

AfricaRenewal

December 2013

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The Sahel

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home-made solutions**

**The rise of South Africa's
middle class**



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Cover photo: *UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and AUC Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma at a press briefing during their visit to Africa's Sahel region.* 📷 World Bank/Dominic Chavez

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UN Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson plants a tree in memory of 15 people who died in an attack on the UN country compound in Mogadishu, Somalia. 📷 AU/UN IST Photo/Stuart Price

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Security Council delegation being briefed during its visit Goma, DRC. © UN Photo/Sylvain Liechti

On a visit to Africa's Great Lakes region, Council urges break with past

By André-Michel Essoungou

Five months after United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and World Bank President Jim Yong Kim visited Africa's Great Lakes region, a 15-member delegation of the UN Security Council followed suit. The delegation travelled to the region from 4 to 8 October and met with political leaders and local activists, displaced persons and refugees, as well as UN peacekeepers and diplomats.

The visit was an attempt by the Council to get a better grasp of the complexities of a region where instability has persisted over the past two decades, with a new peak in fighting seen in recent months. Since April 2012 and the creation of the March 23 armed movement (known as the M23), renewed fighting has forced up to 2 million people

to flee their homes, mainly in the eastern region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

The visit came three years after another Council trip to the same region that had modest ambitions: just a two-country visit to the DRC and Uganda. This time, however, after stops in these two countries, the delegation went on to Rwanda before heading farther east to Ethiopia, which hosts the African Union headquarters.

The Council's busy agenda was an acknowledgement that a solution to the persisting instability in the Great Lakes region requires the active engagement and the commitment of key regional actors. On various occasions over the past years, the Council has indeed urged countries of the region to find a peaceful solution to the instability plaguing the DRC, mainly in the east. The latest such calls came shortly after the M23 armed group—allegedly supported by Rwanda, though Rwanda strongly denies this—took up arms against the DRC government, plunging the region into one of its worst episodes of instability in recent years. The M23 rebels were expected to sign a peace deal with the government in November after suffering defeats at the hands of government forces backed by a 3,000-strong UN intervention brigade.

In response, two political processes were initiated: a wide-ranging peace and security agreement among the countries of the region (DRC, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Rwanda, South Africa, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia), and peace talks in Kampala, Uganda's capital, between the DRC government and M23 leaders.

During its visit the Council delegation was updated by regional leaders on the implementation of the agreement, and on the progress of the peace talks. On both issues the Council urged the leaders not to repeat the mistakes of the past. Unlike previous agreements, this one must be followed by action, it reportedly told presidents Joseph Kabila of the DRC, Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda.

On the Kampala talks, speaking to the press in Kinshasa on behalf of the delegation, the Security Council representatives of Morocco and France insisted that the past provides clear lessons about the consequences of integrating armed groups into national armies without rigorous vetting. They warned against repeating such mistakes. In the Council's view, they added, there could be no compromise on fighting impunity—no amnesty should be granted to M23 members who have committed serious crimes.

On the last leg of their visit, the Council members visited the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa. In addition to addressing the situation in the Great Lakes region, they held discussions with AU officials on a wide range of issues related to peace and security in Africa.

Oil politics heats up in Liberia

By Kingsley Ighobor

When Liberia's 14-year civil war was ending 10 years ago, citizens desperately wanted to live in a country where children could go to school safely,

women were not molested, traders travelled between cities, and so on. Today, with those goals mostly met, the country faces another challenge: that of managing its abundant natural resources, particularly oil that was discovered in 2012.

With an impressive GDP growth of 10.8% in 2012, according to the World Bank, the oil discovery has triggered both excitement and fear. While oil could potentially accelerate the country's development, Liberians also remember that mismanagement of its forestry, gold

10.8%

Growth in Liberia's
Gross Domestic Product
in 2012, according to the
World Bank

and diamonds resources was one of the causes of the last war. Therefore, they advise that all excitement be curtailed while the right policies are set.

It didn't seem like the Liberian Senate heeded such advice when it swiftly passed two oil bills in September: the first bill defined the role of the National Oil Company of Liberia (NOCAL) as a commercial entity and the second set the regulatory policies. But the bills hit a brick wall in the lower legislative chamber, the House of Representatives, where members raised alarm over the lack of extensive consultations with citizens before passage in the Senate.

The House members' cautious approach appears in line with public thinking. Almost unanimously, Liberian civil society groups opposed the bills and criticised Mr. Robert Sirleaf, head of NOCAL and son of President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, for lobbying senators to pass the two pieces of legislation.

Silas Siakor, head of the Sustainable Development Institute, a Liberian NGO that promotes judicious exploitation of natural resources, criticised Mr. Sirleaf for not consulting widely. "They [Mr. Sirleaf and his NOCAL colleagues] were totally opposed to the idea of any kind of citizen input [to the bill]." Under pressure, Mr. Sirleaf resigned both his position as head of NOCAL and as an adviser to the President, claiming that he had completed his mandate to reform the oil sector.

The House members and the civil society groups believe they have at least won the battle to have government open up the process of drafting the oil legislation. On its part, the government launched a nationwide public awareness campaign to explain the details in the bills. A key contention in one of the bills is over an allocation of 5% of oil proceeds to Liberians' social welfare. During the campaign in Saniquellie, Nimba County, citizens demanded that such an allocation should be at least 10% of the proceeds.

They also rejected the president's powers to appoint NOCAL board members, preferring the legislature to exercise such powers. They insisted that prospective oil companies be made to establish an oil refinery in the country to create jobs for Liberians.

Analysts believe that after the initial storm, the government will likely make changes to the legislation to accommodate the citizens' concerns. Global Witness, a watchdog group that campaigns against natural resource-related conflicts and corruption, says Liberia needs the right policies and could very well set them. The Liberian oil sector could potentially be "one of the best-run and best-governed sectors on the continent, if not in the world, in terms of developing countries with new oil finds," says Chloe Fussell, a campaigner for the organization. ●

\$500bn Projected trade between BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) nations and Africa by 2015. In 2012, this figure stood at \$340 billion. BRICS are motivated, among other reasons, by Africa's growing middle class currently estimated to be about 300 million.

QUOTABLES



UN Photo/Amanda Voisard

What we are doing is creating an environment for women to know they do not need to feel ashamed [of rape]. To give them back their dignity, give them back their physical and mental health, give them the power to know they are strong.

Dr. Denis Mukwege, Founder and Medical Director of Panzi Hospital, Democratic Republic of the Congo

One of the things I learned about my grandparents is that you always have the power in you to make a difference in somebody else's life despite your own challenges, and I think that's what I'm trying to do.

Zoleka Mandela, granddaughter of former South African president Nelson Mandela on her newly released book

Your struggle is our struggle and if you succeed, the women of Africa succeed.

Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Chairperson of the African Union Commission addressing women in Mali during her visit to the Sahel region

African Union



Over the past decade, governance in Africa has improved considerably, aided in part by the African Peer Review Mechanism. There are fewer coups, more elections and better management of national economies. But there is still need for more accountability and transparency before Africa can claim credit for good governance. Corruption is still rife and illicit financial flows are draining the continent's domestic resources.

African Peer Review Mechanism comes of age

Countries embracing self-monitoring mechanism to shine light on domestic affairs

By Kingsley Ighobor



A high-level panel discussion, "Africa's innovation in governance through 10 years of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)", took place during Africa Week at United Nations Headquarters.

📷 Africa Renewal/Bo Li

A delegation from the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), a self-monitoring instrument created by African leaders in 2003, did not exactly beat the drums this past October to celebrate its 10th anniversary at the United Nations in New York. Rather, members explained the APRM's activities and achievements at the different forums organized to mark Africa Week at the UN. And they acknowledged the huge tasks ahead.

The APRM is one of the ways African leaders have responded to calls for good governance—a self-assessment instrument

they promoted from the outset as "an innovative approach designed and implemented by Africans for Africa." APRM experts work with governments and civil society groups to review country performance in areas like democracy and good governance, socio-economic development, corporate governance, corruption, human rights—particularly women's and children's rights—conflicts and judicial independence. Membership in the APRM is voluntary.

The not-so-subtle message hammered at the UN was that the APRM is a full-fledged African approach to dealing with Africa's

problems. "APRM is an instrument for transformation and a lot has been achieved in the last 10 years," says Fatuma Nyirakobwa, vice-chair of the body's panel of eminent persons.

Political will

So far 33 African countries have joined the APRM, of which 17 have been reviewed by their peers. Ms. Nyirakobwa, a former Rwandan ambassador to Tanzania, sees that as a glass half full. "Thirty-three countries [signing up] over the past 10 years is no mean achievement... We have to consider that this is a voluntary process," she explains in an interview with *Africa Renewal*.

Africa comprises 54 countries, meaning 21 have yet to join the APRM. And just 17 of the 33 participating countries have been peer-reviewed. "Why don't the remaining 16 countries want to be reviewed?" asks Ms. Nyirakobwa rhetorically. "This is an issue of commitment and political will right at the highest level. I think we need to accept that every country has its reasons."

There is no need to fret over the number of countries in the APRM, says Liberian finance minister Amara M. Konneh, who represented his country's president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, at Africa Week. "Going all the way to 33 is progress. We will get there. It's a matter of time."

President Sirleaf is the chairperson of the APRM Forum, its highest decision-making authority, which is made up of heads of state of participating countries. Ms. Nyirakobwa is urging every African country to join and all those in it to undergo peer review.

The review process

The peer review process typically has five stages. In stage one a country conducts a self-assessment, guided by an APRM questionnaire. At the same time, APRM officials conduct a background study of the country's governance and development issues. During

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A vision of an integrated Africa

— Maged Abdelaziz and Ibrahim Mayaki

Under-Secretary-General Maged Abdelaziz, special adviser to the UN secretary-general and head of the Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA) and Dr. Ibrahim Assane Mayaki, chief executive officer of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) agency, lead institutions that are helping shape Africa's socioeconomic and political transformation. In a rare joint interview with *Africa Renewal's* Kingsley Ighobor and André-Michel Essoungou—during the UN NEPAD Africa Week activities last October in New York—Mr. Abdelaziz and Dr. Mayaki discussed critical issues surrounding Africa's economic development.

The president of the UN General Assembly recently referred to NEPAD as a success story. When people say NEPAD is a success, what comes to your mind?

Ibrahim Mayaki: If we look at the last 12 years, which have been years of positive transformation for Africa, NEPAD has played a critical role of providing a blueprint for strategic thinking, and that has allowed transformation to take place. In 2000, coming after years of structural adjustment, our capacity to prioritize and think strategically was erased at country and regional levels. So NEPAD as a programme filled that vacuum, helping the countries in the region to better set their priorities and strategize.

Important projects are now being framed. I always give the example of the 4,500 kms Algiers-Lagos Trans-Saharan Highway, which, with only 80 kms remaining, is slated for completion in 2014. In agriculture, there have also been national investments and private sector plans. In biotechnology, we have trained more than 400 regulators to help African countries design biotechnology policies. When the Office of the Special Adviser on Africa was created, there was a motivation to see NEPAD programmes implemented, and forging a partnership between OSAA and NEPAD was a critical strategic element. The stronger OSAA is, the stronger our capacity will be to achieve our objectives.

As head of OSAA, how do you assess NEPAD?

Maged Abdelaziz: NEPAD was established in 2001 after the adoption of the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals] in 2000. It was a very positive sign when the AU and African countries began working diligently to achieve the MDGs. NEPAD is not only about development, it is also about governance and it is about peace and security as well. The successes of NEPAD's integrated approach are commendable. The nexus between peace and security, development, human rights and good governance is very important. The UN decided in 2003 to establish OSAA to support NEPAD. Also, the secretary-general reappointed a special adviser to oversee the last period of the MDGs, and, together with NEPAD, work on the post-2015 development agenda to help shape sustainable development goals. So I would consider NEPAD a great success and I would like to congratulate Dr. Mayaki.

Dr. Mayaki just said that NEPAD's success is inextricably linked to OSAA's success. How does OSAA define its success?

Abdelaziz: Our success in OSAA is to [promote] NEPAD at the international level. The analytical work that we do, the advocacy that we undertake, the outreach that we do with the international donors, the World Bank, the IMF, other institutions, are all aimed to accomplish this goal.

GOOD GOVERNANCE

Dr. Mayaki, left, and Mr. Abdelaziz during the interview. 

There is also the regional level—what the ECA [Economic Commission for Africa] and the African Development Bank, in conjunction with the African Union, do. And that's why we have an Africa Week at the UN, when Dr. Mayaki and others come to speak to member states, the diaspora, the NGOs, youth organizations, women and so on. This is because the African agenda has become a people-centred agenda, not only a government-centred agenda.

There are many bodies—ECA, NEPAD, OSAA—involved in pursuing Africa's development agenda. How difficult is it coordinating among these bodies?

Abdelaziz: This is a question that is often asked. Our mandate to support NEPAD is three-pronged. We are three entities supporting NEPAD. OSAA is 67% of that support and the remainder is shared between the UN Department of Public Information and the ECA. It's necessary that we have good coordination. There are some activities that we cannot do. For



Africa Renewal/Bo Li

example, we do not have operational activities in Africa because [of our mandate], and we are situated in New York. Because the ECA is much more mobile, it can move along with NEPAD and the AfDB to meet its goals.

How can Africa accelerate its integration process?

Mayaki: The main motivation for regional integration is economic. If you take a sector like energy, the optimal solutions are not at the national level but at the regional. In many development sectors, which are critical, the optimal solutions are regional. Now, political leaders in civil society and the private sector understand this. It has helped push forward the values of the AU. NEPAD has a responsibility to liaise with the regional economic communities to enhance their capacity. By increasing the capacity to plan, to monitor, to evaluate and to create coherence at the regional level, we increase the regional integration process. The second issue has to do with peace and security. As you know, the AU

has an early warning system within its peace and security council and standby forces. That was nonexistent 20 years ago. This [arrangement] is helping prevent and manage conflicts. It has a rapid reaction capacity when a conflict emerges. You saw it in the case of Mali, in the role played by ECOWAS with AU support, and in the troops that went into Mali with the support of the UN Security Council.

OSAA usually supports the work of the regional economic communities. Is it part of the same thinking?

Abdelaziz: Exactly! This is part of the belief that African integration starts at the [bottom] level. Regional integration has to start at the subregional level, where the importance of the economic communities comes into play. There are some deadlines that have already been agreed to by the AU but are subject to review. These include an agreement that by 2017 all customs barriers in the subregions will be lifted to increase subregional trade, and by 2023 these customs barriers should be lifted for

the whole continent. By 2027 we will begin considering an African common currency. So there is a plan tied to time frames, and the UN is very supportive of this.

The Programme for Infrastructure Development for Africa (PIDA) has an ambitious plan to revamp Africa's infrastructure. About 51 programmes have been identified for implementation. How do you finance these projects?

