

The Thinker

A PAN-AFRICAN QUARTERLY FOR THOUGHT LEADERS

Salim Ahmed Salim on

DEFINING THE LEADERSHIP PARADIGM FOR A

NEW AFRICA



SOUTH AFRICA R29.90



ADEMOLA ARAOYE Steven Friedman TIAN XUEJUN Michael Prior
BUSANI NGCAWENI Lerato Lentsoane KWESI DZAPONG LWAZI PRAH
Lusanda Batala DIMITRIS KITIS Rachel Browne EUSTON WESSO Clifford Peter
MATS SVENSSON Fortune Nwaiwu LOFTUS MMUSINYANE Miyelani Mkhabela
SMAIL DEBECHÉ John Mhongovoyo TOM MICHAEL MBOYA

NEW JOBS OVER THE NEXT 7 YEARS

2000

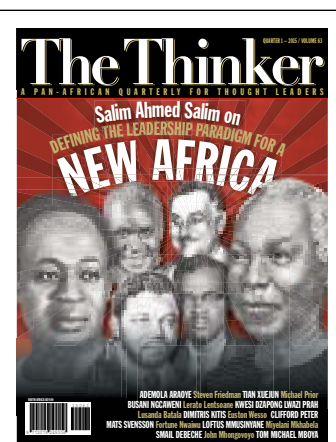


MARKET DEMAND
STRATEGY



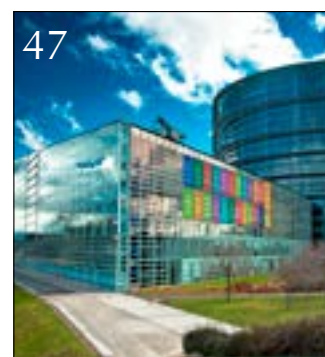
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On the Cover:

Outstanding Pan African leaders
Top from left Kwame Nkrumah,
Kenneth Kaunda, Gamal Abdel
Nasser, Julius Nyerere, Nelson
Mandela and Patrice Lumumba
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Advancing the African Agenda

When we took the decision to turn *The Thinker* into a Pan-African quarterly we said "It will be Pan-African in form, content, diversity of authors and distribution... We shall devote special attention to the on-going processes for an African Agenda and the African Renaissance. We hope to assist the continent to find African responses and solutions to African challenges, problems and conflicts."

We hope our readers will agree that in producing the first five editions we have endeavoured to fulfil our commitments and objectives. We have published articles by a number of prominent African academics, scholars, analysts and political figures.

Thabo Mbeki in his article on Tasks of the African Progressive Movement called on the African Progressive Movement to attend to such challenges as:

- strengthening the AU, to enable our Continent effectively to act as a united entity capable of advancing its interests;
- implementing the agreed African socio-economic development programmes, as represented for instance in NEPAD;
- acting to defend the right and possibility for us, the peoples of Africa, individually and collectively, freely to determine our destiny consistent with international law which prescribes the right of nations to self-determination;
- strengthening and democratising the multilateral institutions, to ensure respect for international rule of law even by the most powerful countries in the world;
- constructing equitable North-South relations especially as these relate to Africa; and

- enhancing South-South cooperation. (Volume 59 January 2014)

President Zuma said in an interview with *The Thinker*: "As different countries supported our country during the liberation struggle we also learnt about the importance of solidarity and comradeship. Many countries in our region were poor but they spared no effort or resources in support of our struggle. We will always value that; hence our interaction with many African countries is informed by those relations that were forged out of struggle. Our commitment to the African agenda today was shaped by our experiences during those tough and difficult periods." (Volume 62 October 2014)

We need to build and strengthen African Unity and cohesion; to promote sustainable economic development and achieve a more equitable distribution of income and resources; and involve the broad masses of African people in decision-making at all levels of government. Critical to this endeavour is a leadership which is dedicated to empowering and enriching the many, and NOT a tiny élite. 'A better life for ALL' means precisely that.

As Salim Ahmed Salim points out in in this issue: "...it is important for the future generations of leaders to hold fast to a new vision of Africa, one in which our continent is united, prosperous, and at peace with both itself and the rest of the world. These new leaders must remain steadfast to their convictions, underpinned by beacons of morality and humanity, and constantly strive to achieve their visions in the face of all obstacles and anyone who would rebuke such aspirations. Our new leaders must know that realising these visions is daunting, and



I can certainly acknowledge that the path will not be easy; however these are the journeys in life that are most worthy ones to embark on!"

Agreement with the University of Johannesburg

We are very pleased to inform our readers and advertisers that we have signed an agreement with UJ to collaborate on producing this journal. With the support and active participation of UJ we will, as the agreement says, "endeavour to produce a quality and authoritative journal which will critically analyse and comment upon the political, economic, social and cultural developments, challenges and opportunities in our continent." This collaboration, as the UJ recognises, "will strengthen its efforts towards enriching and deepening its academic profile and developing the University as the Pan-African epicentre of critical intellectual inquiry."

This agreement will enable us to increase our circulation and distribution network to universities, youth and students, workers and trade unionists, civil society and political formations across the continent.

Racism - A Crime Against Humanity

One of the most outstanding Afro-American freedom fighters, a founding father of Pan-African conferences and a great fighter against racism, W.E.B. Du

Bois, was instrumental in convening the first Pan-African conference in London in July 1900. Du Bois drafted the “Address to the Nations of the World” which was adopted by the conference. That address included the prophetic phrase “The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the Color-line” which has influenced and guided the work and actions of anti-racist fighters for more than a century. It is a shame to all humanity that we still have to say that the problem of the Twenty First century is the problem of the colour-line.

Racism, racist insults, racist attacks continue to blemish the political, economic, social and cultural landscape in every corner of the globe. Apartheid South Africa, ‘a Crime Against Humanity’ has deeply scarred our country and its people. Twenty years is not enough time to eradicate those deeply entrenched attitudes in private and public institutions and, as our constitution demands, achieve a non-racist society. This can be seen

from the glaring racist attacks by some whites on black folks. Examples include white students consciously abusing black women and men, and many cases of white farmers consistently mistreating and exploiting black workers - in one of which a father of three was fed to lions in Phalaborwa.

In this issue we carry an article by Dimitris Kistis on the growth of right wing extremism in Europe. These

“ This collaboration, as the UJ recognises, “will strengthen its efforts towards enriching and deepening its academic profile and developing the University as the Pan-African epicentre of critical intellectual inquiry.” ”

organisations which have scored some political victories in European and national elections are virulently racist, xenophobic and anti-immigrant. In Ukraine the extreme right wing parties who are openly fascist and neo-Nazi control that country’s security forces. These racist, thuggish organisations are a threat to the security and comfort of the people of colour in the countries in which they operate as well as to peace and security.

In the so-called bastion of democracy and human rights, the United States of America, in the months from August to December 2014 several unarmed black men have been shot and some killed by the police. The case that has made international headlines is the murder of a young black man, Michael Brown, on August 09th, 2014 in Ferguson, Missouri. This outrageous killing sparked off many mass protests and demonstrations in Ferguson as well as other major cities in the USA. The slogan “Black Lives Matter” reverberated across that country.

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Athens Greece 22 March 2014 – About 5,000 people marched through central Athens during an anti-racist, anti-fascism protest to celebrate the International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

Black lives are cheap in the USA. They are more likely than others to be stopped and searched, arrested and imprisoned.

Not surprisingly the grand jury in Ferguson, Missouri, discharged the policeman, Darren Wilson. This injustice led to mass protests including riots and looting. But there is another America, too. This is made up of the millions of black, white, Hispanic and Asian people who are appalled at the racist killing of young black men. As the author Michelle Alexander, an Afro-Asian, wrote in the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* on 30 November, 2014: "But now I feel something greater. I am proud of the thousands of people of all colours who have taken to the streets in non-violent protest, raise the voices with boldness and courage, capturing the imagination of the world. They're building a radical movement for justice, one that would make the freedom fighters who came before them sing from the heavens with joy."

Racism in sport, in particular soccer

in Europe, is an affront to all sports loving people. Recently an innovative and hopefully influential initiative was taken by the Mandela Foundation, Doha Foundation and the Sexwale Foundation to set up *Global Watch*.

Global Watch, which has the support of many influential sporting bodies and institutions nationally and internationally, is determined to combat and eliminate racism in sport worldwide. This initiative as well

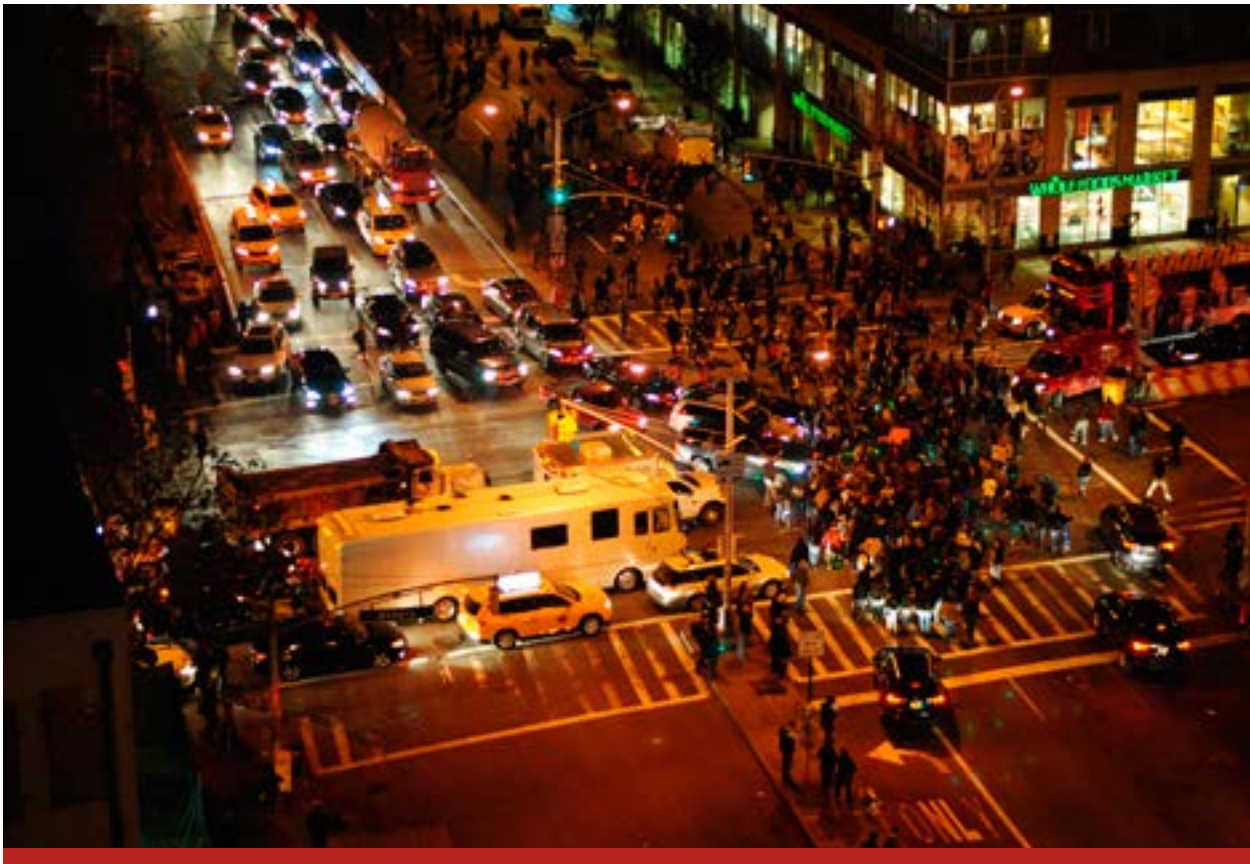
“ Under the obnoxious apartheid regime South Africa was the fountain head of world racism. Under a democratic system South Africa should strive to become the fountain head of world anti-racism. ”

as the creation of *Global Barometer* to monitor adherence to the *Global Charter* deserves the support of anti-racist fighters throughout the world.

Under the obnoxious apartheid regime South Africa was the fountain head of world racism. Under a democratic system South Africa should strive to become the fountain head of world anti-racism. To achieve this objective the ANC and its alliance partners must take the lead to intensify the struggle to fight the scourge of racism nationally and internationally.

In December 2014 we marked the anniversary of the death of our beloved icon Nelson Mandela. His courageous fight against racism and calls for reconciliation in a post democratic South Africa should galvanise people across the globe cutting across religious, class, race, ethnic and gender divides. Racism is a crime against humanity; and it must be eliminated before it causes even more immeasurable damage, destroying lives, hope, dignity and self-respect in every corner of the world. ■

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New York City – 25 November 2014: Thousands of marchers rally against racism after the Ferguson grand jury decision.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT



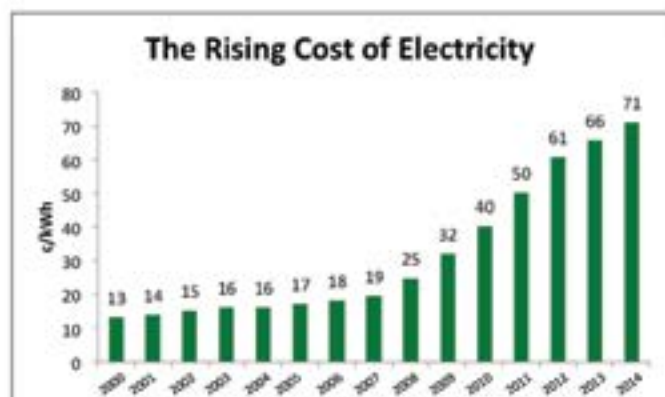
We give hope to underprivileged communities by making a meaningful difference through healthcare, educational and community based programmes.

Unlocking South Africa's true economic potential

Over the next 20 years, the economic landscape in South Africa has the potential to change very meaningfully for the better. Since 2008, the local industrial sector has been hamstrung by erratic electricity supply – a key determinant of deteriorating business confidence and hence reduced investment expenditure.

As a direct result, South Africa's potential growth rate has steadily declined over this period, from a rate of 3.5% in the mid-2000s to an estimated 2.7% now, according to the International Monetary Fund. While it is unlikely that electricity supply issues will abate over the short term, it is clear that current power projects have the potential to boost long term growth very significantly within the next decade, adding as much as 25% of extra capacity to the electricity grid. This could be an immensely positive story for the South African economy, lifting overall growth towards the 5% target set by the National Development Plan.

But as many South Africans are finding out, an economic boost of this magnitude cannot come without significant costs. Over the past year, the local energy regulator has allowed for greater electricity price increases than initially expected, adding an estimated 0.2% to consumer inflation figures in 2015. As the National Treasury embarks on a number of measures to improve its own balance sheet, we may yet see more price increases of this nature. Nevertheless, a number of offsetting factors, including a more subdued food and petrol price outlook, may provide South African consumers with some relief over the short term. In light of these developments, the South African Reserve Bank revised its 2015 inflation forecast down from 5.7% to 5.3% for the year, potentially providing local consumers with a boost. Additionally, the development of a more robust energy sector in the midst of a prudent fiscal environment presents its own opportunities. The intensification of the independent power producer programme, for example, should be welcomed by South Africa's private sector as a channel for greater efficiency and employment within our economy. Another opportunity in the energy sector lies within the green economy, an important global theme emphasised by G20 leaders at their 2014 summit.

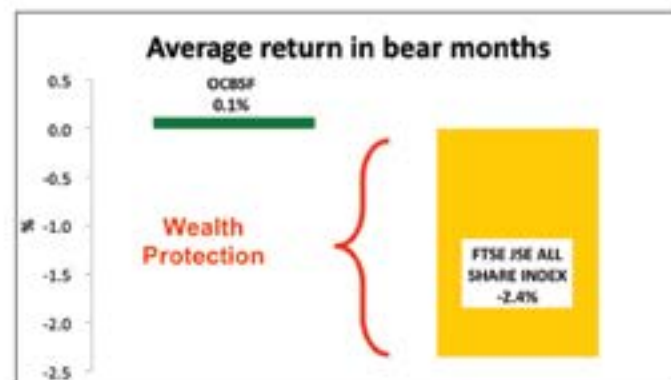


Source: Oasis Research using I-Net Bridge, Oct 2014

Active participation in initiatives such as these can go a long way in enhancing private sector involvement in the economy and hence reducing the state burden. In addition to the immediate benefit on economic activity, these measures could simultaneously improve South Africa's standing in an increasingly competitive global market. So while the path to a completely unconstrained industrial sector may be gradual, there is clearly much which can be achieved in the interim. Over the long term, the combined impact of state and corporate energy measures has the potential to unlock South Africa's true economic potential.

A Word on Financial Matters

At Oasis, we place particular focus on ensuring that our clients' savings are invested in a way that facilitates a tangible improvement in real wealth. Our emphasis on building a well-diversified portfolio of high quality assets also provides strong downside protection during periods of market volatility. In this way, the Oasis Crescent Balanced Stable Fund of Funds (OCBSF), a moderate risk portfolio suitable for investors preparing for retirement, has generated a cumulative return of 68% since its inception in May 2010, comfortably outstripping average price increases of 27% over the same period.* Furthermore, during "bear" months in which equity market returns are negative, OCBSF has on average provided significant downside protection to investors, serving as an important source of wealth preservation.



*Note: Returns in Rand, Gross-of-Fees, Gross of Non Permissible Income
Source: Oasis Research using Morningstar Direct, Oct 2014

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The recently announced Islamic Finance News (IFN) Awards once again ranked Oasis as the Best Islamic Asset Management Company in Africa. The organisation has received this award for two consecutive years, which is testament to the consistent application of our investment philosophy that seeks to protect and grow the real wealth of our clients over the long-term. It furthermore, reinforces our unwavering commitment to provide customer satisfaction and performance excellence, which has been the cornerstone of our business over the last seventeen years.

Further recognition was received when Plexcrown released the Unit Trust Third Quarter 2014 survey during October 2014. Oasis was the leading Foreign Collective Investment Scheme management company with an overall rating of 4.5. The Oasis Crescent Global Property Equity Fund, with five PlexCrowns, was the leading fund in the global real estate sector, while the Oasis Crescent Global Equity Fund and the Oasis Global Equity Fund received four PlexCrowns each.



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All contributing analysts write in their personal capacity

Dr Ademola Araoye is a former Nigerian diplomat and author of *Cote d'Ivoire, The Conundrum of a Still Wretched of the Earth*. He is an international policy analyst with a special interest in conflict analysis and management. Araoye has significant lived experience of post-conflict societies. He trained at the Claremont Graduate University, CA, USA. He teaches part time as the University of Liberia, Monrovia.

Lusanda Batala is a Senior Economist at the National Treasury where he works in the International and Regional Economic Policy division under the African Economic Integration Chief Directorate. His responsibility is to provide economic policy analysis on regional integration and to engage on policy debates organised by institutions such as the AU, SADC, and SACU. Batala holds a BSocSc degree in Economics, Postgraduate diploma in Marketing Management from the University of Cape Town, BCom Honours degree in Economics from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, and an MSc in Finance (Economic Policy) from the University of London (SOAS).

Prof Steven Friedman (D Litt) is a political scientist and is Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy at Rhodes University and the University of Johannesburg. Over the past decade, he has written on the relationship between democracy, social inequality and economic growth as well as the significance of citizen action. Friedman is the author of *Building Tomorrow Today*, a study of the South African trade union movement, and editor of *The Long Journey* and *The Small Miracle* (with Doreen Atkinson) on the South African political transition.

Dr E Dimitris Kitis is a Postdoctoral Fellow in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis at the University of the Witwatersrand. He joined the Department of Linguistics and the School of Literature, Language and Media in 2013. His research focus is

on subcultures and their discourses, protest, conflict, urban space, political discourse, new communication technologies and the mass media. He has a PhD from King's College London, where he was based in the Centre for Language, Discourse and Communication.

Lerato Lebogang Lentsoane assisted in the development of South Africa's first National Development Plan as a researcher in the National Planning Commission Secretariat. Currently she is a Policy Analyst in the Strategy and Special Projects Unit, in the Office of the Deputy President. She provides content support policy; analysis and also oversees the implementation of some of the commitments made in the National Development Plan, towards vision 2030. She holds a Master's Degree in Commerce, from the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business. Her commitment and passion is in research and programmes that contribute to alleviating poverty and developing South Africa's human resources.

Miyelani Mkhabela has a BCom Management and Economics Degree and a post-graduate certificate in Business Management. He is currently reading for an MBA in Entrepreneurship and Leadership. He has contributed to discussions on markets and economics on many radio and television programmes.

Loftus Mmusinyane has the following degrees from the North West University: BA Ed, BSoc Sc (Hons) (Development Studies) and a Master's degree in Rural Development and Land Reform. He has worked as a teacher, part-time lecturer and Community Development Practitioner. He is presently working as a Supervisor in the Community Development Workers Programme in the Department of Local Government, Mahikeng (North West Province).

Busani Ngcaweni currently heads the Office of the Deputy President of South Africa. Before that he served

as Manager of Strategy and Special Projects in the same office. Ngcaweni holds a degree in Education from the then Durban-Westville University (UDW) and an MSc in Urban and Regional Planning from the School of Development Studies, Natal University (now University of KwaZulu-Natal). He is a Fellow of the Duke and Cape Town Universities Emerging Leaders Programme. He is the editor of *Emerging Perspectives on the Centenary of the ANC and Liberation Diaries, Reflections on 20 Years of Democracy*.

Fortune Nwaiwu is currently a Research Officer with the Nigerian Economic Summit Group. Nwaiwu holds a Higher National Diploma in Computing (Business Information Technology). In 2010 he was a CPR Africa 2010 Young Scholar. Nwaiwu is also involved in media as a freelance writer and public commentator. He is studying for an MBA at the Nyenrode Business University in the Netherlands.

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Michael Prior is a British economist who has worked for over 30 years as an international consultant specialising

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in energy and environment projects and policy development. He has worked in several African countries including Angola, Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan. He originally trained as a physicist before obtaining an Economics degree and was previously Director of the Stockholm Environment Institute at York University where he initiated continuing work on environmental issues.

Salim Ahmed Salim is one of the most outstanding and seasoned diplomats in the world. He has served with distinction his country, Tanzania, as Prime Minister, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister for Defence and National Service as well as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Salim Ahmed Salim served as Secretary General of the OAU 1989-2001 and was the African Union Special Envoy on the Darfur conflict 2004-2008. He serves on numerous boards and is a recipient of honorary doctorates and National Awards from at least 13 African countries.

Mats Svensson lived in Jerusalem for several years working in the Swedish Consulate. For two years he walked the apartheid separation wall in the West Bank from south to north, following house demolitions in Jerusalem and settlement expansions, and documenting life under Israeli occupation, apartheid and colonialism. He had previously worked in Congo, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Malawi.

Euston Wesso holds an honours degree in human ecology, majoring in community development and research methodology from the University of the Western Cape. He also has a Prince 2 Project Management certificate from ANTS Project Management Training and Development. Euston believes in an interdisciplinary approach towards development and is pursuing his post-graduate degree in Development Studies. His interests lie in community development, poverty alleviation and project management. Euston sees himself as a researcher being involved in multiple projects aimed at independent and sustainable development.

Ambassador Tian Xuejun has a long and distinguished career in the Department and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. From 1985 to 2004 he served in various capacities in Kuwait, Bangladesh and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2004 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the PRC to the Hellenic Republic. Prior to coming to South Africa he served as Director-General (2007-2012) of the Department of Personnel in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC. In 2013 he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the PRC in South Africa. ■

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Defining the Leadership Paradigm for a New Africa



Salim Ahmed Salim

This struggle demonstrated how leadership is not just about guiding people and making proclamations; but more significantly, it is about commitment, sacrifice and risk taking.

By Salim Ahmed Salim

Every year on 25 May, African people formally commemorate the creation of their pre-eminent continental body - the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the inception of its successor, the African Union.

This milestone Africa Day marks the progress in the journey towards shaping a shared destiny and a determination to achieve the aspirations of individual countries and those of the continent as a whole. It is an occasion which

signifies the achievement of a politically liberated continent and the celebration of a distinctly pan-African identity. In many ways it also offers an opportunity to reinforce the inspiration from the founding fathers of modern Africa and

to reflect on the ever evolving changes associated with the critical aspect of the continent's leadership.

It is on occasions such as Africa Day when the hearts of African people are filled with memories of what they have endeavoured to achieve. They remember the 'Freedom Generation' of icons such as Kwame Nkrumah; Gamal Abdel Nasser; Julius Nyerere; Ahmed Ben Bella; Emperor Haile Selasie; Kenneth Kaunda; Patrice Lumumba; Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Léopold Senghor, Modibo Keita, Oliver Tambo; and our recently departed leader and hero, Tata Nelson Mandela, just to mention a few. They solemnly acknowledge that this generation brought to prominence the critical role of leadership in the making of modern Africa.

