.

While minerals like copper, diamonds and tin are well known to the general public, it may not be the case with cobalt.
and coltan. Yet fights over access to these important resources have been one of the causes of the long and simmering instability in the DRC.

Cobalt is used to make magnets and turbines—jet or gas turbines—because of its resistance to high temperatures. According to 2013 US Geological Survey figures, the DRC supplied 48% of global cobalt and has about 47% of the world’s coltan reserves.

Coltan, a contraction of columbite-tantalum, is used in portable devices like mobile phones and surgical implants because of its high resistance to corrosion. It is also used in laptops, pagers and all other electronic devices fitted with miniature circuit boards. At a relatively high price of $200 per kilogramme, the country supplies 17% of global needs, amidst constantly high demand from electronics manufacturers.

In spite of weakening global economic growth and a decline in both demand and price for minerals, DRC’s economy is expected to remain resilient, according to the World Bank, because of the increase in public and private investments, particularly in infrastructure, that have accompanied the recent mineral boom. The annual average foreign direct investment in the DRC is about $2.07 billion, although it decreased to $1.7 billion in 2015, according to World Investment Report 2016 published by the UN Conference on Trade and Development.

From Congo outward

At the same time, signs of the country’s transformation can be seen in the capital, Kinshasa, and other major cities, from improved road infrastructure to multiple building sites and towering cranes across the city.

To support the DRC’s remarkable economic growth, the UN, which has a peacekeeping force operating in the eastern part of the country, organized an investment conference to promote the DRC and the Great Lakes region as an attractive destination for foreign investment.

Meeting in September 2013, the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region—a group of 12 countries with the goal of promoting lasting peace and development in the region—joined South Africa to agree on a UN-brokered peace, security and cooperation framework.

The 13 countries pledged “to strengthen regional cooperation, including economic integration with special consideration for the exploitation of natural resources.”

In February 2016, representatives from the 13 countries gathered in Kinshasa to discuss investment opportunities, including two dozen key development projects that needed immediate financing. Their objective was to lure international private investments to the DRC with its land and mineral potential, and then to the rest of the Great Lakes region.

In highlighting the economic attractiveness of the region, the Great Lakes countries are making their case for what they call the “seven key drivers for economic growth” across the region: tremendous natural resources, an abundance of arable land, water and growing food demand; a youthful fast-growing population; an increasingly educated and middle-class population; expanding export markets, trading partners and donors; an improving governance and business environment; increasing focus on infrastructure development; and competitively high returns on investment.

The Great Lakes region boasts 244 million hectares of arable land, according to Investing in the Great Lakes Region: An Investment Opportunities Brief, a review commissioned by the 13 countries to help make their case to international investors. As demand for food worldwide increases, the region’s arable land represents an opportunity to increase food production for both domestic and global consumption, says the brief.

The high financial return on investments is another key reason for investing in the DRC and the region. While no specific figures are available for potential investors, a 2014 DRC country mining guide by KPMG, a global financial consultancy, says DRC’s mining sector presents a “high-risk high-return opportunity.”

Looking forward

Investors may be profiting from government policies, but Congolese nationals know that the DRC is still a poor country struggling to end a long-running conflict. The impact of the growth has not trickled down to its citizens. DRC has one of the world’s lowest gross national incomes per capita, and UN Human Development Index 2015 ranked the DRC 176 out of 188 countries.

Responding to the criticism that growth has not produced any noticeable social impact, the country’s prime minister, Augustin Matata Ponyo, told Radio France Internationale, a Paris-based broadcaster, that economic progress “has helped fund education by quadrupling public expenditure” over the past few years.

The latest World Bank assessment of the country shows that, although still high, the rate of poverty fell from 71% in 2005 to 63% in 2012. And thanks to prudent policies by the country’s central bank, the rate of inflation, which was 53% in 2009, dropped from 3% in 2012 to an average of about 1% over the past three years.

While the conflict in eastern DRC is unlikely to end soon, the country’s economic prospects remain positive. This is in spite of fears that should the global mineral market fail to recover soon and the level of public and private investments continue to decline, the country could find itself facing problems arising from conflict, political instability and economic hardships, giving credence to the news headlines with which the public is familiar.

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By the numbers

48% of global cobalt is supplied by the DRC

47% of world’s cobalt reserves is in the DRC

17% of global coltan is supplied by the DRC

8% is the expected economic growth of the DRC in 2016
A distinctive, glass-panelled multi-storey building with tall stone arches stands out in the bushes of Magogoni in Kenya’s historic coastal town of Lamu. It is the headquarters of a $25 billion infrastructure project—the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor—which will link Kenya with Ethiopia, Uganda and South Sudan.

The far-reaching project involves a railway, a highway, a crude oil pipeline and a fibre-optic cable connecting the four countries. The project will also include several airports, resort cities, an oil refinery, a 32-berth port in Lamu and other supporting infrastructure mini projects.

Once completed, the LAPSSET railway will connect to West Africa’s Douala–Lagos–Cotonou–Abidjan Corridor, running through Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire respectively.

Experts view the LAPSSET project as a major contribution to the African Union’s regional integration vision of a peaceful, prosperous and fully integrated continent by 2063. In fact, during the 2015 AU General Assembly, African leaders endorsed the project under the AU’s Presidential Infrastructure Championship Initiative (PICI). Admission into PICI signals that a project is critical to the continent’s regional integration aspiration.

The project will also include construction of Kenya’s second seaport in Lamu, which is expected to be bigger than the currently overstretched Mombasa port. Both ports will help boost Kenya’s status as a transport and logistics hub for the East Africa and Horn of Africa regions.

Although the project seems a promising idea, it had to be shelved for years after its conceptualization in 1972, nine years after Kenya achieved independence, because the young republic could not afford the exorbitant projected costs. In 2008, then President Mwai Kibaki revived the project with the hope that part of its $16 billion budget would be financed in subsequent national budgets.

Amid the pomp and colour of welcome celebrations, in March 2012 President Salva Kiir of South Sudan, then Prime Minister of Ethiopia Meles Zenawi and President Kibaki travelled to Lamu to lay the foundation stone for the port, signalling their determination to kick-start the project.

At the onset, Kenya received financial assurances from foreign private investors. However, Brazil, China, the European Union, India, Japan, Qatar and South

A megaproject rises in East Africa
Roads, railways, port, pipelines to link Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and South Sudan
BY WANJOHI KABUKURU

Work on the LAPSSET highway in progress near Turbi in Kenya. The road will connect Kenya with Ethiopia.  © Wanjoji Kabukuru
Korea, though they promised to fund the project, failed to fulfil their commitments. This forced Ethiopia, Kenya and South Sudan to agree to use domestic resources to finance their respective parts of the project.

Kenya was frustrated by a lack of interest from foreign investors, even as it faced pressure from South Sudan, which on a number of occasions openly complained about the slow pace of the project. Oil-rich South Sudan pays high transit charges on its oil exports to its neighbour, Sudan. South Sudan is therefore keen to use the potentially cheaper LAPSSET corridor for oil exports to India and the Far East, although the civil conflict in the newly independent country is creating concerns among major oil producers.

The Kenyan government decided to pick up the tab for the project, which had risen to $24.7 billion from the initial estimate of $16 billion, and allocated 16% of its 2016/2017 budget to LAPSSET.