Mayaki: In order to boost intra-African trade, we need to improve infrastructure. That's why we designed PIDA as a 30-year strategy, focusing on regional trans-boundary projects. The good thing about PIDA is that it was designed from the bottom up. The priorities are consensual. That highway of 4,500 kms from Algiers to Lagos would not have been possible without the political and technical support of each of the affected countries. Ten years ago a private sector operator who wanted to discuss a regional project with two governments would be lacking a rational framework. PIDA is that rational

framework. Out of these 51 programmes, we have worked on some 250 specific projects so far, and out of these projects, we have picked 16 which we are going to discuss in Dakar [Senegal] in December at the Dakar Financing Summit on Infrastructure. The objective of this summit is to create a dialogue between policy makers, heads of government and private sector operators. Financing will develop from public-private partnerships.

Is the 4,500 km road from Algiers to Lagos financed with public money?

Mayaki: Yes, only public money. That shows that public money can do a lot of good things. But if we want to improve, we will need private sector money. Absolutely.

How critical are these projects for Africa?

Abdelaziz: As the UN sees it, AU priorities are shifting. You can't industrialize without the infrastructure, namely electricity, roads, transport and the necessary infrastructure to support this development. Industrialization has its own economic and social ground rules. The economic ground rule is not to rely solely on extractive industries and selling raw materials for cheap prices. The social ground rule is to provide opportunities for employment for the young generation and to encourage women to go into business in the industrial sector.

You often talk about a critical link between peace and development. What does that mean in the case of Africa?

Abdelaziz: Let me start by saying that the peace and security climate in Africa is improving. The number of peacekeeping missions is declining, conflicts are fewer now than before. Still, there are some unstable areas that are scaring away investors. Political stability in areas like Darfur is going to help in development. So this kind of nexus is very important; it creates the necessary climate for development. That's why the UN secretary-general and the president of the World Bank went to the Great Lakes region earlier this year and the World Bank committed \$1 billion for development activities to help stabilize [the region].

You [Mayaki] said at Harvard University the other day that Africa is taking a risk

by not addressing youth unemployment. How frightening is this trend?

Mayaki: Very frightening because we have 70% of our population under 25 years of age. Young people are very impatient for results. You can't tell them, 'Wait for 50, 40, 30, 20 years.' You need to include them when designing policy—this is what Ambassador Abdelaziz is calling for.

Secondly, in anything you do, you need to prioritize job creation for the youth. Whether it's an energy policy, education policy, transport policy or anything you do, you must mainstream that because if you don't create jobs, you destabilize your social and political systems. If you are building a road, think about job creation for the youth. You are building a hospital—think about job creation for the youth. You are setting up job training centres—think about job creation for the youth.

There are fewer wars in Africa now than before, at a time when the continent has some of the world's fastest-growing economies. Is that a coincidence?

Abdelaziz: There is nothing on this front that is a coincidence. Having fewer

conflicts is a contributing factor to economic growth. But it's not the only factor, because African countries are now formulating many more rational economic, fiscal, financial and trade policies that are producing better growth rates. But we also have to worry about some other negative indicators. If a country is growing at 7.8%, for example, the question has to be "Which sector is driving this growth?" Growth has to come from sectors that will allow Africa to achieve the desired results in integration and realize the African renaissance. This is where commodity-based industrialization and value addition come to mind.

Regarding youth unemployment, some reports state that Africa needs to create as many as 10 million jobs a year to catch up with population growth. Are there job creation best practices in any part of Africa?

Mayaki: Most of the best practices are linked to policies on rural transformation. In Mali, for example, with roughly 20 million inhabitants, the demographic growth rate is 3.2% and 75% of the population is under 25. So every year in Mali,



Construction work on the Orile light rail terminal, part of a private-public enterprise to build a mass transit system

you have 300,000 youths between 18 and 25 years coming onto the employment market. The government cannot hire them in the civil service because of economic constraints. Your industry is small industry, so how are you going to create jobs?

It is mainly by tapping into agricultural development, because most young people are in rural areas. If you don't transform the rural economy and create wealth there, you run into major problems because they will come and ruralize the cities, and then they will destabilize all your systems. Creation of wealth in rural areas is a best practice. We have a programme, which is called Rural Futures, that deals with this issue.

Are there countries that are doing well in this regard?

Mayaki: There are countries starting to do well. In East Africa there are many countries.

Abdelaziz: Kenya, Tanzania—in East Africa. There are also some good examples with women issues. The parliament in Rwanda is comprised of 62% women. The

chair of the parliament is a woman and women-run businesses are increasing. So there is positive movement in this regard.

The post-2015 development agenda is considered an opportunity for Africa to present a unified and compelling case. What is OSAA doing along this line?

Abdelaziz: We supported the drafting of a common African position on the post-2015 development agenda. This draft is under consideration by the African group, and we participated in the discussion. There is a meeting of Africa's ministers of economy and finance in November. I'm travelling to Addis Ababa to take part in shaping the African common position on the post-2015 development agenda.

This also comes within the strategic framework of the AU for the years 2014 to 2017, which concentrates more on industrialization, regional integration and infrastructure. There is also the preparatory process for the Africa 2063 [50 years from 2013] document. OSAA is part of all the negotiating processes. We are providing our perspectives on where the MDGs will go and how a post-2015 agenda could accelerate in a much more operational and monitored way.

From your experience, how would a post-2015 development agenda be different from the current MDGs?

Abdelaziz: The MDGs are a set of principles that were not accompanied by a work plan with time frames. The principles simply stated that the MDGs were going to be implemented in 15 years. That's why you find variances in implementation and variances in the success of the MDGs.

On a post-2015 development agenda, there is a [desire] at the country level to put this into an action plan that should have time frames and progress reports that are to be reviewed so that when we come to 2030—after another 15 years—we can see what is tangible that has been implemented.

One recent statistic states that Africa lost nearly \$900 billion between 1970 and 2008 due to illicit financial flows. Does the continent need a policy to deal with this issue?

Mayaki: The AU has created a panel headed by former [South African] president Thabo Mbeki. The panel will formulate a report

and finalize it by March 2014. The interesting thing about illicit financial flows is that [indigenous] corruption accounts for between 5% and 10%. Illicit financial flows derived from commercial transactions are around 60%.

It means that in many African countries, you will find a corporation that has been working there for the last 25 years, but if you look at the books you'll see that they declare that they are not making any profit, but they are still there, for 25 years. There is the issue of a lack of capacity to look at taxation, transparent banking and the rest. You see that in many African countries today, governments are really looking at mutually negotiated contracts. But are they looking at how much taxes are being paid?

How do you see Africa in 20 years?

Mayaki: In 20 years growth will be sustained but it will be more inclusive, with high rates of youth employment, higher democratization process, fewer conflicts, and an active AU peace and security [mechanism] that reduces and manages conflicts. So 20 years from now we'll be much better globally because the youth of today will influence policies that are being designed.

The AU advised countries to commit 10% of their budgets to agriculture so that by 2015 agriculture can grow by 6%, but very few countries have complied. So why should anyone be optimistic?

Mayaki: The number of countries that have committed 10%, according to our tracking methodology, is around 20, which is less than half of all the countries. But numbers are increasing significantly. Today the world order raises a kind of global pessimism, but in Africa there is growing optimism. I'm convinced that the demographic dividends of our youth will really help concretize that optimism.


Abdelaziz: I would share the optimism of Dr. Mayaki. I just want to add that I wish that in 20 years Africa is at an integrated stage, with a unified currency, no customs duties between countries, joint projects on industrialization, functioning democracies, better human rights and governance situations, and fewer peace and security issues. I dream of an Africa that could be another European Union in about 30 to 40 years. 🇳🇬



in Lagos, Nigeria. 📷 Panos/George Osodi



GOOD GOVERNANCE

Civil society groups in Cape Town, South Africa, protested against the Protection of State Information Bill, dubbed the secrecy bill. Local and international critics saw the bill as a pretext for covering up state corruption.  Africa Media Online/Sara Gouveia

The rise of civil society groups in Africa

These groups have become major actors in the fight against corruption

By **André-Michel Essoungou**

Under the glaring sun of a recent Monday, an unusual group of protesters marched on the streets of Kampala, Uganda's capital, all dressed in black "to mourn the loss of Uganda's public money through corruption," as some of them pointedly explained to reporters. "Return our money and resign," read one of the slogans they brandished. Since November 2012, on the first Monday of each month, the Black Monday Movement—a coalition of local NGOs and civil society groups—has taken to the streets to highlight the effects of corruption in Uganda and to press public officials to act.

Coincidentally, a month before the movement's launch, a corruption scandal rocked the country. Media echoed a damning report by Uganda's auditor general accusing public officials—including some in the prime minister's office—of diverting some \$15 million. The money had been intended for development projects in the

conflict-affected northern region. "Massive theft" occurred, Prime Minister Amama Mbabazi admitted at a press conference.

Uproar ensued among foreign donors. Ireland, Britain, Norway and Denmark suspended financial aid. Ugandan authorities ordered an investigation and handed administrative dismissals to those allegedly involved. "This government is determined to clamp down on corruption," Prime Minister Mbabazi forcefully declared, adding, "What we are beginning to see is the beginning of a cleanup that will happen. We will look everywhere; we will turn everything upside down until we discover what may be wrong."

For the Black Monday activists, however, this case is only one among many. They allege that the more than two dozen high-profile incidents of corruption over the past decade have led to the loss of millions of dollars in public money. Rarely have culprits been brought to court, they claim.

Although its popularity remains limited, the movement has emerged as a remarkable feature in the country's public sphere. Through astute tactics and media strategies, it has managed to generate coverage and spur heated debates. The movement follows in the footsteps of a number of civil society groups fighting corruption across Africa: it is a phenomenon that has gathered steam in recent years and led to the emergence of new approaches and tactics.

Diverse paths

In South Africa since the late 1990s, for example, civil society mobilisation against corruption has often been part of a wider effort involving the government and other institutions. In 1999, the government held the first anti-corruption summit. Two years later, it launched the National Anti-Corruption Forum, which brings together civil society, business and government in the fight against corruption. The forum subsequently adopted a comprehensive Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy committing the government to combat corruption within the public service. More anti-corruption summits were held in 2005 and 2008 and each time civil society actors have been closely involved.

In its 2006 report on South Africa's efforts on good governance, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)—a self-monitoring mechanism founded in 2003 by African leaders—noted that "the development of key partnerships between the government, civil society and the private sector in fighting corruption" is one of the central aspects of the country's effort.

Some groups independent of those partnerships also aggressively campaign against corruption, a problem some perceive as worsening in South Africa. The country has been falling on the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index, going from number 43 out of 179 countries in 2007, to number 69 out of 174 countries in 2012. In January 2012, community leaders, trade unionists and civil servants launched Corruption Watch, a civil society organisation that "relies on the public to report corruption, and...uses these reports as an important source of information to fight corruption and hold leaders accountable." The watchdog reports that in its first 11 months of operation, it received 1,227 reports alleging corruption, many of them sent through Facebook or via text messages,

highlighting the modern character of the campaign.

Allegations of corruption have often swirled around oil exploitation in the Republic of the Congo. Only in the late 1990s however did the fight against corruption start gaining momentum, first through a campaign led by Catholic bishops, then starting in 2003 through a group of NGOs assembled under the national chapter of the Publish What You Pay coalition, a global network of civil society organizations calling for openness and accountability in the extractive sectors. Since then their relentless denunciations have led to significant attempts at transparency by public officials.

Civil society mobilisation against corruption in Africa has also been at the heart of recent waves of protest on the continent. Tunisia's autumn of discontent that led to the ousting of former president Ben Ali in 2011 started as a reaction against the corrupt ways of the ruling elite. These had been exposed through American diplomatic cables made public by Wikileaks, a website that publishes secret information from anonymous sources and whistle-blowers.

In 2011 and 2012, anti-corruption campaigners in Senegal

contributed to the downfall of former president Abdoulaye Wade, his son and heir apparent, Karim Wade, and a number of formerly powerful members of his government. Many now stand accused of corruption. Senegal's anti-corruption campaign proved a powerful force as popular artists like the rapper Ndongo D of the group Daara-J joined journalists and activists in mobilising the public. Their movement, *Y'en a marre* ("Enough"), rallied protesters on the streets of Senegal's capital, Dakar, in the last months of Mr. Wade's presidency.

Unsurprisingly, such mobilisations followed the advances in democratisation that have been taking place on the continent since the early 1990s. Before that period, one-party systems and strongman-led regimes dominated, leaving no room for independent groups to mobilise against corruption. Yet, notes Marianne Camerer, a South African political scientist and anti-corruption activist, "Corruption frequently takes place in societies where there is

considerable discretion for public officials, limited accountability and little transparency in governmental operations; in such societies civil society institutions are often weak and underdeveloped."

External actors

Since the dawn of the era of political openness in Africa, external civil society groups have also contributed to the fight against corruption on the continent. Their support has brought global visibility to national activists, as well as much-needed resources.

Indeed, Congo's civil society mobilisation against corruption in the oil sector benefited from support from the national chapter of Publish What You Pay. Through its wide reach among policymakers and global media, the coalition helped shield its Congolese partners from harassment, in part by publicizing threats against

“Corruption frequently takes place in societies where there is considerable discretion for public officials, limited accountability and little transparency in governmental operations

them. Along with other external groups, it supported a high-profile corruption lawsuit in a French court against three African presidents, including the president of Congo.

Equally active is the Berlin-based Transparency International (TI), founded in 1993 by former World Bank official Peter Eigen and nine partners. Mr. Eigen witnessed the negative impact of corruption during his time in East Africa. TI has since emerged as one of the most visible anti-corruption advocates. Its Corruption Perception Index—feared in many circles—is widely cited. A number of African countries have ranked low, earning themselves bad reputations. The bottom five on the corruption index in Africa last year were Zimbabwe, Burundi, Chad, Sudan, and Somalia. To assist its 94 national chapters, of which 14 are in Africa, TI provides them with tools and training to curb local corruption.

Based in Washington, D.C., Global Integrity, another anti-corruption group, has gained notoriety in the eyes of offenders

in recent years. Co-founded by investigative journalist Charles Lewis, his researcher Nathaniel Heller, and South African activist Marianne Camerer, it brings to the fight against corruption a new tool: information sharing in real time through an online platform known as Indaba Fieldwork. Global Integrity relies on a network of contributors, including many across Africa. Recently it announced that in collaboration with the Mo Ibrahim Foundation—active in the field of good governance in Africa—it will soon publish its own index, the Africa Integrity Indicators. The stated objective of this index is to assess key social, economic, political and anti-corruption mechanisms at the national level in over 50 African countries.

Persisting challenges

Despite their courageous, sometimes heroic actions, and support from vocal outsiders, civil society groups involved in the fight against corruption in Africa face significant challenges. For many, harassment and threats to their lives are not rare. In their monthly bulletin, Uganda's Black Monday activists chronicle their difficult interactions with the country's police. In Congo, members of the Publish What You Pay campaign have faced what they consider "judicial harassment" by the authorities.