It is therefore opportune as the continent continues its quest for the pursuit of a shared future, to reflect deeply on the leadership paradigm for a new Africa. Beyond a shared geography and history, aside from the zeal and feeling of common identity, over and above the potentiality of structural linkages and global opportunities, what are the essential attributes for leadership in Africa that can galvanise these powerful forces and usher the continent towards the realisation of its cherished vision? What are the values and qualities that need to be nurtured and fostered for a continent undergoing rapid transformation and destined to occupy its rightful position in the international arena? More poignantly, how best can the foundation laid down by the 'freedom generation' be further enhanced and valorised at the level of leadership so as to fit with the new dispensation?

Perhaps there are already many answers to these questions. The record of post-independent Africa is replete with a variety of leadership experiences. However, after the turmoil of the 1980s, adjustments of the 1990s, and at this point when the 'Africa Agenda 2063' is being developed, it is propitious to seek more coherent responses to these questions. Each experience so far gathered represents a particular juncture in the development of the continent. As was the case of the 19th century venerated Shaka

Zulu from what is today's Republic of South Africa, Queen Nzinga from the present Republic of Angola, Sundiata from what is now a larger Mali, or Kinjikitile of the now United Republic of Tanzania – all these were women and men who mobilised their people to gallantly respond to the challenges of their times.

There was a common thread among all of them - a paradigm if you will. The same can be said for the Freedom Generation and those who came after them. Leadership at each period and epoch had its own characteristics, challenges, and historical mission. It is fitting therefore, to further ask the question: does the emerging Africa in the 21st century call for nurturing a new paradigm? If so, what should be its connection with those of the past?

Preserving the bedrock of Freedom and Dignity

I have spent a greater part of my

“The move towards an inclusive economy must go hand in hand with efforts to uplift the status and appreciate the role of our women in economic and political leadership.”

youth and considerable part of my adult life dealing with issues related to freedom and equality for all. I did so at home in Tanzania where I took an active part in student and youth organisations in Zanzibar from the age of seventeen; in New York where I served as envoy of my country to the United Nations and also as the Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation (Committee of 24) for eight years; and in Addis Ababa where I served as Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity for three terms lasting twelve years.

South Africa's struggle against apartheid resonated and influenced me greatly in my political and diplomatic

career. This struggle demonstrated how leadership is not just about guiding people and making proclamations; but more significantly, it is about commitment, sacrifice and risk taking. In this regard, there were four events worth mentioning, in which I was directly associated in one-way or the other.

First, was the historic decision by the United Nations to expel the delegation of the apartheid regime from participating in the UN General Assembly. This happened in 1974 when I was serving as chairman of the African Group at the UN when, in close collaboration with my African colleagues, we spearheaded the move for the rejection of the credentials of the regime's representative.

When, in 1970, the move was first initiated by the African, Asian and other delegations, the President of the 26th Session of the General Assembly Mr Advard Hambro of Norway, interpreted the call for the rejection as amounting to a solemn warning against the South African regime for its apartheid policies. This approach was similarly taken in subsequent years by other Presidents of the General Assembly.

The departing point in 1974 was that the African delegations were determined to see to it that a mere warning was not enough and thus we had agreed to have the rejection of the credentials be interpreted as tantamount to the eviction of South Africa participating in the assembly proceedings based on a resolution to that effect. However, such a resolution became unnecessary, as the President of the General Assembly, then the Foreign Minister and now Head of State of Algeria, President Bouteflika, felt that the rejection meant that the delegation of the apartheid regime could not be in the assembly, a move which, although challenged by some western countries, was however sustained by the General Assembly. This was a major blow against the apartheid regime and provided a significant boost to the South African struggle led by the African National Congress (ANC), whose representatives worked closely with us.



A statue of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the founding father of Ghana at the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park (KNMP) which is a National Park in, Accra, Ghana

The second event was the consideration by the United Nations Security Council on the Soweto uprisings of June 1976. I was then the Permanent Representative of Tanzania in the Security Council and there was quite a bitter and acrimonious debate when the representative of the regime tried to justify the wanton killings of unarmed young boys and girls by the security forces. It was an emotionally charged atmosphere given the callous disregard for human life as amply demonstrated by the regime. Quite frankly I lost my temper and did not spare the representative of the Pretoria regime.

The third event was interesting and fascinating but less dramatic. In January 1976, I was the President of the UN Security Council when the council was deliberating on the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. I was privately informed by one of the western members of the council that the Ambassador of South Africa wanted to see me. Given the principled position of most African Countries and the realities of the situation whereby

most of the African Representatives wanted nothing to do with the

“Inclusive socio-economic development aims to ensure that all individuals can meet the basic needs of their families; that all our continent’s diverse social, political, and economic groups feel equally part of their societies; and that all individuals who strive for a better tomorrow can be given equitable opportunities to improve their livelihoods.”

representative of the apartheid regime, this western ambassador who was a good friend of mine, opined me that I could see the representative quietly and privately without any publicity. He went on to suggest that such a meeting could take place outside the UN building. I told the Ambassador, that if the representative of South Africa wanted to see me as the representative of Tanzania I saw no point for such a meeting. However, if he wanted to see me as the President of the Security Council and considering that the topic of discussion directly involved South Africa, I saw no reason whatsoever to play a hide and seek game. I would receive the representative in the office of the President of the Security Council in the UN building as I considered that to be my responsibility as Council President. My western colleague seemed surprised and almost disbelieving, a reaction that also surprised me!

The last event was when I visited South Africa for the first time in 1993 when the country was preparing for its first democratic elections. I led the

OAU delegation comprising of senior officials of various African countries and for me and my other African colleagues, it was an emotional moment to land in Johannesburg. It will be recalled that Tanzania and many African States had a firm and clear policy of prohibiting its nationals from visiting apartheid South Africa. On that occasion I was able to meet and had discussion with Madiba in Umtata, President De Klerk in Cape Town, Prince Buthelezi in Ulundi, KwaZulu Natal, President of Pan African Congress Mr Makwetu in Johannesburg and Leaders of the Freedom Front including General Viljoen, the former Chief of the Armed Forces in Pretoria. Coming to South Africa under the changed circumstances and holding a whole range of discussions with the various leaders on matters related to the end of apartheid and transition to a non-racial and democratic South Africa, was clearly a dream come true.

These past experiences are recounted only to highlight the essence of leadership in Africa within the context of the struggle for liberation and against apartheid. Of primary importance in those anecdotes is the degree to which the individual is subsumed within the collective whole. At that point in time, the personal interest or individual status of any of those names could not prevail over and above the collective cause. Leadership was a responsibility in the pursuit of a collective goal. It entailed fortifying a unity of purpose, and maintaining unwavering principles. It was a multi-frontal process at every scale; requiring penetrating boundaries in executing a shared mission. Indeed, the impetus of leadership derived from a strong commitment, determination and the clarity of vision.

Pitfalls and Revival

To chart Africa's pathway forward, we must be frank in our assessment of Africa since the era of our collective independence and liberation. Now we are free. It is indeed pertinent to ask ourselves whether the Aims and Objectives articulated by the pioneers of our independence movements have been achieved or are, for that matter, anywhere near fulfillment. I

am afraid, at a certain juncture of the past few decades we seem to have lost that compass, with all its attendant implications.

It is indeed a fact that though our countries are free, the aims and objectives of the freedom struggle have yet to be attained in many of our countries. When we fought for freedom we did not just fight for the purpose of replacing the white colonialist. The objective was to improve the lot of our people. It was intended to ensure larger freedoms including the right to decide how we are governed, by whom and for what purpose. It was to remove injustice and ensure that national resources are utilised for the betterment of our people. It was to fight disease, ignorance and abject poverty; to change the lives of our people and

“It is important for the future generations of leaders to hold fast to a new vision of Africa, one in which our continent is united, prosperous, and at peace with both itself and the rest of the world.”

to transform our continent to live up to its responsibilities.

As we therefore mark 51 years since laying the foundations of African Unity in 1964, and reflect and plan for the future, there are some soul searching questions which we as Africans need to ask ourselves.

- Why does our continent, which is one of the richest in terms of resources, both human and material, continue to have the poorest people on earth?
- How can we rationally explain the continued and in some cases escalating internal conflicts in some parts of our continent with the attendant loss of millions of lives, human misery and destruction; as well as forcing millions of our people to vote with their feet?

- How do we sustain and better utilise the current decade-old achievements of economic growth into a shared prosperity for all?

It is tragic that the foundation put in place by the Freedom Generation of African Leadership rapidly eroded during the first decade of Africa's independence. Africa's promise and hope for a meaningful UHURU disappeared fast, as post-independence Africa became characterised by war, instability and undemocratic regimes, thereby losing the transformative and developmental vision that had characterised and energised the nationalist and Pan-Africanist struggles of our forbears.

It is in this context that one of the early Pan-Africanist acts by President Mandela's administration, after coming to power in 1994, was to resuscitate the cause for Africa's Re-birth or Renaissance in which President Thabo Mbeki has been, and continues to be, actively involved.

Africa's Renaissance underlines a revival of an Africa full of hope and prosperity. It is inspired by the current trajectory the continent has entered, which is one of rapid growth; of being a destination for global investments; and of striving to consolidate peace with itself, uplifting the wellbeing of its people. As it embarks on its renaissance, there occurs a thrust of its inner potential, a boost of its substantive energy, as well as a vigour and intensity of its historical determination. While the renaissance is more about seeking a brighter future, it is also propelled by a re-energised momentum gathered from the past. A key cornerstone for a successful realisation of that desired future is the extent to which leadership corresponds to this imperative.

A new leadership paradigm for the African Renaissance

The very contemplation of an African Renaissance is an indication that the continent is surmounting the many challenges encountered in the past two decades and has made substantial gains enabling it to enter into a new trajectory. While shortcomings have been detected and new demands have arisen, there have been substantial adjustments

which when taken in their totality may constitute the beginnings of a new leadership paradigm in the continent.

Some of its core components include the following:

Prioritising improved governance

Improving governance is the number one issue that needs to be addressed. All those who lead at whatever level, but especially as National Leaders, must be held accountable. They must act in a manner which makes them truly servants of the people who have elected them to power. Practical experience has already demonstrated that where the leadership is responsible, accountable and incorruptible, and abides by the principles of good governance, countries have made enormous progress in socio-economic development. Good governance, democracy, accountability and transparency should be nurtured and sustained and above all be made an essential component of our societies.

Africa, which has suffered a lot of indignity and inhumanity due to massive violations of our

“Good governance, democracy, accountability and transparency should be nurtured and sustained and above all be made an essential component of our societies.”

people’s rights, should be at the forefront in safeguarding the protection and respect of human and people’s rights. To achieve this it is imperative to build democratic institutions, improve our educational system and strengthen civil society. This needs to be so strong that no leader, however influential, can manipulate the system.

Revisiting the prevailing Social Contract

There is a rich discourse on the character of the ‘state’ in Africa – in

terms of its composition, relationship with citizens, modality of its functioning, and its overall role in society. The leadership facet is often enjoined in such considerations, albeit using different constructs and nomenclature. Concerns are raised about issues related to duties and obligations; roles and responsibilities; rights and privileges; and even capacities and competences. More profoundly, the relationship of leaders with society as a whole; with other citizens; and with civil, public and private institutions has presented challenges calling for a much deeper political and juridical reflection. The conflation of the notion of ‘leadership’ with that of the ‘state’ as an institution, as well as the determination of the locus of sovereignty – whether in the ‘state’ or in the ‘people’ – raise critical nuances forming the parameters underlying the beginnings of a new paradigm.

Putting people at the centre

The principle of putting people at the centre of development has been at the crux of the liberation struggle and the



quest for socio-economic emancipation. It has been in vogue in almost every epoch of African leadership. Yet, in each phase it has had its particular accent and meaning. At this particular juncture, a people-centred leadership goes beyond homogenising society and pays attention to the needs and demands, capacities and constraints of each segment and every individual within the composite character of the nation.

After years of structural economic transformation that focused on economic growth, it is now crucial to adopt inclusive socio-economic development for our continent to face current challenges effectively and advance sustainable development. Inclusive socio-economic development aims to ensure that all individuals can meet the basic needs of their families; that all our continent's diverse social, political, and economic groups feel equally part of their societies; and that all individuals who strive for a better tomorrow can be given equitable opportunities to improve their livelihoods.

The move towards an inclusive economy must go hand in hand with efforts to uplift the status and appreciate the role of our women in economic and political leadership. The women of Africa have been the most resilient and dynamic force. They constitute more than 50% of the entire population. They have played a crucial role in the struggle for independence and liberation. In conflict situations they bear a disproportionate burden of suffering. They have played and continue to play a pivotal role in all facets of economic and social development. Unfortunately in most of our countries their potential has yet to be utilised. This powerful force, when properly empowered and allowed to make full use of their potential, will unleash an irreversible movement towards the political, social and economic emancipation of the continent.

Of equal importance, is the need to recognise the current demographic trend of the continent where 60% of our people are below the age of 40. Africa has indeed the

youngest population in the world. It is important to ensure that policies and actions, which constitute the agenda of the future, make effective use of this dynamic force. We should work to realise their potential and nurture them because after all they are the ones who will be leading us tomorrow.

Vigorous pursuit of regional integration

It has been a long held dream to create an Africa that is united, prosperous and at peace with itself. Every generation of leaders has made its contribution in striving towards realising this vision. The same responsibility falls on the leadership for the African renaissance. They have to accelerate the pace of integration as well as strengthen a Pan-African Identity among our people across borders. We are still lingering in an era of prejudices and stereotypes, keeping our people further apart instead of moving us closer through our shared history and shared aspirations for our individual and collective prosperous future.

Strategic engagement in the emerging global space

At the level of individual nations and collectively as a continent, a leadership for an African Renaissance finds itself confronted with a new global dispensation. Emerging leaders need both a local and a global perspective. Uniquely empowered through changes in technology and the requisite social constructs, these new generations now have the power to not only gather unprecedented amounts of information but also to connect and mobilise thousands upon thousands of like-minded individuals spanning the globe. However, serving as a leader not only means bringing your visions onto the global arena, but more importantly, also affecting positive changes and inspiring others back within one's community.

Envisioning the future and appreciating past endeavours

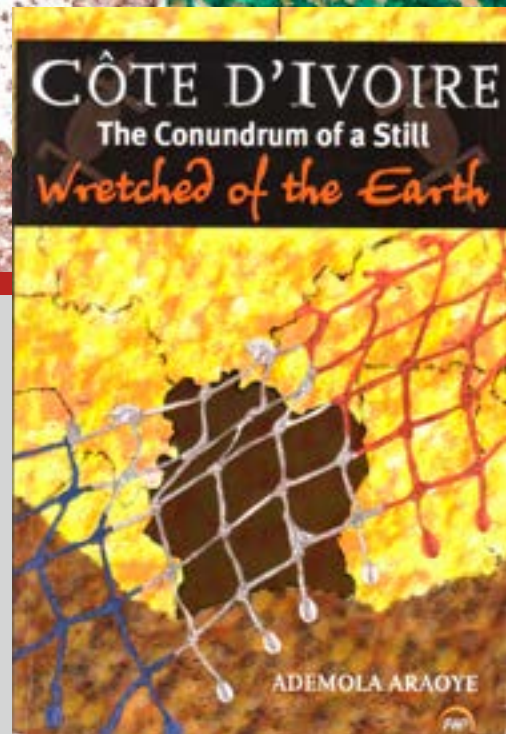
Just like our Founding Fathers, and the generations of leaders that preceded them, it is important for

the future generations of leaders to hold fast to a new vision of Africa, one in which our continent is united, prosperous, and at peace with both itself and the rest of the world. These new leaders must remain steadfast to their convictions, underpinned by beacons of morality and humanity, and constantly strive to achieve their visions in the face of all obstacles and anyone who would rebuke such aspirations. Our new leaders must know that realising these visions is daunting, and I can certainly acknowledge that the path will not be easy; however these are the journeys in life that are most worthy ones to embark on!

Appreciating past endeavours is equally important. It is important for current and future leaders to forge a deep appreciation of where our journeys have taken us so far, and how we have gotten where we are today. Africa today stands proudly upon the legacies of millions of individuals who contributed their entire lives to ensuring that future generations would have greater opportunities. Each of our countries has a unique history forged from the era of colonialism through to today. Africa's leaders were not only those who sat atop governments, but the thousands upon thousands more who stirred conversations in the town halls, in the communal homesteads, in university lecture rooms, in markets, in neighbourhood barazas and in taverns. Leadership knows no singular shape or size, colour or creed.

All in all, a new Africa is emerging with promising hope and the realisation of long held aspirations. A lot remains to be done, but there is a strong commitment and determination across the continent. An important component of this endeavour is the type of leadership that will steer the continent to the new destiny. There are indications that a new paradigm is emerging on the essence of the leadership required for the African Renaissance. It needs to be nurtured and bolstered because it should not be allowed to arise merely through chance and good fortune. ■

Why I wrote *Cote d'Ivoire: The Conundrum of a Still Wretched of the Earth*



I wrote to direct a critical searchlight on the dark emptiness of the nebulous victory of Africa's prominent villains and to lay bare the murky undercurrents of Africa's odious big men in stinking state palaces.

Perhaps it may be that with this codification of their side of the story, the martyrs of the French massacres of innocent Ivorians in Abidjan of November 7, 2004 will come to know some peace in their sleep.

By Ademola Araoye

O my body, make of me always a man who questions (Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*)

The dominant narrative is often your ascribed story; but your real story would always remain the contentious cloud and the misty float around the dominant narrative. The constituencies of the wretched don't write their history, neglect to tell their stories, nor, if they happen to mobilise the will, are they permitted to harness their authentic narratives to define their situations. So it has been with the story of the Ivorian conflict – the historic distortions and betrayals, as well as the massive repudiation of rationality that entailed criminal complicity in very high places, including state houses, in both prominent capitals and obscure backwater political cesspools.

In the conventional history of the ten year struggle of the Ivorian humanity, proxies, villains, stooges and vagabonds, expressions of Fanonian white masks in black faces, are celebrated in high offices. Progressive nationalists are vilified and clad in iron presses in western cages with vast plantations of embellished stories carefully cultivated, ascribed, and in professional manner woven around their incarceration. Those shackled in the cold dungeons of The Hague or even their strong amazon spouses confined to the savannah hot presses of Odienne in the Ivorian north, and who have remained unbreakable, unshakeable in the moral rectitude of their convictions, are the expressions of the rare and endangered specimens of the ancient dignified black humanity. They are the last standing gallant statespersons burdened by their forced silences to contain their metanarratives. They are the flickering beacons of hope for black humanity. I wrote *Cote d'Ivoire: the Conundrum of a Still Wretched of the Earth* to validate the struggle of these rare species, bear testimony to their courage and create a lasting verifiable monument to the memory of the martyrs of the strenuous struggle of the emancipation of the black earthling.

The pages of *the Conundrum* assert themselves as the counter narrative to the dominant falsetto of spiteful

villainous lilliputians, including the small external others, their Ivorian and non-Ivorian Africans – those who for petty ambitions for power and external validation have auctioned in a wholesale manner the next millennium of the great grandchildren of Africa. I wrote to document the complicity of the African establishment in this millennial denigration of black humanity – a devaluation of this establishment itself. I wrote to direct a critical searchlight on the dark emptiness of the nebulous victory of Africa's prominent villains and to lay bare the murky undercurrents of Africa's odious big men in stinking state palaces. I wrote to codify the continuing treachery of black humanity by its numerous self-inimical black earthlings determined to tighten the

“France remains unable to understand that its claim to have a special relationship with Cote d’Ivoire, and indeed other parts of Africa, is its convenient imagination and not borne in reality.”

iron noose around our future. Now do we, the wretched black earthlings, appropriate a monument, a dignified untainted memorial, on which to etch these defiant lamentations.

The tenor of the codified narratives of a people and their relationship with the universe, both temporal and spiritual, betrays their placement on the rungs of the hierarchical ordering in the still Hobbessian firmament. In this universe, the important narratives are in the precinct of the elite occupiers of the systematic jungle. Only the victorious have the luxury of writing about how the hierarchical orderings came to be or explaining the rationale for the givenness of the nature of things. The dominant Other validates the Order built around his interests and perpetuates its super-ordinate status

through entrenched fortified narratives that legitimise its impositions. Intrinsic to the process of validating the dominant system of axiomatic understandings is to couch narratives that delegitimise the recorded calendar of the essential happenings, de-validate the authentic versions of the subordinate people, and hollow out of salience the narratives of the defeated wretched.

The legitimised versions are often successfully retailed in digestible morsels to the wretched him/her as the authorised feast. Digesting the meal whole is the price of the ticket to the table of a hegemonic King James. And these distortions of universal understandings acquire the status of sanctified truths. And unimpeded, unchallenged fossilised deleterious narratives may have devastating consequences over the centuries, if not for eternity. And they serve a utilitarian function – often dangerously partisan, in attaining objectives that range from the mundane and trivial to the serious and grave.

It can safely be conjectured that contrived confutations around the solidity or a phantasmagorical attributions to factual reality impact beyond imagination, beyond rational boundaries, and have ubiquitous consequences across time, across all ages, ageless in fact, and across all climes. Quite simply, Chinua Achebe said narratives around the recurrent underling, the black wretched earthling in this case, especially between the West, and I'll say the generalised world, and Africa, may reflect the desire – one might indeed say the need, he added, – in Western and invariably global psychology to set Africa up as a foil to Europe and now the rest of the world, as a place of negotiations at once remote and vaguely familiar, in comparison with which Europe's own state of spiritual grace will be manifest.

The struggle for liberation and more importantly, emancipation, in a renaissance African age and millennium, is then largely a confrontation of our asserted will to project our daily harsh realities and interpretation of our quotidian struggles for emancipation against a granite wall of skewed narratives around our lives as earthlings, black earthlings, and

societies locked down by unscrupulous dominant Order. These are manifest across the whole spectrum of endeavours that define humankind. In the Ivorian conflict, the tenets of a renaissance Africa, encapsulated in the African Renaissance project, proved an important point. As a paradigm of action, it was the ultimate instrument that helped to transcend the critical contentions of the conflict. It triumphed over the controversial France-brokered Linas-Marcoussis Accord that inflamed passions because of its explicit legitimisation of the rebellion, while setting a dangerous precedent in conflict management by throwing the Ivorian Constitution into the trash bin. These are some of the critical delineations in the strange case of Cote d'Ivoire that required robust refutation.

In confrontation with one famous book of European fiction, Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, Chinua Achebe records the harrowing experience of a stark exposure to the immense toxicity of externally fashioned narratives that tell other people's stories. He was speaking about Conrad and the ancient venom of his poisonous literary legacy. Achebe describes Conrad as undoubtedly one of the great stylists of modern fiction and a good storyteller into the bargain. Constantly evaluated by serious academics, *Heart of Darkness* he acknowledges is indeed so secure today that a leading Conrad scholar has numbered it among the half-dozen greatest short novels in the English language. This famed western caricature of a literary pamphlet *Heart of Darkness*, Achebe affirms, projects the image of Africa as "the other world," the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilisation, a place where man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality. In Conrad's fiction of Africa as a pre-historic Earth, the experience was with graphic on-rushing glimpses of rush walls, of peaked grass-roofs, a burst of yells, a whirl of black limbs, a mass of hands clapping, of feet stamping, of bodies swaying, of eyes rolling under the droop of heavy and motionless foliage.

These all are a prelude to Achebe's

point, which is that Africa is fossilised in the western mindset as setting and backdrop, which eliminates the African as human factor. Africa is projected as a metaphysical battlefield devoid of all recognisable humanity, into which the wandering European enters at his peril. Can nobody see the preposterous and perverse arrogance in thus reducing Africa to the role of props for the break-up of one petty European mind? Achebe asks. The final point for the literary icon is that the dehumanisation of Africa and Africans which this age-long attitude has fostered continues to foster in today's world. The contemporary consequences are manifest in today's Cote d'Ivoire, indeed throughout the universe populated by black earthlings. And I add, could no one decipher the direction of the narratives bandied around the Ivorian tragic vortex as counter-intuitive? Or are we so damned?

“Unimpeded, unchallenged fossilised deleterious narratives may have devastating consequences over the centuries, if not for eternity.”