Kenya can afford to pay the total $24 billion project cost only in phases. This will allow it to construct 32 berths for the Lamu port, the starting point of the LAPSSET project. A similar financing scheme has been adopted for the roads, railway, oil pipeline, resort cities and three airports.

In 2013 the China Communications Construction Company was awarded a contract worth $478.9 million to construct the first three berths, to be ready by 2019. Then contracts for another set of berths will be awarded.

“In the next five years the port will be completed just like other components of the project,” said Silvester Kasuku, director general of the LAPSSET Corridor Development Authority. “A lot has been achieved in making this dream a reality. We have a fully-fledged state corporation to ensure the project is achieved.”

In addition, according to Mr. Kasuku, over 5,000 jobs have been created since construction started in 2012. But there are questions as to who benefited from these employment opportunities. The immediate first-level jobs available in LAPSSET require literacy and education, which are limited among community members and other nationals in the region.

Second-level opportunities, such as local informal trade and business, may not immediately benefit local pastoral community members, who lack capital and access to credit—meaning they will be late to market.

Besides financing the megaproject, the government has had to deal with concerns about the environment and with compensation for owners of the land the roads and railway will pass through.

In 2008, when the project was revived, environmental activists warned that Lamu’s fragile coastal ecosystem could be destroyed through clearance of mangrove forests, oil pollution and degradation of the famed Old Town area of Lamu. Lack of compensation for land owners and lack of community participation in the planning process also generated hostility towards the project.

Lamu residents coalesced under the Save Lamu lobby in 2012 and took the Kenyan government to court. “Lamu has been our home for generations and we were concerned that a project of this magnitude could be undertaken without our participation,” said Mohamed Ali Baddi, who leads Lamu Environmental Protection and Conservation.

Lamu Old Town, which dates back to the 14th century, was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001. It is, according to UNESCO, “the oldest and best-preserved Swahili settlement in East Africa,” having been continuously inhabited for over 700 years. A decade later, the UN agency urged the Kenyan government to consider the cultural and natural heritage of the island even as it executed the LAPSSET project.

Nevertheless, initial scepticism has given way to hope that the project will boost local and regional economies.

“Our lives have changed. We used to hear about the proposed port. We never expected to experience it in our lifetimes,” says Jaffar Athumani, a Lamu resident. He adds, “Initially people were afraid that the government would confiscate their land without compensation and this led to our opposing the construction of the port. The situation is different now.”

Mr. Athumani’s excitement is echoed by many other residents, but that is only after the government disbursed about $8.8 million to compensate 154 families whose lands were affected by the construction.

Kenya’s National Land Commission initiated a compensation scheme in 2014 under which dozens of landowners and fishermen received an average of $50,000 for their land and expected loss of fishing grounds.

Also, about 5,000 fishermen are to receive mechanized fishing boats and fishing gear, while fish-processing industries will be established in Lamu.

Fortunes may finally be changing for Lamu since donors in May 2016 formed an African hub to mobilise $20 billion for cross-border infrastructure projects. The regional hub was made public by the Sustainable Development Investment Partnership (SDIP) on the first day of the World Economic Forum (WEF).

The SDIP Africa Hub will mobilize blended finance, a combination of funding from private investors and lenders, governments and philanthropic funds.

SDIP members include the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Citi, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, UK and US. Others are the Development Bank of Southern Africa, Deutsche Bank, East Capital, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Investment Bank.

Other contributors are HSBC, the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited, Inter-American Development Bank, International Finance Corporation, Investingsfonden for Udviklingslande, Meridiam Infrastructure, Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, Sumitomo Mitsui Banking Corporation and Standard Chartered.

With renewed government commitment and positive signals from the international funding community, LAPSSET is set to become a reality.

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LAPSSET projects

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For environmentalists and development experts, green is not just a colour; it also refers to activities that benefit the environment—the careful use of the earth’s finite resources.

Africa’s policy wonks are already on the green bandwagon, having identified “green industrialization” as the Holy Grail of the continent’s socioeconomic transformation. They believe infusing green initiatives into value-chain activities—during the sourcing and processing of raw materials, and the marketing and selling of finished products to customers—can cure economic stagnation.

At recent economic forums in N’Djamena in Chad, Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, Abuja in Nigeria, Rabat in Morocco, even New York in the United States, and elsewhere, Africa’s experts have been expressing their support for green industrialization. “Green industrialization is the only way for Africa...it is a precondition for sustainable and inclusive growth,” highlights the Economic Report on Africa 2016: Greening Africa’s Industrialization, published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

Green initiatives will move Africa from the periphery to the centre of the global economy, said Fatima Denton, director of the ECA’s Special Initiatives Division, during the African Development Week in Addis Ababa, in April.

Africa’s green industrialization advocates have borrowed from the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by world leaders in September 2015, and the Paris Climate Change Agreement of February 2016—both promote green initiatives.

Given that energy production and use contribute up to 87% of overall carbon dioxide emissions generated by humans, curtailing the exploitation of fossil fuel is at the centre of green advocacy. The burning of fossil fuels like oil, coal and natural gas generates carbon dioxide, methane and water vapour, which in turn contribute to global warming.

However, it may be tough to sell Africa’s oil and natural gas exporters, like Angola and Nigeria, on limiting fossil fuel drilling. For both countries, oil accounts for more than 90% of exports and at least two-thirds of the national budget. The price of oil dropped from a peak of $100 a barrel in 2015 to about $50 by mid-June 2016. Before the oil price crash, even countries just discovering oil—like Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone—had anticipated a financial windfall from the sector.

These countries fear that limiting fossil fuel investments may severely damage their economies, although green advocates continue to insist that renewable energy, including energy generated by sun, wind, rain, waves and geothermal heat, all of which Africa has in abundance, is the way to go.

African countries must take advantage of “new innovations, technologies and business models that use natural resources optimally and efficiently,” notes the 2016 ECA economic report.

Kandeh Yumkella, who formerly held the title of special representative of the UN Secretary-General for Sustainable Energy for All (a global initiative), offered a middle-of-the-road approach, recommending that
Africa adopt an all-of-the-above energy strategy. “Why should we burn gas? Why shouldn’t we use gas for energy production?” Mr. Yumkella asked rhetorically, in an interview with Africa Renewal.

**Grudging acceptance**

Globally, countries have been slow to embrace green technology “because of the lingering belief that environmental regulations erode competitiveness,” wrote Harvard University business professor Michael E. Porter and his co-author, Claas van der Linde, in an article for the magazine Harvard Business Review.

And in October 2011, Salifou Issoufou and Nama Ouattara, economists with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank respectively, presented a paper based on their research, titled “Does Green Investment Raise Productivity?” to a packed house at the African Economic Conference in Addis Ababa. Green investments lowered productivity growth, they told a shocked audience that included some of Africa’s top policy makers. Africa must adopt “a cautious approach in attempting large-scale investments in green technologies,” the researchers recommended.

The main problem with green investments, the 2011 paper showed, was that costs, made worse by regulations, further stifled interest. Investing in environmentally friendly agricultural equipment, for example, “requires heavy upfront costs and the transition from the existing mode of production to the new one requires complementary technical innovation,” wrote Mr. Issoufou and Ms. Ouattara at the time.

There is also the argument that since Africa contributes the least of all continents to global warming, it should not be compelled—or expected—to adopt policies that mitigate global warming.