Another more insidious threat to civil society mobilisation against corruption is its inability to maintain momentum in some contexts. In Nigeria, for example, laments Debo Adeniran, executive chairman of Coalition Against Corrupt Leaders, "Our arsenal as civil society organisations is being depleted by the powerful cabal who keep on poaching on our rank and file." In an interview he told *Punch*, a Nigerian daily, "Many anti-corruption campaigners have switched over and joined the bandwagon of institutional corruption in various tiers of government. Unfortunately, they now see things differently."

The good news remains, however: civil society groups in Africa have become actors in the fight against corruption on the continent, a noticeable contrast from just two decades ago, when they were virtually absent. Yet combating corruption effectively also takes engagement by governments, official watchdogs and justice systems. As Marianne Camerer puts it, in Africa as much as elsewhere, "the involvement of civil society actors is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to reduce corruption." 🐘



GOOD GOVERNANCE

A crew member prepares to board the RBD Anema E Core in the Lomé anchorage; the tanker was hijacked by pirates in Benin in 2011. © IRIN/Daniel Hayduk

Piracy in West Africa

A bumpy road to maritime security

By Nirit Ben-Ari

For many people, the phrase *maritime piracy* evokes images of a one-eyed sailor drinking rum and singing obscene songs. For some younger people, piracy may bring to mind the picture of Hollywood actor Johnny Depp, wearing a headband in a scene from the film *Pirates of the Caribbean*.

But maritime piracy is not just an action movie. The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea defines piracy as “illegal acts of violence or detention” committed on the high seas against ships or aircraft. Piracy is a serious problem and it poses a real threat not only to the safety of vessels and their crews, but also to the economies of affected countries.

In Africa, while piracy in Somalia’s Gulf of Aden is currently on the decline, it has spread to West Africa. Although most attacks in the region take place in Nigeria’s Niger Delta region, there have also been attacks in Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea and Togo, among others, according to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

Reuters news agency reported that one such attack took place in October 2013 off

Nigeria’s coast, where pirates attacked an oil supply vessel and kidnapped the captain and chief engineer, both American citizens. The report stated that “pirate attacks off Nigeria’s coast have jumped by a third this year as ships passing through West Africa’s Gulf of Guinea, a major commodities route, have increasingly come under threat from gangs wanting to snatch cargoes and crews.”

Unlike pirates along Somalia’s coast, who are often only after ransom, pirates in West Africa also steal goods, particularly oil. Many attacks end up with crew members injured or killed. But pirate attacks do not only result in killings and injuries, tragic as those are; they also damage the economy. In some cases, affected countries in West Africa have become less concerned with direct losses from piracy than with the ways in which these losses affect international insurance rates and other trade-related costs.

In Benin, for example, taxes on trade account for half of government revenue, and 80% of these are derived from the port of Cotonou, according to UNODC figures

published in March 2013. Last year the spike in pirate attacks in West Africa led London-based Lloyd’s Market Association, an umbrella group of maritime insurers, to list Nigeria, neighbouring Benin and nearby waters in the same risk category as Somalia, says *Claims Journal*, a magazine for insurance professionals. The result was a significant decrease in maritime traffic in the region, which meant a 28% loss in Benin’s government revenue. The decrease also affected the livelihoods of the country’s citizens, says UNODC, by increasing the cost of imports and decreasing the competitiveness of exports.

According to Reuters, though ships now speed with armed guards on board through the dangerous waters off Somalia and the Horn of Africa on the east coast of the continent, many vessels have to anchor to do business with West African countries, with little protection. This makes them a soft target for criminals, says Reuters, and jacks up insurance costs.

Corruption drives piracy

As is often the case, corruption, weak law enforcement and poverty are the main causes of piracy, according to Dr. Christian Bueger, a Cardiff University researcher and editor of *Piracy-Studies.org*, an online research portal. In an interview with *Africa Renewal*, Dr. Bueger said, “Piracy tends to be conducted or supported by marginalized

communities that have not been participating in economic development.”

This appears to be the case for Nigeria, for example, where the majority of the recent African pirate attacks have occurred, driven mainly by corruption in the oil sector. Chatham House, a British research group, reported in September 2013 that “corruption and fraud are rampant in the country’s oil sector,” and “lines between legal and illegal supplies of Nigerian oil can be blurry.” In such a climate pirates have an incentive to steal oil, since they know that they will be able to sell it on the black market.

“Illegal bunkering [filling ships with fuel] is enormously profitable” in Nigeria, writes Martin Murphy, a professor at Georgetown University in Washington D.C. and a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States, a policy think tank, in his article “Petro-Piracy: Oil and Troubled Waters,” published in *Orbis* for the Foreign Policy Research Institute. “The scale of losses is staggering—more than \$100 billion worth of oil has gone missing since 1960,” writes Professor Murphy.

The damage caused by thieves has forced oil companies to shut down pipelines. Royal Dutch Shell is selling off four of its onshore Nigerian oil blocks because of the constant theft of large volumes of oil from its pipelines, *United Press International* reported in October 2013. As a result of the shutting down of pipelines, Nigeria is producing about 400,000 barrels a day below its capacity of 2.5 million barrels a day, according to the *Economist*, a British weekly.

The *New York Times* reported in September 2013 that Nigeria’s former top anti-corruption official, Nuhu Ridabu, had written a report in 2012 charging that over the preceding decade, thieves had stolen between 6% and 30% of the country’s oil production.

Countering piracy

In his interview with *Africa Renewal*, Dr. Bueger suggested four steps to counter piracy. First, the key is for affected states to share information on what’s happening on their coastlines and their neighbours’. Second, joint training activities are required so countries can develop procedures and learn how to use technology. Training not only educates future generations of maritime security professionals, but also creates confidence and trust between different agencies. Third, states

that face maritime and piracy challenges should develop strong legislation to prosecute criminals.

And finally, states should set aside enough money to build local capacity. “Even if a state has the information, even if the state has well-trained coast guards, and even if the state has incorporated all the right laws,” Dr. Bueger explains, “without vessels, the state is powerless.” At the moment, of the states most affected by piracy, only South Africa and Nigeria have a professional navy. Most other countries have small and outdated coast guards with no more than three to five skiffs.

What has been done?

Several international legal instruments are in place to combat threats posed by piracy. The key agreement is the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, which prescribes exclusive economic zones over which individual states have the rights for exploration, energy production from water and wind, and the use of marine resources. For this agreement to be operative, states have to adopt and incorporate it into their national laws. All West African countries have signed and ratified the Law of the Sea Convention.

2.5mn barrels

Daily oil production capacity of Nigeria. Pipelines have been shutdown due to theft, lowering capacity by 400,000 barrels a day

However, the UN Security Council has yet to call for concerted international action against piracy along the Gulf of Guinea, as it did in the Somali case when, in June 2008, it authorized other countries to enter Somali territorial waters to stop pirates. In 2011 the council passed two resolutions expressing its concern about piracy in the Gulf of Guinea and urging states to reinforce domestic legislation, develop a comprehensive regional counter-piracy framework, issue appropriate guidance to shipping and cooperate in prosecuting pirates and their backers.

Despite the absence of any Security Council action so far, and unlike in the Gulf of Aden, in West Africa there is already

an institutional infrastructure to combat piracy. The Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) has in its treaty of 1993 a maritime component intended to harmonize all maritime issues across the region; the Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa, established in the 1970s, holds member countries to a similar agreement.

Last year ECOWAS, the Gulf of Guinea Commission and the Economic Community of Central African States signed a memorandum of understanding between the International Maritime Organization and the Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa, to establish a subregional integrated coast guard network in West and Central Africa, among other things.

Records show that despite these regional actions, the number of pirate attacks continues to increase. The International Maritime Bureau, a specialised division of the International Chamber of Commerce, reports that while pirate attacks (actual and attempted) in the Gulf of Guinea fell from 54 in 2008 to 37 in 2010, there has been a steady increase since then: 49 in 2011 and 58 in 2012. As of August 2013, there were 28 attacks in Nigeria alone. These numbers, however, might be deceptive because many attacks go unreported.

But piracy is not the only security threat at sea. “Piracy has drawn attention to wider problems of maritime insecurity,” says Dr. Bueger, such as trafficking and smuggling of humans, weapons and narcotics, and illegal and unregulated fishing activities. Hence, he says, the attention currently being given to the fight against piracy could be used as a stepping stone by the international community to create sustainable institutions of maritime security.

International institutions are crucial for counter-piracy efforts, but they require long-term commitment. The African Union has already declared that its objective is to implement the African Maritime Security Strategy by 2050. Among the strategy’s goals are to “ensure security and safety of maritime transportation systems,” and to “prevent hostile and criminal acts at sea, and to coordinate/harmonize the prosecution of the offenders.”

It’s a long-term strategy, but without a doubt concerted action is needed now to stop piracy in West Africa before it deteriorates and spreads to other African coastal areas. 🐘

Illicit Financial Flows from Africa: track it, stop it, get it

Illicit money outflows are draining Africa's domestic resources, depriving it of crucial investment funds

By Masimba Tafirenyika



eyevine/Redux

The figures are staggering: between \$1.2 trillion and \$1.4 trillion has left Africa in illicit financial flows between 1980 and 2009—roughly equal to Africa's current gross domestic product, and surpassing by far the money it received from outside over the same period. Illicit financial flows are money earned illegally and transferred for use elsewhere. The money is usually generated from criminal activities, corruption, tax evasion, bribes and transactions from cross-border smuggling.

The numbers tell only part of the story. It is a story that exposes how highly complex and deeply entrenched practices have flourished over the past decades with devastating impact, but barely made it into the news headlines. “The illicit haemorrhage of resources from Africa is about four times

Africa's current external debt,” says a joint report by the African Development Bank (AfDB) and Global Financial Integrity, a US research and advocacy group.

The report, *Illicit Financial Flows and the Problem of Net Resource Transfers from Africa: 1980–2009*, found that cumulative illicit outflows from the continent over the 30-year period ranged from \$1.2 trillion to \$1.4 trillion. The *Guardian*, a British daily, notes that even these estimates—large as they are—are likely to understate the problem, as they do not capture money lost through drug trafficking and smuggling.

Turning logic upside down

“The traditional thinking has always been that the West is pouring money into Africa through foreign aid and other

private-sector flows, without receiving much in return,” said Raymond Baker, president of Global Financial Integrity, in a statement released at the launch of the report earlier this year. Mr. Baker said the report turns that logic upside down, adding that Africa has been a net creditor to the rest of the world for decades.

Professor Mthuli Ncube, chief economist and vice-president of the AfDB, agrees: “The African continent is resource-rich. With good resource husbandry, Africa could be in a position to finance much of its own development.”

The composition of these outflows also challenges the traditional thinking about illicit money. According to estimates by Global Financial Integrity, corrupt activities such as bribery and embezzlement constitute only about 3% of illicit outflows; criminal activities such as drug trafficking and smuggling make up 30% to 35%; and commercial transactions by multinational companies make up a whopping 60% to 65%. Contrary to popular belief, argues Professor Baker, money stolen by corrupt governments is insignificant compared to the other forms of illicit outflow. The most common way illicit money is moved across borders is through international trade.

Information scanty and scattered

A ten-member high-level panel chaired by former South African President Thabo Mbeki leads research by the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) into illicit financial flows, assisted by ECA Executive Secretary Carlos Lopes as the vice-chair. Other members of the panel include Professor Baker and Ambassador Segun Apata of Nigeria. The ECA blames illicit outflows for reducing Africa's tax revenues, undermining trade and investment and worsening poverty. Its report will be released in March 2014.

Undoubtedly the panel faces a daunting task. Charles Goredema, a senior researcher at the South Africa-based Institute of Security Studies, cautions the panel on the challenges ahead. Writing in the institute's newsletter, *ISS Today*, Goredema warns the panel that it will find that in many African countries, data on illicit financial flows “is scanty, clouded in a mixed mass of information and scattered in disparate locations.” He ranks tax collection agencies and mining departments among the bodies most reluctant to share data.

Goredema lists Transparency International, Global Financial Integrity, Christian Aid and the Tax Justice Network as some of the advocacy groups that have tried to quantify the scale of illicit financial flows. The extent of such outflows remains a matter of speculation, he says, with the figures on Africa ranging between \$50 billion and \$80 billion per year. Other estimates by the ECA put the figure at more than \$800 billion between 1970 and 2008.

“The absence of unanimity on [the amount] is probably attributable to the fact that the terrain concerned is quite broad, and each organisation can only be exposed to a part of it at any given point in time,” Goredema writes, adding, “It is less important to achieve consensus on scale than it is to achieve it on the measures to be taken to stem illicit financial outflows from Africa.”

Underpricing trade deals

Nonetheless, research and advocacy groups who have worked on illicit outflows see a direct link between these outflows and Africa’s attempts to mobilize internal resources. Despite annual economic growth averaging 5% over the past decade—boosted in part by improved governance and sound national policies—Africa is still struggling to mobilize domestic resources for investments. If anything, the boost in economic growth has caused a spike in the illicit outflows, says Ambassador Apata in an interview with *Africa Renewal*. Overseas development aid, while helpful, has its limits, says the ECA.

There are many channels to move illicit money. These include over-invoicing or underpricing trade deals, transfer pricing and using offshore financial and banking centres and tax havens. Transfer pricing occurs when multinationals decide how much profit to allocate to different parts of the same company operating in different countries, and then determine how much tax to pay to each government. About three-fifths of global trade is conducted within multinationals.

“Many developing countries have weak or incomplete transfer pricing regimes,” according to the *Guardian*, citing an issue paper authored by the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a group of high-income economies. The paper says poor countries have weak bargaining power. “Some [countries] have problems

in enforcing their transfer pricing regimes due to gaps in the law, weak or no regulations and guidelines for companies,” says the OECD paper, adding that poor countries have limited technical expertise to assess the risks of transfer pricing and to negotiate changes with multinationals.

Offshore tax shelters

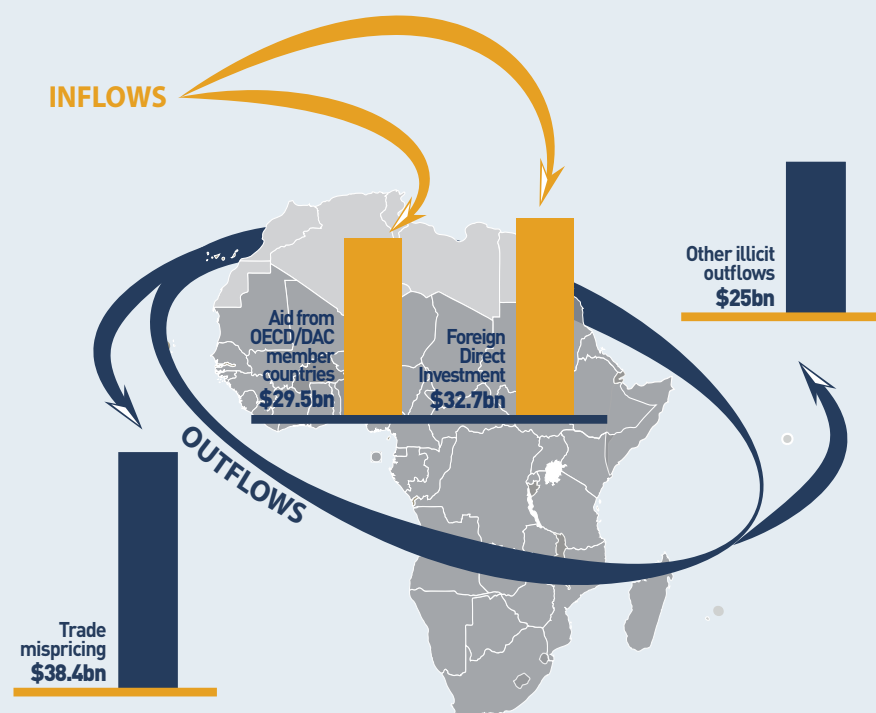
According to the OECD paper, member countries are failing to identify company owners who benefit from money laundering. It criticizes OECD members for not doing enough to crack down on illicit outflows. In order to prevent, uncover

or prosecute money laundering, says the paper, authorities must be able to identify company owners. The OECD advises its members to invest in anti-corruption and tax systems in poor countries, as this has high payoffs.