Conrad's fiction may have been a literary expression of a disintegrating consciousness and mind. Yet in reality, Africa in 2014, a decade and a half into the third millennium, remains a metaphysical trench where Africa must gird its loins to dislodge a consolidated age-long ideology of imposed irrationalism. This is expressed in a supremacist culture of contrived western intellectual irresponsibility and dishonesty – forging the narratives of Africa with all the implications therefore for the continued battles for an holistic African renaissance. Definitions and perceptions of reality thus are essentially potent as instruments for the advancement of parochial, personal and partisan goals. In this circumstance, defined reality, often baseless and with

no factual foundation, flies in the face of objective reality.

Yet this delusion can be implanted as reality in the hands of powerful chaplains and voices with the impeccable manipulative skills of a Goebbels or the unconscionable crudity and tastelessness of a Nicholas Sarkozy or fraudulent Jacques Chirac and de Villipen; all of them steeped in a 419 roulette. While they were busy telling the world that they were peddling civilisation in Africa, even the French were torn between revulsion and disbelief over the scandal that ex-President Jacques Chirac and his ally Dominique de Villepin had received tens of millions of dollars in bundles of banknotes from several African leaders¹. These are the peddlers of morality in Africa. Definitions of reality, driven by purely parochial interests based on institutional calculus against a people, or even a race as in the case of the black earthling, can import catastrophic consequences for the people who are deluded. But it is the larger society that directly bears the often horrific brunt of this delusion or institutional psychological gerrymandering. As we saw in Cote d'Ivoire, persons can be deluded to be arrayed against society's well-being. Allasane Ouattara, Konan Bedie and their cohort of small-minded Ivorian garçons as little handmaidens of the slave master are exemplars of this tragic self-repudiating, self-hating conversion. These are the imperatives that drove the sharp impulses of the *Conundrum* to revealing the sordid facts around the Ivorian tragedy. It is not a unique response to mindless and blatant injustice.

In the mid-twentieth century, the Antillean doctor Franz Fanon was inspired by the Algerian war of independence to challenge the dominant imperialist-inspired narratives around the Algerian struggle to resist the imposition on the Algerian homeland by France of being defined as a French overseas territory. France was determined to make Frenchmen out of Arabs. Fanon noted elsewhere that sometimes people hold a core belief that is very strong. When they are presented with evidence that works against that belief, the new evidence cannot be accepted. It would create a

feeling that is extremely uncomfortable, called cognitive dissonance. And because it is so important to protect the core belief, they will rationalise, ignore and even deny anything that doesn't fit in with the core belief². This explains the tenacity of the destructive cognitive dissonance of neo-colonial France in relation to its role in Africa. France remains unable to understand that its claim to have a special relationship with Cote d'Ivoire, and indeed other parts of Africa, is its convenient imagination and not borne in reality. This unbridled fixation, a cognitive dissonance bordering on a national psychosis, is hurting Ivorians, Malians, Congolese, in Kinshasa and Brazzaville, and the citizens of Central African Republic, Gabon and Senegal. It is indeed hurting all Africans.

In the 1960s, surveying the landscape, Fanon warned of the predictable fate of the wretched of the Earth, alluding in that context to Houphouët Boigny's Cote d'Ivoire's looming future deluge in this prophecy. Some fifty years later, in 2003, Cote d'Ivoire was caught in the throes of a metaphysical challenge and a struggle to define and validate its Being – as an autonomous people, as a free nation with a will in a dangerous universe. History put Cote d'Ivoire in the company of a dangerous psychotic external Order. The struggle of Cote d'Ivoire was a fight to delink itself from a bonded century-old enslavement imposed by its perpetual nemesis, France.

Yet as Fanon explained, challenging the colonial world is not a rational confrontation of viewpoints. It is not a discourse on the universal, but the impassioned claim by the colonised that their world is different³. The Ivorian struggle was thus more than a political struggle as it was spiritual and transcendental in scope. The fate of Cote d'Ivoire epitomised the counter evolution of the limited space for autonomy of action and of being by the wretched black earthling. The outcome of the Ivorian crisis constituted the ruining of the renaissance mould that was beginning to seep into the sub conscious of every black being. France, along with Burkina Faso under the thumb of a treacherous murderer

“It is the larger society that directly bears the often horrific brunt of this delusion or institutional psychological gerrymandering.”

and assassin of Thomas Sankara, and collaborating with a coterie of deluded Ivorian elites, instigated the crisis. France determined the facts that it presented to the world, developed the narratives of the Ivorian conflict, distilled the facts for proper digestion and, leading the international policy process, directed the international engagement with the Ivorian conundrum. Not done yet, it instituted action in the context of a so-called international humanitarian intervention in Africa to haul the Africanist leader Laurent Gbagbo to what Ivorians derisively have christened the 'International Comedy on Cote d'Ivoire' (ICC) otherwise known as the International Criminal Court at the Hague.

Meanwhile, Gaetan Mootoo, one of the Amnesty researchers who went to Ivory Coast to investigate human rights abuses there, says they received credible testimonies of rape, arbitrary detention, and ill treatment by members of the *Forces Nouvelles* in the western region it controls. The western megaphones of ascribed narratives of African affairs immediately sought to douse the impact of these abuses of their rebel wards⁴. In the usual tragic puppetry of the black earthling, the rebels and their leaders who superintended over these abuses have appropriated the Ivorian state. The narratives around the Ivorian crisis then developed Kafkaesque scenarios expressed in equally strange and seductive narratives authored by the descendants of Joseph Conrad and their usual all-knowing institutions in their knowledge favellas littered all over the metropolises that are transmitted through their subservient subsidiaries manned by hungry African intellectuals. It is a dominant form of intellectual alimentary canal that has come to define a good slice of the native

intelligentsia. By this arrangement, the pool of truly concerned African intelligentsia is decimated. Of course, it had its utilitarian functions, to keep Cote d'Ivoire down through the installation of a local proxy of France. But as often, underpinning the narratives of the external and dominant Other was the Conradian mindset of a false messianic engagement by Nicholas Sarkozy's France and its cohorts in the international system.

In this dubious enterprise, renaissance Africa was duped, unfortunately through the very connivance of Africans unable to transcend their self-inimical selves. Laurent Gbagbo reveals from his prison cell at the Hague his account of the Ivorian conflict, *Pour la vérité et la justice - Côte d'Ivoire : Révélation sur un scandale français* (For the sake of truth and justice: Revelations of a French scandal), his narrative co-authored with journalist François Mattei. He explains that the evolution to the conflict was also largely impacted by his underestimation of the determination of Nicholas Sarkozy of France to install his close friend Allasane Ouattara as President of Cote d'Ivoire or as the latest overseer of French interests in Cote d'Ivoire since the death of Houphouët Boigny – the unrepentant French stooge.

Following a failure of France to manage the succession after Boigny passed away, the L'Élysée always had two irons in the fire: Bédié and Ouattara. The problem of Cote d'Ivoire was therefore centred around the rivalry of these two men, especially following the death of d'Houphouët. Bedie went to the extent of excluding Ouattara from the political process and launched an international arrest warrant against him that Gbagbo rescinded in office. Meanwhile, Ouattara had before then also tried to prevent Bedie from succeeding the late President Boigny as envisaged in the relevant provisions of the Constitution. It was France that installed Bedie in the high state office and it was France that removed him because he betrayed the cause of France. More importantly it was the determination of France to destroy the will of Ivorian nationalists and Africanists to take the fate of their country from the manipulation and

unlimited exploitation of France.

It may be observed that French permanent destructive interests in Cote d'Ivoire are a far cry from the pretentious noble declaration of King Leopold on 12 September, 1876, when he proclaimed the planned partitioning and interventions in Africa by greedy European powers in humanitarian terms, consistent with the assumptions of Joseph Conrad. Europe was going into Africa to bring civilisation to the only part of the globe where it had yet to penetrate, and to pierce the darkness which enveloped whole populations.⁵

French interests in Cote d'Ivoire formally began with the arrival of Bouet Willaumez, a French adventurer admiral who, as usual, dubiously claimed to have signed "agreements" with the Kings of the Grand Bassam and Assini regions. The Berlin conference of 1884 'legalised' (from a European viewpoint) French claims over the territory of Cote d'Ivoire. And in 1893 it officially became a French colony. One hundred and thirty-six years later, after billions of dollars have been stolen from the continent, the French instigation and violent involvement in Cote d'Ivoire was still premised on retaining its civilising mission. The French narratives had however changed, modified to suit the global sentiment of the times. France, fighting alongside rebels in Cote d'Ivoire, in its story line, was defending democracy in post-Boigny Cote d'Ivoire by instigating war.

Besides fighting alongside the rebel *Forces Nouvelles*, France committed atrocious human rights violations, including killing unarmed Ivorian civilian protesters who were enraged by France's decimation of the total air assets of the modest Ivorian Air Force capacity that had been deployed to contain the rebel forces. France massacred 60 unarmed innocent Ivorian civilians in Abidjan on 7 November, 2004. The French massacre was particularly cold blooded because French forces, armed with binoculars, had deliberately mounted guns on the seventh floor of the Hotel Ivoire overlooking the unarmed protesting Ivorians who had gathered down below chanting nationalistic songs, as

is the custom of the oppressed in such difficult circumstances. The French soldiers in a carefully orchestrated assault unleashed a hail of bullets that left gory scenes of smashed skulls and rivulets of the blood of unarmed Ivorians on the forecourt of Hotel Ivoire. As is often the case, most of the victims were young women and children determined to wrestle the destiny of their country from the death-hold of a so-called friend.

This French massacre was on the same scale and as detestable as that of the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March, 1960, when 300 armed South African Police under the apartheid regime shot into a frightened and retreating crowd of approximately 5000 protesters. At least, the South African apartheid regime was universally condemned as ignoble and irresponsible. But France in 2004 claimed to be a respectable member of the international community on a civilising mission in

“Because it is so important to protect the core belief, they will rationalise, ignore and even deny anything that doesn't fit in with the core belief.”

Africa.

The clearly premeditated French killing of unarmed Ivorians was not a unique event. For example, again in May, 2005, French forces murdered an unarmed captured Ivorian soldier, Firmin Mahe, following direct orders given by French General Henri Poncet, commander of the French mission in Cote d'Ivoire. Mahe had been overpowered in the western town of Bangolo after being wounded in the leg. Four French soldier murderers were unanimous in saying that they followed orders from Sergeant-major Guy Raugel, 48, to suffocate Mahe to death with a plastic bag. Raugel, in turn, said he carried out the killing following a direct order from former Colonel Eric Burgaud, 50, who also repeatedly

affirmed that General Poncet, who remained in cowardly denial, gave him the order to kill an unarmed Ivorian prisoner. I wrote *the Conundrum* so that the black earthlings globally, despite their propensity to forget, will not forget the French massacre of Ivorians on 7 November, 2004.

Remember 7 November, 2004: the Abidjan Massacre

These horrible crimes against humanity committed by France have been tucked away from international consciousness due to the deft management of the French state propaganda machinery in demonising the Ivorian, and indeed all, African nationalists. More regrettable though is the complicity of African self-inimical leaders who in their myopic search for power and validation of their external puppeteers played nefarious politics with the horrendous crimes committed by France in Cote d'Ivoire. Many parts of Africa has been silent since. Yet, this should come as no surprise to anyone, including the most naïve of discerning observers of the dynamics that shape the strategic landscape in Africa. Over forty per cent of Africa's rulers are inextricably linked to the French establishment. Accordingly, black self-inimical stooges of France have mortgaged the destiny of African children into the next millennium. To take just one of the numerous examples in *the Conundrum*, one of the prominent black self-inimical cheer-leaders of France's atrocities in Cote d'Ivoire was the late Albert Bernard Bongo, aka Alhaji Omar Bongo.

Albert Bernard Bongo, former agent of the French Secret Service, was co-opted as the Gabonese head of state by Jacques Foccart, in general known as 'Monsieur Africa', renowned as the foremost expert on African affairs in the French Presidency. Albert Bernard Bongo was re-baptised Omar Bongo on being purportedly converted to Islam. He added his father's name Ondimba in later years to become Omar Bongo Ondimba. He ruled for 42 years before his death in June 2009. Critics argued that President Omar Bongo's long stay in power was not simply down to his popularity. It was noted that several of his political opponents were killed

in the 1970s. In 1990, the mysterious death of opposition leader Joseph Redjambé sparked riots that rocked Gabon for days. The country soon found itself on the brink of sliding into civil war. President Omar Bongo's name was connected to various murky financial scandals involving the French oil company Elf Aquitaine.⁶

The situation was poignantly put by Francois-Xavier Verschave, former president of French Non-Governmental Organisation, Survie, who stated that:

We have illegitimate governments which represent external interests. A number of these Presidents (African presidents) are paid by Elf, for example. They serve ELF and France but not their own countries. They get their medical treatment in France, their children study in France: they therefore don't concern themselves with health and education at home.⁷

Following the death of President Omar Bongo in June 2009, one year after President Sarkozy's declaration of France's engagement in Africa to promote 'free, fair and recognised' elections and transparency in its policy in Africa, the French President was the first to recognise Ali Bongo, the son of Omar Bongo Ondimba, as the duly elected president at a time when controversy still raged over the elections and the massive opposition to the outcome of the election was being muscled by the government. Linked to this is the fact that Sarkozy had taken sides with his friend Alassane Ouattara, whose marriage to Dominique Nouvian Folloroux, a French national, was celebrated by him. Sarkozy's support for Alassane Ouattara was far from motivated by the interests of Cote d'Ivoire. It was predicated on continued economic exploitation of that country. Further, it may be noted that Omar Bongo was essentially a stooge of France, who more than any other African head of state pauperised his people in the interest of France. Ouattara, President Sarkozy's friend and ally in the Ivorian crisis, had opened an office in Libreville as an advisor to President Omar Bongo in preparation for his next deadly move on the Ivorian presidency.

The imposition of Ali Bongo through what many in Gabon and elsewhere in

Africa believed were rigged elections led to riots that saw a number of fatalities in the country. The official outcome of the elections justified the fears of the opposition that a dynastic succession would be undertaken to continue the tradition of pillaging national resources by one family, with the support of its foreign collaborators, implying France. To pre-empt the demonstrations from seriously threatening the dynastic succession of the son of France's stooge, its forces in Gabon were placed on the alert.

The French Consulate and French enterprises, including TOTAL, in Port Gentil were burnt down in protest against France's meddling in the elections. President Bongo has been protected by hundreds of French troops in Libreville who sit

“France, along with Burkina Faso under the thumb of a treacherous murderer and assassin of Thomas Sankara, and collaborating with a coterie of deluded Ivorian elites, instigated the crisis.”

(still today) in barracks connected to one of the President's palaces by underground tunnels. Some concluded that arrangements had long been concluded for the succession of Ali Bongo by his father who had become the second longest serving head of state in the world before his death.

Even if the Gabonese had not elected the President of the Republic, it was probable that France would have installed Ali Bongo as the head of Gabon, by hook or by crook, through the grace of the mysterious ambiguity of the relations between Omar Bongo and France. One should therefore not be surprised if Ali Bongo continues with policies consistent with those of his father who did everything to ensure that Gabon was the most precious

sucked-state of the economy of France in Central Africa. Omar Bongo had clearly foreseen the continuity of this arrangement. That is the reason why Ali Bongo was presented to Francois Mitterrand and then to Jacques Chirac some years ago by Omar Bongo himself as the ideal successor to manage their economic and political interests in Gabon. And it's interesting. Ali Bongo, at thirty years, was named Minister of Foreign Affairs of Gabon and then Minister of Defence. In all sincerity, Ali Bongo does not have weight in the Gabonese Democratic Party. But here he is on the political scene in the name of the Father and the 'Holy French Spirit'. In other words, Ali Bongo is in reality the product of the alliance of his father Omar with France; and Ali Bongo is today at the head of Gabon through an electoral technology... of the secret policy of France.⁸

To sum up, these are the imperatives that impelled the writing of *Cote D'Ivoire: the Conundrum of a Still Wretched of the Earth*. When we forge the narratives of our lives, we are all not likely to suffer egregious and criminal amnesia, even in the face of our self-deprecating self-treacheries and the distortions of our true narratives by hegemonic forces arrayed against us. Perhaps it may be that with this codification of their side of the story, the martyrs of the French massacres of innocent Ivorians in Abidjan of November 7, 2004 will come to know some peace in their sleep. By *the Conundrum*, I declare that the constituencies of the oppressed will begin to tell their own authentic stories. ■

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Persistence of patterns of the past



The challenge, therefore, is not to destroy the patterns of the past. It is to retain those aspects which have enabled the country to progress but to ensure that all can enjoy them.

By Steven Friedman

For some, the story of the past two decades is one of great change. To others, it is about how two decades of democracy have changed nothing. In a sense, both are right.

Supporters of the first view will point out that, over the past two decades, opportunities have opened up for millions who were denied them by apartheid. We now have the black middle class which some apartheid strategists hoped to create but never did; most South Africans have the right to vote, to speak and be heard which they were denied. Opportunities which were once closed by racial laws have opened and millions have social grants which enable them not only to escape poverty but to participate in the economy. Those who make this argument are right.

Advocates of the second view will note that the essential economic patterns of the society remain unchanged: we are still a society of insiders and outsiders. Although not all the insiders are white now, just about all the outsiders are still black. This view is also right.

There is an academic term which helps us to describe this seemingly contradictory reality: the economic historian Douglass North's idea 'path dependence', which describes how, in societies which experience great change, the patterns of the past can survive. North believed that societies adopted routines, social connections and ways of seeing the world which were very difficult to change even if much else changed. That seems an accurate way to describe South Africa after two decades of democracy.

We can express the same idea in more simple terms by seeing the country as a society which, in 1994, was governed by an exclusive white club. Over the last two decades, a sizeable number of black members have been admitted and they enjoy most of the privileges of membership. But the club remains exclusive and so most citizens still find themselves on the outside. The story of two decades of democracy has not been the 'negotiated revolution' which some academics saw but the absorption of part of the black majority into the institutions which once served a minority.

The club's survival is not purely negative – it has ensured that many of the opportunities and advantages which apartheid restricted to whites are now available to many more. But it continues to limit the society's capacity to grow – economically, socially and culturally. The challenge, therefore, is not to destroy the patterns of the past. It is to retain those aspects which have enabled the country to progress but to ensure that all can enjoy them. Failure to do this will force us to 'muddle through', avoiding disaster but failing to reach our potential.

A Place for Some: Inside the Club

At first glance, it may seem odd to see achievements since 1994 as a continuation of the old order. Apartheid was a system of racial

“Apartheid patterns, which drove the black poor onto the edges of the cities, far from the economic action, continue, enforced now not by bureaucrats but by land markets.”

domination which denied most citizens the most basic of rights. Whatever its weaknesses, the post-1994 order has allowed all adults a vote and has respected the formal freedoms of all its citizens. It has offered citizens who were once dominated because they were black access to resources and opportunities which they were denied. How can any of this be a continuation of the past?

The question seems unanswerable until we remember that apartheid was an order in which a racial minority dominated the majority. And this meant that members of the minority – whites – enjoyed something close to a functioning democracy and, for many years, very generous benefits from the state.

Whites could vote and form political parties – power changed hands at the ballot box in 1924 and 1948.

They enjoyed full economic rights, despite some ethnic patronage which advantaged Afrikaners, and, for much of the period after 1948, a generous whites-only welfare state. While repressive laws affected everyone in theory, in practice whites enjoyed a fair degree of freedom unless they actively supported the liberation movements (in which case they became, in the eyes of the system, almost black). The legal system may have been oppressive to black people but it operated well for most whites.

If we see apartheid in this light, we can see much of the freedoms of the past two decades as an extension to everyone of that which only the minority enjoyed – even the much-debated labour relations system of the democratic era is largely the system introduced for white workers in 1924 extended to all workers. (Labour relations specialists point out that the only new feature was the introduction of workplace forums, based on a similar system in Germany – they have hardly been used, presumably because both unions and employers prefer to tread the familiar path than branch out in new directions).

It is not hard to see why the majority's leadership wanted to seek inclusion in what already existed rather than to try to create something new. Besides the obvious reality that the old order had resources which the new one needed, apartheid worked very well for whites and it was only natural for the leadership of the black majority to aspire to what the minority had. If no-one had voted before 1994, black people may not have braved huge queues for days to vote – they insisted on casting their ballot because everyone was claiming what only some had until then had. More generally, political leadership sought to claim for everyone what whites alone had enjoyed. And so the country's racial dynamics ensured that those routines and ways of seeing which North noticed persisted into the new formally non-racial order.

This process was helped by the fact that much of what whites enjoyed had been developed not by the Afrikaner Nationalist government elected in 1948, but by British colonisation which, while it too refused to recognise black

people as equals, did maintain formal freedoms such as independence for the courts and the media. And so the leadership of the new democracy's attempt to ensure that what whites monopolised was extended to all could rely on restoring what had been available before 1948.

This pattern has ensured two decades in which institutions which ensure basic freedoms for all have faced no serious challenge - parliament, the courts, the media and the universities all enjoy those freedoms and powers British colonialism claimed to uphold.

But apartheid and colonisation were never meant to be for everyone. And, while it has been feasible to extend to everyone the formal rights which only whites once enjoyed, it has not been possible to ensure that most people enjoy whites' apartheid-era economic and social life. Trying to extend minority privilege to the majority has preserved many of the patterns which underpinned racial minority rule.

Insiders and Outsiders

The social and economic impact of trying to extend to all what apartheid offered to whites can be illustrated by an incident in the last years of apartheid which, in a sense, set the pattern for the period after 1994.

Alexandra township, in northern Johannesburg, had been one of the few areas where black people were allowed to own property. Since apartheid decreed that blacks could not own land in the 'white' cities, it was anathema to the system's planners and so 'Alex' was doomed to become the site of single-sex worker hostels. A residents' committee was formed to resist this - it used imaginative tactics to force an apartheid government which had already begun its retreat to abandon its plans and recognise the right of black people to continue to own property there.

The committee, eager to seal its victory, insisted that Alexandra become a 'garden suburb' modelled on neighbouring Sandton. Town planners told them that, because Alex was too small to accommodate most of its residents, this would displace thousands from their homes. They advised against trying to turn Alex into a replica of Sandton. The committee was

“The key fault line of the past, race, remains a powerful source of division.”

offended - garden suburbs were good enough for whites, it noted, why were blacks not entitled to the same? And so the plan went ahead - thousands were indeed displaced, a decade of conflict began and it is debatable whether 'Alex' has fully recovered.

By insisting on a garden suburb, the residents' committee was demanding equal treatment for all. But because what it wanted had been designed only for a few, its understandable stand of principle caused exclusion and conflict. By accepting and aspiring to a privileged minority's standards, it kept exclusion alive in a new form.

Much the same could be said of the entire society since 1994. Many black people now enjoy access to that from which previous generations were excluded. But the economic pecking orders which existed before 1994 still lives. Income inequality has not changed dramatically - and it still bears a racial tinge: white incomes have increased fastest. Black South African investors own only a fraction of the available share capital in the top 100 listed companies, the professions remain largely white. Figures on poverty are contested, but it remains uncomfortably high.

Perhaps the most obvious economic symptom of our past is the widespread

“Unionism has increasingly become a ticket into the middle class and middle management: union investment companies are a vehicle for fitting into the reigning economic arrangements, not changing them.”

problem of 'unsecured lending' - which means, simply, that people borrow money they can't repay. There are two reasons for this, one related to inequality, the other to poverty. Both indicate the persistence of patterns of the past.

First, the exclusive club is open only to people who can show that they own things: and so in this society, owning certain kinds of consumer goods show that you are worthy of respect. This is presumably why the 2011 census found that around 1m households own a television but not a fridge - people who own a TV enjoy higher status than those who keep their food fresh. If people can't afford the goods needed to earn respect, and they have jobs (and sometimes if they don't), they borrow to buy them, even if they cannot afford to repay. Second, it is now widely accepted that black salaries and wages are distributed among unemployed family, who are of course excluded from the club. This places pressure on wages and makes industrial bargaining more difficult.

The patterns of our cities also reflect the past. Suburbs are not as white as they were (although, as voting figures show, they remain largely the preserve of racial minorities). But apartheid patterns, which drove the black poor onto the edges of the cities, far from the economic action, continue, enforced now not by bureaucrats but by land markets - affordable land for public housing is almost always on the margins of cities.

The political and social patterns of the past also continue. In the suburbs, people vigorously exercise their democratic rights - so much so that to say anything positive about government in these areas is to invite scorn. In the townships and shack settlements, local power holders guard their turf, sometimes using force to silence independent voices - the experience of the shack dweller movement Abahlali basemjondolo, which faced severe violence after challenging the authority of local power holders in Durban, is only one example. The suburbs may vote for the opposition - but they still enjoy better services and access to local government than the majority who vote for the governing party because

their residents, like middle class people everywhere, know how to ensure that their voices are heard.