**Cost effective**

Since 2011, when Mr. Issoufou and Ms. Ouattara’s research findings lowered expectations for green industrialization, the green economy train has been running at full speed due to several factors, including innovative technologies, which are bringing down the cost of renewables considerably. In addition, a crash in commodity prices, particularly in extractives, is sending some of Africa’s economies—such as Angola, Nigeria and South Africa—spiraling into chaos, forcing many countries to explore opportunities in green industrialization.

Government leadership has been playing a key role in driving the growth of renewables, particularly wind and solar, in the power sector including many in Africa. As of early 2016, 173 countries had renewable energy targets in place and 146 countries had support policies. Cities, communities and companies are leading the rapidly expanding “100% renewable” movement, playing a vital role in advancing the global energy transition.

Additional growth factors include better access to financing, concerns about energy security and the environment and the growing demand for modern energy services in developing and emerging economies.

Carlos Lopes, executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, expressed optimism: “We have the potential to access renewable energy at a time when the price of producing this energy is comparable to fossil fuel production.”

**Triple bottomline**

According to Professor Mark Swilling of the Centre for Renewable and Sustainable Energy Studies at Stellenbosch University in South Africa, the added value of renewables is their positive impact on the “triple bottomline”, a term that refers to a company’s profit, its social responsibility activities and its environmental responsibility.

Africa’s capabilities for “leapfrogging”—another buzzword at economic forums—constitute a significant economic advantage for the region. Simply put, African countries implementing green initiatives won’t have to go through every intermediary stage of technology, but instead can directly access the latest available on the market. Africa can therefore be expected to take a giant developmental step: the leapfrog. Industrialised countries, on the other hand, will have to retrofit older infrastructure, said Mr. Lopes, a burdensome expense.

The ECA 2016 economic report states that Africa’s population is expected to hit 2 billion by 2050. The rapid growth of the working-age population (aged 25–64), increasing urbanization and the dominance of informal employment have weighty implications for the continent’s structural transformation. While young people provide a valuable resource to be harnessed in national development, they can also drive green industrialization if they have green jobs in various sectors.

Many African countries are planning or already implementing green projects. In March 2014, an intergovernmental committee of experts from Central African countries (Angola, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, the Republic of the Congo and São Tomé and Príncipe) met in N’Djamena to hash out a plan for transitioning to a green economy.

Mariam Mahamat Nour, Chad’s minister of planning and international cooperation, said companies operating in the region must master production techniques based on low energy use.

Ethiopia in 2011 adopted a Climate Resilient Green Economy strategy as part of its ambitious plan to propel the country into middle-income status by 2025. The government is partnering with the private sector to help communities engage in sustainable farming.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a tree-cloning project is enhancing afforestation (establishing forests on lands that have not been forested for a long time) and reforestation (establishing forests where they have been destroyed). Climate change experts consider afforestation and reforestation effective methods of combating global warming. Despite the DRC’s efforts, it is considering lifting the moratorium on logging that has been in place since 2002; this could threaten the forests, experts believe.

Last February the World Bank assisted Ghana in launching a Climate Innovation Centre in the capital, Accra, to support a green growth strategy. The centre is working with about a hundred local technology companies.

Nigeria’s Renewable Energy Programme is, among other things, executing a low-carbon development project to provide electricity for its capital city, Abuja, through improved insulation, energy-efficient devices for apartments and local power generation. The project, currently underway, is the first of its kind in Africa and the second in the world, after that of Masdar City in the United States.
Why has Africa failed to industrialize?
Experts call for bold and creative policies

BY MASIMBA TAFIRENYIKA

At no point in recent history have calls for Africa to industrialize been stronger than they have been lately. Across the continent, industrialization is arguably the most talked about subject among policymakers. So why has action on the ground failed to move the needle on this important development marker?

Industrialization has been a campaign promise across the African continent, with its acknowledged ability to bring prosperity, new jobs and better incomes for all. Yet the continent is less industrialized today than it was four decades ago. In fact, the contribution of Africa’s manufacturing sector to the continent’s gross domestic product actually declined from 12% in 1980 to 11% in 2013, where it has remained stagnant over the past few years, according to the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

The Economist Intelligence Unit, a British business research group, reckons that Africa accounted for more than 5% of global manufacturing output in the 1970s, but this percentage has since halved. It warns that Africa’s manufacturing industry is likely to remain small throughout the remainder of this decade.

High commodity prices triggered by China’s seemingly insatiable appetite for natural resources have fueled rapid economic growth in Africa since the 1990s. Many thought the boom would revive Africa’s waning manufacturing industry. Yet to the dismay of analysts, it failed to live up to expectations. Instead of using the windfall to set up or stimulate manufacturing industries, African countries—with a few exceptions—wasted the money on non-productive expenditures. Ghana and Zambia, for instance, used profits from the commodity bonanza to solve short-term domestic problems, such as by increasing salaries for civil servants.

Now falling commodity prices and a cooling Chinese economy have conspired to expose the myth of the “Africa Rising” story line. The International Monetary Fund estimates that growth in 2016 will fall below 4%, which The Economist, a UK-based publication, warns will lead “many to fret that a harmful old pattern of commodity-driven boom and bust in Africa is about to repeat itself.”

Had African leaders heeded advice from experts and pumped profits from the commodity boom into stimulating manufacturing companies, the results could have been different. So what are the options for Africa over the next few years? This was the question policymakers and economic experts wrestled with in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, early this year at the launch of “Economic Report on Africa 2016: Greening Africa’s Industrialization,” published by the ECA. Their conclusion was unanimous: the only viable option is to industrialize.

Industrialize or decline
During the discussions that ensued, experts agreed that one of the main reasons for Africa’s slow industrialization is that its leaders have failed to pursue bold economic policies out of fear of antagonizing donors. As it were, the strongest criticism of this policy vacuum came not from the debate in Addis Ababa, but from the op-ed pages of The Financial Times, a British daily.

“Africa stands on the cusp of a lost opportunity because its leaders—and those who assess its progress in London, Paris and Washington—are wrongly fixated on the rise and fall of GDP and foreign investment flows, mostly into resource extraction industries and modern shopping malls,” said Kingsley Moghalu, a former deputy governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria. In a forcefully argued op-ed, he implored African countries to “reject the misleading notion that they can join the West by becoming post-industrial societies without having first been industrial ones.”

Ha-Joon Chang, an economist at the University of Cambridge and the co-author of a recently released ECA publication, “Transformative Industrial Policy for Africa”, shares this opinion. He calls for “policy imagination”—creativity in crafting policies—and urges African policymakers to avoid being bound to any single theoretical policy. “African countries need to have the self-confidence to develop alternative policies and stick to them,” he told the Addis Ababa gathering.

Firm hands on the wheel
Asia’s development of its industries is instructive: state-led development policies were responsible for lifting the region’s economies out of poverty during the late 20th century—a point Mr. Moghalu clearly recognizes. He insists “governments must lead the way, with a firm hand on the wheel and by setting policy that creates an enabling environment for market-based growth that creates jobs.” This, the former central bank deputy governor is quick to clarify, is “not an argument for a heavy-handed statist approach that would choke productivity and stiflie competition.” Alluding to one of the lessons from the 2008 global financial crisis, Mr. Moghalu is adamant: “Markets must work for society and not the other way round.” He points to Ethiopia and Rwanda as notable examples of how Africa could industrialize its economies.