The bulk of illicit money today is channelled through international tax havens, says the Thabo Mbeki Foundation, an NGO set up by the former president to promote Africa’s renaissance. The foundation accuses “secrecy jurisdictions” of running millions of disguised corporations and shell companies, i.e., companies that exist on paper only. These jurisdictions

Africa’s Illicit Outflows

Africa loses more through illicit outflows than it gets in aid and foreign direct investment



Trade mispricing: Losses associated with misrepresentation of export and import values

Other illicit flows: Funds that are illegally earned, transferred or utilized and include all unrecorded private financial outflows

(All figures are average annual 2008-2010 for Sub-Saharan Africa)

Sources: OECD (n.d.), OECD Stats Extracts, Global Financial Integrity (2012), Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries 2001-2010, World (2013), Global Economic Prospects – January 2013.

also operate anonymous trust accounts and fake charitable foundations that specialize in money laundering and trade over-invoicing and underpricing.

“Developing countries lose three times more to tax havens than they receive in aid,” said Melanie Ward, speaking to the *Guardian*. Ms. Ward is one of the spokespersons for the Enough Food for Everyone IF campaign, a coalition of charities calling for fairer food policies, and head of advocacy at ActionAid, an anti-poverty group. The money lost, she says, should be spent on essential development of schools, hospitals and roads, and on tackling hunger, not siphoned into the offshore accounts of companies.

A 2007 joint report by the World Bank and UN Office on Drugs and Crime estimated that every \$100 million returned to a developing country could fund up to 10 million insecticide-treated bed nets, up to 100 million ACT treatments for malaria, first-line HIV/AIDS treatment

for 600,000 people for one year, 250,000 household water connections or 240 km of two-lane paved roads.

Support for new rules to rein in offshore tax shelters has come from an unlikely source—the leaders of eight of the world’s biggest economies, the Group of Eight (G8). Having been stung by the 2008 global financial crisis, the G8 leaders at this year’s summit in Lough Erne, Northern Ireland, introduced—for the first time—rules to fight tax evasion. The rules will now require multinationals to disclose the taxes they pay in countries in which they operate.

During the run-up to the G8 summit, advocacy groups campaigned to get rich countries to introduce laws on transparency in corporate taxes. Among them was the Africa Progress Panel, chaired by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. On the eve of the summit, it published its annual flagship report, *Africa Progress Report 2013*, strongly

criticizing the current rules on corporate transparency.

Unconscionable acts

“It is unconscionable that some companies, often supported by dishonest officials, are using unethical tax avoidance, transfer pricing and anonymous company ownership to maximize their profits while millions of Africans go without adequate nutrition, health and education,” Mr. Annan wrote in the foreword to the report. Tax evasion, he said, has cut into African citizens’ fair share of profits from their abundant resources.

In the end, the G8 leaders adopted the Lough Erne Declaration, a 10-point statement calling for an overhaul of corporate transparency rules. Among other things, the declaration urges authorities to automatically share tax information with other

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INTERVIEW



GOOD GOVERNANCE

📷 Segun Apata

Africa loses \$50 billion every year

Interview with Nigerian Ambassador Segun Apata

Last year the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa inaugurated the 10-member High-Level Panel on Illicit Financial Flows from Africa chaired by former South African president Thabo Mbeki to look into the problem. *Africa Renewal* sat down with one of the panel’s members, Ambassador Segun Apata of Nigeria, who was in New York for a round table discussion of the problem. These are excerpts from the interview.

First of all, how serious is the problem of illicit financial outflows from Africa?

Segun Apata: The estimate on record is that between 1970 and 2008, illicit financial flows were over \$800 billion from Africa. We now know, just as we have seen at this round table, that with an improved economic environment in Africa, there seems to be a spike in the illicit financial flows that is estimated at about \$50 billion per year, which is quite a huge resource. One can imagine what the impact of that resource would be on Africa’s development in terms of infrastructure and social sectors, schools, hospitals, etc.

The US has laws that penalize companies paying bribes in foreign countries.

Shouldn't African countries do the same with companies that pay bribes to government officials?

Well, a number of African countries do have legislation against what can be generally called economic and financial crimes, which include what you have referred to in terms of bribes, etc. But the reality is that developing the capacity to track and prosecute such activities is not easy. It's important that a number of countries have this legislation in place, but others are yet to take action. We must encourage those that haven't enabled such legislation to do so and find a way of assisting those that lack the capacity.

You said illicit flows succeed because companies have places to put their profits out of reach of taxation, including in some African countries. What is being done to discourage this practice?

Don't forget that the mandate of the panel is illicit financial flows from Africa. We have debated this—whether the mandate of the panel covers destinations in Africa. But we have come to the conclusion that we should [include Africa] for the work of the panel to be credible. It's not more than one country [in Africa]. We are going to engage this particular country, pointing out that it is both a transit as well as a destination for these illicit financial flows, so it needs to take necessary measures to stop it.

I watched a documentary recently on illicit financial flows which showed that it's more than just one country in Africa that serves as a destination or transit point for illicit flows.

Well, as I said, we are not a panel to name or shame countries. We are a panel to assist African countries to mitigate a very major problem. So, as we normally do, we engage the countries concerned and point out what our findings are and encourage them to take the necessary measures to checkmate it.

Did you say that about 60% of the illicit financial flows can be attributed to commercial transactions?

You know, I quickly corrected that; this [figure] was data collected through the Bretton Wood institutions in terms of balance of payments, etc. But the reality is

that multinational transactions through transfer prices, etc., cannot be effectively undertaken without the cooperation of African countries. So the question is, "Are they doing this without corruption?" That is anybody's guess.

And within these statistics, was the money attributed to corruption by the public sector negligible?

May I quickly intervene to say don't take just those figures, even the money identified by the panel, because it can be misleading to look at that element alone. But that element permits all of them. So where mispricing comes in, corruption is there. There is no component, no channel in which government corruption is not

“We are going to engage [a] particular country, pointing out that it is both a transit as well as a destination for these illicit financial flows, so it needs to take necessary measures to stop it.

a part. So [that figure] should not just be taken on its own. You also have to relate it as it is affected by government corruption and private sector corruption as well. There has to be supply and demand; so for the government official to accept mispricing, for example, somebody's paying the bribe.

Just for argument's sake, if a high percentage from illicit flows is attributed to commercial transactions, wouldn't it dissuade some African countries from taking corrective action?

The panel is aware of that and we are looking at a way of nuancing that to make sure that we don't create a situation where such statistics can create a false impression out there or mislead. We will work on that.

What is the panel going to recommend to stop the practice of illicit financial flows from Africa?

We haven't gotten to that level in our work because experiences differ from one part of the continent to the other. We listen to those in North Africa, we listen to those in Southern and East Africa. There are seven country case studies [we are looking into]. We have not spoken to stakeholders in Central Africa, we have not spoken to those in West Africa, and so it would be premature to start identifying what the major recommendations will be. But we are engaging our partners. We are going to engage OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], the European Union and the G8 countries, and we are going to engage some individual governments as well as those outside the Western world.

How was the selection of the case studies done? Did these countries volunteer?

No, the panel decided on certain criteria. Liberia, for example, was a country that emerged from conflict, and it's common knowledge that illicit financial flows deriving from the trade in blood diamonds fuelled the conflict in large part. The DRC is still a country in conflict and yet it has a lot of minerals. Mozambique is moving to oil and gas. Nigeria is a country well known for oil. South Africa has precious minerals and a long history of mining. We will learn from their experiences, hoping that those surveyed countries will provide a nice basket of information for others to tap into and learn what to avoid from these experiences.

Do you have any mechanisms to get information from ordinary citizens?

I will be very honest with you: citizen input has been extremely useful to our work because we have an open process; regional consultations have also been very helpful—civil society representatives have participated in all of them. In our country visits, civil society was invited to share [information] and the ECA has created the website for the panel where relevant information can be exchanged with members of the panel. So the mechanism is already created and the work is in progress. 🐘

Pacesetters

A \$6.3 million donation last year to flood victims in Nigeria established Mr. Elumelu as one of Africa's top philanthropists. According to *Forbes*, a US business magazine, other pacesetters include Africa's richest man, Nigeria's Aliko Dangote, whose charitable contributions totalled \$35 million last year, Mr. Ibrahim, Zimbabwe's Strive Masiyiwa, Kenya's Naushad Merali and Mrs. Moloi-Motsepe who was named Africa's most influential woman by *Forbes* in 2012.

In the manner of billionaire Warren Buffet, who gave away a substantial chunk of his fortune to charity in 2006, South Africa's Francois van Niekerk transferred 70% of his equity in Mertech Group, a company he founded, to the Mergon Foundation, a charity he now manages. The stake is valued at \$170 million.

Even as an increasing number of wealthy Africans raise their philanthropic profiles, many believe there's still much more to be done. "There are about 150 private jets in Nigeria, and there are only about four registered philanthropies" in that country, states Wiebe Boer, a former Rockefeller Foundation staffer now managing the Tony Elumelu Foundation, which provides financial and policy support to African businesses. "If we could get every one of those guys who owns a private jet to create a philanthropy, I think we could have a terrific transformation in that country."

Philanthropy's cultural context

Those sceptics who see few practitioners of philanthropy on the continent misunderstand the cultural context, argue Halima Mohamed and Bhengkosi Moyo in their article in *Alliance* magazine, a leading publication on philanthropy. The emphasis on formal philanthropic institutions "is far from what philanthropy in Africa actually is—where giving emerges across socioeconomic classes; through individual and communal channels (formal and informal), often not involving money," the writers maintain. In explaining Africa's peculiar climate of philanthropy at the UN discussion round table, Ms. Moloi-Motsepe gave the example of *ubuntu*, a South African concept meaning "I am because you are: my success is intricately linked to yours."



GOOD GOVERNANCE

Mo Ibrahim. © Panos/Ian Teh

Giving back to society

African philanthropists push for prosperity

By Kingsley Ighobor

Last July, US President Barack Obama set the spark for his Power Africa programme that will help sub-Saharan African countries build power production and transmission projects and double their electricity access. President Obama announced in Cape Town, South Africa, his plan to mobilize \$16 billion for investments that will generate 10,000 megawatts of electricity. With Nigerian billionaire and philanthropist Tony Elumelu pledging \$2.5 billion towards that amount, it appears that Obama's turn towards Africa is energizing the continent's new philanthropic elites who can play a critical role in social enterprise, build capacity and pilot new technologies.

Before accompanying President Obama to tour the Ubongo power plant, near Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Mr. Elumelu had also joined Judith Rodin, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, a US charity, to announce the establishment of the Impact Economy Investment Fund that will provide start-up capital

for young entrepreneurs for jobs-creating projects. Like Mr. Elumelu, other top African philanthropists also appear to be changing tactics, focusing on investments in areas likely to accelerate Africa's prosperity in addition to their interventions in humanitarian crises such as floods.

At a roundtable discussion last October at the UN headquarters in New York—one of the side events during the UN General Assembly debate—Mr. Elumelu, who is chairman of Heirs Holdings, an investment firm; South Africa's Precious Moloi-Motsepe, the co-founder of the Motsepe Foundation; the Sudanese mobile communications entrepreneur and billionaire, Mo Ibrahim; and Toyin Saraki, founder and president of Wellbeing Foundation Africa, a charity devoted mainly to children's and women's affairs, discussed philanthropy in Africa and the role of the private sector. Mr. Elumelu urged African philanthropists to focus on socioeconomic development and making people self-reliant.

The *ubuntu* concept is a family value that encourages giving back to society, she said.

Africans have a culture of giving and mutual support even if only a few formal charitable organizations exist, declared Toyin Saraki, founder and president of Wellbeing Foundation Africa, a charity devoted mainly to children's and women's affairs. At the UN event, Ms. Saraki reinforced the same point. Citing a study by Adams Bodomo, a Ghanaian academic, the BBC reported last April that Africans in the diaspora remitted \$51.8 billion in 2010 compared to \$43 billion from traditional Western aid donors. Therefore, the anecdote of four philanthropic institutions in a country with 150 private jets fails to tell the full story.

With most philanthropic activities neither documented nor promoted in Africa, organizations like African Grantmakers Network have stepped in to facilitate experience sharing among philanthropists and to promote their activities. Along this line, Mr. Dangote recently pledged to enhance the public information aspect of his philanthropic work.

Mr. Elumelu's model, which emphasizes investments in sectors that promote development such as the pharmaceutical and startup sectors, is an example of the link between business and charity. Stressing the need for investments in critical development sectors, he highlighted the billions of dollars his company was going to invest in sub-Saharan Africa's ailing power sector. Former Ghanaian president John Kufuor took issue, pointing out that philanthropy involves giving without expecting something in return. Investments and philanthropy are not the same thing, he said, and Africa needs the former more than the latter.

"Strategic philanthropy"

While Ms. Saraki and Mr. Elumelu shared their views on how business can support socioeconomic development at the UN roundtable, at other forums they have termed their approach strategic philanthropy, meaning solving problems at their source. For example, they believe that by providing education to women, philanthropists can help women avoid many reproductive health problems.

Africa's poverty, exacerbated by a decline in official development aid, brings strategic philanthropy into sharper focus. The UK government's assistance to South Africa, worth about \$64 million in 2003 and down to about \$30 million this year, will cease by 2015. The US-based Center for International Grantmaking reported that there had been a 4% decline in international giving by American foundations in 2010 following the 2009 global economic downturn. As a result, many foundations were unable to continue their work in Africa, creating an urgent opportunity for the continent's philanthropists.

African philanthropists are conscious of thinning aid. Meanwhile, at a private sector forum on Africa (another UN side event during the General Assembly debate), Sudanese telecom billionaire Ibrahim took the position that taxes on multinationals, not gifts or aid, would be more than sufficient to address poverty on the continent. Africa loses between \$30 billion and \$40 billion annually due to tax evasion, he told the audience, which

“Just pay your taxes. We don't need your aid.”

included representatives of top foreign businesses operating in Africa. “Just pay your taxes,” he beseeched the business leaders. “We don't need your aid.”