All this should sound familiar to those who remember life under apartheid. Then too the poor were forced onto the margins of the cities. Then too to live in a suburb was to enjoy better services and much greater freedom to speak.

Even within the club, if many of its new black members are to be believed, the patterns of the past continue since the white members enjoy a status which blacks who have been admitted are denied. Many in the black middle class, although they enjoy qualifications, job and incomes which were denied their parents and grandparents, are among the angriest South Africans because they complain that their qualifications have not brought them equal treatment from white businesses and professional practices. The fond fantasy that the growth of a black middle class would dull the edges of racial conflict or end it has not been realised – the key fault line of the past, race, remains a powerful source of division.

None of this means that nothing has changed since 1994. But it does confirm the point made earlier – that the essential patterns of the past remain and that they continue to block progress.

The Politics of Fitting In

These trends could be seen as a sign that the country is changing, but not fast enough. After all, in any society, it usually takes decades for social and economic change to catch up with its political equivalent.

But two factors suggest that the problem is not that change takes time but that the old ways survive in a new guise. The first is the way in which politics and trade unionism have become not a challenge to minority control but a way into it – the second is the degree to which attitudes which underpinned the exclusion of the past survive into the present.

On the first score, politics since 1994 has often been about the terms under which those who led the struggle against minority rule are fitted into its economic and social structure. Black economic empowerment is often not about creating new sources of power and

“The society’s difficulties are blamed not on deep-rooted problems embedded in the past, but the misdeeds of the governing party and its leadership since 1994.”

opportunity, but about the terms under which those who fought the system will be allowed into the economic elite. The old business leadership wants black partners – but far too often the criterion for admission is not skills and talents but political connections.

This has weakened democratic politics, particularly those of the governing party. Because access to the club is limited – and available first to those who have political connections – the ambitious predictably seek political office in the hope of accessing not only the public resources on which media commentary dwells but private wealth too. Corruption in post-apartheid South Africa is not simply a public sector problem – it is a public-private partnership. It is not, as the owners of private wealth often imply, a threat to the club but a means of ensuring its survival.

ANC documents repeatedly lament the heightened internal conflict which this brings and the corroding effect of money on internal democracy. And so,

“Opportunities to find workable solutions are missed because the conversation inside the club ensures that the right questions are never asked and workable solutions are therefore never found.”

in a sense, the governing party is itself a victim of that which it once fought to dismantle.

The trade union movement, which seeks to project itself as an antidote to these patterns, has increasingly become part of the problem. Research has shown how unionism has increasingly become a ticket into the middle class and middle management: union investment companies are a vehicle for fitting into the reigning economic arrangements, not changing them. These trends underline the degree to which even those who publicly challenge arrangements after 1994 have slotted into that which they claim to oppose.

Prisoners of the Mind

On the second score, the framework through which the society’s priorities are viewed is that of the old elite – not necessarily that which governed after 1948 but that which the European colonisers brought.

The point is captured by political commentator Aubrey Matshiqi’s observation that the new political majority remains a cultural minority. This does not mean simply that whites dominate culturally – although that too is often a reality. It means, rather, that the view of the white suburban elite prevails, partly because it is now shared with others.

Media thus reflect the world view and experience of the suburban middle class, largely ignoring the perspectives and experiences of most citizens. The society’s difficulties are blamed not on deep-rooted problems embedded in the past, but the misdeeds of the governing party and its leadership since 1994. And the assumptions which reign in the media, the academy and the professions are those which assume, as the political philosopher Rick Turner observed, “that ‘western civilisation’ is adequate, and superior to other forms, but also that blacks can, through education, attain the level of western civilisation”.

Some of this is obvious – a frequent tendency to judge South African democracy by the standards of a largely fictional and idealised version of ‘Western democracy’, such as the claim in a recent radio debate that the

United States, where the unrestrained effect of money on politics has placed democracy in jeopardy, is a society 'in which people have a voice'; or a tendency to assume that when black African voters support the governing party they do so out of ignorance while white voters' choice of the opposition is a rational calculation; or the routine failure to acknowledge the voices and experiences of the majority in townships and shack settlements unless they engage in protests which disturb the ordered world of the middle class – the demonstrations are routinely explained away as 'service delivery protests', excusing opinion-formers of the need to find out what they are really about.

A less obvious but equally important example is the 'job creation debate'. Across the spectrum, the elite is much given to debating how their proposals can create millions of formal jobs. This assumes that it is possible to include every adult in the formal working world of the club's members, which is surely impossible given a growing mismatch between the number of workers required by the formal economy and the number of job seekers. It assumes too that the only possible form of employment is in the formal sector, so ignoring the many in townships and shack settlements who make a living on the streets and in backyards. The assumption that 'real work' occurs only in the air conditioned offices of the 'civilised' prevents a discussion of how to support the economic activity outside the formal workplace which will offer the only route to a productive life to millions.

And so the fantasy that all can enjoy the world of work with which club members are familiar prevents a debate on the real issue – how to ensure that people earning a living in the environments which the majority know, earn a decent living and contribute to the economy. This illustrates the wider problem – that many of the society's mainstream debates are about how to divide up the resources of the club and what its membership rules should be. They are rarely about how to open the club to all. And that ensures that job creation is not the only issue on which opportunities to find workable

“Real negotiation on how to change our current path would not be a love fest between parties chanting the usual clichés about how much they have in common – it would be a tough process in which parties would try to give as little as possible and gain as much as they can.”

solutions are missed because the conversation inside the club ensures that the right questions are never asked and workable solutions are therefore never found.

The Necessity to Negotiate

What might enable us to ensure that the benefits of club membership are open to all?

For some, of course, the solution is

“And so whether we negotiate a new path or not depends currently on whether those who govern can begin the process. Whether we have a chance to negotiate a fairer and more productive direction will therefore depend on whether the government is able to develop a workable strategy for negotiation and can make it stick.”

to tear up the compromise of 1994 and the constitution it produced because it is said to have changed nothing. But much has changed – many South Africans have acquired opportunities which they understandably do not wish to lose. And the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution are not part of the problem – they are part of the solution because they offer real rights which might enable those excluded from the club to claim a place in it. And so the challenge is not to dismantle what has been built over the past two decades – it is, rather, to include all of us in it.

This means that change has to be negotiated, rather than imposed – if it is simply forced on those who currently benefit from the club, this will deprive the society of much of what it needs to move forward.

For some, this means giving in to those who enjoy privileges. But, as the history of negotiation in this society shows, this ignores the reality that real bargaining does not rubber stamp what exists – it changes it. Real negotiation on how to change our current path would not be a love fest between parties chanting the usual clichés about how much they have in common – it would be a tough process in which parties would try to give as little as possible and gain as much as they can. But, because it would require compromise, it provides the only prospect of retaining what the society needs to keep while discarding the patterns which exclude so many.

In theory, this process could be started by any of the key economic actors. In practice, only the government seems currently to accept, at least in principle, that a new path is needed. Not only is it the actor which is most directly affected – it could be argued that the fact that we remain stuck on the same path is the greatest failure of the post-1994 government.

And so whether we negotiate a new path or not depends currently on whether those who govern can begin the process. Whether we have a chance to negotiate a fairer and more productive direction will therefore depend on whether the government is able to develop a workable strategy for negotiation and can make it stick. ■



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Working Together for Common Development



A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step. China-Africa cooperation enjoys a promising future, though challenges and difficulties are inevitable.

By Tian Xuejun

The first 15 years of the 21st century have witnessed fast development in China and Africa, which is no doubt one of the most significant events in the world in this period of time. It was also a golden age for the rapid growth of China-Africa relationships. China and Africa have become a community of shared destiny, with deepened traditional friendship, increased political mutual trust, closer practical cooperation in various areas, and strengthened coordination and cooperation in

international and regional affairs.

A developing China will for sure bring enormous development opportunities to Africa, while an emerging and rejuvenating Africa will in turn inject an important impetus into China's development.

New opportunities for Africa and the world arising from the new development momentum in China

In the past 66 years, since the founding of New China, and particularly in the past 30 years

since the launch of the reform and opening-up programme, China has scored remarkable achievements in its development. After the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 2012, the new central leadership, with Xi Jinping as General Secretary, has put forth a new vision, and introduced new policies and measures on governance. Thus China is now standing at a new historical starting point with brand new features.

China is more mature and

confident. China has initiated and embarked on a path of socialism with Chinese characteristics, which serves not only as an important institutional guarantee for the great renewal of the Chinese nation, but also as a pathway and system that others may choose when striving for a better future for human society. In the past 66 years, China has made historic progress in social productivity and overall national strength. Its GDP increased from \$18 billion in 1949 to \$9.24 trillion in 2013, and its people were first lifted out of poverty, and then had enough food and clothing, and now enjoy a life of initial prosperity. China has never been closer to the goal of national renewal than it is today. What we have achieved proves that we have chosen correctly and we should therefore stay committed to the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Looking ahead, the Chinese people aspire to reach the two centenary goals, namely, to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects when the CPC celebrates its centenary in 2021, and to turn China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious when the People's Republic of China celebrates its centenary in 2049. We have full confidence in realising the Chinese dream of the great renewal of the Chinese nation (see *The Thinker*, Vol 56).

China is deepening reform in all respects. Since the launch of reform and opening up, China's economy has achieved one miracle after another, proving time and again that reform is the inexhaustible driving force for development. China's sustainable development in the future must also be driven by reform and structural adjustment. The Third Plenum of the 18th CPC Central Committee in 2013 made the strategic decision to deepen China's reforms comprehensively, continuing to improve and develop the socialist system with Chinese characteristics, and modernise and capacitate the national governance system.

The new round of reform covers economic, political, cultural, social and ecological dimensions. Featuring 55

major tasks and more than 300 major measures, the reform is unprecedented in terms of scope, depth and difficulty. Its priority is the reform of the economic structure, the essence of which is to handle well the relationship between market and government, speed up the transformation of government functions and enable the market to play a decisive role in the allocation of resources.

In the mean time, it is important to promote reform in other areas. The reform measures have delivered initial results. In the first three quarters of 2014, China's economy grew at a rate of 7.4%, faster than all other major economies, and the quality and efficiency of growth also improved remarkably; 10 million new jobs

“ It is important to emphasise the distinction between the socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and Western constitutionalism. The latter stresses balance of power, electoral politics and interest groups. ”

were created in urban areas, with the registered unemployment rate standing at only 4.07%. Further deepening of the reform in the future will generate even more benefits.

China is a more democratic country under the rule of law. How to maintain social stability is an important task that requires serious thinking for the CPC and the Chinese government. To accomplish this task, the Fourth Plenum of the 18th CPC Central Committee held last October decided to: comprehensively promote the rule of law; mobilise social resources, balance social interests, reconcile social relationships and promote norms of social conduct based on the rule of law; and ensure the sound and steady

development of the society. The plenary session put forth the goal of building a system serving the socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and a country under the socialist rule of law. This means that China has entered a new stage of building the rule of law in China.

This effort to comprehensively promote the rule of law focuses on the following six aspects: improve a socialist system of laws with Chinese characteristics in which the Constitution is the core, and strengthen the implementation of the Constitution; promote administration by law and speed up building a law-based government; safeguard judicial justice and improve judicial credibility; improve the public awareness of the rule of law and enhance the building of a law-based society; build the ranks of legal workers; and strengthen the CPC's leadership in pushing forward the rule of law.

It is important to emphasise the distinction between the socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics and Western constitutionalism. The latter stresses balance of power, electoral politics and interest groups. The core of the socialist rule of law with Chinese characteristics, however, is the CPC leadership. It integrates the leading power of the ruling party, the dominant role of the people and the principle of the rule of law, and encourages the use of state power in pursuit of benefits for the people. To comprehensively advance the rule of law in China, a large developing country with 1.3 billion people, is an extensive and profound revolution in the field of national governance. It will surely have far-reaching significance for China's development and provide useful experience that we can share with other countries.

China pursues more inclusive opening up. In the age of globalisation, China is increasingly in need of the world for its development, and the world also needs China for its prosperity. China's opening up has come a long way. From policy trials to institutional harmonisation, China has gradually formed a high-level and all-dimensional opening-up structure. China's development is a great

contribution to the development and prosperity of the world. Between 1980 and 2012, China's GDP registered an average annual growth at about 10%, with the contribution rate to world economic growth rate averaged at 13.4%, which in 2013 reached a record high of nearly 30%. During the decade from 2003 to 2013, China imported an average of \$750 billion worth of goods per year, which is equivalent to creating more than 14 million jobs for its trading partners. China's foreign direct investment (FDI) reached a record high of \$107.84 billion in 2013. China has been one of the top three FDI investors for the past two consecutive years. Chinese enterprises abroad (including those in the financial sector) have paid \$37 billion of tax to local governments, and hired 967,000 local employees. It is anticipated that in five years, China will import \$10 trillion worth of goods, 500 million Chinese people will travel abroad, and its FDI will reach \$1.25 trillion in ten years. In addition to business cooperation, China has also contributed to the diversity of civilisations. The time-honoured history and rich culture of China are becoming increasingly popular and attractive to scholars and tourists across the world.

What has happened proves that a better developed and more open China means more opportunities for the world. China will unswervingly pursue peaceful development, promote the mutually-beneficial opening-up strategy and continue to uphold world peace and regional stability, contribute to world economic growth and participate in global governance reform. China and Africa are both promising land-masses full of vitality and diversity. In the past decade, Africa's growth has drawn the attention of the international community. Africa has indeed become a pole in three aspects: world politics, economy and civilisation. The fusion of Chinese development and African opportunities will surely create remarkable miracles.

China-Africa cooperation for common development

Working together with Africa for common development has always

“Its GDP increased from \$18 billion in 1949 to \$9.24 trillion in 2013, and its people were first lifted out of poverty, and then had enough food and clothing, and now enjoy a life of initial prosperity.”

been a goal of China's foreign policy towards Africa. China and Africa enjoy natural affinity because of similar historical experience and our similar development goals have made us natural partners in the way forward. China and Africa are always good friends, good partners and good brothers sharing weal and woe.

China and Africa are connected by friendship. China and Africa enjoy a long-standing friendship. Zheng He, a Chinese explorer in the Ming Dynasty, arrived at the east coast of Africa during his voyage to the west, and the maritime Silk Road he opened up has since linked the destinies of China and Africa. China will never forget how our African brothers celebrated China's restoration of its lawful seat in the United Nations with dance and singing. African brothers and sisters, likewise, have not forgotten China's strong support for their efforts to fight imperialism and colonialism and seek national independence. The friendship between China and Africa has been

“To comprehensively advance the rule of law in China, a large developing country with 1.3 billion people, is an extensive and profound revolution in the field of national governance.”

tested by strife and wars as well as great changes in the world. The brotherhood and sisterhood of shared destiny is a valuable asset that we should always cherish.

China and Africa share common aspirations. The new leadership of China has put forward the vision of the Chinese dream and is leading the Chinese people in forging ahead for the great renewal of the Chinese nation. The African Union has drawn up Agenda 2063, which is an ambitious blueprint for Africa's development. The common goal of both the Chinese dream and the African dream is strength and prosperity of the many countries, revitalisation of the nations and happiness of the people. China-Africa cooperation will help make our dreams come true.

China and Africa are close to each other in hearts. The key to sound relations between countries lies in the amity among their peoples, which is based on the closeness in their hearts. We were deeply moved by African countries who offered China a helping hand, despite their own difficulties, when a massive earthquake struck Wenchuan, China, in 2008. The Chinese government and people have always cared about African development and the health situation in Africa. Within a few months after the outbreak of Ebola epidemic in some West African countries, China announced and delivered four tranches of aid worth 750 million yuan. Now over 700 Chinese epidemic prevention experts and medical staff are working hand in hand with their African colleagues in the affected countries to fight the disease and establish regional epidemic prevention system. This fully demonstrates the true friendship between our peoples.

China-Africa cooperation is mutually beneficial. During his visit to Africa in March 2013, President Xi Jinping put forward the guiding principle of "sincerity, real results, affinity and good faith" for China's cooperation with Africa. When Premier Li Keqiang visited Africa last year, he proposed a new framework of China-Africa cooperation, including a three-dimensional transport network and six projects (industrial, financial,

poverty reduction, ecological and environmental protection, cultural and people-to-people exchanges, peace and security), which marked a comprehensive upgrading of China-Africa cooperation. At present, guided and propelled by the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), our cooperation in areas such as development, investment and financing, African integration, peace and security, and people-to-people exchanges is forging ahead with greater speed, clearer development strategies, and broader converging interests.

Working together for future cooperation. African countries are striding forward towards industrialisation, integration and modernisation. Under the new circumstances of today, China's strategies of comprehensively deepening reform, transforming development modes and readjusting industrial structures are highly compatible with the strategic demands of Africa. The two sides should further strengthen strategic dialogue and experience-sharing on governance, promote pragmatic cooperation and upgrade the new type of China-Africa strategic partnership in an all-round way.

Work together to pursue development and revitalisation. Currently, China-Africa cooperation is opening a new chapter. China is ready to work with Africa to help it improve the continental infrastructure, speed up industry and technology transfer to Africa, achieve the coordination of industrial development strategies between China and Africa and enhance Africa's capacity for self-development. The two sides should strengthen cooperation in areas such as poverty reduction, agriculture, medical care, environmental protection and employment so as to make headway in poverty alleviation, realise food security and improve medical and health conditions in Africa. China will continue to support African countries' independent choice of development paths and is willing to share with them our development experience without any reservation. We will also support their efforts to find more practical and inclusive ways of achieving sustainable

development.

Work together to maintain peace and stability. China firmly supports African countries in solving African issues in African ways. China will continue to heed the voices from African countries, enhance our communication and coordination with Africa and work more actively to uphold peace and security in Africa. We will earnestly implement the Initiative on China-Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security, give positive consideration to assisting the development of an African Standby Force and African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises, support the development of collective security mechanisms in Africa, expand bilateral cooperation in personnel training, intelligence sharing and joint exercises and training, and help Africa

“During the decade from 2003 to 2013, China imported an average of \$750 billion of goods per year, which is equivalent to creating more than 14 million jobs for its trading partners.”

to enhance its capacity building in peacekeeping, counter-terrorism and counter-piracy.

Work together to promote friendship among our people. China will step up its cultural interactions with African countries. We will make such brand programmes as the China-Africa Cultural Cooperation Partnership Programme, China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme and the China-Africa People-to-People Friendship Action a success, and set up more Chinese cultural centres and Confucius institutes in Africa, with a view to enhancing cultural exchanges and helping friendship take deeper roots in people's hearts and minds. China will work through cooperation programmes in science, technology and education as well as enhanced

vocational training and other means to train more local professionals for Africa's development. We encourage more Chinese tourists to visit Africa and welcome African friends to China for visits, studying, investment and business.

Work together to uphold the rights and interests of developing countries. China and Africa have always respected each other's core interests and major concerns. China will continue to enhance strategic dialogue and coordination with Africa, strengthen collaboration and coordination in international and regional affairs, speak out in support of Africa's legitimate positions, safeguard the common interests of developing countries and work to increase the representation and influence of Africa and all developing countries in international affairs.

Conclusion

A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step. China-Africa cooperation enjoys a promising future, though challenges and difficulties are inevitable. To achieve stable and long-term cooperation, it is crucial for us to closely focus on the theme of common development, enrich our cooperation, use innovative approaches to cooperation and enhance the China-Africa relationship.

South Africa is a country with important influence in Africa. China and South Africa both attach great importance to the bilateral relationship and see it as a strategic pillar and priority in their foreign relations. Meanwhile, China-South Africa relations have exceeded their bilateral dimension and gained increasing global importance. Last year, the “Year of South Africa” was successfully celebrated in China and President Zuma's state visit to China was a full success. This year, South Africa will hold “Year of China” activities and host the FOCAC meeting. There will be a series of important activities between China and South Africa and between China and Africa. China is ready to take this as an opportunity to join hands with friends from all sectors in South Africa, give full play to the leading role of China-South Africa relations, and lift China-Africa cooperation to a new height. ■

Democracy



It is a depressing but undeniably plausible conjecture to link decline in the most fundamental aspect of progressive advance in the twentieth century, mass electoral democracy, with the resurgence of the most regressive, neo-liberal markets.

By Michael Prior

Early in 2014 in *The Thinker* (Q1, 2014), Thabo Mbeki laid out his vision for the future of the progressive movement in Africa. The core of this agenda, was “establishing genuinely democratic systems of government, including accountable State systems.” He is harsh about the reality of democracy in many African countries in which “State systems have been reduced to a patrimony of a predatory elite, controlled by its self-serving ‘professional political class’.” “Thus”, he continues, “does the putative democratic state become a social institution which serves the interests of a ‘rent-seeking’ elite whose goals amount to no more than preserving its political power and using this power to extract the ‘rent’ which ensures its enrichment.”

Harsh words indeed, though ones which have become almost a cliché with respect to the governance of many African states. Yet, by an odd coincidence, at around same time, *The Economist*, august journal of the western business elite, had a front-page splash *What’s gone wrong with democracy?*,¹ the title of a long essay inside which opened by suggesting “that democracy is going through a difficult time. Where autocrats have been driven from office, their opponents have mostly failed to create viable democratic regimes. Even in established democracies, flaws in the system have become worryingly visible and disillusion with politics is rife. Yet a few years ago democracy looked as though it would dominate the world.”

The piece ends with the quotation from a past US President often found in *The Economist*: “democracy never lasts long. It wastes, exhausts and murders itself. There was never a democracy yet that did not commit suicide”. John Adams wrote this in 1814 and it is unclear precisely to what he was referring. There had been a brief flourishing of democratic intent in France a few years before, quickly snuffed out, and there had been the original ‘democracy’ in Athens copied by a few other Greek city-states around the fourth century BC in which, it is believed, around 15% of the population took part. There was, of course, the Roman Republic which we know ended badly on the

Ides of March and also the Republic of Geneva about which the less said the better. Adams in fact had precious little evidence on which to base his assertion and, of course, it would not have occurred to him that a country whose franchise excluded all women and those males held in servitude could not be seen as a democracy. Even so, recent history suggests that he had a point, given that in 2014 alone, three elected governments were overthrown and replaced by self-appointed cliques.

Doubts about the state of democracy are not confined to right-wing journals. The eminent left historian, Perry Anderson, recently published a coruscating essay mainly about the corruption of Italian democracy but which opened with a lament for European democracy in general.²

Europe is ill. How seriously, and why, are matters not always easy to judge. But among the symptoms three are conspicuous and inter-related. The first, and most familiar, is the degenerative drift of democracy across the continent. Referendums are regularly overturned, if they cross the will of the rulers; voters whose views are scorned by elites shun the assembly that nominally represents them, turnout falling with each successive election; executives domesticate or manipulate legislatures with greater ease; parties lose members; voters lose belief that they count, as political choices narrow and promises of difference on the hustings dwindle or vanish in office.

He continues with a roll-call of distinguished European politicians who have been implicated in various ways in huge corruption scandals: amongst them Helmut Kohl, Jacques Chirac, Gerhard Schröder, Horst Köhler (former head of the IMF), Christine Lagarde (current head of the IMF), Bertie Aherne, (past Irish prime-minister), Mariano Rajoy (current Spanish prime-minister) and on through Greece, Turkey and the U.K. The sums involved are not small: Helmut Kohl was found to have amassed some two million Deutschmarks from donors whose names he refused to reveal. Not one of this illustrious roll-call has so far been called to account though Lagarde is currently under criminal investigation, something which seems

not to impede her job ruling the global financial system.

Nor is the problem of dynastic political elites any preserve of Africa. Arguably the most important democracy in the world, certainly the largest, is India, in which 814 million people went to the polls in May, 2014. These elections were widely publicised as resulting in the overthrow of the Gandhi family which had ruled India for four generations and bringing the Bharatiya Janata Party to power, led by a man of humble origins with no family connections to assist him. However, as Patrick French has shown in a recent book, *India: a Portrait*,³ nearly 30% of members of the Indian parliament, the Lok Sabha, were connected directly by family to their political posts whilst, startlingly, all members under 30 were the children of former politicians. There is little sign of voter disillusion with electoral democracy in India with

“The result is a plutocracy that operates according to the golden rule: that those who have the gold make the rules.”

the 2014 election showing the highest ever turnout at 66.4%, a respectably high figure for a country with such a huge, poor rural sector. However, the importance of dynastic connections suggests that even in this vibrant democracy there are some problems.