Adeyemi Dipeolu, an economic adviser to Nigeria’s Vice President Yemi Osinbajo, shares this view. He told participants at the report launch in Addis Ababa that African policymakers are “hesitant to take alternative policies for fear of dictates and conditionalities of the West.”

Yet The Economist sees things differently. In its analysis of why Africa has failed to industrialize, it observes that while many countries deindustrialize as they grow richer, “many African countries are deindustrializing while they are still poor...partly because technology is reducing the demand for low-skilled workers.” Another reason, says the magazine, is that weak infrastructure—lack of electricity, poor roads and congested ports—drives up
the cost of moving raw materials and shipping out finished goods. But the publication acknowledges that Africa’s “favourable demography, rising urbanization and extensive agricultural resource base underscore the potential of the region’s manufacturing industry.”

The good, the bad and the smart
Many experts have called on Africa to practice “so-called sophisticated or smart protectionism”—that is, to impose temporary tariffs to shield budding industries from the negative effects of cheap imports—as part of its strategy to industrialize. In the book, “Bad Samaritans: The Myth of Free Trade and the Secret History of Capitalism,” Mr. Chang, whom The Financial Times describes as “probably the world’s most effective critic of globalization,” argues that rich countries have historically relied on protectionist approaches in their quests for economic dominance.

In its review of the book, The Publishers Weekly, a US-based news magazine on book publishing, says rich nations that “preach free market and free trade to the poor countries in order to capture larger shares of the latter’s markets and to pre-empt the emergence of possible competitors are Chang’s bad Samaritans.”

Mr. Moghalu is one of many African policymakers who support smart protectionism, making the case that it’s not only necessary but can be pursued using the rules set by the World Trade Organization (WTO), a UN body that makes rules and mediates trade disputes among nations. The ECA has given the same advice, maintaining that African countries can legitimately pursue smart protectionism as practiced by the West.

“All countries that have industrialized started with degrees of protectionism,” says Carlos Lopes, the ECA executive secretary, adding, “But we cannot practice crude protectionism anymore; we are engaged in a global debate that includes trade negotiations.” He explains that “if we have to make the rules work for Africa, that basically means smart protectionism.”

As if to prove the point that rich nations are indeed practising protectionism, the WTO reported in June 2016 that there is a rapid increase in trade restrictive or protectionist measures by the world’s leading economies that make up the G20 group. Between mid-October 2015 and mid-May 2016, the report says, G20 economies had slapped 145 new trade-restrictive measures at an average rate of 21 new measures per month, “a significant increase compared to the previous reporting period at 17 per month.”

Follow the leader
Ethiopia, Rwanda and to a lesser extent Tanzania have proved adept at navigating the bumpy path to industrialization. The common thread among them is that they have embraced policies that target and favour their own manufacturing industries. In addition to pursuing what experts call a “developmental state model,” under which governments control, manage and regulate economies, they have adopted investor-friendly policies. And most importantly, they have shown a commitment to and ownership of these policies. State control over economic policies appears to have contributed to less corruption in Ethiopia and Rwanda.

Since 2006, Ethiopia’s manufacturing sector has expanded by an annual average of more than 10%, albeit starting from a very low base, partly because it has courted foreign investors, notes The Economist. “We approached Holland’s horticultural firms, China’s textile and leather firms and Turkey’s garment firms [to invest in Ethiopia]. Now we’re bringing in German and Swiss pharmaceuticals,” says Arkebe Oqubay, author of “Made in Africa: Industrial Policy in Ethiopia,” who is also a minister and a senior adviser to Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn.

Ethiopia is leading by example. It has shown industrialization can happen in Africa. What the continent needs is political commitment and the audacity to implement the right policies, even in the face of strong external opposition. “For capitalism to work for Africa, just as it has for China and much of East Asia, public policymakers must shake off the shackles of orthodoxy,” says Mr. Moghalu.
Women grapple with harsh weather
...but they can also help mitigate effects of climate change in Africa

BY ELENI MOURDOUKOUTAS

The visible impacts of climate change in Africa — deforestation, flooding, drought, soil erosion, coastal storms and changing weather patterns — are striking, but so is its impact on women.

In sub-Saharan Africa, particularly the drylands and the Sahel region, where climate change is aggravating poverty, women are disproportionately affected because of their close connections to the environment. In addition to their involvement in agriculture, rural women are responsible for household chores, particularly the fetching of water and energy sources, including charcoal and firewood, for cooking and heating.

Experts say that climate change most affects those who depend mainly on natural resources and whose livelihoods are climate sensitive—many are poor farming women. According to a 2015 report by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), about two-thirds of the female workforce in developing countries is involved in agricultural labour, and that number is higher in Africa’s rural areas.

Natural resources are becoming ever scarcer due to climate change, which presents additional challenges for women. For instance, in rural Senegal rainy seasons are shorter than before and there’s been a 35% decline in total rainfall over the last two decades. As a consequence, women walk longer distances to fetch drinking, cooking and washing water, according to a study by the Women’s Environment and Development Organization (WEDO), a group that promotes gender equality and the integrity of the environment.

Searching for water
Walking long distances is physically exhausting, and it can take up to 20 hours or more a week to locate safe water, regularly check the water levels in established wells and, finally, haul it home. In rural sub-Saharan Africa, 37% of the population is 30 minutes or more away from a safe drinking water source, according to DESA.

Most African women also take care of their children, the elderly and those in ill health. These responsibilities can take around five hours a day. Climate change effects, particularly drought, flooding and changing rain patterns, make these tasks even more arduous.

In Kenya, for example, people living around Mount Kenya have noticed that the snowcaps on the mountain have almost disappeared. This means less water for farming and other agricultural uses, as well as for downstream cities and urban areas. As a result, Kenyan
women and adolescent girls are the most vulnerable refugees, as they face a greater risk of being trafficked for sex while moving to a foreign land and of experiencing gender-based violence while in the refugee camps. In the camps, women risk assault when they venture out of the protected environment in search of water and firewood.

Leila Abdulahi, a 25-year-old Somali refugee who arrived in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya after the 2011 drought, narrated her experience to UN Women in 2014: “We are afraid to go fetch firewood in the forest. Bandits attack us in our own homesteads and rape us. If I had the money, I would just buy firewood and I wouldn't then have to go or send my daughter to the forest.”

**Climate change opportunities**

Just as women are disproportionately affected by climate impacts, they also play crucial roles in preventing climate change, at least in small ways, and even helping their communities adapt to it.

“Women are actually essential game changers as actors and leaders in climate change,” explains Rahel Steinbach, programme officer at the UNEP’s Division on the Environment for Women and Gender.

According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC), women and adolescent girls are the most

Coping with disasters

There are reasons women are more vulnerable than men to natural disasters such as flooding and soil erosion. With minimal access to information, and limited mobility outside their homes, women are 14 times more likely than men to die during natural disasters, reports the African Development Bank (AfDB).

Climate change has also displaced many women from their homes, making them internally displaced persons or cross-border refugees. Extreme weather conditions, particularly droughts, drying river basins in southern and eastern Africa, and flooding and rising sea levels in West Africa, have forced many women to migrate, according to the Centre for International Disaster Information.

According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC), women and adolescent girls are the most

We are afraid to go fetch firewood in the forest. Bandits attack us in our own homesteads and rape us. If I had money, I would just buy firewood and I wouldn’t have to go or send my daughter to the forest.