Rising concerns

On the flip side, there are concerns about the illusory nature of many of Africa's charitable works, which can appear more like public relations gimmicks than sincere efforts to alleviate problems. “The use of philanthropy to offset exploitative business practices” should be discouraged, maintain Mr. Moyo and Ms. Mohamed in their *Alliance* magazine article. “If a resource-based corporation has made its profits from a land where people have been dispossessed of their land rights and then engages in philanthropic activity, serious questions need to be asked.”

Launched in April this year, the African Philanthropy Forum (APF) has a peer-review component that will likely address those concerns. An affiliate of the Global Philanthropy Forum (GPF), the

APF was founded to promote strategic philanthropy in Africa. In announcing the APF's launch, Jane Wales, president and CEO of the GPF, said that even as poverty persists in Africa, there are generous African men and women, “many at the height of their careers,” who are eager and “determined to change this reality and ensure that the benefits of economic opportunity are more evenly shared.” Ms. Wales may have had in mind Africa's 55 billionaires, who were touted by the Nigeria-based financial magazine *Ventures* as having a combined wealth of \$145 billion.

Meeting the challenge

Before the APF's launch, individuals such as Mr. Ibrahim were already implementing activities that promoted economic growth and responsible political leadership. In 2007 the Mo Ibrahim Foundation began awarding annual prizes to African leaders who, while in power, developed their countries, lifted people out of poverty, paved the way for sustainable and equitable prosperity and did not attempt to bend existing laws to extend their term. Winners receive \$5 million over 10 years, \$200,000 per year for life and another \$200,000 for a charity of their choice. Previous winners include former presidents Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and Festus Mogae of Botswana. But there has been no winner since 2011.

Uganda's Ashish Thakkar spent \$1 million last year through his Mara Foundation to “make wealth through capacity building, mentoring and peer networking”. The foundation provides financing for start-up businesses or an existing business with high risk but high growth potential, is renovating dozens of Ugandan high schools, provides scholarships to destitute East African students and offers free training to startup entrepreneurs.

The APF must now take African philanthropy to a higher level. Capturing the mood at the private sector forum on Africa, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said, “Africa can and will determine its own fate.” With leadership from the current crop of indigenous wealthy financiers, the small but growing number of African philanthropists may be ready for this task. 🐘

A messenger of peace and development goes to the Sahel

For his trip to the Sahel, Ban Ki-moon adopted as his motto an African saying: “One hand cannot tie a bundle.” His guests agreed.

By **André-Michel Essoungou**, in the Sahel

On a breezy Monday night last November, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon arrived on a visit to Mali, the first leg of a four-nation tour of the Sahel region. Much had changed in the country’s fortunes. Not long ago, many considered Mali a beacon of stability and a model of democratization. Under its blue sky, it exuded a sense of serenity.

Now, even to the casual observer, the mood has turned sombre. And it is not only because of the lingering clouds of smoke oozing from burning mountains of trash near Bamako, the capital. In reality, a series of dramatic events in the recent past are mostly to blame. A military coup toppled an elected government in April 2012. Armed groups took over the country’s north. A coalition of terrorists boldly attempted a total take-over of the country. At the last minute, French and Chadian soldiers forcefully stopped the terrorists’ advance. Peacekeepers were soon deployed. A presidential election took place this past July. It was the first step in getting a derailed democracy back on track.

However, less than 48 hours before the UN chief landed in Mali, assailants killed two French journalists in the northern town of Kidal. Ghislaine Dupont and Claude Verlon, reporters with Radio France International, had been kidnapped and shot dead in the space of a few hours. Mr. Ban, French officials and the UN Security Council strongly condemned the killings. The secretary-general said that they were a reminder of the challenges facing Mali and the need for action to support its people. Across Mali, the commotion over the journalists’ deaths was palpable.

As Mr. Ban set foot in the region, he quickly moved to set the stage too. First, he stressed that he was visiting the region for the very first time, along with top officials of partner institutions. “A dream team,” one diplomat suggested. Among the visitors were Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, chairperson of the African Union Commission; Jim Yong Kim, president of the World Bank; Donald Kaberuka, president of the African Development Bank; and European Union Development Commissioner Andris Piebalgs. Ibrahim Mayaki, chief executive officer of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, later joined the group.

Shortly after his plane had landed, in front of a packed crowd that had come to greet him at the airport, Mr. Ban insisted, “We have come here to demonstrate our solidarity with the people of Mali and Sahel.” Those words were echoed several times over the next three days of his visit.

A UN strategy for the Sahel

The events of the past two years in Mali have been central to the design of a unique initiative, now formally known as the UN Integrated Strategy for the Sahel. This is a broad and far-reaching response to the region’s challenges (*see page 22*). Its purpose is to mobilize both the countries of the region and their international partners to find common and coordinated solutions. It focuses on three main areas: governance, security and resilience. The plan reflects the belief that peace and development are interconnected. “One is not sustainable without the other,” Mr. Ban has said on many occasions.



Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (second from right), along with President Ibrاهيم Boubacar Keita (second from left) and President Issoufou Mahamadou of Ni...

It was therefore apropos that the secretary-general started his Sahel tour at a gathering of the region’s ministers in Bamako. Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, the recently elected president of Mali, had convened the meeting to serve as an initial platform for the implementation of the strategy.

“Now is the time for action,” Mr. Ban urged the audience, adding that action can and must be regional in scope “since the challenges facing the region respect no boundaries.” The Sahel is Africa’s most vulnerable region, where some 11 million people are at risk of hunger while facing threats from terrorists and criminal networks. Referring to the delegation travelling with him, Mr. Ban remarked, “We have partnered together in this extraordinary way because we recognize that the Sahel region needs an extraordinary effort.” Mr. Kim, head of the World Bank, said Mr. Ban had brought “multilateralism to a level never reached before.”

Among the ministers from Sahel countries and the heads of international institutions, there was consensus at the meeting that the UN strategy was timely and critical. After the Security Council’s endorsement of the Sahel plan in July, the region and its development partners adopted it.



With World Bank President Jim Yong Kim (left), African Union Commission Chairperson, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma (right), talk to the media in Niamey.  Dominic Chavez/World Bank

The day before the meeting, in an unusual show of partnership, through a press release issued in Bamako on behalf of all the major visiting international partners, the European Union and the World Bank pledged over \$8.2 billion to the region: the Bank pledged \$1.5 billion in new regional investments over the next two years, while the EU announced it would provide €5 billion (US\$6.75 billion) to six Sahel countries over the next seven years. The money is to be used for a number of development projects, including agriculture and green energy.

From a formal gathering with officials, the secretary-general headed north for a visit to the fabled city of Timbuktu, which has suffered the wrath of terrorist occupation and lost some of its historical treasures while its people endured, as Mr. Ban put it, “horrendous human rights violations.” Mr. Ban said that when Timbuktu’s heritage was attacked, it was not a loss only for the Malians, but also for common world heritage.

Support for Sahel's women and girls

Having set the tone for his visit in Mali, the secretary-general proceeded to deliver the same message, emphasizing specific aspects, during subsequent stops.

First, the next day, in the hot and dry weather of Niamey, Niger’s capital, the secretary-general applauded President Mahamadou Issoufou for his support in improving the status of women and girls through concrete action.

“When we give women the education they deserve, society becomes stronger. When we protect women’s human rights, society becomes more just. And when we allow women to determine their own future, they will advance development for all,” Mr. Ban declared at a ceremony titled the Call to Action on Demographic Issues. Much like the other officials, Ms. Dlamini-Zuma of the African Union Commission joined in encouraging countries of the Sahel to do more for their women and girls. “They are not only half of the society, they also gave birth to the other half,” she quipped—to general applause—from a stage that resembled a set for American politicians’ debates during electoral campaigns.

Calling for common action in Niger, a country facing unique threats as a result of regional instability originating in Mali, Libya and Nigeria, and suffering the brunt of the region’s recurring food crisis, was preaching to the converted. The UN chief told an extraordinary session of Niger’s parliament later in the day that the region

needed to confront armed conflict, political instability and economic development, not as isolated and unrelated problems but in a comprehensive way. “Our United Nations Integrated Strategy for the Sahel is based on identifying crucial connections—and supporting your efforts to drive hard at them with well-coordinated solutions,” the secretary-general further explained.

Mediators and peacekeepers

As in Mali, the secretary-general and his delegation were warmly received in Burkina Faso and Chad, the last two stops on the agenda. With visible pride, Djibril Bassole, Burkina Faso’s foreign minister, quickly pointed to the fact that “never before have we seen such an important delegation come to visit us.”

The UN chief expressed his gratitude for Burkina Faso’s role in addressing some of the region’s most pressing challenges. By serving as mediator in a number of crises in West Africa, including in Mali, Burkina Faso has earned itself an enviable reputation as a peace broker, he said. “You play an active role in the Sahel,” Mr. Ban told government officials in the capital Ouagadougou, following a meeting with President Blaise Compaoré.

The secretary-general also pledged the continuing support of the UN and the international community as the country works to achieve the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, contribute to defining the Sustainable Development Goals and address the impact of climate change.

A few hours later, in N’djamena, Chad, Mr. Ban applauded the country’s positive role in the Sahel region, particularly in confronting terrorists in northern Mali. He acknowledged Chad’s contribution to the UN peacekeeping operation deployed there and the sacrifice made by the 39 Chadian peacekeepers who have died in the region. “We came to the region to continue and amplify our joint action,” the UN chief added at his last press conference on the trip.

On yet another breezy night in the Sahel, after some 72 hours of meetings, discussions and visits, and even as his “exceptional delegation” had started making its way back from the region, the secretary-general remarked, “Our journey of solidarity with the people of the Sahel can and must continue.” As he had told his audiences all along the way, he again added, “Now is the time to act.” 🇳🇪



Representatives from the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), United Nations agencies and partners meet with a village chief in Sinegodar, Niger. © OCHA/Nicole Lawrence

The Sahel: One region, many crises

By André-Michel Essoungou, in the Sahel

Africa's Sahel region faces many complex and interconnected challenges. Here are some of the major ones, and how the United Nations is assisting the region in finding solutions.

The food crisis

When the Sahel is in the news, it is often because millions of people are at risk of going hungry. A humanitarian crisis usually unfolds on the back of a food crisis. In 2012, the lives of up to 18 million people were put at risk following a major food crisis in the region. This year, more than 11 million are facing the same plight, while 1.4 million children are threatened with severe malnutrition. Even in normal years, millions are in a permanent state of food insecurity. Over the past five decades,

persistent droughts have contributed to famine episodes. There is now a need to break the cycle of recurrent food crises in the region, many humanitarian actors say.

How is the UN assisting?

Throughout this year's lean season—the period between harvests from May to September—the World Food Programme (WFP) gave food to between 5 and 6 million people each month through its nutrition and food security programme. In 2012 the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) helped more than 5.2 million people through support to off-season food and crop production, soil and water conservation and rehabilitation projects, and desert locust control and monitoring. With its partners, the Office for the Coordination

of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) is also mobilizing resources and assisting communities in need.

The environmental crisis

Historically the Sahel has been characterized by strong climatic variations and irregular rainfalls, which pose two of the biggest obstacles to food security and poverty reduction in the region, according to the UN Environment Programme (UNEP). Things have gotten worse in recent decades, experts say. Between 1970 and 1993, the region recorded 20 years of severe drought. The frequency and severity of droughts and floods has increased over this period. FAO reports that over 80% of the region's land is degraded. By 2050, writes Malcolm Potts of the University of California–Berkeley, with greenhouse gas emissions rising, temperatures will be warmer by 3 to 5 degrees Celsius and extreme weather events will have become more common.

Various factors account for the Sahel's environmental crisis. "Over the last half century," UNEP notes, "the combined effects of population growth, land

degradation (deforestation, continuous cropping and overgrazing), reduced and erratic rainfall, lack of coherent environmental policies and misplaced development priorities, have contributed to transform a large proportion of the Sahel into barren land, resulting in the deterioration of the soil and water resources.”

How is the UN assisting?

Among other recommendations, UN officials have urged regional cooperation to defuse tensions between countries of the region, and thereby reduce the risk of increased conflict and environmentally induced migration. Achim Steiner, executive director of UNEP, has pointed to “the urgent need for scaled-up investments in adaptation, moving forward on the Green Fund, and supportive measures such as reduced emissions from deforestation and forest degradation as well as realizing the climate finance of \$100 billion a year by 2020.”

Insecurity and political instability

Political instability has plagued some of the Sahel’s countries for years. In Mali, the military coup of March 2012 brought an abrupt halt to 20 years of stable democracy. In its aftermath, terrorists who had occupied most of the northern region started heading south, intent on taking control of the whole country. In January 2013 a French-led and Chad-supported intervention stopped their advance. The conflict compounded the security and humanitarian crisis, in part by disrupting supply routes and causing food shortages.

The crisis in neighbouring Darfur, Sudan, and the presence of an armed rebellion in the east did damage to Chad’s security that will last for many years. During Niger’s 50 years of independence, notes a report by the International Crisis Group, a think tank, the country has seen two armed rebellions, four coups, seven governments and periods of promising democratic change as well as reversals.

In a region with porous borders, a political or security crisis in one country is often a serious threat to neighbours. These borders have benefited criminal networks and drug traffickers. The UN Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has estimated that major illicit flows linked to criminal activities in the Sahel amounted to \$3.8 billion annually.

How is the UN assisting?

UNODC recently helped broker an agreement among Mali, Morocco, Niger, Burkina Faso, Chad and Algeria to address the problems caused by drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. In July the UN Security Council authorized the deployment of a peacekeeping mission to assist Mali on its way back to stability.

Fragile economies

Agriculture in the Sahel employs a majority of the region’s work force and contributes heavily to its gross domestic product (accounting for up to 45% in some countries of the region). It also plays a central role in food security. Yet it remains highly underdeveloped and is characterized by an almost total dependency on three to four months of rainfall per year, as well as by low use of external inputs such as seeds and fertilizers, the absence of mechanization and poor links to markets.

According to UNEP, the recurrent droughts of the 1970s and 1980s caused massive losses of agricultural

production and livestock, loss of human lives to hunger, malnutrition and disease, massive displacements of people and shattered economies. Climate change could also have negative consequences on agricultural production and food security in the Sahel, says UNEP. All in all, the countries of the Sahel perform poorly on UNDP’s Human Development Index, a measurement of a country’s economic and social well-being.

How is the UN assisting?

The World Bank believes irrigation could allow the Sahel’s agriculture to overcome the challenges posed by a hostile environment and produce more food for its people. “Although desert and aridity define the Sahel,” said World Bank Vice President for Africa Makhtar Diop in a recent op-ed piece, “its vast water resources remain untapped. In a region where farming is the predominant economic activity, sadly, only 20% of the Sahel’s irrigation potential has been developed. Worse still, one quarter of the area equipped with irrigation lies in a state of disrepair.”