In the USA, the democratic problem is, as always, money and its connections with power. Efforts to limit the amount of money which individuals or corporations could spend supporting political candidates have been regularly ruled as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. According to the respected journalist, Gary Younge:

In a system where money is considered speech, and corporations are people, this trend is inevitable. Elections become not a system of participatory engagement determining how the country is run, but the best democratic charade that money can

*buy. People get a vote; but only once money has decided whom they can vote for and what the agenda should be. The result is a plutocracy that operates according to the golden rule: that those who have the gold make the rules.*⁴

Once, powerful unions were able to provide some counterbalancing finance to that of corporate interests. However, the decline of unions and the almost exponential growth in the scale of expenditure on elections have greatly reduced this influence. However, American democracy has always been a bit rough-and-ready and tinged with corruption, though the scale of this may be increasing, whilst the very decentralised nature of US politics does provide scope for some genuine democratic initiative. The real centre of the democratic ‘crisis’ lies in Europe.

It is sometimes forgotten just how recent democracy is in much of Europe and how fractured has been its history. Only Sweden and the UK can really claim to have enjoyed unbroken democratic governance since the late nineteenth century with the gradual extension of the franchise to include women as well as the working class less than a hundred years ago. Even so, the disappearance of fascism from southern Europe in the 1970s followed by the emergence of parliamentary democracy in the Communist countries of Eastern Europe in the 1990s seemed to suggest that this form of governance was inevitable and immutable, so much so that in 1992, Francis Fukuyama was able to pronounce that:

*What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-war history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.*⁵

Fukuyama has in recent years rather backtracked from this position but only at the margins despite the conspicuous failure of the efforts of the USA to impose liberal democracy on Iraq and Afghanistan. Why then the sense of a democratic crisis, particularly in Europe? In a number of ways it is the culmination of two trends which have

been developing for years, indeed decades.

The first is the gradual decline of public involvement and interest in the processes of electoral democracy. The most obvious of these is participation in elections, something which appeared to have stabilised in Europe in a period from the 1950s through to the 1980s at around 80-85%.⁶ After this decade there was a slow but steady decline throughout Europe, something which seems to have accelerated into this century. In 2001, the UK had the lowest turnout since the advent of mass democracy whilst France fell to a record low of 60.4% in 2007. A raft of other countries, including Ireland, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Finland, have also recorded record lows.

A second indicator of decline in involvement is increasing voting volatility, which is the number of voters who shift their party preferences around from election to election. This lack of stability in voting preference suggests disillusion with the democratic process. A third and in some ways the most significant, has been a major decline in the membership of political parties. The U.K. is the most extreme example with an aggregate loss in party membership over 1.1 million between 1980 and 2009, a drop of 68%; but most other European countries have seen falls of 30-50%. There does not seem to be any left/right bias in this fall; just a uniform decline in participation.

This fall in membership has been accompanied and may be partly caused by the gradual hollowing out of the meaning of 'membership' which has occurred in most European parties. Outside of small-town direct democracy, political parties are the key agency of modern participatory democracy, acting as they do to formulate policies and to promote leaders. They provide the collective participation necessary to provide elected governments with some kind of bedrock in the popular will.

Essentially, this hollowing-out process involves a transformation of 'members' into 'active supporters', that is people who are willing to assist with campaigning at elections by delivering leaflets and so on but who have little or no influence in the formation of

party policy or the development of its leadership. This loss is mirrored by exactly the same phenomenon which was noted by Mbeki, the growth of a *self-serving 'professional political class'* composed of people who have made politics their career from an early age and have been promoted up the party ladder, often by becoming advisers to established politicians or, initially, by using family contacts. This 'political class' has become enmeshed with business interests, particularly in the financial sector, and with state agencies, to form a circulating but sealed elite group who have largely gone to the same schools and universities. So for many voters all main parties 'are the same' thus making a mockery of multi-party democracy.

The other side of the collapse of the membership-based party has been the growth of 'wild' parties, that is parties with no historical base but which suddenly achieve electoral success based on popular discontent with the established parties. Syriza in Greece, which polled 4% of the national vote in 2009, became the main opposition in 2012, and received 27% of the vote in the European elections, with the right wing governing party down to 23%, is the prime example of this phenomenon together with the U.K. Independence Party which topped the vote in the European elections also with 27%. More ominously in Greece another 'protest' party, the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn, captured almost 10% of the vote and came third, even though its leaders are being held in jail on charges of running a criminal organisation. In Italy, the Five Star Party founded by the comedian, Beppe Grillo, astonished the establishment by obtaining over 25% of the popular vote in 2013 national elections and over 21% in the 2014 European elections even though the party has been racked by rows over the alleged autocratic control of its founder.

Both Syriza and the Five Star Party can be seen as left-radical; but the more dominant trend in the growth of 'wild' parties has been that of the far-right anti-immigration groups such as UKIP. In the 2014 European election, far-right parties topped the poll in Denmark (the People's Party with 26.6%) and France (National Front, 25.0%) whilst for the

first time, more or less openly neo-Nazi parties – the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) and the Greek Golden Dawn (XA) – for the first time entered the European Parliament. This movement to the right is far from uniform over Europe though as a perceptive analysis in the *Washington Post* noted: *one explanation for the abysmal performance of radical right parties in Eastern Europe is that mainstream right-wing parties in the region leave little space for the far right, given their authoritarian, nativist and populist discourse.*⁷ The common feature of all the right-wing parties is their vituperative hatred of immigrants, the most disturbing of all the political portents in Europe.

The second trend which mirrors the first has been the growth in importance of supranational bodies, notably the European Commission, but including bodies such as the IMF, which have little or no democratic basis but which exert power within countries comparable to or exceeding their national governments. Added to these is another array of supranational bodies, the international corporations, in particular financial ones which answer to no democratic authority at all. A prime example of the combination of these two power-bases is the pending Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, an exceedingly complex treaty to be struck between the EU and the US government which amongst other things will enable transnational corporations to sue national governments inside the EU for any unilateral regulatory process which damages the interests of the corporation. National legislatures will have no say in agreeing in this package and, although the European Parliament will vote on the whole deal, it will have no power to amend it.

A consequence of this bipartite congruence is that increasingly, national governments are seen as lacking many elements of real power. The failure to control the international financial markets, even though their collapse in 2008 required bailouts by nation states, is a prime example of this. The result is a further decline in interest in electing these supine governments.

The 'democratic deficit' of the EU

has long been a topic of continual if ineffective debate. Essentially, the problem has always been that closer national ties have always had political objectives but these have been disguised as economic matters. Initially these could be seen as the benign hope that closer trade links would extinguish any possibility of wars between European states like those which had effectively blighted the first half of the twentieth century. However, the changes in the name of this economic system, the Coal and Steel Community (1950), the European Economic Community (1957), the European Community (1993), and, finally, the European Union (2007) precisely mapped the gradual, if still largely implicit, shift towards political unity. This also reflects the enlargement of the EU which now includes 27 countries, quadrupling its original size, all without much in the way of democratic agreement by the electorates of the member countries.

The gradual evolution of the EU into a blatantly political body made a step jump in 1993 with the Maastricht Treaty which set up the euro as a common currency and established the so-called 'three pillars' of economics, foreign and military cooperation and home and judicial affairs, all largely undefined in the usual way of using generalised phrases which could later be turned into specific policy actions without any democratic basis. Maastricht was remodelled and refined by a series of further treaties (Amsterdam, 1997, Nice 2001, Lisbon 2007), all complex and all pushed through with almost no popular democratic approval. Nearly all attempts to put these treaties to popular vote have resulted in debacle. In 1992, the Danes rejected Maastricht and the French very nearly did so. In 2007, the only country to risk a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, Ireland, had it rejected and was forced to run another vote in which every screw was put on the electorate to vote Yes or, allegedly, risk oblivion. In fact real oblivion came in 2008 when the financial crisis resulted in the European Commission, backed by the European Central Bank and the IMF, stepping in to dictate economic policy in Greece, Ireland and most of southern Europe, insisting that elected governments be

replaced by appointed technocratic leaders if they failed in their duty to apply the financial austerity necessary to save the European banking system, something which actually happened in Greece and Italy.

It is an odd irony that the problem of the democratic legitimacy of the EU is widely recognised even within the autocratic corridors of the European Commission just as they are being filled with the appointed new Commissioners who epitomise the problem. Even more ironic is the fact that any move to alter the current position would almost certainly require a treaty change, something which is very unlikely to get past popular opinion in several EU member states whose populations are itching to slap down Brussels if not to actually leave. It seems likely that the U.K., always the most eurosceptic member, will have some form of referendum on membership in the next three years which could easily result in the U.K.'s departure and precipitate further disorder. Meanwhile, the imposed austerity programmes in southern Europe which have led to economic stagnation continue to fester.

The root causes of the decline in democratic participation throughout Europe are hard to uncover. However it is striking that the moment in which decline really began is also that in which neoliberal individualism bit back against the collectivism which had characterised Europe throughout the last century up to the 1980s. As Weir puts it when discussing the decline of the mass party:

A tendency to dissipation and fragmentation also marks the broader organisational environment within which the classic mass parties used to nest. As workers' parties, or as religious parties, the mass organisations in Europe rarely stood on their own but constituted just the core element within a wider and more complex organizational network of trade unions, churches and so on. Beyond the socialist and religious parties, additional networks ... combined with political organisations to create a generalized pattern of social and political segmentation that helped root the parties in the society and to stabilize and distinguish their

*electorates. Over the past thirty years, however, these broader networks have been breaking up ... With the increasing individualization of society, traditional collective identities and organizational affiliations count for less, including those that once formed part of party-centred networks.*⁸

It is a depressing but undeniably plausible conjecture to link decline in the most fundamental aspect of progressive advance in the twentieth century, mass electoral democracy, with the resurgence of the most regressive, neo-liberal markets. It does suggest that reversing the decline in electoral democracy will need more than some simple turnaround in party policy. Speculation as to just where this dual crisis of democratic legitimacy is going would double the size of this essay and lead precisely nowhere. There are some dark forces gathering and it is almost inevitable that several countries are going to face serious political challenges from anti-immigration groups. There are some vibrant progressive forces which emerged, notably Syriza in Greece, but they are internationally isolated and have, so far, failed to find a coherent strategic opposition policy.

In the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, there is currently a temporary exhibition celebrating the shared cultural history of Greece and Italy. One exhibit is a small relief of a "Mourning Athena". The accompanying description of this concludes by suggesting that "the contemplative expression of Athena reflects the sceptical way in which we should view the current political situation in Europe". When doubts about Europe's political future appear inscribed in archaeological analysis we know that we are in trouble. ■

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The Poverty, Pride and Prejudice of Morten Jerven's *Poor Numbers*



The truth is Africa and its statisticians have waged aggressive programmes and taken visible steps to improve the accuracy of its data collection.

By Busani Ngcaweni and Lerato Lentsoane

The year 2013 marked the 50th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now restructured and operating as the African Union (AU). Ordinary people, scholars and public commentators reflected on this milestone, making a range of conclusions. Many people celebrated the achievements made by the continent since the liberation of Ghana over 50 years ago and the democratisation of South Africa in 1994.

Using GDP and human development indexes, arguments were advanced to demonstrate the extent of change and progress. In fact, recent global growth data showed Africa as one of the fastest-growing continents in the world. Even in the context of North America and Western Europe going through turbulent times, many African economies are achieving high levels of growth, with 13 of the 20 fastest-growing countries in the world being in Africa (African Development

Bank Group, 2013). At the same time, many ordinary people, civil society organisations, academics, etc. cautioned against the African miracle story, citing the burden of disease, the slow rate of industrialisation, high unemployment, political conflict, corruption and the Dutch Disease as evidence of the enormity of challenges threatening Africa's future (Mkandawire and Soludo, 1999).

As we continue to debate the state of African economies 50 years after the formation of the OAU, with most of the developed world still striving for solutions out of the post-2008 global economic downturn, elsewhere a robust behind-the-scenes discourse rages about the accuracy or otherwise of African growth statistics relied upon by Africans and the international community to make public and private investment and other financial decisions. This debate changed content and tenor after the release of Morten Jerven's book: *Poor Numbers: How*

we are misled by African Development Statistics and what to do about it (Jerven, 2013).

This article will demonstrate that whilst the book carries some valuable observations, the whole project is severely compromised and ultimately fails through the poverty of its methodology, the pride of its author and his associates as well as the prejudice that runs through it as a golden thread. It examines the experiences and statements the book makes, as well as the techniques that were used to gather data and the analytical tools applied.

Overview of the book

One is first struck by the book's title and then the blurb, which reads:

One of the most urgent challenges in African economic development is to devise a strategy for improving statistical capacity. Reliable statistics, including estimates of economic growth rates and per-capita income, are basic to the operation of governments in developing countries and vital to non-governmental organisations and other entities that provide financial aid to them. Rich countries and international financial institutions such as the World Bank allocate their development resources on the basis of such data. The paucity of accurate statistics is not merely a technical problem; it has a massive impact on the welfare of citizens in developing countries. Where do these statistics originate? How accurate are they?

This is interesting stuff, albeit very condescending. The title of the book implies the intentional production of inaccurate development statistics. In addition, the discussion in the book paints a dire picture of sub-Saharan Africa's developmental statistics as being unreliable and not compliant with international methodologies, norms and standards. On page (xiii) of the preface Jerven states: "It is important to show that African statistics are of dubious quality". Jerven attributes this to lack of statistical capacity; lack of financial resources and infrastructure; lack of collaboration and sharing of information at different levels within and between countries; and the lack of

political commitment to the quality of statistics.

The author expresses concern about incorrect inferences and decisions made based on poor statistics, and on page 3 of the book reduces the figures used by Africa's intellectuals to guesswork. In fact, he claims that Africa's economic and statistical literacy are very low and that politicians do not hesitate to tamper with statistics since very few African users have adequate statistical knowledge to make objective evaluations.

But let us backtrack a bit to the hyped-up 'Africa Rising' narrative to properly contextualise the poverty of Jerven's postulations.

The African growth narrative

Globally, much attention and confidence has been placed on Africa's prospects for economic development. The accuracy of statistics is part of the foundation to the growth and development envisaged in Africa, or what the March 2013 edition of *The Economist* declared as 'the hottest frontier' for investments. There is no doubt that Africa has not reached its growth peak levels yet, hence growing optimism for its further development. In the light of this potential for Africa's further growth Jerven's concerns become that much more important as if his distrust in the accuracy of most of the available data is believed, this might actually lead to the erosion of this much acclaimed growth.

Jerven seems to believe that economic and social statistics are produced for the consumption of the development community, especially donors, the IMF and the World Bank. This focus further entrenches the suspicion which is already felt by the developing economies that the Bretton Woods Institutions want to continue to determine Africa's development agenda.

Limitations of the book

Africa is a continent comprising 54 countries; yet Jerven builds his case from a sample of eight countries, Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia, that are vastly different in location, population and other

characteristics.

The limitations of Jerven's analysis of Africa's statistical production largely derives from this snapshot approach, based as it is on eight Anglophone countries. For a study that draws conclusions relating to the entire continent, it is surprising that the book does not make clear the epistemological foundations of the research, or explain how the sample was selected and why it was considered to be representative.

Jerven's conclusions are baseless without reference to the legacy of colonial institutions left behind by various Europe empires. As a scholar of economic history, Jerven should have applied the basic methodologies of his discipline, which include adding path dependence as a unit of analysis.

It can be assumed that such a sampling method (if it can be called thus) is deliberate, as is the casual inclusion and treatment of property rights in the introduction and conclusion of the book. The property rights argument is a renewed fascination in development literature, especially by revisionist scholars who wish to 'cleanse' slavery and colonialism of their interruption and reversal of African modernity.

The book claims state political interference. It is quite conceivable that numbers can be manipulated. Indeed some researchers have reported the same problem in some parts of the continent, which includes the conduct and publication of census results. Even at sub-national level, the accuracy of the data may be problematic. However, the main issue for debate and consideration here is that of scale: how many and which African countries have problems of political interference with the production of the basic data for Systems of National Accounts? More importantly, is this so widespread that we can classify it as an African problem? And are there no similar problems in other parts of the world, including the developed world?

Instead of acknowledging these widespread problems, the author focuses his attention on the varying progress at which countries are implementing revisions to the Systems of National Accounts. In fact, it is worth noting that there are inherent problems in changing from one version of an

international system to another. For example, a comparable system in health to Systems of National Accounts is the International Classification of Diseases (ICD), which dates back to over a century and now in its 10th revision. As recently as 2012, the United States of America had not fully converted to ICD10, while some Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries that have implemented the system have done so only after undertaking their own minor modifications.

The limited sampling method intentionally overlooks the successes of many other African countries. For example, South Africa and Botswana fully implemented ICD10 almost a decade ago, and the South Africa multiple causes of death data from 2006 is available on the Statistics South Africa website with a full meta-data to evaluate the quality of the data.

Jerven makes no mention of the beaming hope from other African countries for objective and representative statistics for policy making and compliance. An example of this was the plea by South Africa's former Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel, at the South African Statistical Association conference in 2003, on the occasion of its jubilee anniversary. Amongst other things, Manuel posed the following challenge to the Association:

As a politician, I would like to say all the good things about the economy... as a policy maker I need facts about our economic performance – the true inflation and unemployment rates, school progression rate, population size, Gross Domestic Product.

The Zambian Statistics Office has provided details of how Jerven's snapshot was shoddily done over a few hours in Zambia. His myopic research misses a historical perspective of statistical development in Africa which is well documented by institutions like the African Development Bank and UN agencies like UNICA.

So it comes as no surprise that Jerven's analysis does not comprehend the sudden interest by the West in particular, and the rest of the world generally, in Africa's notable growth

and development narrative. A historical perspective would demonstrate to any studious observer that this burst of interest corresponds with the objective reality of measured improvements. This would render as mendacious Jerven's key claim that Africa has misled the world through its poor numbers. The truth is Africa and its statisticians have waged aggressive programmes and taken visible steps to improve the accuracy of its data collection.

In addition to the sampling shortfalls, many of the statements which summarise his experience in African statistical offices are subjective. For example, some claims made in the introductory chapter on African scholars being reluctant to question the validity and reliability of the data sets since they are users of the data themselves, lack detail. Readers are not told how many such scholars exist, or how many of these scholars were interviewed.

This highlights two of the major flaws in the book, which are the lack of quantification of problems identified and gross generalisations about the entire African continent. Jerven has not bothered to reflect on the implications of the Millennium Development Goals on statistical institutions across the world and especially in Africa. He fails to tackle historically given realities such as the manifestation of coloniality of knowledge, power and being, which in fact subjectifies Africa and expropriates her agency. We shall elaborate on these later.

In the main, Jerven clearly states that the object of study in his book is the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or the Gross National Income. The main concern is about the disparity in these figures between the measures in theory and the measures in practice. There are various other ways of measuring development. For example, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) highlighted the need for an agreed method of measuring human development which encompasses the level and change in child well-being (UNICEF, 1996). Jerven confines his analysis to three methods of measuring GDP, namely income, expenditure and production. As a result of discrepancies in the national income which he

outlines, he suggests new baseline estimates for African economies. In Africa's case, it is important to note that economic growth rates and the fascination with higher income and production levels do not mean anything if people's livelihoods are not uplifted.

African statistical challenges in the global context

To wrestle with the theoretical national income focus, various other economic phenomena and terminologies have provided vague definitions, especially in relation to unemployment. Globally, the measurement of unemployment is not uniform; it varies depending on which measure is used. This issue is not limited to just Africa. For example, the USA also has a contentious measure of unemployment. During

“The limitations of Jerven's analysis of Africa's statistical production largely derives from this snapshot approach, based as it is on eight Anglophone countries.”

the 2012 elections the September 2012 employment data released by the Bureau of Labour Statistics was vociferously contested.

This data showed that unemployment in September 2012 had reached its lowest rate since January 2009. Amongst the contesting voices was that of American business executive Jack Welsh (2012), who stated in an article in the *Wall Street Journal* that the numbers were manipulated after a 0.3 percent drop. During their national electoral campaigns the Obama administration took advantage of the numbers, which showed a rapid fall in unemployment in August and September 2012 (*New York Post*, 2013).

Even the typical economic growth measure, which is GDP per capita,

is sometimes contentious. The inaccuracy of numbers is therefore not a uniquely African issue but a global one, yet Jerven is not proposing that South Africans for example should be deployed in Greece to help them fix their broken tax and national accounts systems.

Moreover, to err is human and maybe as global citizens we should strive together towards improvement, regardless of the level of development of the countries concerned. Adopting differential and prejudicial attitudes to Africa's errors as opposed to those of the West distorts what should remain a dispassionate scholarly endeavour. This kind of approach inevitably leads to the stereotypical image of Africans as incapable and generally untrustworthy. It's an old narrative rooted in Euro-American modernity which takes off from a presumed African irrationality. After all, can those responsible for producing poor numbers be trusted? Or are there some exceptions: 'I trust you but not your product'?

In fact, Jerven should extend the advice he gives to Africa to the USA and all other countries that still have debates on economic definitions. In this sense the following assertion he makes is debatable :

Part of the blame lies with the non-transparent way these datasets are made available, and part of it lies with the uncritical way the data are consumed. Scholars need to ask themselves the same questions when confronted with numbers as they would when confronted with research findings: How did you arrive at this result?

As Africans, we are not in denial of the magnitude of work that still needs to take place to achieve development. In support of development efforts and frameworks, there is a growing demand for an improvement in statistics. In this regard, we have taken a number of positive steps to improve measurement through a range of strategic initiatives. The measurement of prices is one and the International Comparisons Programme is one; where Africa has been a pathfinder by not only working on price statistics but GDP numbers on a continuous basis (World Bank, 2011).

On theory

Furthermore, Africa has undertaken population censuses. In this regard, through the African Symposia on Statistical Development, Africans have committed to a complete enumeration of the African population count in the 2010 Round of Population and Housing Censuses (StatsSA, 2007). The commitment to knowing and understanding Africa's population is illustrated by the Africa Programme on Accelerated Improvement of Civil Registration and Vital Statistics, crafted by African ministers responsible for civil registration in Durban, 2012. This programme aims at working towards a coordinated but also a holistic approach in improving and strengthening these systems (UNECA, 2012).

For Jerven's information, some regions of the world are now looking to Africa for clues in managing statistical development and measurement. Regarding GDP, Africa has mounted a peer-review mechanism starting with Ghana's upward revisions and a report confirming Ghana's GDP numbers as plausible has been published (NEPAD, 2005). Like Jerven, we as Africans were quite concerned by the revisions of Ghana's GDP by upwards of 60 percent. However, unlike Jerven, African statisticians and policy practitioners did not philosophise and cast aspersions on Ghana. Instead a team was set up that meticulously inspected Ghana's revisions and important lessons have emerged from this quality work. It was confirmed that Ghana's GDP numbers, albeit an outlier in its growth record, are plausible.

However, some of Africa's statistics offices have not yet professionalised themselves - but at least are implementing the National Strategies for the development of statistics. This includes the signing of the African Charter on Statistics, which provides for autonomy of production methods and management of statistical entities (African Union, 2000). Whilst these developments hold promise, a sharp focus is how the statistical institutions interface with political systems. Politics defines the type of production and statistics are responsible for the process of production. For instance, under inflation targeting regimes, the

political decision is the target range of inflation and the responsibility of statistics offices is the methods of production of the consumer price index (CPI). The collective work done through the International Comparisons Programme Africa has led to collegial self-criticism and improvements are visible. A number of countries on the continent now comply with the IMF's data dissemination standards, and a few are on the Special Data Dissemination Standard, such as South Africa. Similar to the challenge faced by the BLS and Argentina more recently in their unending CPI, there is concern of political interference in the data-management process (*The Economist*, 2012). Some of these countries have weak institutions; therefore the government can report 'phantom' growth rates that are unreal, untenable and unattainable. Investment in institutions and human capital development are some of the priority areas. Some of Africa's member countries such as Liberia and Sierra Leone are still war-torn and fragile states. They hardly have institutions and thus the quantitative capacity and capabilities of their statistics bureaux are wanting.

Conclusion

Amidst the variety of challenges that Africa and other developing countries are facing, no individual country can claim to be the saviour. In fact, credit is due to the significant strides made and the great work which is being produced by different institutes. Some of the African institutions that have already established partnerships across the continent with national statistics offices are the African Economic Research Consortium, the African Development Institute of the African Development Bank and the Secretariat for Institutional Support for Economic Research in Africa. These institutions have made headway in fostering statistical development in the continent.