In Kenya, for example, between 30% and 40% of yields is wasted due to a lack of proper post-harvest storage. With mangoes the waste is as high as 60%. Similarly, in Nigeria and Tanzania, nearly half of all food grown is lost, reports the Rockefeller Foundation, a private charity helping to build more resilient and inclusive economies.

UNEP and UN Women are now collaborating with the Rockefeller Foundation and other partners to look into post-harvest storage and climate-smart technologies that can help women turn waste into profit, and provide financial security to households.

“The hope is that, very soon, women can cease to be victims of climate change and become agents of social change,” says Ms. Steinbach.
How smart policies can lessen effects of climate change

Strong government structures can turn the dream of a prosperous continent into a reality

BY RICHARD MUNANG AND ROBERT MGENDI

According to a famous African proverb, “When the music changes, so does the dance.” This adage illustrates the continent’s current position amidst opportunities for, and challenges to, development and governance as the 21st century unfolds.

In recent years, national leaders have pursued many new development initiatives. Among them are the Addis Ababa Action Agenda on sustainable financing, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Paris climate agreement and the World Trade Organization’s Nairobi Package.

These frameworks could fast-track the continent’s development, and even fulfil the promise of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) over the next 15 years. The initiatives dovetail with the African Union’s (AU) Agenda 2063, a set of aspirations for a more prosperous continent.

At the same time, Africa confronts chronic problems of poverty, food insecurity, ballooning youth unemployment, mounting debt, climate change and environmental degradation. These problems have been exacerbated by falling commodity prices, which have dropped over 40% from their peak in 2011. This translates to a loss of over $63 billion, which has left a trail of economic devastation for commodity-dependent nations such as Angola, Nigeria and Zambia. Commodity revenues make up more than half the total of Africa’s gross domestic product (GDP).

Africa currently loses $68 billion annually from environmental degradation, according to Agriculture for Impact, an independent group that advocates for smallholder farmers in sub-Saharan Africa.

In addition, key environmental sectors such as forestry, wildlife, fisheries and mining suffer losses worth billions to illegal logging, illegal trade in wildlife, unaccounted and unregulated fishing and illegal mining practices, the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) has found.

Natural capital losses

Africa must make a concerted effort to address these long-standing obstacles to growth, and seize available opportunities to get on a path to sustainable development.

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (second left); Christiana Figueres (left), the then Executive Secretary of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change; Laurent Fabius (second right), Foreign Minister of France and President of the UN Climate Change Conference in Paris and François Hollande (right), President of France, celebrate after the historic adoption of the Paris Agreement on climate change. UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe
Without investments to eliminate inefficiencies in the agro-value chain resulting from farming on degraded lands, Africa loses between $4 billion and $48 billion in food worth annually. This is in addition to 6.6 million tonnes of potential grain harvest lost to degraded ecosystems.

Consequently, countries in Africa spend $35 billion annually on food imports, which is hardly sufficient, as more than 200 million Africans still go hungry, says the UN Food and Agriculture Organization. Yet with appropriate government policies, Africa could recover that $35 billion and be able to finance development projects and boost food security.

**Targeted policy interventions**

Africa's current precarious ecosystem situation can be addressed by promoting environmental sustainability. A good first step is to sustainably harness Africa's natural capital, advises UNEP.

At the sixth African Ministerial Conference for the Environment, held in Cairo, Egypt, in April, Africa's environmental experts identified three key ways to leverage natural capital opportunities. The first involves policies, actions and partnerships at national, regional and global levels designed to reverse current losses from degraded ecosystems, agro-value-chain inefficiencies, illicit financial flows and crimes involving wildlife, logging, fisheries and mining.

By reversing these losses, Africa could save up to $150 billion annually. Sectors such as health care and education, needing annual investments of up to $32 billion and $26 billion respectively, and infrastructure, for which investments of $93 billion are required annually, could potentially benefit.

The second way Africa can sustainably harness natural capital is by allocating, again at national and regional levels, a portion of current natural capital earnings to unlock the potential of natural-capital-based sectors. By so doing, the continent would be achieving the targets of multiple SDGs.

For example, investments in ecosystem-based, adaptation-driven agriculture and using clean energy for processing and other commercial chains can potentially support sustainable agro-industrialization. Clean energy can boost sustainable agro-processing in rural areas and, combined with affordable financing and market accessibility, enhance farmers’ incomes, boost food security by up to 128% and create up to 17 million jobs along the entire value chain. This is in addition to boosting an agro-sector expected to be worth $1 trillion by 2030, according to the World Bank.

Investments in natural-capital-based sustainable agro-industry will contribute towards SDG 1 (poverty eradication), SDG 2 (an end to hunger), SDG 7 (affordable and clean energy) and SDG 8 (sustainable economic growth and employment), as well as promoting food security and improved nutrition.

Investments can enhance climate adaptation and the health of ecosystems, and produce healthier food even as clean energy options reduce emissions and pollution—all of which would contribute to SDG 3 (good health and well-being for all) and SDG 13 on climate action. Healthy ecosystems would contribute to SDG 15 (protecting life on land).

The World Bank reckons that a 10% increase in crop yields in Africa would translate to approximately a 7% reduction in poverty through agricultural growth, which is at least two to four times more effective in reducing poverty than growth in other sectors.

The third way Africa can leverage natural capital opportunities is by targeting policies and actions to enable value addition of its natural capital exports, instead of exporting raw materials. This would enhance earnings. Policies prioritizing investment in rural transport and energy infrastructure to achieve sustainable agro-industrialization is a good starting point, experts believe.

**Unlocking agriculture potential**

Experts continue to praise key elements of the Paris climate agreement, the SDGs, and the AU’s Agenda 2063. What is lacking, however, are policies to ensure those elements are part of individual countries’ development frameworks and, most importantly, that their implementation is financed.

Without such policies and financing, it may be difficult to achieve modern, climate-friendly and efficient food systems, and, by extension, inclusive economic growth.

With regard to the critical financing need, one area of intense discussion is how to deal with illicit financial flows, mainly attributable to Africa's natural capital. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), financial aid spent on improving tax administration could substantially increase tax revenue for African countries. For instance, a project assisting Kenya’s tax administrators returned a massive $1.650 for every $1 extra invested, while a programme in Mozambique was able to increase short-term revenues by 350%.

The potential is huge, yet currently just 0.07% of OECD assistance to poor countries is used to improve tax systems. Building capacity of Africa’s negotiators with multinational companies and improving regulatory oversight in tax administration could help deal with illicit flows and recoup funds for sustainable development.

African countries should make it a priority to implement the 2015 recommendations of the AU high-level panel on illicit financial flows headed by former South African President Thabo Mbeki. These include taking measures to deal with organized crime, including environmental crimes (which make up about 33% of all organized crimes) and the public sector corruption that plays a key role in facilitating these outflows.

Additionally, unnecessary tax expenditures such as incentives for natural-resource exploration constitute significant revenue losses, up to 4% of GDP, in addition to providing loopholes for fraud. Up to 65% of oil subsidies in Africa benefit the richest 40% of households and feed corrupt cartels, according to the African Development Bank.

Africa’s huge natural resources can turn the dream of a prosperous continent into a reality. Countries need to act urgently and strengthen the governance structure and to enact and implement appropriate policies. The challenge is to make actions speak louder than all the fine words.