Focus on the Sahel trip

During his four-nation trip to the crisis-ridden Sahel region in November, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, accompanied by a high-powered delegation of the heads of the World Bank, the African Union Commission, the African Development Bank, the European Commission for Development and NEPAD, visited the countries of Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali and Niger (shown on the map). The European Union and the World Bank pledged over \$8.2 billion to the region.



Country	Burkina Faso	Chad	Mali	Niger
Population	17 million	11.5 million	15.8 million	16.1 million
GDP per capita	\$643	\$885	\$694	\$383
HDI Rank*	181	183	175	186

* Human Development Index rank out of 187 countries

Sources: CILSS, UNDP, World Bank (2012 figures).



A farmer checks her mobile phone before deciding whether to harvest her crops. 📷 Panos/Piers Benatar

Reaching for new heights

Information and communications technology takes agriculture to a new level in Zimbabwe

By **Munyaradzi Makoni**

Charles Dhewa loved to write about agriculture, especially soil and crops. In early 2000 he decided to turn his words into action by becoming a cattle and horticulture farmer in Zimbabwe. He bought a small farm in Marondera, a town about an hour's drive from the capital, Harare. His experience as a farmer enriched his writing, as he articulated issues in agriculture in ways that appealed to smallholder farmers. He soon became the communications expert for the Zimbabwe Farmers Union.

But Mr. Dhewa later changed jobs when he was hired as a local consultant for the British-funded Crop Post Harvest Programme and the International Fund for Agricultural Development, an agency that supports poor smallholder farmers. Over the next 10 years he witnessed the power of the mobile phone and how people were using it to improve communication in agriculture and rural development. "Why not start a platform to link

farmers, traders, financial institutions, input suppliers and policy makers in Zimbabwe?" he asked himself.

In 2012, Mr. Dhewa's knowledge systems company, Knowledge Transfer Africa, combined with Afrosoft Holdings, a software development company, to launch the service eMkambo, which is the first initiative in Zimbabwe to serve agriculture through information and communications technology (ICT). The service, whose name means "market" in isiNdebele, a Zimbabwean language, is an interactive knowledge-sharing platform for the agriculture sector.

Before eMkambo's launch, Zimbabwe's technological developments had been stymied by a decade of economic and political problems. But a US\$140,000 grant from a Dutch donor, Hivos, in 2012, provided Mr. Dhewa with seed investment. He created a database of farmers by collecting their mobile phone numbers as well as data on farming areas and the

types of commodities produced. "Though farmers had mobile phones, they did not know where to get information on agriculture to engage meaningfully," he says. "It was not enough to have a mobile phone."

The next step was to convince Zimbabwe's three mobile service providers—Econet Wireless, NetOne and Telecel—to provide agriculture content. Mr. Dhewa's pitch was that this would lure people to buy more airtime. "Farmers and agro-dealers in Zimbabwe were starved of tailored information and fast connections with other role-players in the industry," he says. The mobile phone service providers, though initially reluctant, later bought the idea.

Mr. Dhewa was eager to debunk claims that agriculture is not a lucrative business. As he rolled out his plan, "Agriculture pays" became his tag line, and those farmers, traders and agro-dealers who began benefiting from using the platform easily believed him.

eMkambo has spread like wildfire in Zimbabwe due largely to an enabling environment. Almost 50% of Zimbabwe's land mass consists of communal farming areas, where 70% of the population resides, and smallholder farmers work on average plot sizes of about two hectares, according to the Integrated Regional Information Network, a UN humanitarian news service.

A farmer's call centre

On eMkambo's platform, physical markets, mobile phones and Web-based virtual spaces are integrated in a web of communication. The platform takes advantage of large, informal agricultural markets in suburbs such as those in Mbare, Harare; Emalaleni, Bulawayo and Sakubva, Mutare. Take a typical scenario: Barbara Dongo, a farmer in Honde Valley in the eastern province of Manicaland, wants to harvest her tomatoes and sell them at Mbare Musika, the largest informal market in Harare, 300 kms away. She phones eMkambo, the call costing about \$0.10 per minute, for information on the cost of a crate of tomatoes and the number of traders at Mbare Musika.

An eMkambo information officer checks price trends and volume. She gets quick feedback: "There is a glut of tomatoes at Mbare and prices are going down." She realizes the price could plummet, and that there is a real possibility her tomatoes could rot, causing huge waste on top of the transport costs. But through eMkambo she quickly learns that there is a shortage of tomatoes in Masvingo, a town 275km away from Honde Valley. She is connected with a trader at Tafara Market in Masvingo who is willing to come and fetch her tomatoes in Honde Valley. The price is agreed upon and the deal is sealed.

In such a scenario, an eMkambo information officer in Honde Valley will usually come to Ms. Dongo's field to monitor harvesting and packaging while a trader from Masvingo comes to collect the produce. During the transaction Ms. Dongo and the officer will continue their communication through mobile phones.

In this example Ms. Dongo, the trader and the information officer used phone lines registered with eMkambo and the mobile service provider. The revenue from airtime usage during the conversation is

shared between eMkambo and the service provider, in line with an earlier agreement between them. "This transaction would not have been smooth without eMkambo, as the Masvingo trader and Ms. Dongo did not previously know each other," says Mr. Dhewa.

In addition, eMkambo has developed a networked agriculture call centre linking at least 20 markets around Zimbabwe via mobile phones. Mr. Dhewa says that about 100,000 stakeholders—farmers, buyers, agro-dealers, traders, transporters, financial institutions, input suppliers, policy makers and general consumers—are using the service to understand, in an informal way, agricultural markets.

Information pool

Mr. Dhewa's next plan is to consolidate all currently scattered information on nongovernmental organisations, parastatals, farmers' organisations, government departments, commodity buyers, transporters, financial institutions, individual farmers, etc. The information pool will consist of such data as the price and type of crops and the location and expiry dates of perishable commodities. "There is value in bringing all this information together and creatively interpreting it for various users and as such eliminating inefficiencies in agricultural marketing. This will lead to improved incomes for smallholder farmers and other value chain actors," he says.

The eMkambo platform has shown that peasant farmers can afford—and are fast to understand—a new technology. "As long as there is need, peasant farmers can punch through any technological barrier," says Mr. Dhewa. "No matter what we think of them, peasant farmers are businesspeople."

However, not all smallholder farmers have been convinced to use eMkambo. And mobile service providers have been slow to understand the need for service upgrades to enhance user-friendliness. Mr. Dhewa says he will continue to strive for the full support of mobile phone service providers. "Our strength is mainly in content.... A lot of content in Africa is still to find its way into the digital world."

Expansion opportunities

Nevertheless, Rangarirai Mberi, head of Zimbabwe's Econet Wireless

communications group, told *Africa Renewal* that his company is open to working with any developers with innovations that can help the country, adding that there is huge potential for ICT in agriculture. Econet Wireless has over 5.6 million subscribers, representing more than 70% of the country's mobile market. The company has been successful with EcoCash, a system of mobile money transfer like Kenya's famous M-Pesa. Mr. Mberi believes his company can also succeed in agriculture.

The Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe, which issues licences in the postal and telecommunications sector, reports that the country has more than 7.8 million mobile subscribers. With such a huge subscriber base, there is potential to expand the market for eMkambo. Limbikani Makani, the editor of *Technology Zimbabwe*, an online magazine, also foresees that eMkambo will attract a lot more farmers if the platform continues to deliver timely and reliable information. "While people need information, they need it consistently in order to rely on it," he says.

Because the strength of his platform is mainly data collection and analysis for decision-making, Mr. Dhewa intends to collaborate with government policy makers. "Policy makers need ideas and insights from creative entrepreneurs, through ICT. You can do anything in Zimbabwe as long as you have the foresight, insight, hindsight and oversight."

Meantime, Mr. Dhewa is planning to have financial institutions and small- to medium-scale enterprises start interacting on eMkambo. He hopes that this will attract many young people to farming. Already there are indications that some banks would like to support traders at large informal agricultural markets in Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare—Zimbabwe's three biggest cities—before the end of the year.

This is an age of mobile information, according to Mr. Makani and it appears that Mr. Dhewa, the mobile companies and the farmers are in a win-win relationship. Mr. Dhewa is reaping income and recognition from his initiative; the telecom companies, while making money from SMS and phone calls, also feel they are contributing to society; and for some Zimbabwean farmers life is just getting better. 🌱

A toast to South Africa's black middle class



The Soweto Wine Festival attracts thousands over a three-day period to taste more than 950 South African wines. Soweto Wine Festival

By Benjamin Düerr

In the summer of 2005, South Africa-based entrepreneur Marilyn Cooper decided to give her neighbors in a suburb of the capital, Pretoria, a barbecue treat. Alluding to the inscription on her drinking glasses, “Soweto Beer Festival,” she asked her guests, “Why can’t we have a Soweto wine festival?” The economic situation was just right for such a celebration, she felt, as many residents of Soweto, a predominantly black township in Johannesburg, were already showing flashes of middle class life: buying new cars, modern electronics, mobile phones, designer dresses and houses. And they appeared to love a good wine.

Within a year Ms. Cooper had found a partner, Mnikelo Mangciphu, with whom she organized the first-ever Soweto Wine Festival. Which has now become a popular annual event. She also owns a winery and business is booming, but she believes that better days are still ahead as she targets a rising black middle-class market.

Ms. Cooper is not the only one to be excited about the steady growth of the South African black middle class. Speaking at the Forbes Africa Forum in Congo-Brazzaville in July, South African president Jacob Zuma enthusiastically lauded current progress. “The [black middle class] growth demonstrates that we are making progress in improving the quality of life and extending opportunities to those who were oppressed only 19 years ago before the dawn of freedom.”

Growing demographic

But who exactly is in the middle class in South Africa? Although the African Development Bank describes as middle class in a developing economy anyone earning more than \$2 per day, a study by John Simpson, director of the University of Cape Town’s Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing, defines middle class South Africans as those who

\$40bn

Annual
consumer
spending by
South Africa’s
middle class

earn between \$1,550 and \$4,800 per month or who meet certain criteria, for instance, having a white-collar job and owning a car.

In a recent study, *Four Million and Rising*, Mr. Simpson agrees with President Zuma's upbeat assessment and provides backup data. For example, currently 40% of black professionals work in the civil service, compared to 13% of whites. This has led to the rise of income levels in black families, which in turn has led to increased consumption. The study found that between 2004 and 2012, the number of black middle-class families who owned a DVD player increased from 30% to 63%; the number with computers at home increased from 19% to 45%; and of those owning microwaves from 60% to 92%.

Nicholas Nkosi, a manager with South Africa's Standard Bank, adds his voice to the excitement about a new and financially empowered black middle class. More blacks are buying homes than before, he told *Africa Renewal* in an interview. In addition, his bank's 2013 report shows that car sales to blacks increased by 19% between 2011 and 2012, compared to an increase of 7% for white customers during the same period.

Lyn Foxcroft, a business consultant who studied wine consumption among emerging consumers in South Africa, writes, "Of the 8.3 million adults classified as middle class in 2012, 51% are black, 34% white.... This is a dramatic shift from the 2004 proportions: white 52%, black 32%" South Africa's middle class generally spends a whopping \$40 billion annually. Its 4.2 million black middle-class citizens represent a chunk of this amount, with nearly half having a post-secondary degree and more than 50% of families sending their children to private schools. Finance minister Pravin Gordhan adds that generally since 1994, per capita national income is up 40%, while up to four in five people are now connected to the electric power grid.

Economy's engine

Available data, says Mr. Simpson, indicates an expansion of the black middle class, and he sees this demographic as the engine of the South African economy because of its strong purchasing power and contribution to the national coffers through taxes.

Several factors have helped swell the ranks of South Africa's black middle class, including credit availability, education, the government's Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) programme and general economic growth, which has led to more job creation, says Mr. Simpson. The BEE programme aims to ensure the participation of previously disadvantaged nonwhites in the corporate sector. The policy includes tax benefits and employment preference. "Sheer economic growth in a consumption-driven economy and easy access to credit helped to make the number of black middle class families rise," says Mr. Simpson.

Entrepreneurs such as Ms. Cooper continue to find themselves faced with many opportunities. She affirms that "for the next 20 to 30 years, this black middle-class market is going to expand further."

Aside from contributing to economic growth, the rise of the black middle class "shows a movement towards the normalization of the society," argues Mr. Simpson. Prior to 1994, when apartheid officially ended, blacks were oppressed, had few job opportunities and had restricted access to education. The economic and political landscape has since changed, with the growing black middle class changing historic inequalities.

While President Zuma and others sound positive about the future of South Africa's black middle class, Mr. Simpson believes more remains to be done. "Poverty at the bottom end hasn't reduced very much," he says. The rise of some has resulted in a widening of the gap between rich and poor. South Africa has become "one of the most unequal societies in the world."

Simpson's study shows that about 70% of blacks in the middle class feel increasing pressure to support less fortunate dependents. This pressure is captured in the award-winning 2011 documentary *Forerunners*, which portrays the struggles of four black South Africans striving to find balance in their new lives and cope with the tensions that result from attempting to fulfill enormous family responsibilities.

Fast food invasion

Increased spending power by the black middle class has caused an influx of fast-food outlets and, from that, new health

challenges, such as obesity. By June 2013, fast-food giant McDonald's operated 185 restaurants in South Africa, and it is set to increase the number to 200 by the end of the year. Burger King, another fast-food company, opened its first restaurant in South Africa this year and expects to open more in the future. Its chief executive officer, Jaye Sinclair, tells *Bloomberg.com*, the U.S. business wire's online publication, "The [spending of the] middle class will be the savior for South Africa down the line, not exports."

But South Africa's Medical Research Council is worried that "obesity is not only a problem of the developed nations but is becoming an increasing problem in countries undergoing societal transitions." Studies show that 39% of women and 10% of men in South Africa are obese already—meaning that their weights are greater than what is generally considered normal for their heights. But that's not a problem for the growing fitness sector. Gyms are opening throughout middle-class neighborhoods such as Protea Glen, Orlando West and Orlando East in Soweto.

Urbanization

With black middle-class families moving from townships to suburbs, housing construction, especially in new settlements, is expanding. South Africa's *Financial Mail* newspaper reports that there was a shortage of 600,000 housing units for the working class in 2013. The paper attributes the current backlog of about 100,000 housing units a year—and growing—to rapid urbanization, a reduction in the average family size and a fast-growing middle class. Affordable neighborhoods for middle-income earners in Johannesburg, and in Pretoria and Durban in the KwaZulu-Natal province, are becoming overpopulated. The high demand for housing also puts a strain on services such as electricity. During the winter, for example, the exploding demand for energy often causes power outages.