The work of these institutions goes against Jerven's assertion that leading scholars are aware that the data is weak and intentionally overlook these weaknesses. Yet we understand that all of this is impossible to discern,

especially when blighted by the poverty of methodology, the pride of the pen handler and the prejudice that premises what otherwise could have been a useful scholarly intervention.

But all of this negativity is not surprising to some of us; neither is it new. It is a continuation of headlines that punctuate the neo-colonial Euro-American narrative. It is intended to sustain a pity-party, thus 'inviting' Western experts to, once again, advance a modernity in the 'dark continent' that cannot be trusted to run its own affairs. Through the overuse of words such as 'misled', 'arbitrary', 'reliability', 'governance' and 'accountability', we are left with no option but to think of Jerven's Africa as the character in Oswald Mtshali's poem, *Always a Suspect*. Development literature reminds us that this Euro-American imagination of Africa served as justification for slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Sadly, that is the locus of enunciation of Jerven's *Poor Numbers*.

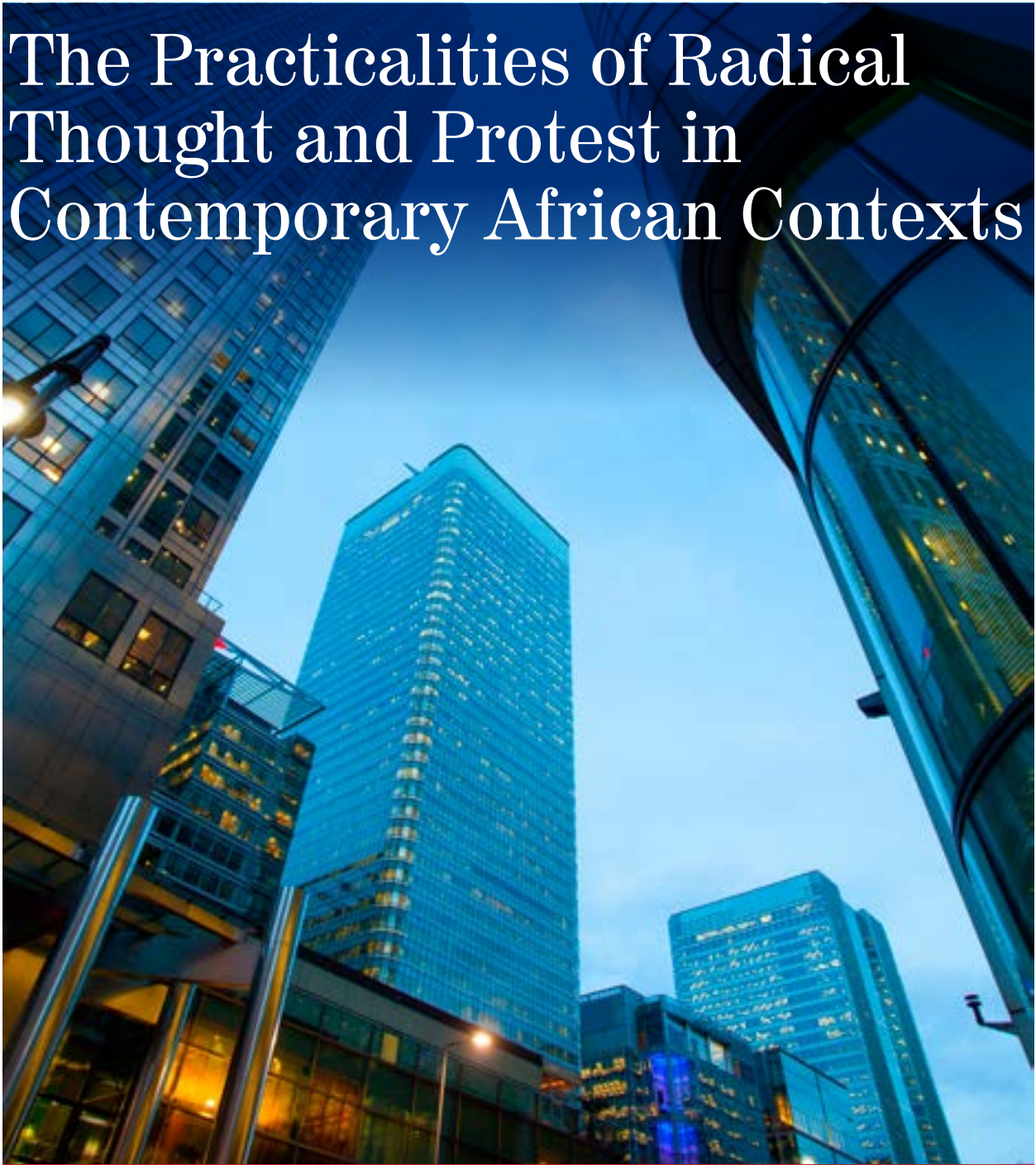
Yet as democrats, committed to the superiority of ideas and continuous learning, we embrace and openly debate this book even as others have called for its shunning - a temptation everyone should avoid lest we canonise and monumentalise prejudiced scholarship and turn *Poor Numbers* into some sort of *Satanic Verses*. Nevertheless the book should be read widely for it also contains useful insights.

The Latin American scholar, Ramon Grosfoguel (2008), best describes the coloniality we have been experiencing since Columbus landed in the Americas, of which in *Poor Numbers* seems a prime example, when he states:

We went from the 16th century characterisation of 'people without writing' to the 18th and 19th century characterisation of 'people without history', to the 20th century characterisation of 'people without development' and more recently, to the early 21st century of 'people without democracy'.

And if we may add, according to Jerven, we are a people without facts, without capacity and with no understanding of what is happening in our economies. ■

The Practicalities of Radical Thought and Protest in Contemporary African Contexts



The staggering amount of wealth that is amassed by certain economic institutions and associated corporations at the cost of war, environmental disaster, and social dysfunction has created very unsettling perspectives and realities.

By Kwesi Dzaponng Lwazi Prah

A Global Reality

For most of us today, our lives are bound by the laws of the state, or internationally-enforced laws that define terms of trade, sovereign independence, and political involvement. Recently, the enforcement of these laws has been faced with increasingly violent protest, as the continued rise in economic inequality and the negative impacts of consumption destroy the earth's ecology.

Through demand and supply variables that define market value, through formal and informal agreements that dictate the acquisition, allocation and reallocation of natural resources and human labour, and a complex blend of monetary theory and application, an increasingly complex system of exchanges is created (manipulated by financial institutions, and enforced by policing agencies). In recent times, this system of exchanges has been understood to rely primarily on exploitation, and accumulation of perceived capital/ wealth. However, contestations about access and privilege in relation to resources (land for all people) come up against the rapidly increasing power of dominant, military-backed political groups and corporate monopolies.

Therefore, for many people around the world, most of the laws that enforce state and 'international' politics and trade tend to be repressive and counter-productive, in political and economic terms, and in relation to the interests of indigenous claims and rights. Yet evidence suggests that these effects and impacts are formally denied, distorted through the media, and repackaged to mask a disturbingly rapid rise in poverty and ecological disaster.

The staggering amount of wealth that is amassed by certain economic institutions and associated corporations at the cost of war, environmental disaster, and social dysfunction has created very unsettling perspectives and realities: haves and have nots, First World and Third World, developed and under-developed, etc. In both colloquial and serious study, these dichotomies have generated popular debate and protest that pose

challenging questions for the state and for the sustainability of a perceived economic 'world' system.

A World System in crisis, or a crisis in World Systems' theory?

Perceived as a World System, Capitalism, as a paradigm defining the dominant system or mode of exchange and production today, generates critical perspectives within African contexts. As a concerned observer noted recently, "the superficiality of capitalist globalization has... nowhere been more evident than in Africa whose nations had no alternative but to bow down to the economic dictates of the West."¹ Thus for example, after "seven long years of refusal to 'sign' with IMF, the government of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere was forced to accept the conditionalities of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the mid 1980s. Debt and donor dependence of the post-colonial state

“Imperialism must fall, not out of inefficiency, but out of the monstrosities it allows, and the rising popular awareness of human indignity and injustice.”

left little room for manoeuvres. The resulting combination of SAP and trade liberalisation and privatisation... led to a radical change in patterns of ownership and controls of basic natural resources, including land, minerals, wildlife areas and water [...] transnational corporations (TNCs) gained far more control over basic resources in the 1990s and 2000s than they ever had in the colonial era which ended in 1961 (italised input mine)."²

Cash crop/ Petro-economies, developed over decades in Central, West, and North Africa, put the finishing touches to a picture depicting rapid "accumulation by dispossession." Of course, these realities were not endemic or particular to the African political economy. This dispossession

of material wealth spanned the globe, and the ensuing struggles (driven by political and economic interests) forced the migration of billions of people around the world, often due to the pressures of slavery, wage labour and limited or restricted access to knowledge and resources. Eric Williams was succinct in his conclusions about the motivations of British led-slavery and its subsequent abolition when he stated that "the commercial capitalism of the eighteenth century developed the wealth of Europe by means of slavery and monopoly. But in so doing it helped to create the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century, which turned round and destroyed the power of commercial capitalism, slavery, and all its works."³

This rapid accumulation of wealth by the Western world had no conscientious motive other than to establish imperial control over its conquered terrain. The impact has been devastating, as these actions continue to polarise equitable distribution of resources and political freedoms.⁴ As Eric Hobsbawm argued, the danger of this polarisation now is that:

"... as the world is integrated in one way by globalisation, it is increasingly divided in another way into a permanently inferior majority of states and a privileged and self-satisfied minority of states. This minority enjoys a self-reinforcing superiority of wealth, technology, and power (including military power), and such superiority and complacency are just as likely to be resented now as they were in the old days of imperial supremacies – perhaps more likely, since today's greater availability of information can more easily reveal the discrepancies."⁵

These observations therefore suggest that where there are resources that can be exploited for profit, struggles between the state and the citizenry become particularly fierce. Human rights violations, territorial invasions, economic sanctions, and political destabilisation are recurring experiences, which prevent constructive ideas on human development to take root.

The bottom line is revealed in the growing concern about the sustainability of this current economic

order (in its structural and functional senses), which then inevitably looks past the proposed structural and functional benefits, and focuses on the processes of value definition and an equitable re-distribution of wealth, in order to nurture the diversity of human creativity, and to sustainably address negative impacts on the social and natural environment.

N. Beams, in a typical example of neo liberal economics, writes: “the IMF notes that real interest rates have been declining since the 1980s and are ‘now in slightly negative territory.’ But this has failed to boost productive investment. On the contrary, what it calls ‘scars’ from the global financial crisis ‘have resulted in a sharp and persistent decline in investment in advanced economies’. Between 2008 and 2013, there was a two-and-a-half percentage point decline in the investment to GDP ratio in these countries. The report adds that ratios ‘in many advanced economies are unlikely to recover to pre-crisis levels in the next five years.’ This conclusion is of immense significance given the critical role of investment in the functioning of the capitalist economy. In what are deemed ‘normal’ conditions, investment – the expansion of productive capacity – is the key driving force of capitalist economic growth. Undertaken in anticipation of future profits, investment creates new demand in labour markets and the markets for machinery, raw materials and the means of production in general. This, in turn, creates further demand and expanded profit opportunities, stimulating additional investment, thereby setting in motion a virtuous economic circle. But if investment stagnates or declines, the circle turns vicious. This is what is now taking place.”⁶

As Africans, we should be aware that this kind of analysis finds resonance in a small group of financial elite, propped up by dummy/ puppet functionaries around the colonised world, to serve the vagaries of risk investment and hedge funding. This vicious cycle then takes all aboard deeper into the pits of credit value, which is always dependent on the availability of exploitable labour and natural resources. This all ends up tearing the ‘natural’

fabric of society apart, as the pressure of living wages and prices squeeze peoples’ lifestyles further.

Radical Thought in African Contexts

Lasana Keita thus correctly questions the foundational aspects of this observed World System in the following manner: “Neoclassical economic theory is to be viewed essentially... as an ideology that presents a particular theory of human behaviour. It is this theory that serves as the foundations of modern capitalism and its practise as neoliberal economics. This is the anthropological question then: is such an ideology socially optimal for humans as social animals in terms of efficiency and equity?”⁷

Analysing the historical development of capitalist relations within African and Afro-Caribbean contexts, many distinguished Africanist scholars deconstructed the intricacies

“We are in an era in which the ‘world system’ as we know it is collapsing, and therefore changing philosophies must find new avenues for human development.”

of a World Systems’ theory and its connection with Africa, and brought the rise of Capitalism, and its related crises into sharp focus.⁸ Central to most of their arguments were the antagonisms related to the rise of imperialism within Africanist contexts, the problems of classical economic theory in its relation to the African political economy, as well as the necessary processes of decolonialisation facing all African development initiatives.

Added to this perspective, Toyin Falola recently argued that “the linkages between colonialism and culture are not always obvious, but they are not hard to delineate. If Europeans regarded the colonized Africans as the ‘Primitive Other’, the colonial experience enabled Africans to construct themselves as a terrorized race, raped and exploited by the patriarchal, powerful ‘White Other.’

The colonial encounter enabled Europe to define itself in ways different from Africa, to fall on language, food, race, and habits to construct ideas of superiority to the colonized. The so-called high culture connotes authority, refinement and civilization, in opposition to so-called primitive cultures of Africa. Colonialism served to create and reinforce this dichotomy between high and primitive cultures, between elitist and popular cultures.”⁹

Therefore the idea of Sankofa, of a cultural revival, a ‘de-Othering’, a critical and vigilant consciousness, and a de-linking of key economic institutions from profit-based enterprise, to enterprise based on remuneration for ‘restoration’ and creative ‘capacity building’, would apply value to the social and natural environment, and inevitably become an important and necessary act of radical change. The processes of valuation, in which ‘funds’, or in this case, support services are sourced, can be easily networked in Africa.

Conclusion

We are in an era in which the ‘world system’ as we know it is collapsing, and therefore changing philosophies must find new avenues for human development. World systems theory has reached its logical conclusion in that imperialism must fall, not out of inefficiency, but out of the monstrosities it allows, and the rising popular awareness of human indignity and injustice. But when it does, the tragedy allows for re-birth and life. ■

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DEVELOPMENT FINANCE

What should Africa Consider?



Where exactly is the problem? Is it actually accessing the money? Or is it related to other components required for successful development financing?

By Lusanda Batala

Lately, the debate on development economics has evolved in leaps and bounds. Different theories have emanated from the international debates taking place. Throughout the history of economics, different schools of thought have emerged. During the 1930s and 1940s, the Keynesian school of thought was popular. In the 1980s, a new breed of schools of thought came to the fore, with, for example, the neoclassical and laissez-fair tenets of Milton Friedman. In the 1990s, the Washington consensus dominated the discourse. The battle focus changed from the turn of the century; and ever

since it has been about how to go beyond the Washington consensus.

In September 2000, the Heads of States and Government took a bold step by adopting the United Nations Millennium Declaration. The areas covered by the declaration encompassed peace and security, development and poverty eradication, protecting the environment and vulnerable people, and meeting the needs of Africa.

This focus on development and poverty eradication was to make an effort to free society from the dire conditions of extreme poverty which

affect more than a billion people. The Heads of State and Government wished to create an environment, both at country and international level, which would be conducive to development and poverty reduction. They recognised that the realisation of these objectives depended on certain things being achieved first, such as good governance and transparency in financial, monetary and trading systems. This is a pertinent issue as we grapple with ever increasing development challenges. Are we, especially in Africa, by focusing on financing, choosing an area that really stimulates and supports

development? Or should our focus be on something else, such as improving and capacitating those of our institutions that can effectively select, implement and monitor the financing options?

During the adoption of the Millennium Declaration, the Heads of State and Government also raised a concern about challenges faced by developing nations in mobilising resources to finance their development. This concern resulted in international debate about alternative sources of finance. The first of the debates took place at the International Conference on Financing for Development in March 2002 in Monterrey, Mexico, organised by the United Nations (UN). The conference undertook the following commitments: to mobilise domestic resources, to attract international flows, to promote international trade as an engine for development, to increase international financial and technical cooperation for development, to provide sustainable debt financing and external debt relief, and enhance the coherence and consistency of the international monetary, financial and trading systems.

Following these commitments, there is still much discussion about innovative ways to finance the post-2015 development agenda. The African Union (AU) is also engaged in fierce debate on what alternative sources can be used to finance its development agenda. So far, no agreement has been reached as to which options will be utilised.

The December 2008 declaration to review the implementation of the Monterrey consensus endorsed this stand, stating: “mobilising financial resources for development and the effective use of all those resources are central to the global partnership for sustainable development.”

Since Monterrey (2002), additional development financial needs have been identified. These include: infrastructure financing, aid-for-trade schemes, and financing for climate-change mitigation and adaptation. Different experts from governments, international organisations and civil society have contributed to the debate. However, controversy persists in relation to the

definition of development finance. There is also a lack of clarity about how the funds, once made available, will be allocated and how their use should be prioritised.

The outcomes of the different gatherings resulted in some innovative financing proposals that include: taxes on financial transactions and greenhouse gas emissions, domestic resource mobilisation, private sector financing, issuance of special drawing rights of the International Monetary Fund to be leveraged as development finance, use of remittances, bonds of the diaspora, and publicly guaranteed weather insurance mechanisms. However, many of these proposals depend on political agreement to be effectively implemented.

In all the debates about development finance, there is unanimous agreement that Official Development Assistance

“Shouldn’t the priority focus be to create proper institutions and systems and to make the existing institutions more efficient?”

(ODA) is still important. This is a term coined by the OECD countries in the 1960s for measuring aid provided through bilateral agreements to developing countries or aid given through multilateral institutions. It is now widely used to monitor donor assistance especially in relation to low income countries. It is still considered important owing to the low level of domestic savings and limited access to private capital flows. Since the adoption of the Millennium Declaration, ODA has been increasing, reaching \$133 billion in 2011. However, the ODA amount still lingers below the United Nation’s target of 0.7 per cent of donor countries’ Gross National Income. The value of ODA is, however, disputed by a number of policy makers who believe that countries should rely less on ODA. Some of the proposals on

financing development do present a potential for accessing more resources. These include diaspora financing, international taxation and the leveraging of international reserve assets; this could have great potential to enhance funds for development. It is estimated that international reserves could yield financial resources to an approximate amount of \$100 billion per year while carbon taxes are estimated to yield approximately \$250 billion a year. Small currency transaction taxation could yield approximately \$40 billion towards development. The use of diaspora financing is also regarded as one under-exploited resource as a development finance source. According to Mahmoud Mohieldin and Dilip Ratha from the World Bank, there are more than 230 million international migrants worldwide who earn an estimated \$2.6 trillion annually; this exceeds the GDP of the United Kingdom, the world’s sixth-largest economy.¹

However, there are still questions about the possible effectiveness of the proposals. One of these, as mentioned earlier, is good governance as a prerequisite for success. In addition, there is a belief that international institutions and market forces overtake the role of the state as the conventional agent of development. Several development decades have not measured up to expectations, especially in Africa and parts of Latin America and South Asia.

Mohieldin and Ratha, in their paper ‘Bonds of the Diaspora’, caution that even though remittances are under-utilised, it must not be forgotten that such funds are private funds and cannot be used as a substitute for ODA. On the government side, earmarking remittances has failed, especially in those countries that have weak investment environments. High transactional costs on remittances are still a problem.

The promise of development financing is still a challenge and it remains unresolved. So, where exactly is the problem? Is it actually accessing the money? Or is it related to other components required for successful development financing? Financing instruments are just one component.

Other components include institutional arrangements, developing of country capacity to mobilise finance, and political viability.

It is indeed true that mobilising domestic resources through taxation can provide a sustainable long-term exit from aid-dependency. But, how possible can that be without proper, capacitated and efficient institutions to implement and monitor this noble idea? The development of proper, effective and efficient tax systems is still a challenge in some of the African countries. Shouldn't the priority focus be to create proper institutions and systems and to make the existing institutions more efficient?

Also, taking the issue of diaspora bonds, if governance is not dealt with, how can the possible investors invest in such bonds if they cannot trust the institution they are investing in? This shows how important institutions are in raising and implementing the resources needed for development.

The recent paper by a group of civil society organisations on 'Honest account – the true story of Africa's billion dollar losses'² confirms the need for better institutions in order to raise the resources needed for development. The paper indicates that \$US192 billion leaves Africa every year with only \$30 billion in overseas aid coming in.

What the paper says is that Africa is being drained in resources by the rest of the world through tax evasion and untaxed profits made by multinational companies. With proper regulation by institutions that have capacity and are efficient, these unfair business practices could be dealt with and more resources could be raised for development.

Can this then mean that the international debate on alternative or innovative sources of financing development might be a way of hiding what exactly needs to happen?

Africa cannot continue with business as usual. There is a need to follow a logical framework that fits Africa's situation. It is fine to propose ways to raise financial resources for development. But without proper working institutional capacity the ideas cannot be realised. And putting more resources into institutions that

are not efficient only perpetuates the inefficiency of those institutions.

Institutions have a greater role to play in the development finance debate as they reduce uncertainty. In his book, *Big bills left in the sidewalk: Why some nations are rich and others poor*, Olson (1996) indicates that a country's institutions and economic policies are decisive for economic performance and that any poor country that adopts good economic policies and institutions can enjoy rapid catch up growth.

However, blurring the relations between institutions and policies is not helpful. The central policy debate in development relates to the issue of to what extent governments should give more prominence to constituting and sustaining worthy institutions rather

“There are more than 230 million international migrants worldwide who earn an estimated \$2.6 trillion annually; this exceeds the GDP of the United Kingdom, the world's sixth-largest economy.”

than conceptualising and delivering good policies.

For example, at the heart of alternative interpretations of the East Asian miracle has been on the issue of institutions versus policies. The institution hypothesis is about human influences with good institutions better known to encourage investment in machinery, human capital, and better technologies. Most of the time, countries with good institutions prosper economically. A paper by the IMF³ identifies aspects that characterise good institutions:

- enforcement of property rights for a broad cross-section of society, so that a variety of individuals have incentives to invest and take part in economic life;
- constraints on the actions of elites,

politicians, and other powerful groups, so that these people cannot expropriate the incomes and investments of others or create a highly uneven playing field; and

- some degree of equal opportunity for broad segments of society, so that individuals can make investments, especially in human capital, and participate in productive economic activities.

Therefore, there is a need for Africa to be aware of the centrality of institutions in development. Reforming or capacitating the relevant institutions is the first step toward significant progress. For an example, progress has accelerated since 1990 in relation to the establishment by African countries of semi-autonomous revenue authorities, moving tax collection out of the ministry of finance. The fourteen countries which led the way (with years of establishment) are as follows: Ghana (1985), Uganda (1991), Zambia (1994), Kenya (1995), Malawi (1995), Tanzania (1996), South Africa (1997), Rwanda (1998), Zimbabwe (2001), Ethiopia (2002), Sierra Leone (2002), Lesotho (2003), The Gambia (2005) and Mauritius (2005).

Also, what will be important for Africa will be how politics interact with institutional development in shaping the conditions in order to attract more resources towards development. The good governance approach to development should not ignore the issue of the political management of economic change and its institutional implications.

This article is meant to remind Africa not to be misled by the international debate or focus only on development finance. Yes, the international agenda on development finance is important; but it must not supersede what Africa needs to focus on. If Africa deals with its institutional issues and continues to improve governance, finance for development will flow in. ■

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How neoliberalism led to the rise of the new far-right in Europe



The building pressure from the far-right may force establishment parties to act, or lead to future progressive coalitions in the European Parliament and political alliances between member states that will challenge the neoliberal consensus within Europe.

By E Dimitris Kitis

The May elections for the European Parliament in European Union (EU) member countries marked extraordinary gains for a host of Eurosceptic, nationalist, far-right and even openly neo-Nazi parties. Although far-right parties are currently disunited and politically ineffectual within the European Parliament, they are increasingly influencing the national politics of EU member states and slowly forging alliances inside the European Parliament. All this is eerily reminiscent of the rise of fascism in the 1930s and, arguably, it constitutes the most important challenge to European

institutions and values since the club's inception in the early 1950s.

With the ongoing Eurozone crisis in its seventh year, Europe's establishment parties have been facing a surge in populism and extremism. Establishment parties that have governed on their own or as part of coalitions in the various member states come from a variety of ideological traditions (socialism, conservatism, liberalism, etc.) that can be placed on a right to left spectrum. Although these parties belong to diverse traditions, they have been converging in their policy choices since the 1980s, not least in

their embrace of austerity measures since the beginning of the Eurozone crisis in 2009. In particular, the social democratic ideals and values that dominated Europe after World War II, which stipulated the state provision of universal and socially inclusive healthcare, education, welfare benefits and housing to citizens as a basic human right, are thought to have been considerably eroded in recent times.