Dr. Richard Munang is an Africa climate change and development policy expert at UNEP, and Mr. Robert Mgendi is an adaptation policy expert. The views expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of UNEP.
Phillip Tshuma is a happy farmer. Despite one of the worst droughts ever to hit his country, Zimbabwe, Mr. Tshuma’s maize and small grains harvests this year are 50% more than they were in 2015, thanks to micro-dosing, the targeted application of small quantities of fertilizer in a field.

Using the micro-dosing method, farmers apply about 8 kg to 10 kg of nitrogen fertilizer per hectare, approximately a fifth of the recommended application rates.

Last season, Mr. Tshuma made about $350 in profits from his harvests, a decent amount in a country where most survive on less than $1.25 per day. He plans to spend a third of that on nitrogen fertilizer for use in the next season. If things go as anticipated, he will make more profit each season from his farm in the Hwange District in southern Zimbabwe.

It was only a decade ago that African leaders adopted, at a special summit in Abuja, Nigeria, a 12-point resolution on the use of fertilizer as part of efforts to achieve an African “Green Revolution.” They acknowledged that inorganic fertilizer alone could not lift agricultural output, and requested countries to commit to increasing fertilizer use from an average of 8 kg of fertilizer per hectare in 2005 to 50 kg per hectare by 2015.

Both organic and inorganic fertilizers provide plants with the nutrients they need to grow healthy and strong. Organic fertilizers contain only plant- or animal-based materials, such as manures, leaves, and compost that are either by-products or end products of naturally occurring processes. Inorganic fertilizer, also referred to as synthetic fertilizer, is manufactured artificially and contains synthetic chemicals.

Organic fertilizer releases nutrients only when the soil is warm and moist, while inorganic fertilizer provides this nutrition in plant-ready form immediately.

With a Green Revolution, Africa would be following in the footsteps of Asia and Latin America, where effective policies, new farming methods, improved inputs and high-yield seed varieties have improved harvests and reduced poverty.

Although no country has met the target for 2015, Rhoda Peace Tumusiime, the African Union commissioner for rural economy and agriculture, says there is no need to despair and that countries should instead continue to invest in improving access to fertilizer for smallholder farmers.

Increasing demand
Richard Mkandawire, the vice president of the African Fertilizer and Agribusiness Partnership (AFAP) — an organization that promotes investment in commercial fertilizers in Africa — says that despite failing to meet the target, some countries made significant progress in increasing their use of fertilizer.

A World Bank report notes that between 2005 and 2015, Ethiopia recorded the highest proportional

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Innovative use of fertilizers revives hope for Africa’s Green Revolution

**BY BUSANI BAFANA**

Simnai and Phillip Tshuma, smallholder farmers from Hwange, Zimbabwe, show off their sorghum crop planted using fertilizers. **Busani Bafana**

130% percentage increase in fertilizer usage in Africa since 2008
increase of fertilizer use per hectare, from 11 kg to 24 kg. Within the same period, Ghana's fertilizer use increased from 20 kg to 35 kg per hectare and Kenya's from 33 kg to 44 kg. As a result of the increase in fertilizer usage over the 10-year period, the countries recorded growth in farm yields and in the agriculture sector generally, with Ghana noting a 4.6% growth in 2014, according to the Ghana Statistical Service. In Kenya there was a 56% increase in smallholder fertilizer use, and maize yields increased by 18% between 1997 and 2007, according to data from a nationwide household survey.

In March 2016, Amit Roy, a former president of the International Fertilizer Development Center, told the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)'s regional conference for Africa in Côte d'Ivoire that while Africa had not achieved the fertilizer use targets set under the Abuja Declaration, it was on course to reach at an average of at least 17 kg per hectare by 2018. Although this will still represent a modest improvement, it will be double what it used to be when the declaration was made.

According to the International Fertilizer Industry Association, a global trading body representing over 500 fertilizer producers and distributors, the average fertilizer use in many countries in Africa today is still as low as 12 kg per hectare, compared to Asian countries like Malaysia, where usage averages 1,570 kg per hectare, Hong Kong (1,297 kg per hectare) and Bangladesh (278 kg per hectare).

Nevertheless, fertilizer demand in Africa has been rising since 2008, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where usage has increased by 130%, says the International Fertilizer Development Center, a group that seeks to increase agricultural productivity by promoting crop nutrition and agribusiness skills.

Mr. Roy reckons fertilizer demand will reach 7 million metric tons by 2018, although this figure will represent a mere 2% of global consumption. Brazil, China, India, and the US drive global fertilizer consumption collectively, accounting for 55% of global demand.

A bit of fertilizer goes a long way
The evidence that micro-dosing could be a breakthrough method in increasing fertilizer use in Africa is demonstrated by Mr. Tshuma, who is one of the 170,000 households in Zimbabwe giving it a try. His cereal production, which has since doubled, has significantly improved his family's food security. By promoting micro-dosing, Zimbabwe is already saving $7 million in food imports annually, according to the International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT).

Micro-dosing is affordable and, when adopted by smallholder farmers, enhances fertilizer use, says ICRISAT, adding that the returns on investment are still higher than before.

Mr. Tshuma maintains that the small amounts of fertilizer he uses in micro-dosing yield bigger returns without much money. He would need to spend over $300 per season on fertilizer alone if he applied the 50 kg per hectare that African leaders set as a threshold.

In Zimbabwe, ICRISAT used crop models to study the cost of micro-dosing and how the practice works. The study found that, contrary to conventional wisdom, even small amounts of fertilizer can increase yields significantly. Using micro-dosing, farmers apply about 8 kg to 10 kg of nitrogen per hectare, approximately a fifth of the recommended application rates.

Martin Moyo, a scientist at ICRISAT, says that despite obvious benefits, not many Zimbabwean smallholder farmers practice micro-dosing due to lack of knowledge, as well as difficulties with availability and affordability. There are also cultural and traditional beliefs that discourage farmers from the practice, such as the belief that fertilizers “burn” crops.

Dealing with soil fertility
A decline in soil fertility resulting from mono-cropping, degraded soils and other factors, often blamed for the drop in crop yields across Africa, ought to encourage African smallholder farmers to use fertilizers.

Fertilizer use supports soil quality and also helps mitigate the effects of soil erosion and nutrient depletion. A 2015 FAO report titled The Status of the World’s Soil Resources urges countries to encourage farmers to return crop residues and other organic material to the soil, employ crop rotation with nitrogen-fixing crops and carefully use organic and mineral fertilizers.

“Fertilizer is key to Africa’s food security and we need to keep pushing private-sector involvement in its development,” said Ms. Tumusiime.

To boost agricultural productivity, African countries must embark on mechanized agriculture and increase fertilizer use, says Grace Akello, Uganda’s ambassador to Italy and also representative to the FAO and the UN World Food Programme, adding, “We have to raise productivity of our agriculture by improving the health of our soils and increase fertilizer use because we are aware of the poor conditions of soils in many parts of Africa.”

Financing fertilizer
There is a need for Africa to accelerate sustainable soil management practices and capitalise on the Africa Fertilizer Financial Mechanism set up by the AU at its Africa Fertilizer Summit in 2006 to promote fertilizer use, advises Mr. Roy.

Last July, a meeting organized by AFAP and the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), a global agricultural research centre, to review progress on fertilizer use in the region concluded that while several regional economic communities have established successful regional fertilizer markets, they still face poor infrastructure and distribution networks, as well as problems with storage and local blending facilities.