Still, many development experts agree that the growth of the black middle class is good for South Africa. It strengthens Africa's biggest economy and moves the country steadily towards a truly prosperous society. "Better days are indeed ahead for South Africa," Ms. Cooper says confidently. 🌱



A herd of elephants in Tsavo West National Park, Kenya. 📷 Panos/Martin Roemers

Elephants are the latest conflict resource

By Pavithra Rao

An average of about 45 elephants per day were illegally killed in 2011 in every two of five protected sites holding elephant populations in Africa, thanks to the growing illegal trade in ivory, which continues to threaten the survival of elephants on the continent. A joint report by four international conservation organizations says that 17,000 elephants were killed in 2011 alone and the amount of ivory seized has tripled over the last decade.

“Organized criminal networks are cashing in on the elephant poaching crisis, trafficking ivory in unprecedented volumes and operating with relative impunity and with little fear of prosecution,” says Tom Milliken, an expert on ivory trade with TRAFFIC, a global wildlife trade monitoring network.

The joint report, *Elephants in the Dust: The African Elephant Crisis*, released this year, warns that increasing poaching levels, as well as loss of

habitat, are threatening the survival of African elephant populations in Central Africa and in previously secure populations in West, Southern and Eastern Africa. The report was produced by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Wildlife Trade Monitoring Network (TRAFFIC).

The 17,000 elephants illegally killed in 2011 lived at sites monitored through the CITES-led Monitoring Illegal Killing of Elephants programme; these sites hold approximately 40% of the total elephant population in Africa. The report warns that initial data from 2012 show that the situation had not improved, and that the true figures may be much higher.

Long ago elephants used to roam freely in Africa, finding paradise in places like Côte d’Ivoire, which literally means “the coast of ivory.” Even the country’s

17,000

Elephants killed in 2011 at sites monitored by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES)

national football team, *Les Éléphants*, derives its name from the mighty animal. The elephant population of Côte d'Ivoire has since dropped dramatically, with only about 800 remaining throughout the country. The drive to save elephants has become the latest frontier in the conflict over natural resources in Africa.

"Like blood diamonds from Sierra Leone or plundered minerals from Congo, ivory, it seems, is the latest conflict resource in Africa, dragged out of remote battle zones, easily converted into cash and now fueling conflicts across the continent," according to Jeffrey Gettleman of the *New York Times*.

Elephant tusks are of high value in the Far East, particularly in China, Vietnam, the Philippines and Malaysia, where many use them for ornamentation as well as for religious purposes. With booming economies, the demand can only increase, many believe.

Going extinct

Increasing numbers of poachers in Africa are ready to supply these markets. They slaughter the animals and saw off their tusks, sometimes even invading sanctuaries to do so. Given the rate at which they are being slaughtered each year, African elephants could be extinct over the next decade, says the Wildlife Conservation Society, an animal protection organization.

The authors of *Elephants in the Dust* agree. They say current population estimates suggest alarming declines in elephant numbers in parts of Central and West Africa, as well as an increasing risk of extinction for some local populations. Africa used to have a few million elephants at the turn of the century, current estimates put the continental population in the range of 420,000 to 650,000. Botswana, Tanzania and Zimbabwe account for well over half of them.

Cyanide poisoning

Worse, many of the poachers are alleged to be working for rebel groups, such as the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda and the Janjaweed in Sudan, and terrorist and militant groups such as Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab. These groups engage in the illicit ivory trade, using the profits to finance terrorist works.

Earlier this year UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon warned that elephant

slaughter for tusks was surging in the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Chad and Gabon. "Poachers are using more and more sophisticated and powerful weapons, some of which, it is believed, might be originating from the fallout in Libya," Mr. Ban said in a report to the UN Security Council. In Zimbabwe, for instance, poachers have started using cyanide on elephants and other wildlife by poisoning natural salt licks. Since May 2013, photos by legitimate hunters, taken during aerial surveys in Zimbabwe's Hwange National Park, have shown more than 300 elephant corpses.

According to *Elephants in the Dust*, large-scale seizures (seizures of consignments weighing over 800 kg) of ivory destined for Asia have more than doubled since 2009, reaching an all-time high in 2011. The report says large movements of ivory, involving the tusks of hundreds of elephants in single shipments, were a sign "of the increasingly active grip of highly organized criminal networks" engaged in illegal ivory trade.

"These criminal networks operate with relative impunity, as there is almost no evidence of successful arrests, prosecutions or convictions," says the report. Furthermore, "The prevalence of unregulated domestic ivory markets in many African cities, coupled with the growing number of Asian nationals residing in Africa also facilitates the illegal trade in ivory out of Africa."

It's not just the elephant population that is threatened by illegal killings; local communities suffer too. "The surge in the killing of elephants in Africa and the illegal taking of other listed species globally threaten not only wildlife populations but the livelihoods of millions who depend on tourism for a living and the lives of those wardens and wildlife staff who are attempting to stem the illegal tide," says Achim Steiner, UNEP executive director.

In May 2013, for example, poachers in the Central Africa Republic attacked the Dzanga Bai Clearing in the Dzanga-Ndoki National Park, home to about a hundred elephants. Almost 20 poachers illegally entered Dzanga Bai and massacred more than 25 elephants, including four calves. During the same month, poachers invaded the Lake Nakuru National Park in Kenya and four other animal sanctuaries, killing seven rhinos.

Concerted efforts needed

Numerous solutions have been proposed and adopted in the past to stamp out poaching, but with mixed results. According to Mr. Ban's report, "The situation has become so serious that national authorities in some countries, such as Cameroon, have decided to use the national army in addition to law and order enforcement agencies to hunt down poachers."

One innovative tool from the wildlife campaign group Kenyans United Against Poaching is the website. The site is intended to name and shame animal poachers as well as middlemen and traffickers. According to Salisha Chandra, a spokeswoman for the group, publicly listing offenders' names online will make poachers and traffickers think twice.

Last May the Kenyan parliament increased penalties for wildlife poaching and trafficking of ivory to up to 15 years in prison along with huge fines. According to authorities, poaching has reduced Kenya's elephant population from 160,000 in the 1960s to 38,000 today.

Challenges remain

Even with efforts to increase fines and jail time for offenders, poachers are still on the prowl. Somalia, for instance, is overrun by rebel and terrorist groups, as well as pirates and traffickers. It is no wonder that the illegal ivory trade flourishes in such an environment.

Anti-poaching campaigners are demanding that authorities properly investigate and prosecute all those involved in exporting elephant tusks especially to the Far East. UNEP has called for follow-up investigation of any large-scale seizure of ivory going from Africa to Asia, and for trans-boundary criminal intelligence units.

The successful outcome of current efforts hinges on the availability of adequate resources, and on the political will to raise necessary awareness and enact and implement policies that punish offenders. The *Elephants in the Dust* report expresses this point clearly: "Unless the necessary resources can be mobilized to significantly improve local conservation efforts and enforcement along the entire ivory chain, elephant chains will falter, poaching will continue and illegal trade in ivory will continue unabated." 🦏



Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour performing.  Reyer Boxem/Hollandse Hoogte/Redux

Music can change the world

By Dana Da Silva

Do you ever listen to a song and find yourself moved so deeply you are almost in tears? Have you ever been to a live performance that turned your worst day into your best? Have you ever heard a song that inspired you? Music has the power to move us and to change us. Yet today's music mostly does not seem to have the same earth-moving, society-shaping effects as that of the past.

Much rarer are the antiwar sentiments of composers like Bob Dylan of the USA. The anti-apartheid and government-challenging lyrics of musicians like South Africa's Miriam Makeba and Nigeria's Fela Kuti have largely been exchanged for party-hard, live-the-rich-life lyrics.

With today's technology, music has become even more of a part of our life experiences: we listen to it on our drive to work, when we go to parties, while we study, when we exercise, and in so many other settings. Yet we see fewer and fewer people taking to the streets with picket

signs because of its messages. There are, however, still musicians who hope that their words will inspire change.

Known throughout the world, Youssou N'Dour is a musical peacemaker in his native Senegal and lends his words and music to critical campaigns, such as malaria prevention programmes. Oliver Mtukudzi's music has created awareness and dialogue around HIV and AIDS in his home country Zimbabwe. In Benin, UNICEF goodwill ambassador Angélique Kidjo keeps a strong note of social concern in her lyrics—singing about hunger, homelessness, AIDS and injustice. And some up-and-coming musicians are also lending their voices to protests against crime, human rights violations, xenophobia and much more.

Music with a message

The combination of the right lyrics, rhythm and instruments can build a group identity, stir strong emotions, engage audiences and amass people to take action. This makes music the perfect

partner for social change. In Africa a variety of NGOs, bands and activists are trying to make a difference through music.

The Sigauque Project is a band based in Maputo, Mozambique, whose music is all about raising issues and trying to bring about change. Its musical influences include Senegalese *mbalak*, Nigerian Afro-beat and Mozambican *marrabenta*. A unique pan-Africanism stems from the band's use of music originally recorded across Africa, which it performs in its own unique style. The band's two singers, with full horn section, throbbing bass and rhythmic percussion, create sound, including jazz that keeps audiences grooving all night, while the messages come through loud and clear.

"Now, you see musicians singing about girls, money and fast cars. Not long ago Africa was full of music that made a statement—about government, corruption, things that matter," says Sigauque Project leader and trumpet player Daniel Walter. "Our music talks about



HIV, women's rights, recovering from a disaster, xenophobia and much more. It's not just great music, we're saying something."

Music for social change

Most of the music performed by the Sigauque Project was produced by Community Media for Development (CMFD) Productions, which records music and radio projects for social change. The project Musicians Against Xenophobia brought together musicians from Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe to produce four songs about discrimination.

South Africa's large migrant population faces discrimination and harassment. "Many people do not know these things are happening," says Machotte, a Mozambican saxophone player. "Through this music, maybe we can make people know and think about this, and people will change."

Noting the power of music to reach youth especially, CMFD Productions

and the Sigauque Project also recently produced two songs about HIV awareness. One combines the band's hard-hitting jazz sounds with a local rapper's lyrics about being faithful, while the other uses the popular *passada* rhythms that Mozambicans love to dance to.

The CMFD also produced other songs for radio programmes. The most recent, "Hungry City," accompanies a documentary and radio drama series about the state of food security in Southern African cities. Another song talks about floods in Mozambique and accompanies a radio series about the country's recovery from the floods that hit it in early 2013.

Music as a platform

Music is an important part of popular culture, it entertains us, and so it is a great platform for discussions on social issues. Concerts are particularly effective because artists have the opportunity to address large crowds. For social messages to take root, they must

be accepted by large numbers of people, and individuals are more likely to accept these messages if their peers do.

When music is played over the radio, people hear and sing along to the songs, repeating the messages so that they and others really hear them. This gives people an opportunity to understand what messages the music holds and then to speak about them.

Music is a means by which people can convey important messages and ideals to others in the hope that they will truly listen and, as a result, come together and bring about social, political and economic change.

When asked about the possible future uses of music, Daniel Walter has big hopes. "In many African countries today there exists democracy in name only; criticising the government can lead to a loss of opportunities. I see an important role for music in the coming years using a lot of popular messaging."

So the next time you wish to make change, why not make a song about it? 🎵

APRM comes of age from page 5

the second stage, an APRM panel of experts visits that country for extensive discussions with government officials and civil society.

In stage three the panel writes a report building on the country's self-assessment, using information from background research and consultations with government and civil society. In stage four the panel submits its report to the heads of state. "This is the stage where they [heads of state] ask us questions regarding the strengths and weaknesses mentioned in the report," notes Ms. Nyirakobwa. The fifth stage consists of efforts by the APRM and the country under review to launch, publish and promote the report.

Implementation snags

Peer-reviewed countries are expected to implement the APRM's recommendations, states Mr. Amara. And therein lies the system's weakness. Ms. Nyirakobwa says that many peer-reviewed countries don't have the capacity to implement recommendations, which may involve expenditures not in a country's budget. She also says that technical experts are not readily available in many countries. In addition, countries are not bound to implement APRM recommendations; they may even reject some of them as inappropriate. "These reports have more moral value than any kind of coercive value," according to Maged Abdelaziz, head of the Office of the UN Special Adviser on Africa. Currently it appears that a report's moral force isn't strong enough to pull 21

countries into the APRM or make 16 others agree to be peer-reviewed.

However, the APRM has been an eye-opener for African leaders in its role as an early warning system. In 2007 its reports warned the continent's leaders about brewing violence from xenophobia in South Africa and post-election fallout in Kenya. "It was very clear in our report in 2007 that something was going to happen if no strong measures were taken to avert the crises," recalls Ms. Nyirakobwa. "But they [governments] didn't take them [recommendations] seriously." The loss of lives and property in both countries was a wake-up call for African leaders, who later requested a follow-up special investigation on Kenya.

Insufficient resources

Although African leaders would like to have the APRM insulated against foreign influence, they also realize that the body needs resources, some of which could come from outside Africa. "We encourage African countries to build capacities but also we need the support of the UN and the global community in financial and capacity building," Ms. Nyirakobwa says. She wants charity to begin at home and encourages African nations to offer support. "Nigeria has abundant skilled persons in engineering and medicine. They can lend a hand to other countries."

The APRM secretariat is already supported by experts from the UNEconomic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the UN Development Programme. Ms. Nyirakobwa emphasizes the acute need for resources to help peer-reviewed countries implement recommendations. "The biggest challenge

is on the ground, in different countries... especially after the review process." She believes they will get more support if the APRM's activities and successes become visible. "We want the world to know what APRM is doing."

UN support

The UN is already assisting the AU in different ways, notes Under-Secretary-General for Communications and Public Information Peter Launskey-Tieffenthal. The world body channels assistance at the global, regional and country levels, he explains. OSAA concentrates on global advocacy for the AU; the ECA, through NEPAD, coordinates regional engagements; and the UN country teams partner with individual countries.

Mr. Launskey-Tieffenthal adds that an office in his department also functions as one of the UN programmes helping to promote the African Union's work. "We have been playing a role and will continue to do so by providing strategic advice on public information and raising public awareness of APRM's activities across Africa." He says the APRM could also benefit from outreach campaigns run by the UN Information Centres throughout Africa.

With the APRM likely to mobilize more resources in the future, and given cooperation from its members, it looks as if the stars are aligned in its favour. But this is also true because African leaders derive pride from their own creation and are determined to see it succeed. The APRM will help realize the dream of "an Africa where prosperity is felt by all," says Ms. Nyirakobwa. 🐘

Illicit Financial Flows from page 16

countries to fight tax evasion. It states that poor countries should have the information and capacity to collect the taxes owed to them. The declaration further calls on extractive companies to report payments to all governments, which should in turn publish them.

While the *Financial Times* embraced the declaration as "an advance" in corporate transparency, Sally Copley, another

spokesperson for the IF campaign, says in a statement, "The public argument for a crackdown on tax dodging has been won, but the political battle remains." Copley wants the G8 to impose strict laws on tax evasion.