Establishment parties coming from the socialist left, such as (New) Labour in the UK, the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in Greece

have been instrumental in this historic shift by failing to defend the inequality-limiting achievements of the welfare state. Instead, establishment socialist parties were incorporated into a worldwide neoliberal trend where the policy focus lies on fiscal stability, growth through privatisation and the so-called 'trickle-down effect'. In this scenario, convenient terms for business are supposed to lead to a redistribution of wealth through the dynamism of the private sector and labour market, while governments' role is to keep deficits and debt low by cutting spending.

In the interest of this ideological plan, governing parties, including socialist ones, have promoted privatisation of industry and 'flexible' labour markets by, for example, the relaxation of employment protection legislation. During the Eurozone crisis, European governments have also embarked on steep and far-reaching spending cuts (on healthcare, education and social security) in order to bring their debt levels under control. As a result, the post-World War II social contract between labour, capital and government, under the understanding that the welfare state, collective bargaining rights and the goal of full employment would be maintained, is threatened. The threat to this political and socio-economic consensus is, arguably, one of the root-causes behind the menacing rise of the far-right in most European countries. Of course, these changes (marginalisation of labour, curtailing of the welfare state, etc.) have been taking place in the context of the tectonic shifts that occurred after the collapse of the Soviet Union as a viable economic model and the negative impact of an increasingly globalised economic system.

France is a prime example: in the recent French local elections, the nationalist and Eurosceptic Front National claimed the biggest victory in its history. The party has managed to give itself a PR makeover aimed at playing down its holocaust denialism and extreme anti-immigration stance in order to attain political credibility. Meanwhile, the country's socialist president Francois Hollande has given in to pressure from the markets and Brussels to reduce the budget deficit

by passing an austerity programme that includes social security and healthcare cuts. However, he has simultaneously limited the government's ability to deal with the budget deficit by committing to a reduction of taxes for business in an apparent bid to create jobs.

This state of affairs sums up the reason behind the electorate's bewilderment: the neoliberalism that has increasingly shaped policy in the continent has proven as adept at destroying the welfare state and social contract of societies as it has the idea of European solidarity amongst different nations or ethnic minorities within nations. The utter disregard for voters by establishment parties is witnessed at play in the rapid rise of a milieu of nationalist and far-right parties with worryingly xenophobic

“The political establishment is attempting to counter the increasing influence of far-right parties by often appropriating covert versions of their extremist discourse.”

and misanthropic agendas that offer an easy way out of the political stalemate. It is to be expected then that the consensus surrounding the supranational institutions of the EU and the enshrining of anti-racism as an axiomatic value is stretched close to breaking point; such institutions were put in place to safeguard Europe after the bloodletting of two World Wars and the extermination of the Continent's Jews in the twentieth century.

The varieties of far-right discourses in different member states are complex and include perceived threats to national identities from immigration or ethnic minorities, fascist or Nazi political traditions, stretching back to the interwar period, fundamentalist-Christian or reactionary-conservative agendas and Islamophobia, which

provides a unifying mantra for all right-wingers much like anti-Semitism did in the early twentieth century.

The political establishment is attempting to counter the increasing influence of far-right parties by often appropriating covert versions of their extremist discourse. This was the case with the anti-multiculturalism speeches made by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and British Prime Minister David Cameron in a space of five months from each other at the beginning of the crisis. Both politicians argued for the stronger integration of immigrants into their respective countries' national cultures. Such tip-toeing on the tightrope by establishment politicians has been called dog-whistle politics by many commentators, and it comprises the use of coded language to signal specific meanings to a particular segment of the population while communicating something different that can still pass as moderate and inoffensive for the majority. The practice is increasingly being used by both centre-right and centre-left establishment parties, in a bid to thwart the encroachment of the far-right.

However, anti-immigration rhetoric used by politicians goes against the opinion of mainstream economists and a recent report by the OECD. This stated that Europe will need to absorb fifty million migrants by 2060 if it wants to offset the demographic problem of an aging population threatening to shrink the tax base and bankrupt whole nations. Racist political rhetoric also does not adequately explain the facts on the ground as unprecedented non-European immigration since the 1980s is changing the face of many cities. The 2011 UK census, for instance, shows that in London less than half of the population is classified as white British with mixed-race people currently the fastest growing ethnic group and emergent new, hybrid dialects, like Multicultural London English, displacing more traditional ways of speaking.

It is important to get the potent cocktail between issues of identity and economic disenfranchisement right; otherwise, as the unsettling gains made by Eurosceptic parties such as UKIP in the UK and Front National

in France suggest, the result might be opportunistic and ultimately sectarian types of politics. Moreover, without principled leadership, the European project could come under serious threat. It does not follow that nationalist parties or sentiment are always regressive though. In the case of the referendum on Scottish independence from the UK, the Scottish National Party (SNP), which has been leading the devolved regional parliament and lost the pro-independence bid, is thought by some to represent a social democratic agenda and the kind of political values that were embedded in the post-war British welfare state of the late 1940s and 1950s. Furthermore, the SNP appears to remain committed to the EU, unlike other nationalist parties in the Continent that have sought to use populist rhetoric to capitalise on public consternation with the Eurozone crisis. Indeed, Sir Tom Devine, a leading Scottish historian and academic, has recently commented that "it is the Scots who have succeeded most in preserving the British idea of fairness and compassion in terms of state support and intervention." And in reference to Margaret Thatcher who led the country, and especially the South East of England, down the path of neoliberalism "Ironically, it is England, since the 1980s, which has embarked on a separate journey."

The example of Greece, the EU member state that has been the hardest hit by the crisis, is also instructive. In that country, it was the establishment socialist party of PASOK that originally asked for assistance with the country's debts, leading to the arrival of the Troika, a tripartite authority comprised of the European Commission (EC), European Central Bank (ECB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) that is in charge of lending and overseeing-dictating neoliberal structural adjustment programmes to reform the Greek economy.

The harsh austerity measures that have been imposed by the Troika with the acquiescence of the local establishment centre-right and centre-left parties have created extreme conditions in the country (wages and pensions have been halved, the national income has dropped by one

quarter, poverty is on the rise and six in ten young people are unemployed). Of course, the final recipients of loans to Greece are mostly the country's international creditors and local political and business elites, while weaker stakeholders have to endure years of painful cuts to pensions, unemployment benefits, healthcare and education.

This has prompted progressive critics, such as the anthropologist Michael Herzfeld, to entertain the thought that the country might be in a (crypto)-colonial relationship with the West (EU, USA). In this case though, Golden Dawn, an openly neo-Nazi party with no discernible plan to exit the crisis other than extreme violence against immigrants and all political opponents, has been reaping the nationalist backlash by winning 7% of the vote in the 2012 national elections and almost 10% in the 2014 European elections. Nevertheless, the main opposition party to the coalition government, implementing the austerity measures demanded by the Troika, is SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left), whose programme consists of a 'New Deal' or Marshall plan for the European South, nationalisation of strategically important industries and an international conference for the cancellation of the odious debt of countries in Southern Europe. SYRIZA and other left-wing parties though, remain the exceptions in a Europe where the principal beneficiaries of the social disaffection generated by the Eurozone crisis are usually right-wing, populist and extremist parties.

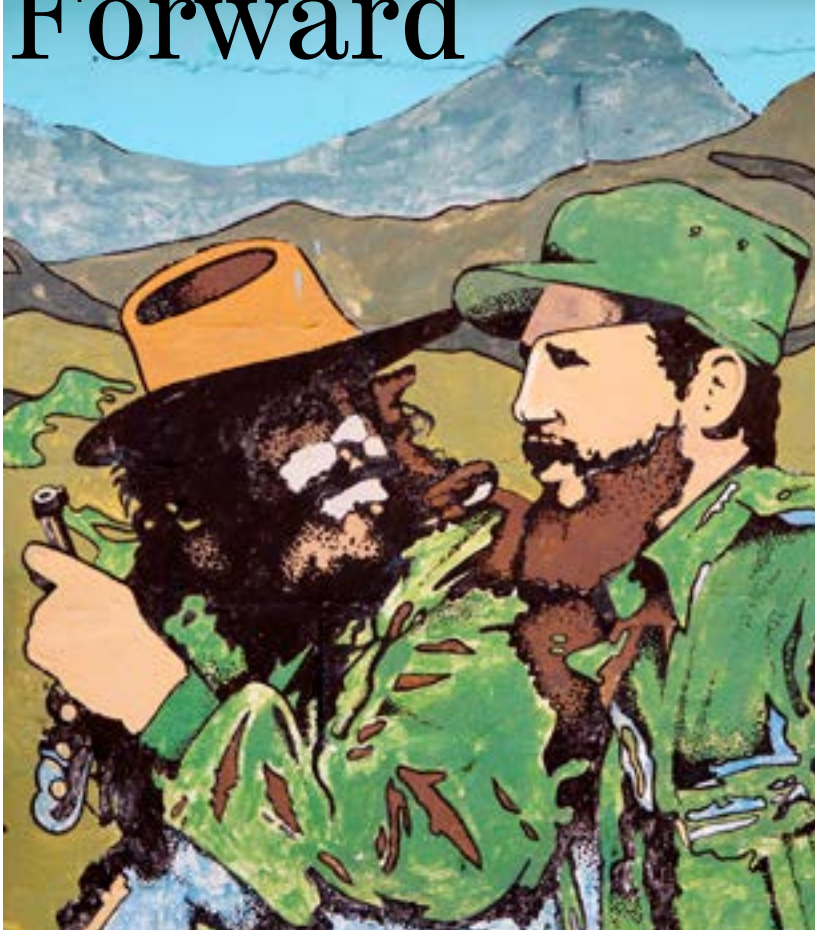
The alarming rise of the far-right forebodes a long uphill struggle for European progressive politics. The conditions for this are further exacerbated, as the latest reports indicate that the meagre gains in growth achieved over the last year are evaporating and Europe's biggest economies, including Germany, are slipping back into recession. It is highly unlikely that a single political party or EU member state is going to succeed in standing up to the hegemony of austerity politics, implemented by EU institutions, such as the EC and the ECB, on its own. In the recent European Parliament elections it was decided

to fight voter apathy by letting the parliament, which is directly elected by the people in each EU member state, have a greater say in choosing the new president of the EC, the EU's executive branch. This was a small, albeit dubious, step towards democratising EU institutions. What's more, the election somewhat diminished the dominance of centre-right (conservatives), centre-left (socialists) and liberal establishment parties in the parliament that have been proponents for neoliberal policies over the last decades and are now in accord over austerity as a remedy to the crisis.

The new circumstances in the European Parliament as well as in the different member states' national political arenas can lead to a new discussion about what should be done differently in Europe. The building pressure from the far-right may force establishment parties to act or lead to future progressive coalitions in the European Parliament and political alliances between member states that will challenge the neoliberal consensus within Europe. For example, Ed Miliband, the leader of the Labour opposition in the UK parliament, has recently suggested that his party might consider re-nationalising parts of the railway system that have been mismanaged by the private sector; a proposition that would have been anathema only a few years ago. Michel Sapin, France's finance minister, has also rebelled against the doctrine of austerity recently, claiming that it is harming his country's recovery; while UK PM, David Cameron, has pledged to cut 'unacceptable' energy price hikes in the face of stagnant wages. Such statements and promises coming from the political establishment, though, may have a perfunctory function acting as window dressing. Moreover, it seems that they inspire more scepticism rather than trust, especially amongst Europe's so-called lost generation of youth who have to contend with a life where they will be worse off than their parents in almost all indices. In light of this, it is highly unlikely that this crisis and the various discourses and political parties of bigotry and hatred that it helps proliferate are anywhere close to being finished. ■

CUBA

The Way Forward



Will Cuba by 2030 be able to remain true to its socialist model and yet put in place the building blocks for a more prosperous socialist society?

By Euston Wesso

Nearly seventy years ago on July 26, 1954, a small group of Cuban rebels laid siege to the Moncada military barracks in Santiago de Cuba on the eastern side of the island, in an attempt to start a revolution and overthrow the corrupt Batista regime. (Fulgencio Batista had

seized power in a coup in 1952.) Fidel Castro was amongst the group and for his unsuccessful attempt at an insurrection he was imprisoned for five years and then released on amnesty. As history relates, the revolutionaries were successful in overthrowing the government the second time round in

1959, and the Republic of Cuba came into being. The memory of Cuba's revolutionary naissance was evoked by the current ambassador for Cuba in South Africa, Carlos Fernandez de Cossío, at a roundtable hosted by the Mapungubwe Institute (MISTRA) at the University of Johannesburg. The purpose of the roundtable was to explore the logic of the social, economic and political changes in Cuba following a previous tumultuous ten years of economic upheaval in the wake of the break-up of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe. He also spoke about Cuba's international solidarity with a number of African countries.

Since 1960 the people of Cuba, the Communist Party of Cuba (CPC) and the government have given unstinting moral, material, political and military support to the ANC and SACP, Frelimo, MPLA, SWAPO, ZANU, ZAPU and the PAIGC. Cuban internationalists died on Angolan soil to help defeat the apartheid military machine that invaded and occupied Angola.

As former President Nelson Mandela said in Cuba in 1991 at a massive rally in celebration of the attack on the Moncada Barracks: *"The Cuban people hold a special place in the hearts of the people of Africa. The Cuban internationalists have made a contribution to African independence, freedom, and justice, unparalleled for its principled and selfless character"*.

Beginning in 1994 fraternal relations between South Africa and Cuba have gone from strength to strength. Some years ago South Africa renounced Cuba's debt of R1.1 million to South Africa. This relationship was taken to a new level when, on 26 September, 2014, Rob Davies, Minister of Trade and Industry, announced that South Africa will contribute \$US 31 million to assist the Cuban economy. Over the past three decades Cuba has sent thousands of its doctors, nurses and other medical personnel to a number of African countries including South Africa.

At a time when Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea are facing a humanitarian catastrophe with an outbreak of the Ebola virus Cuba has once more demonstrated its international

solidarity. In October 2014, Cuba sent 165 medical professionals to Sierra Leone and had pledged to send another 300 to the most effected countries. Even its arch enemy the US administration praised Cuba for its “impressive response”.

Prior to 1990, the Cuban economy was heavily dependent on Soviet trade and exchange. Following the break-up, countries that traditionally had been receiving strong, sustained support from Moscow found they were cut off and adrift. In Cuba’s case, the primary reason for this was that shipments of Soviet oil which had provided the backbone to the country’s industrial and domestic sectors no longer arrived in Cuban ports. Furthermore, Soviet subsidies which had braced Cuba for decades were no longer forthcoming. As a result, from 1994, the Cuban government began slowly and hesitantly to change its economic course.

Ambassador de Cossío was frank in his assertion that the post-Cold War period was immensely difficult for Cuba. The country experienced a drop in GDP of 34% and the economic crisis brought with it immense social distress. Despite the dire situation, the country’s key asset – its people and its high human development index, as well as its well established participative governance system — was instrumental in preventing it from falling into chaos. There is no denying that in the present day, Cuba presents something of an anomaly in the world.

As Cuba has faced the inevitable and begun to open itself to global markets, it nonetheless is faced with what de Cossío refers to as three fundamental limitations: a lack of significant natural resources, the US blockade, and their home-grown economic model which he says the country’s leadership is committed to ‘updating’, but within a strictly socialist framework. On the first limitation the lack of a natural wealth creator and land fit primarily for sugar as an export commodity compromises economic growth. On the second, the economic blockade which has run for over 50 years continues to punish Cuba severely. De Cossío indicated that besides prohibition of trade with the US, trade with Cuba by any

“In October 2014, Cuba sent 165 medical professionals to Sierra Leone and had pledged to send another 300 to the most effected countries.”

country was obstructed simply because ships leaving Cuba within a period of 180 days could not dock in US ports – posing an immense constraint on trading partners.

On the third limitation, the updating of the economic model, the matter of time has to be taken into consideration. As the Cuban governance system is by his description, intensely consultative, there is no possibility or wish for swift change to be effected. Neither is there a wish for change to happen before the necessary structural adjustments are effected that will release locked-in productive forces, the product of a state-run economy for over thirty years. According to De Cossío, gradual change will mean that the forces of production will be restructured within a socialist framework, but with some level of private enterprise and a bigger role for the market.

Post-1990 Cuba started to focus more intensely on tourism again, after disregarding the sector for 25 years, to bring about development and growth. Furthermore, a recent arrangement with the United States allows for ‘indigenous tourism’ where Cubans living in the US are allowed to return to Cuba once a year to visit their families. Cuba’s dual currency system that served the tourism industry was useful to a certain extent in the earlier years. Tourist dollars have continued to make up the lion’s share of payments

“The US blockade against Cuba is a vestige of a bygone era and has to be lifted immediately.”

entering the country with other exports – nickel, tobacco, alcoholic beverages and pharmacare and biotechnology making up the balance. However the multiple currencies and exchange rates are not working as the system creates pricing asymmetries and thus they will need to be phased out as Cuba goes through its transformation.

With the first ten or so difficult years over and the second ten coming to an end, change in Cuba, although gradual and cautious, will continue unabated. He is honest in his opinion that once again Cuba faces a severe test to overcome challenges and constraints to “prove that socialism is viable” and to do it under the “nose of the United States”. To this end, the leadership will be launching a long-term development and economic programme (something like South Africa’s National Development Plan) and implementation will begin next year, 2015. New labour laws and tax laws are being drafted, foreign investment regulation is being redefined to attract financial flow, and greater transparency and flexibility have become key tenets of the regulations. New economic zones and special market arrangements are being planned and the Cuban peso will be reinstated as the single currency. An increase in salaries based on work grades to incentivise skilled workers is being introduced and cooperatives outside of the agricultural sector will be promoted. Investments in infrastructure development will be prioritised with a port being planned in western Cuba that will serve as a hub for the Caribbean.

Will Cuba by 2030 be able to remain true to its socialist model and yet put in place the building blocks for what it is articulating as a more prosperous socialist society? Will it be able to speed up modernisation of the economy along with some level of inequality in income distribution? China has demonstrated that market forces can play an important role in improving a nation’s standard of living. But with this also comes many challenges. What is clear though is that the US blockade against Cuba is a vestige of a bygone era and has to be lifted immediately. ■



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First integrated emergency care simulation lab in Africa



LIFE-LIKE SIMULATION: The pioneering UJ simulation lab trains students in emergency medical care for trauma and critical illness. A UJ student performs CPR on a manikin, its diagnostics in the background, at the launch of the UJ simulation lab.

By Theresé van Wyk

African paramedics face challenging scenarios in urban and rural areas due to the economic demographics. The first African integrated emergency medical care simulation lab, where the entire patient journey can be trained with multi-disciplinary teams, was launched in September 2014 at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) in South Africa.

In many parts of Africa, road accidents and general trauma-related cases are increasing, due to more scooters and motor vehicles on the roads, says Prof André Swart, Executive

Dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences, UJ.

"At our new emergency medical care simulation laboratory, we can simulate a road accident site as well as the entire patient journey from the accident, to the ambulance, to the Emergency Department, the ICU, to a general ward and even a transfer to another medical facility.

Diagnostic assessments and laboratory tests are an integral part of the simulations. However, we also emphasise caring for the patient as an individual. We teach our students

to understand the patient's economic context and interact respectfully with him or her."

Partnering with Philips Healthcare

UJ's simulation lab was launched on 2 September 2014 with partners Philips and the South African Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).

Philips Healthcare Africa Region equipped the lab with medical equipment, diagnostic devices and programmable manikins. Philips staff will be trained at the lab as part of the partnership.

The Department provided significant funding for staff and infrastructure development.

The high-fidelity, life-like manikins can be programmed to simulate diverse conditions, from a mother in labour to a 60 year old patient with signs of heart failure.

Complex scenarios

Emergency services in Africa face very complex scenarios, says Benjamin van Nugteren, lecturer at the Department of Emergency Medical Care (EMC), UJ.

When a patient needs emergency medical care near a city centre it is possible to get an ambulance quickly to him or her. However, as little as 100km away from the city, responding to an EMC call becomes far more difficult.

Moreover, EMC responses are required for far more than trauma, he says. In addition, when the majority of a population is not eating well, not going for regular health check-ups and has no access to sophisticated health care, chronic, non-communicable diseases such as diabetes increase.

EMC response to chronic disease

People with chronic diseases can become critically ill. When they live hundreds of kilometres from healthcare, people are often unaware



MEDICAL RESCUE IN WILDERNESS SCENARIOS: UJ emergency medical services students train for technical small boat rescue. They are trained in emergency medical care and in diverse technical rescue techniques, which is available at few universities globally.

of the nature of their problems for days or weeks, and only present themselves for a diagnosis at a medical facility at a very late stage in their conditions.

Without an accurate diagnosis from trained staff at their homes, they can die of critical conditions such as diabetic ketoacidosis, which is easily mistaken for flu, an upper respiratory tract or urinary tract infection.

EMC and technical rescue

UJ teaches its EMC students how to operate in an acute life-saving emergency situation, as well as when treating critically-ill patients who require ongoing care, says Van Nugteren.

"In addition, we are one of few programmes globally who teach medical rescue in conjunction with emergency medical care.

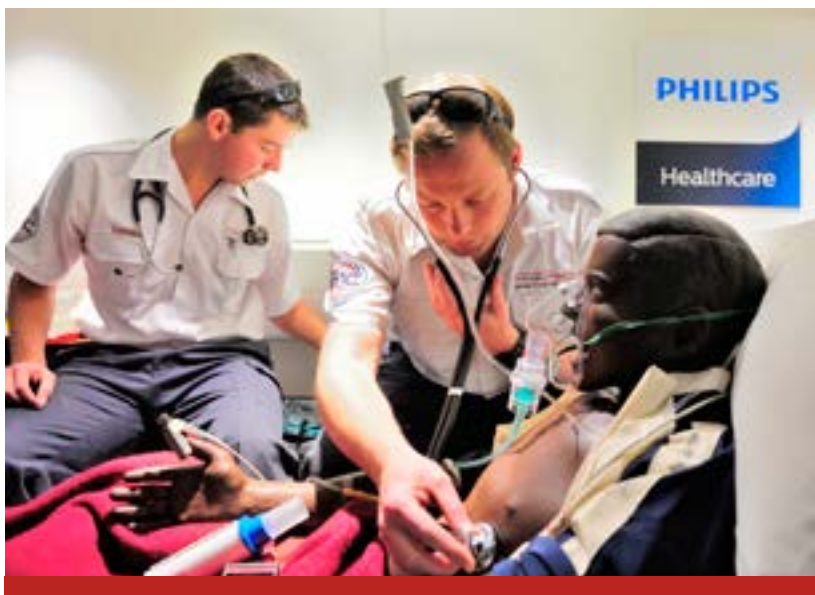
"We train our students in 12 technical rescue modules to access patients, treat them and evacuate them appropriately in technical rescues, including industrial and wilderness environments."

Future plans

Multi-disciplinary teams will be trained in an integrated and blended manner in 2016 at the UJ EMC lab, says Prof Swart.

Then teams comprising paramedics, midwives, ICU carers, nurses, radiographers and biotechnologists will be working together in advanced simulation training.

Says Swart: "We plan to offer training that addresses international concerns about emergency medical care personnel and healthcare workers in general." ■



UNIQUE TRAINING: The training in emergency medical care, critical illness and medical rescue is offered at the University of Johannesburg, one of the few programmes globally to do so.

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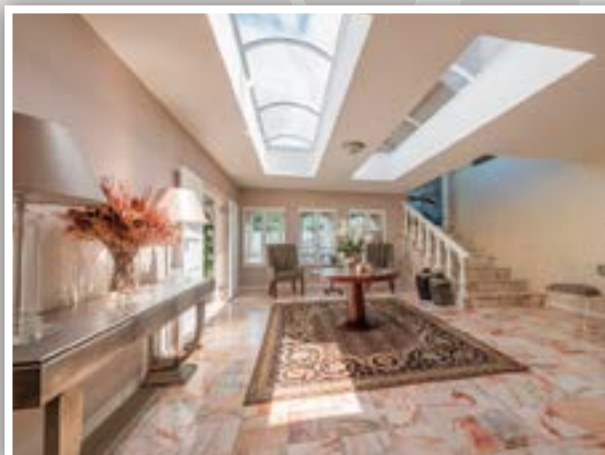
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Africa's Challenge to the European Dominance of International Football

For the small and economically weak nations of Africa sport emerged as one of the avenues in which they could project themselves on the international stage against powerful nations.