Smallholder farmers will increase their fertilizer use if they can get affordable access, said Mr. Mkandawire. “Limited fertilizer access leads to prohibitively high costs, resulting in smallholder farmers using less or not at all. This ultimately leads to the low-level productivity trap. In such a trap, constraints such as lack of fertilizer investment incentives [and a] stagnant rural economy reinforce each other,” Mr. Mkandawire said.

Most smallholder farmers are already stuck in a low soil fertility—poverty trap, making it impossible for them to afford inputs needed to increase productivity and end hunger, Mr. Mkandawire explains.

Experts agree that micro-dosing, increased fertilizer use, private-sector investment, improved access to credit, reduction in import costs, smart subsidy programmes and accelerated sustainable soil practices will help Africa realize its Green Revolution dream. The challenge is for countries to work with the experts and follow through.
Aft er completing his studies in farming and project management at Bradford University, United Kingdom, Isaac Kankam-Boadu returned home to Ghana with ideas to help smallholder farmers achieve self-sufficiency through sustainable farming practices.

Mr. Kankam-Boadu, who had benefitted from Marshal Papworth, a UK-based charity that provides agricultural and horticultural scholarships to students from developing countries, started by teaching farmers how to increase crop yields through the use of high-yielding and drought-tolerant crop varieties, and how to apply organic manure and inorganic fertilisers to improve soil fertility.

He also taught farmers the benefits of crop rotation, including the use of leguminous crops to minimise soil erosion by injecting nitrogen into the soil.

With the use of strategies such as row planting, fertiliser application and good farm management practices, the farmers’ maize yields increased from two bags per acre to at least six.

“I used to rely on manpower to till the land and was only able to cultivate one acre. But with tractor services, I have increased my farm acreage from one to two,” says Ibrahim Biawurbi, a farmer in Kabilpe, about 500 kilometres north of the capital, Accra.

Considering the recent steady decline in government support for agriculture and the resulting decline in the sector’s contribution to Ghana’s gross domestic product (GDP), Mr. Kankam-Boadu’s intervention is timely. While more than half of Ghana’s population are farmers, the agricultural sector contributed only 19% to GDP in 2015, according to the UN Food and Agriculture Organization.

This year the government cut spending in the sector by about $10 million, a move experts warn could have a further bad effect on the country’s food security.

Mr. Kankam-Boadu has overseen the implementation of agricultural projects including the Northern Ghana Food Security Resilience Project (NGFSRP) funded by the European Union and the three-year Integrated Agricultural Productivity Improvement and Marketing Project funded by the Danish International Development Agency and the Rockefeller Foundation through the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), which promotes agriculture in Africa.

The resilience project provided some 10,000 rural households in seven districts in the northern and upper western regions of Ghana with farming supplies, including seeds, tools and ploughing services, to help them cultivate crops, including maize, the region’s staple. The second project helped over 11,400 farming households across 10 districts in the northern region cultivate maize, rice, soybean and groundnuts.

Farmers trained in soil fertility technologies reported improvements in production, from 65.4% in 2013 to 98.6% in 2015, and in soil fertility through the use of poultry manure, from 1.6% in 2014 to 45.1% in 2015.

A revolving fund established by the NGFSRP and distributed through farmer-based organisations (FBOs), still helps farmers sustain production even after the project’s end in 2011. Over 93% of the farmers who were supported in 2011 continue to receive funding support. These farmers also honour repayment agreements, says Mr. Kankam-Boadu.

The results have been encouraging, particularly in the lives of the farmers. For example, most beneficiary households are now food-secure, having improved their crop production considerably. In addition, they are selling surpluses on the markets, earning extra income. In the town of Nwampe, for instance, the harvesting and post-harvest training resulted in farmers’ attaining zero storage losses.

“I used to buy food from the market before the start of the next farming season, but for the past two years, I have not bought food from the market. I even had to send my old maize stock to the market before harvesting the new maize,” says Mahama Mumuni of the village of Sawaba, one of the beneficiaries of the NGFSRP project. “Many of us have excess food to sell and save the money to purchase other items from the market.”

With these successes, Mr. Kankam-Boadu hopes that the government will apply nationwide the methods he has been able to apply on a limited scale regionally. "Farmers
A green path to industrialization ... from page 27

Arab Emirates, according to Nigeria's environment ministry. Also, the Tata Group of India is planning to establish in Nigeria a mass transit system of compressed natural gas vehicles to reduce emissions.

The ECA economic report recommends a step-by-step “systemic approach,” with a focus on value chains in agriculture, energy extractives, manufacturing, transport and water. Countries must identify green industrialization entry points, set policies that support green industrialization and mobilize resources from the public and private sectors, recommends the report.

The report further stresses that investments in infrastructure and innovation are critical and that countries should share best practices, strengthen national institutions and constantly review their green industrialization policies and activities.

Overall, a general belief among Africa’s development experts is that going green—and clean—is no longer a moral question; it is now a socioeconomic imperative. They view it as the new pathway to Africa’s industrialization.

South Sudan: Peace eludes the ... from page 3

approach can salvage the peace process now,” he said.

At the July summit in Kigali, Rwanda, African Union (AU) leaders agreed to send more peacekeepers from Africa to South Sudan, with a robust mandate to enforce the ceasefire and protect civilians.

AU Commission chief Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma called on political leaders to engage in dialogue and protect the South Sudanese people. After terming the fighting “unacceptable,” she said, “Hardly two months after the formation of the government of national unity, the belligerents seem to be back in the trenches and the people of South Sudan, instead of celebrating five years of independence, must flee like sheep before the wolves. [The government and leaders must] protect the vulnerable to serve the people, not to be the cause of the people’s suffering.”

There are about 12,000 UN peacekeepers in the country, and other UN agencies such as UNICEF and UNHCR are providing other forms of assistance, including medical and humanitarian, to those affected by the clashes.

Trouble began in 2013 when President Kiir sacked his deputy, Mr. Machar, accusing him of planning to topple the government via a coup. Since then the two political heavyweights have been at odds.

Hopes for peace were roused in August 2015 after the two signed a ceasefire agreement, which led to Mr. Machar’s reinstatement as vice president in April 2016. However, it appears the frosty relationship between the president and his deputy never thawed.

Good governance: Africa coming ... from page 7

categorizes governments in four groups: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes.

Full democracies score high on good governance practices, particularly civil liberties and fair and free elections. Flawed democracies consist of relatively free and fair elections but are characterized by low political participation and a weak political culture. Hybrid regimes may conduct elections but fall short on civil liberties, while authoritarian regimes have sit-tight leaders with no interest in elections.

Mauritius was the only African country with full democracy, according to Democracy Index 2015. Countries listed as hybrid democracies included Benin, Botswana, Cape Verde, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa and Uganda. The majority of African countries were categorized as authoritarian.

In 2015, elections were held in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia that were seen as relatively peaceful, free and fair. In Nigeria, there was a smooth handover of power when the opposition All People's Congress defeated the ruling People's Democratic Party, marking the first time an opposition party unseated a ruling party in the country's history. But a controversial constitutional amendment in Burundi allowed President Pierre Nkurunziza to get a third term, plunging the country into crisis.