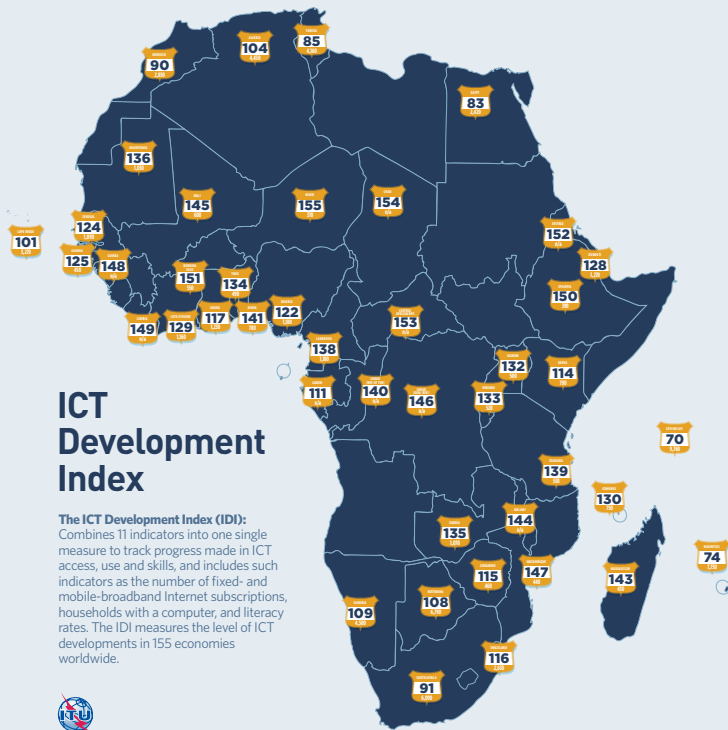
For its part, *Africa Progress Report 2013* calls for multilateral solutions to global problems because "tax evasion, illicit transfers of wealth and unfair pricing practices are sustained through global trading and financial systems." It urges African citizens to demand the highest standards of propriety and disclosure from

their governments, and rich countries to demand the same standards from their companies.

Initiatives by institutions in Africa and the adoption of the Lough Erne Declaration raise hopes for strict rules against illicit financial flows from Africa. "Seizing these opportunities will be difficult. Squandering them would be unforgivable and indefensible," Mr. Annan warns in his foreword to the panel's report. Meanwhile, ECA's slogan "Track it. Stop it. Get it" aptly captures what needs to be done about money flowing illicitly out of Africa. 🐘

On ICT Index of the 'Information Society', Africa lags behind

By André-Michel Essoungou



Source: ITU World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database

If you live in Africa and feel that your access to that speedy Internet is costing you a fortune, the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) has news for you: yes indeed, you are paying a hefty price. A report recently published by the ITU confirms that the continent is the world's most expensive place for access to broadband Internet connections. Customers in Africa often pay ten times more than those in Europe for broadband access, the ITU says.

Access and costs of broadband Internet are two of the indicators that explain the continent's poor showing on the latest ICT



Development Index, which ranks 157 countries based on their performance. The ITU report, entitled *Measuring the Information Society*, is the fifth in a series published by the UN agency since 2009. It tracks ICT developments and analyses its costs and affordability in what amounts to "a performance evaluation."

Despite some progress in a number of African countries, none of them feature among the top 50 on the index. Seychelles, the best performer on the continent, ranks 67th on the index. Thirty of the continent's 55 countries surveyed are part of the 39 least connected countries, (home to 2.4 billion

people) with particularly low levels of ICT development.

Unsurprisingly, most of the least connected countries are also lagging behind in efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. The authors of the report argue that "ICTs can become key enablers for achieving international and national development goals and have the greatest development impact, and more policy attention needs to be directed towards them."

Across Africa, a divide is emerging, according to the report. Some countries (Seychelles, Mauritius, Cape Verde and South Africa) have recently seen positive trends: greater ICT access and lower costs of ICT services. Three countries (Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe) even rank among the 20 most dynamic countries over the past two years. ICT development has taken a greater leap there. Between them and some others (Central Africa Republic, Burkina Faso, Guinea or Ethiopia), the ICT divide is widening. In this category of countries, access to the latest ICT services (including broadband Internet access and 3G telephone networks) remains a challenge.

Mixed global trends

At the global level, positive trends in the developed world obscure less encouraging signs in developing

countries. In the space of four years, prices for fixed broadband services dropped by an impressive 82%, the report notes. While the Republic of Korea scored high on the ICT Development Index (8.57%), Niger came in at only 0.99% - within the possible (theoretical) range of 0 to 10. This measurement revealed huge differences in ICT access, use and skills.

By the end of 2013 there will be 6.8 billion mobile/cellular subscriptions - almost as many as there are people on the planet. But only around half of the world's population - and a minority in Africa - lives within reach of a 3G network, which provides high-speed access to mobile Internet.

Similarly, use of the Internet continues to skyrocket in the developed world but lags elsewhere. More than 250 million people became Internet users over the last year, and almost 40 per cent of the world's population (an estimated 2.7 billion people) will be using the Internet by the end of 2013. In developed countries, numbers are so high that the ITU now predicts that the double digit growth noted in recent years will slow down significantly.

In the world's least developed countries, however, the estimate is for fewer than one in ten people to be using the Internet by end 2013. ●

African tablets rival iPads

By Nirit Ben-Ari

Tablets, which are light mobile computers, are currently in vogue. Because they are handy and easy to



use, tablets are especially popular with students, businesspeople and professionals. Apple's iPads lead the

way in the tablet market in North America and Europe, but not in Africa. Tech industry analysts say that most Africans cannot afford the up to \$700 price tag for an iPad in African capitals, although a growing number of those in the middle class desire high-quality tablets.

There is no reason why you couldn't have multi-million dollar software companies coming out of [Africa]

Encipher, a Nigerian tech company, is hoping to plunge into this niche by selling a locally made tablet for half of iPad's price—\$350. Inye tablet is the brainchild of Saheed Adepoju, a young Nigerian entrepreneur and founder of Encipher, a company that deals in computer products

and services. First released in 2010, Inye, which means 'one' in the Nigerian Ingala language, runs on Android 2.1 and allows users to connect to the Internet by means of an inbuilt Wi-Fi card.

Inye tablets also function with external 3G modems from GSM networks. Encipher unveiled an upgraded Inye-2 in 2011. The newer model has a 9.7inch soft-touch screen with a battery lifespan of six hours. It runs on Android 2.2 and, like the previous version, allows a user to connect to the Internet through an inbuilt SIM card.

For many Nigerians, the main attraction is that a tablet considered nearly as good as an iPad sells for just \$350. However, even with such a low price, sales have been disappointing. The

reason for low sales, Mr. Adepoju explained to CNN last year, is that Nigeria lacks widespread broadband connections to guarantee speedy connectivity. The country's Internet connectivity is currently still very slow and unreliable.

Analysts believe that even if they cannot afford \$700 for an iPad, there are many Africans who are hooked to Apple's strong brand and may well prefer to save more for an iPad than purchase a locally made product. But as Nigeria currently expands its broadband infrastructure, Mr. Adepoju believes Inye's sales could soon be boosted.

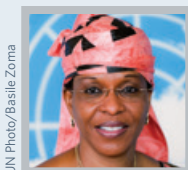
In neighboring Ghana, 28-year old Derrick Addae, chief executive officer of GIL Corporation, a tech company, has invented the 'G' Slab, a pocket PC

tablet that aims to rival Apple's iPad and Samsung's Galaxy. The 'G' Slab can make phone calls, has a built-in Wi-Fi, Bluetooth, and Microsoft Word, and is equipped with most of iPad's functions.

These kinds of innovations pave the path for more Africa-based technologies.

"Could the next Google come from Africa?" asks Richard Tanksley, entrepreneur and senior faculty member at the Meltwater Entrepreneurial School of Technology in Accra, reports the *Guardian*, a British daily. He said: "There is so much focus on Africa as a place to invest and to build businesses ... and there is no reason why you couldn't have multi-million dollar software companies coming out of here". ●

APPOINTMENTS



UN Photo/Basilie Zoma

UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has appointed **Aïchatou Mindaoudou Souleymane** of Niger as his special representative and head of the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI).

Prior to her appointment, Ms. Mindaoudou

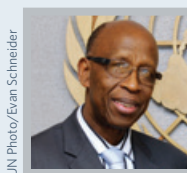
served as the deputy joint special representative for the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) as well as acting joint special representative of UNAMID from August 2012 until March 2013. She also presided over Niger's chairmanship of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Ministerial Council for Mediation and Peace from 2005 to 2007. She replaces Albert Gerard Koenders of the Netherlands.



UN Photo/IC McIlwaine

Lieutenant General **Babacar Gaye** of Senegal has been appointed as the secretary-general's special representative and head of the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office for the Central African Republic (BINUCA). At the time of his appointment,

Lt. Gen. Gaye was serving as assistant secretary-general and military adviser for peacekeeping operations. He served as force commander for the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) from 2005 to 2010. Prior to this, Lt. Gen. Gaye held many leadership and staff positions in the government of Senegal. He succeeds Margaret Vogt of Nigeria.



UN Photo/Evan Schneider

The UN secretary-general and the chairperson of the African Union Commission, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, have appointed **Joseph Mutaboba** of Rwanda as AU and UN deputy joint special representative and deputy head of the AU-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur

(UNAMID). Prior to this, Mr. Mutaboba served as the secretary-general's special representative and head of the UN Peacebuilding Support Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNOGBIS) until January 2013. He succeeds Aïchatou Mindaoudou of Niger.



UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe

Speciosa Wandira-Kazibwe of Uganda has been appointed as the UN secretary-general's special envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa. Prior to her appointment, she served as senior adviser to the President of Uganda on Population and Health and a chairperson of the board of directors of the Microfinance Support Centre Ltd. From 1993 to 2004, she was vice-president of Uganda. She replaces Asha-Rose Migiro of Tanzania.

Major General **Imam Edy Mulyono** of Indonesia was appointed by the secretary-general as force commander of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). Prior to his appointment, he served as commander of the Indonesian Defence Forces Peacekeeping Centre. Maj. Gen. Mulyono brings vast national and international military experience to his new position, including as special assistant to the army chief of staff in charge of peacekeeping operations. He succeeds Maj. Gen. Abdul Hafiz of Bangladesh.

AFRICA BOOKS

Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory (International Political Economy) by Kevin C. Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw (Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, UK, 2001; 264 pp; hb \$155)

African Pasts, Presents, and Futures: Generational Shifts in African Women's Literature, Film, and Internet Discourse (After the Empire: The Francophone World and Postcolonial France) by D. Khannous Touria (Lexington Books, Lanham, USA, 2013; 230 pp; hb \$80)

Agricultural Development and Food Security in Africa: The Impact of Chinese, Indian and Brazilian Investments (Africa Now) by Fantu Cheru and Renu Modi (Zed Books Publication, London, UK, 2013; 256 pp; pb \$39.95)

Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-East Africa: Ethiopia and Kenya (Integration and Conflict Studies) by Günther Schlee and Elizabeth E Watson (Berghahn Books, New York City, USA, 2013; 272 pp; pb \$34.95)

Cinema and Development in West Africa by James E. Genova (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, USA, 2013; 222 pp; pb \$25)

Commerce with the Universe: Africa, India, and the Afrasian Imagination by Gaurav Desai (Columbia University Press, New York City, USA, 2013; 352 pp; hb \$50)

Conflict and Security in Africa (ROAPE African Readers) by Rita Abrahamsen (Boydell & Brewer, Suffolk, UK, 2013; 252 pp; pb \$34.95)

Congo Calling: The Memoir of a Welsh Nurse in 1960s Africa by Margaret Maund (Y Lolfa, Talybont, UK, 2013; 114 pp; pb \$17.95)

Development, Modernism and Modernity in Africa by Augustine Agwuele (Routledge, London, UK, 2011; 340 pp; hb \$133.00)

Francophone Africa at Fifty by Tony Chafer and Alexander Keese (Manchester University Press, England, UK, 2013; 304 pp; pb \$115)

Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400-1948 by Paul S. Landau (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2013; 318 pp; pb \$31.99)

Revolution, Revolt and Reform in North Africa: The Arab Spring and Beyond (Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Democratization and Government) by Ricardo Laremont (Routledge, London, UK, 2013; 192 pp; pb \$51.95)

Sexual Diversity in Africa: Politics, Theory, and Citizenship by S.N. Nyneck and Marc Epprecht (McGill-Queens University Press, Ontario, Canada, 2013; 296 pp; pb \$29.95)

BOOK REVIEW

A Good African Story: How a Small Company Built a Global Coffee Brand

by Andrew Rugasira

Random House, London, UK, 2013, 288 pp; hb \$21

Andrew Rugasira, author of *A Good African Story: How a Small Company Built a Global Coffee Brand*, is best known in his native Uganda as a pioneer coffee entrepreneur. In this book, he tells the story of the success of his coffee company, *Good African Coffee*, after a very tough beginning, and also draws attention to Africa's unequal trade with the rest of the world.

His interest in coffee was shaped by Uganda's fame in the coffee export business. In the book, Mr. Rugasira writes, "Uganda produces over three million bags of coffee a year [approximately 200,000 tonnes] but most of this coffee is exported in its raw form – as green beans for processing in the consuming countries of the developed world. What no Ugandan coffee company had done before was to place a branded coffee product on supermarket shelves in South Africa and the UK." This then became Mr. Rugasira's ultimate challenge.

For eight years, he strived to establish and run a coffee company that would not only bring in profits through exports, but also benefit local farmers through profit-sharing.

On his catchphrase "trade not aid," Mr. Rugasira writes, "I introduced programmes that would invest in the areas of coffee agronomy, support that would improve crop quality...productivity and economical stewardship...for the farmers."

Living up to the challenge is what Mr. Rugasira clearly illustrates in his book. He



demonstrates the many obstacles faced by an African-owned business, such as entering new markets as well as gaining credibility. He also takes the time to show how important it is to reward others in order to grow one's business – it is a process that is indeed cyclical, contributing to better livelihoods for farmers as well as to the expansion of the coffee company.

The 288-page book will serve as a great primer for budding entrepreneurs as well as those who want to better understand the logistics of global business. 🌍

— Pavithra Rao

Striving for Better Jobs: The Challenge of Informality in the Middle East and North Africa (Directions in Development)

by Roberta Gatti, Diego Angel-Urdinola, Joana Silva and Andras Bodor (World Bank Publications, Washington D.C., USA, 2013; 320 pp; pb \$34.95)

The Democratic Republic of Congo: Between Hope and Despair (African Arguments) by Michael Deibert (Zed Books Publication, London, UK, 2013; 280 pp; pb \$19.95)

The Idealist: Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty by Nina Munk (Doubleday,

New York City, USA, 2013; 272 pp; pb \$26.95)

The Last Hot Battle of the Cold War: South Africa vs. Cuba in the Angolan Civil War by Peter Polack (Casemate Publishers, Philadelphia, USA, 2013; 304 pp; pb \$32.95)

The Rise of the BRICS in Africa by Pádraig Carmody (Zed Books Publication, London, UK, 2013; 192 pp; pb \$29.95)

The Threat of Liberation: Imperialism and Revolution in Zanzibar by Amrit Wilson (Pluto Press, London, UK, 2013; 168 pp; pb \$30)



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