In Ethiopia, Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn's People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front reported a 100% victory, capturing all the 546 parliamentary seats. Africa’s 2016 electoral calendar includes the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Niger, Somalia, Uganda and Zambia. Successful elections could boost good governance in these countries.

Overall, Africa’s good governance picture shows steady progress, despite hiccups. Data generally indicates that good governance is trending in the right direction. The AU, the ECA, regional economic groupings and many governments recognize that citizens are yearning for good governance, and are responding with appropriate policies, as shown by the continental adoption of Agenda 2063.

As well, vocal civil society organizations are holding authorities accountable. The judiciary, media, electoral bodies and other institutions are helping to strengthen good governance in many countries, even if under pressure to do better.

One can say with a degree of certainty that Africa is on a slow but steady march forward.
Anti-malaria drug developer wins innovation prize

BY PAVITHRA RAO

A ground-breaking anti-malarial drug extracted from a local plant, and a computer software that enables health care workers to determine the appropriate drug treatment for patients with HIV/AIDS, are two of the Innovation Prize for Africa (IPA) award winners selected by a foundation this year.

Dr. Valentin Agon of Benin was selected overall winner, picking up the grand prize of $100,000 from the African Innovation Foundation (AIF) for his drug, Api-Palu, which clears the malaria parasite from the blood quickly and at a relatively low dose.

The drug, significantly cheaper than available antimalarial drugs, is already available in tablets, capsules and syrup, and has been approved for use in Benin, Burkina Faso, the Central African Republic and Chad.

The second prize, worth $25,000, went to Dr. Imogen Wright, a South African scientist, for Exatype, a software solution that can detect which drugs are effective or resistant in cases of patients with HIV.

A growing number of people on antiretroviral medicines are becoming resistant to many of the available drug regimens, leading to failure of the therapy. Exatype uses sequencing of the HIV DNA to determine the drugs to which patients are resistant. The software may also prove useful for other ailments, such as tuberculosis and malaria.

The $25,000 Social Impact Prize went to Eddy Agbo, a Nigerian molecular biotechnologist, for his invention, Urine Test for Malaria, a simple test kit that can detect malaria in less than 30 minutes through a urine analysis rather than the traditional, time-consuming blood smear test.

The IPA annual awardees are selected by the AIF, a UK-based non-profit organisation that spurs innovation and entrepreneurship and ingenuity to further positive change in Africa. It honours individuals who have made advances that enrich the quality of life on the continent. Launched in 2011, the awards focus on home-grown solutions in specific areas of growth and prosperity: health and well-being, agriculture and agribusiness, the manufacturing and service industry, the environment, energy and water and information and communications technologies.

This year’s award ceremony was held in Gaborone, Botswana, in May and honoured 10 finalists out of 985 applicants from 46 African countries.

“In the past five years, I’ve seen innovation grow from a mere buzzword to a sturdy path for African growth in multidisciplinary industries across the continent,” said IPA director Pauline Mujawamariya Koelbl at the awards ceremony. “As Africans, we have the talent, potential and clout to solve our own problems with ingenuity too, and IPA is testimony of this.”

Among the 10 finalists in the health and well-being category, according to IPA, were Kit Vaughn, professor, postdoctoral fellow in orthopaedic engineering and CEO, whose dual-imaging device can be used to perform mammography and ultrasound at the same time, dramatically improving breast cancer detection while using minimal X-rays. Called the Aceso, it conducts exams that consist of a 3-D ultrasound image and a digital X-ray. The process is faster than a typical screening for breast cancer, which includes multiple visits to a doctor for tests that can take more than 30 minutes each. Launched in 2015 at Cape Town’s Groote Schuur Hospital, test trial screening is continuing before the innovation can receive a European Conformity trademark, meaning the device meets the essential EU standards and requirements and can therefore be sold legally.

Godwin Benson from Nigeria developed Tutoria—a peer-to-peer learning online platform that enables students to connect online with someone offering that skill and meet offline for practical exchange.

Samuel Rigu, an agribusiness graduate of the University of Nairobi, Kenya, cofounded Safi Sarvi Organics, a company producing low-cost fertilizer made from organic products and waste from farm harvests.

Youssef Rashed from Egypt developed the Plate Package, a software that can assess the health and well-being of farm animals, using minimal X-rays. Called the Aceso, it conducts exams that consist of a 3-D ultrasound image and a digital X-ray. The process is faster than a typical screening for breast cancer, which includes multiple visits to a doctor for tests that can take more than 30 minutes each. Launched in 2015 at Cape Town’s Groote Schuur Hospital, test trial screening is continuing before the innovation can receive a European Conformity trademark, meaning the device meets the essential EU standards and requirements and can therefore be sold legally.

André Nel, an electronics and software engineer from South Africa, came up with the Green Tower—a solar off-grid water heating and air conditioning system that reduces electricity consumption by up to 90%.

A mini tractor made from a remodelled motorcycle by Femi Odeleye, an automobile designer from Nigeria, was also a big attraction. With various farming implements attached, the Tryctor can carry out similar operations to a conventional tractor’s on a smaller scale.
There was something striking about the 25th World Economic Forum on Africa held in Cape Town, South Africa, in June. Alongside the African heads of state and government and other world leaders who regularly attend this prestigious event, sat some 80 young African men and women.

The forum set out to capture the essence of youth and innovation on the continent.

Referred to as “fellow global shapers,” these young entrepreneurs from over 30 African countries were chosen to collaborate on a book, “The Africa 80—Transformation through Collaboration”, illustrating the innovative ways in which youth in Africa could make a difference in developing and contributing to society.

Fittingly, Africa’s youngest billionaire, Ugandan Ashish Thakkar of business conglomerate Mara Group, was picked to write the book’s foreword.

Sharing their vision for the continent, the young co-authors present anecdotes and share experiences on how their individual goals have come to fruition.

Edited into short chapters sorted alphabetically by each author’s last name, the book is a straightforward read. Some chapters are presented in French, to mirror Africa’s diverse makeup.

Says co-author Michael Waiyaki Nganga: “The youth of Africa must rise up and realize that Africa will change only if they do change themselves. We must think and act responsibly for the sake of future generations.”

Further reason for this book—perhaps it will serve as a catalyst in taking on that quest.

— Pavithra Rao

**APPOINTMENTS**

United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has appointed Mary Robinson of Ireland and Macharia Kamau of Kenya as his special envoys on El Niño and Climate. Ms. Robinson is currently the president of the Mary Robinson Foundation and Mr. Kamau the Permanent Representative of Kenya to the United Nations. Ms. Robinson, a former President of Ireland, had served as the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and as Mr. Ban’s special envoy for climate change. Mr. Kamau is a former president of the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) Board. He co-chaired the UN General Assembly working group on sustainable development goals, which includes the fight against climate change.

Modibo Touré of Mali has been appointed as special representative for Guinea-Bissau and head of the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS). Mr. Touré served as special adviser to the special envoy for the Great Lakes Region from 2013 to 2015. He succeeds Miguel Trovoada of São Tomé and Príncipe.


Abiodun Oluremi Bashua of Nigeria has been appointed to lead a special investigation into the attack against the UN mission in South Sudan. Most recently, Mr. Bashua served as deputy joint special representative of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID).

Nicholas Haysom of South Africa has been appointed as special envoy for Sudan and South Sudan. Most recently, Mr. Haysom served as the special representative for the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA). He succeeds Haile Menkerios of South Africa.
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