By Clifford Peter

The spectre of the challenge of Africa's place in world football has once again been raised by the President of the South African Football Association (SAFA), Dr Danny Jordaan. He has decried what he

referred to as the unequal allocation of World Cup slots in which Europe has a guaranteed thirteen of the thirty two, and enjoys a 40% lion's share of places in the tournament.

In an article that appeared in the

Mail and Guardian (May 30, 2014), Jordaan raised issues that resonate with other football followers with regard to the governance of the Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). This political challenge by an

African football representative is part of the global struggle for equality in the administration of international football. Ever since it was formed in 1904 FIFA has undergone various metamorphic stages. It started with only seven members (France, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland) who were later joined by England in 1905. South Africa became the first country outside Europe to be accepted as a member in 1910. Argentina and Chile joined in 1912 and were followed by United States and Canada in 1913.

The African countries which became pioneers in international football were Egypt, which joined FIFA in 1923, followed by Sudan in 1948 and Ethiopia in 1953. On 8 February 1957 these countries were to form the Confederation of African Football (CAF), which fought for Africa's recognition in international football. South Africa became a member by default. However she was expelled after failing to make an undertaking of fielding a non-racial team in the CAF inauguration that was to be held in Sudan from 10 - 16 February 1957. African football representatives also carried the campaign against apartheid globally by urging FIFA to expel South Africa.

FIFA's membership grew dramatically after 1960 as more nations which attained political independence joined the organisation. Its membership stood at 209 in 2014, well above that of the United Nations (193), becoming a truly global family. These developments within FIFA were summed up by the former President of the United European Football Associations (UEFA), Artenio Franchi, in 1979 when he said: 'With ever more states gaining their independence, and with the existing countries splitting up into separate states – processes which are to be observed above all in the so-called Third World – the number of national football associations inevitably continues to grow. And there is nothing to stop these emerging football countries from joining the enlarged FIFA Family. This is the uncomfortable truth.'¹

Franchi's statement was a reflection of fears which were largely held by

the European countries that their interests within FIFA were going to be threatened by new members from Africa, and other developing countries. According to Fauzi Mahjoud: 'No sooner had some of the new states become members of the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity, they joined the International Federation of Association Football or CAF and competed for the African Cup, enjoying one of the first opportunities of expressing their new-found and ambitious national identity.'²

For the small and economically weak nations of Africa sport emerged as one of the avenues in which they could project themselves on the international stage against powerful nations. Mahjoud also drew similarities between the challenges which Africa

“The European dominance of world football is also visible in its governing body. In the all-powerful Executive Committee UEFA has 9 votes; CAF has 4, CONMEBOL 4, CONCACAF 3, AFC 3 and the OFC 1.”

faced in FIFA and those it encountered in the globalised political and economic environment.

The UEFA dominance over FIFA

During the past decade the Confederation of African Football (CAF) has emerged as the biggest affiliate within FIFA with 56 members, followed by UEFA with 54. However Africa has five slots in the World Cup while Europe has thirteen. The growth of UEFA 34 members in 1990 was bolstered by the breakup of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) resulting in the emergence of new countries such as Armenia, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia and Ukraine. These new nations got recognition from the United Nations (UN) and

later joined UEFA. Yugoslavia, which had split into six countries (Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and Czechoslovakia into two, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, were also admitted as members. Israel, whose land mass is in Asia, has also been accepted by UEFA after having been a member of the Asian Football Confederation (AFC) from 1954 to 1974. The Palestine - Israel conflict spilled over to the game, and the AFC expelled Israel.

The smaller Island of San Marino was also accepted as a member. Gibraltar which is classified as a British Overseas Territory (BOT) with an estimated population of thirty five thousand people was the latest member to be accepted to UEFA in 2013. This expansion was carefully driven to counter-balance the political control which the UEFA had lost to Third World countries in the early 1970s. The climax of this struggle culminated in the election of Dr Joao Havelange of Brazil as the President of FIFA in 1974 when he defeated Stanley Rous of England with the support of African, Latin American and Asian countries. The failure of Rous to recognise the interests of the developing countries and his sympathy for apartheid South Africa became his downfall.

Unequal relations in FIFA are also reflected in the distribution of slots with other football associations such as the AFC which has 47 affiliates and four slots while its fifth place is played-off with a team from South America. The Confederation of North, Central American and Caribbean Associations Football (CONCACAF) has 41 affiliates and three guaranteed slots plus a play-off against the Oceania winner. 31 of the CONCACAF affiliates come mainly from the Caribbean islands such as Anguilla, Bonaire, Curacao, Sint Maarten and Montserrat.

The Oceania Football Confederation (OFC), with eleven affiliates, only has a possibility to gain just one place if they win in the play-off with South America and Asia interchangeably. This was the main reason why Australia asked for permission to join Asia and has qualified for every tournament

since then. The South American Football Confederation (CONMEBOL) which has been dominating world football since the emergence of the world cup, has ten affiliates with six slots. CONMEBOL is the oldest football confederation, having been formed in 1916 and was also the first FIFA Continental Zone to stage the World Cup tournament - in Uruguay in 1930.

The European dominance of world football is also visible in its governing body. In the all-powerful Executive Committee UEFA has 9 votes; CAF has 4, CONMEBOL 4, CONCACAF 3, AFC 3 and the OFC 1. In 1961 Sir Stanley Rous, who was the Vice President of FIFA, tried to justify this position when he said: 'Many people are convinced that it is unrealistic, for example, that a country like England, where the game started and was first organised, or that experienced countries like Italy and France, who have been the pillars of FIFA and influential in its problems and world football affairs for so many years, should have no more than equal voting rights with any of the of the newly created countries of Africa.'³ These Eurocentric views were aimed at denying the African continent its rightful place in FIFA.

The UEFA dominance over international football gives European countries an automatic lead in the bid to host the World Cup. The case in point being the 1966, 1974 and 1982 tournaments in which England, Germany and Spain had a gentleman's agreement to support each other's bids.⁴ This has placed Europe in the lead, having hosted the game ten times; South America five times; and North America three times. Asia and Africa have each only hosted it once.

The African Response

These inequalities within FIFA have not gone unchallenged by the African Football Confederation. In 1966 African countries boycotted the qualification series for the FIFA World Cup that was to be held in England over the unfair allocation of slots. African countries had to play-off and win against an Asian or European

country to secure a place in the World Cup tournament. This was contrary to the resolution of the 1954 FIFA Extraordinary Congress that was held in Berne, Switzerland which recognised Africa as its Continental Zone.⁵ FIFA also decreed that national associations that did not qualify in two successive World Cup tournaments would forfeit their voting powers.⁶

The boycott had far reaching effects in the governance of football as FIFA decided to allocate one slot for the African continent at its Congress that was held in London on the eve of the 1966 Soccer World Cup tournament. Asia was also allocated one slot. This decision led directly to Africa's participation in the next World Cup that was held in Mexico in 1970 with Morocco being the continental

“ The defeat of Argentina by Cameroon became one the biggest upsets in football history in what became known as the ‘Miracle of Milan’ after a goal that was headed by Omam Biyik. ”

representative. The last debut by an African country in a World Cup tournament had been in 1934 in Italy after Egypt had qualified in a play-off by beating Palestine.

Although the 1954 FIFA Congress in Berne was a watershed in African football history, racial prejudices were demonstrated by European and South American countries who opposed Africa's acceptance into FIFA. The matter was referred for ballot, with 24 countries voting in favour while 17 were against.⁷ An Argentinian football representative to the Congress argued that the standard of football in Africa was too poor to deserve a place in the FIFA Executive Committee.⁸

The late President of CAF Yidnekatchew Tessema of Ethiopia, who reigned over the organisation

from 1972 to 1987, voiced Africa's concern regarding the continent's under-representation in world football when he said: 'Although we acknowledge the role made by certain continents in the creation of FIFA, its development and their moral, material and financial contribution, we estimate that the democratic rule dictates that all rights and duties that form an international organisation should be the same for all. This is why in the framework of legitimacy, and by following a process that is consistent with the interest of world football and its unity, a progressive equilibrium of the representation in the heart of FIFA and its competition is required'.⁹

According to Danny Jordaan, the biggest challenge in recent times that has been put by those who oppose greater African participation in world football is that no African country has ever gone beyond the quarter final in the World Cup. This geo-political power play by European countries is aimed at maintaining control and dominance over international football at the expense of Africa and other developing countries. Jordaan has cited the emergence of top multi-billion dollar FIFA World Cup sponsors such as Coca Cola, Hyundai-Kia, and Sony which are located outside Europe as a positive step in international football. This, says Jordaan, is important in breaking down the European dominance over the game. This represented a progressive shift from the past when Europe was the biggest contributor to FIFA revenues.

The African struggle for equity in international football has the support of FIFA President Joseph Blatter who wrote in the *FIFA Weekly* (October 25, 2013) that 'from a purely sporting perspective, I would like to see globalisation finally taken seriously, and the African and Asian national associations accorded the status they deserve at FIFA World Cup.' Blatter further emphasised that 'it cannot be that the European and South American confederations lay claim to the majority of the berths at the World Cup (18 or 19), because taken together they account for significantly fewer member

associations (63) than Africa and Asia (100).'

'Africa', he writes, 'the confederation with the most member associations (56), is woefully under-represented at the World Cup with just five places.' Blatter concluded by saying that the chances of African countries winning the World Cup are minimal given their current under-representation. This was demonstrated in the group stages outcome of the 2014 Soccer World Cup that was held in Brazil. The exit of three African countries (Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Cameroon) meant an almost near 'death' to the African teams, leaving only two teams reaching the second round.

Although the European teams suffered a high rate of attrition, with seven countries (Italy, Spain, Russia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, England, Croatia and Portugal) having been knocked out in the first round, they were still left with six places in the second round. They faced the same outcome in the 2010 World Cup that was held in South Africa in which the same number of teams, which is more than 50% of the UEFA allocated slots, did not make it to the second round. It is this allocation of slots that seeks to guarantee UEFA dominance in all the stages of the World Cup tournament as it increases their chances of winning.

African successes in international football

One of the salient futures of the exercise of power in FIFA by European countries has been the shifting of goal posts in their dealings with the African continent. Their argument in the past was that football standards in Africa were poor and did not attract the desired attention from football fans. However history was to prove these assertions wrong as the growth of African football would have far-reaching effects on the global stage. This was demonstrated by the 'Indomitable Lions' of Cameroon who stunned the world in 1990 by defeating Argentina, who were the defending champions, 1-0, during the opening of the World Cup tournament that was held at Stadio Giuseppe Meazza, (also known as the San Siro) in Milan, Italy.

The defeat of Argentina by Cameroon became one of the biggest upsets in football history in what became known as the 'Miracle of Milan' after a goal that was headed by Omam Biyik. The 'Indomitable Lions' went further and trounced Colombia and Romania in the same tournament to become the first African country to ever reach the quarter final. The legendary Cameroonian football star Roger Milla scored four goals during that tournament.

During the 1978 World Cup in Argentina, Tunisia registered Africa's first win in the tournament against Mexico by 3-1. In the 1982 Soccer World Cup that was held in Spain, Algeria triumphed by 2-1 against Germany to become the first African country to win over a European team

“The success of the African football teams was also coupled with the emergence of stars who made their mark in international football.”

in the history of the tournament. The 'Indomitable Lions' also made surprises during the 1982 Soccer World Cup by not losing a single match in the first round of the Group that included Italy only to be knocked out by goal difference. Italy won the World Cup during this tournament.

Africa also made its mark in the 1996 Olympic Games that were held in Atlanta where Nigeria won the Gold Medal after beating Brazil in the semi-finals and Argentina in the final. Both South American rivals were hugely favoured to win the Gold Medal. In the 2000 Olympic Games Cameroon also registered Africa's prowess by defending the 'African' Gold Medal in Sydney, Australia.

The success of the African football teams was also coupled with the emergence of stars who made their mark in international football. These players include George Weah of

Liberia, whom the late president of South Africa Nelson Mandela referred to as 'the pride of Africa'. He became one of the top footballers and was named as the 1995 African, European, and World Footballer of the Year. During the 1994/5 UEFA Champions league he became the top goal scorer with seven goals. Abedi Pele of Ghana also became one of the best footballers and was named three times as the African player of the year. He made his mark in European football by playing in Germany, Italy and France. He was part of the Marseilles team when they won the 1993 UEFA Champions League.¹⁰

Kalusha Bwalya of Zambia also made his mark in international football and was named the 1996 FIFA World Player of the Year. He featured in the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul where the Zambian team beat Italy 4-0. He also played for football clubs in Belgium, Holland, South America and the Middle East where he earned international recognition. Another player who distinguished himself in international football was Nwankwo Kanu of Nigeria who came into international spotlight in the 1993 under 17 World Championship in Japan where he scored five (5) goals.¹¹ He later joined Ajax Amsterdam which won the 1995 UEFA Champions League. In 1996 he was the Captain of the Nigerian team that won the Gold Medal at the Olympic Games that were held in Atlanta. He was also twice voted African Player of the Year.

It was in the light of these successes that the former President of FIFA Joao Havelange introduced radical reforms that would see African participation in the World Cup berths increased from one in 1974 to five in 1998.

Though Africa has not as yet produced a World Cup semi-finalist, Senegal astounded many and proved African prowess when they reached the 2002 quarterfinals on debut. They were on course and only lost to Turkey on what was then called 'golden goal'. They also had on their way claimed the scalp of world champions France in the opening match. Later, Ghana in the 2010 FIFA World Cup that was held in South Africa also reached quarterfinals.

African countries also made history in the 2014 World Cup in Brazil by having two countries (Algeria and Nigeria) which progressed to the second round.

African countries also need to nurture their young football players for future roles in professional football. The Nigerian and Cameroonian under 20s teams which won at the 1996 and 2000 Olympic Games had the potential to progress into professional football and bring the world trophy to the African continent. Ghana proved also that football development is very important for a future place in the World Cup Final. They won the 2009 FIFA World Youth Championships and took the same team (infusing it with some experienced players) to Angola AFCON 2010 where they lost in the final. The same team achieved the success of reaching the quarter finals in the 2010 Soccer World Cup.

According to Sunday Oliseh (former Nigerian midfielder) the nucleus of the teams from Brazil, Argentina and Mexico whom they defeated in the 1996 Olympics Games in Atlanta were the same players that ascended to the World Cup in 1998 (France) and in 2002 (Japan and Korea).¹² Brazil played in the final in the 1998 World Cup and won the 2002 World Cup.

African football challenges

One of the biggest challenges facing the African continent is the emigration of top African football players to Europe. The flight of elite football players from Africa has resulted in lowering the standard of football in the continent while elevating that of European football. Countries that have most benefited from this practice are Portugal and France. In the 1966 World Cup the Portuguese team that won a bronze (their major success at World Cup so far) relied on Eusebio da Silva Ferreira and five of his team mates from Mozambique. He became the top scorer for the tournament with nine goals. During the 1958 World Cup in Sweden, France had in its national side Juste Fontaine from Morocco who scored thirteen goals, while in the 1998 World Cup, Zinedine Zidane (born in Marseille

of Algerian parents) scored two of the three goals that made France the world champions.

African countries did not reach the same milestone they achieved in the 1990, 2002 and 2010 World Cups during their last appearance in the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. The challenge of financial payments to players which emerged within the Cameroonian, Ghanaian and Nigerian teams during this tournament had the potential of deflecting them from their primary objective of bringing the World Cup to the continent. The Confederation of African football has to make a timely intervention so that such challenges do not re-occur.

Economic underdevelopment in the continent has also had a direct bearing on football. Some African countries have been unable to host the African bi-annual soccer tournament

“The flight of elite football players from Africa has resulted in the lowering of football standards in the continent while elevating that of European football.”

or not been able to afford the cost of travel for their football players to these tournaments. South Africa had already been instrumental in ensuring the success of the African Nations Cup tournament that was held in Mali in 2002 when it became clear that the game would not take place. This was done by means of financial, technical skills, communication equipment, and the use of the South African Airways (SAA) to ensure the success of this tournament.¹³ South Africa also extended technical and other specialist support systems to the 2008 and 2010 African Nations Cup that were held in Ghana and Angola respectively.

South Africa has also positioned herself as the plan B of the African Nations Cup bi-annual tournament. This was the case with the 1996 and the 2013 tournaments which she had

to host when it became apparent that Kenya and Libya were not in a position to do so. When South Africa successfully hosted the 2010 World Cup its Secretary General Jerome Valcke remarked that South Africa would be the plan B of future FIFA World Cups. He added: ‘There is not a single part of this World Cup where we have not been able to go beyond the level of past world cups.’

When the ‘Black Stars’ of Ghana played a friendly against ‘Bafana Bafana’ on a ‘Thank You’ visit to the country in late 2010 they cited the support they got from South Africans for the success they had in the 2010 FIFA World Cup. These sentiments were echoed by Asamoah Gyan, the Ghanaian football striker, when he said: ‘We were treated like kings by everybody here. We did well in the World Cup because of the support we got from the South Africans and other fellow African brothers and sisters. I still have great memories of this country and I have never been treated so well in a foreign country.’¹⁴

Co-operation between African countries has also been recently demonstrated by the accord that has been signed by Athletics South Africa (ASA) and Athletics Kenya. According to this agreement Kenya will be involved in the training and development of South African athletes.¹⁵ Such co-operation between African countries could go a long way towards the realisation of equity in international sport. ■

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A Thief Crawled into Grandmother's and Grandfather's Bed



Why should one person's past be forgotten, repressed, while the other's story is continuously re-told?

By Mats Svensson

Ali is feeling lonely. Together with three persons, he lives in Tensta, in Stockholm, in a small room with a small kitchen. He is the only one from Palestine. This is where he has lived for the last six years. It's crowded. Gadgets everywhere and untidy.

We try to clean, keep it tidy, he says, but it's hard, it's crowded. Ali has learned Swedish. He speaks almost fluently. He doesn't have a permanent job but has often found odd jobs through his friends.

When he isn't working, he sits in his room and thinks. Ali is always thinking about his family in Nablus. Six years is a long time, he says. The memory of faces has started to fade, some

memories fade just as new memories resurface.

The initial period in Sweden felt really good. He had come out of a trap, escaped. In Nablus, everything had been confined. For long periods, it had been impossible to leave the city. On some occasions, he had walked across the mountains. Once he reached the checkpoint, he had been humiliated one too many times. He wanted to avoid that feeling. He had often used the more risky path across the mountains, it was longer but without humiliation.

The difficulty was to experience one's mother or father try to pass through the gate of humiliation. It was

difficult to view their despair. It always took days for them to get over it and was impossible to get used to.

The day in August when he arrived in Sweden, for the first time in his life, he experienced total freedom. It was euphoric. No heavily armed soldiers, no checkpoints, no humiliation, no teenage boys and girls forcing him down on the ground with automatic weapons.

Now six years have passed, and his thoughts more frequently return to what is happening in Palestine. He would prefer it if his thoughts could revolve around his future, dreams, work and family. However, wearing a sad look on his face, he explains that

life in Sweden has not meant a free mind.

Although no loaded guns are pointed in your face, knowledge of the distant reality returns all the more frequently.

Ali's closest family lives in Nablus but he also has relatives who live in refugee camps on the Gaza Strip, as well as in Jordan and in Lebanon. His whole family is spread out in different refugee camps across the Middle East. More and more of his time has come to revolve around this, to try to understand what has happened to his family.

When he lived in Nablus, he never saw himself as a refugee. But today, after six years in Stockholm, he is beginning to realise that that is exactly what he is. He is also increasingly identifying himself with his family. Ali sees himself as a refugee from a village in Israel called Ramle, a village he has never lived in or visited. At the same time, he feels as though he knows the village better than any other place.

The collective stories of his family have come to mean more. Sometimes, he can even imagine that he's been there, lived in the big house with the thick stone walls.

Three black and white, weathered photos remain. A picture of the old stone house. He imagines a beautiful house with a blooming fruit garden. The second picture is of a family gathering to celebrate the holy month of Ramadan. This photo shows the big living room. Heavy furniture, carpets, paintings on the wall and known and unknown relatives. In the third picture, his grandfather sits in a chair with armrests, slightly upright. He looks beyond the camera into the photographer's eyes. There he sits calmly, satisfied with life. The picture was taken in 1934.

Very often lately, he has come to reflect on his family's long history as a refugee family. It started with his family being forced from their village in 1948. In April 1948, Israeli soldiers had taken the village Deir Yassin, killing over a hundred villagers, old and young.

The rumour spread quickly about what had happened when Israeli soldiers carried out the massacre in Deir Yassin. When the soldiers came to other villages, one being Ramle, the villagers

gave up. Soldiers surrounded the village and forced the inhabitants to leave and soon the village was emptied. Without weapons, they could not resist.

His father and his mother's parents had resisted for a few hours but were eventually forced up on a truck. His grandfather took care to close the shutters, lock the big door, and hide the key in a safe place. They would soon return. The relatives ended up in different places, mainly in Nablus and the Gaza Strip.

In Stockholm he has had increasingly more time to reflect on what happened a long time ago, long before he was born. At home in Nablus, he did not have time to reflect on what had happened, as time was spent on daily chores and taking care of younger siblings. Now he

“His father and his mother's parents had resisted for a few hours but were eventually forced up on a truck. His grandfather took care to close the shutters, lock the big door, and hide the key in a safe place. They would soon return.”

is trying to understand what happened during the Second World War. The terrible crimes that were inflicted on Jews and other groups.

But it has become increasingly difficult for Ali to understand the fact that only a short period had passed between Auschwitz's doors being opened and his own family being chased away from Ramle or killed in Deir Yassin. It is a war without disruption. Death, displacement, executions, massacre.

With only a few clicks on the computer, he can find stories, images that explain what happened during those terrible days when Ramle changed. While he comes closer to understanding his family's history, he is

all the more distanced from those who are close to him.

Ali is constantly worried. Several times a day, he has e-mail contact with his older brother. The worry is not about his own situation in Tensta but increasingly about his little sister and her emerging diabetes and his little brother's accelerating rage. His older brother meets his little brother daily and explains that he has more frequent outbreaks. He doesn't go to school but meets his friends instead.

Where he sits, in his small room in Stockholm, history is interwoven with the present. He sees the long journey his family has made.

Under the surface, he bears a continuous longing. Nobody can see it. Most people in Stockholm cannot understand it. Longing after a place where he has never been, that he has never seen; but that here in Tensta becomes increasingly present. He can wake up in the middle of the night as he has dreamt of the three images. Wakes up with many questions about the valuables, the memorable items that must have been in the house. What happened to the furniture, with the paintings on the walls, the heavy photo album that mom often talked about, the porcelain that can be seen on one of the photos. Somebody must have taken all this. Valued, saved, thrown, or sold it.

He imagines how someone, a thief, enters into the house and takes everything. How somebody moves in, calmly relaxes in the couch, sets the table for the children, uses the big kitchen table and at night crawls into his grandmother's and grandfather's bed. Ali would like to meet him, ask him how it feels, to steal, to destroy. Ask him if he sleeps well at night.

A few days ago, he saw a debate programme. It was about Israel and Palestine. A man with an Israeli background thought it strange that Palestinians who come to Sweden who receive all the benefits that Sweden has to offer, cannot move on, that they cannot leave their past behind them.

Why, he asked himself. Why can we not just understand each other? Why should one person's past be forgotten, repressed, while the other's story is continuously re-told? ■

EBOLA SCARE DISCRIMINATION

My experience in the Netherlands



Across the world, people continue to be profiled and ill-treated on the basis of certain criteria deliberately drawn up by some to differentiate themselves from those whom they consider lesser than themselves or unfit to be part of 'their' society.

By Fortune Nwaiwu

On 15th November 2014 I received racist and grossly insulting treatment from one of the most culturally inclusive and welcoming societies not just in Europe but also globally. The Netherlands is renowned for its tolerance and inclusiveness. With its remarkably high standards of liberalism it has become global magnet for all kinds of freedom loving people. Nevertheless, there are still examples of societal discrimination, with negative stereotyping. The result is seen in the disrespect and indignity with which certain people are treated, which has undeniably harmful effects.

I came to the Netherlands in October 2014 for an MBA programme at one of the top rated and most prestigious business schools in Europe, with immense global clout for its academic standing. I have never for one day had cause to regret my decision and choice of MBA studies destination. The experience at Nyenrode Business University so far has been truly rewarding. As a matter of fact, I would have regretted not taking the opportunity.

Since my arrival, the only thing that has defiantly remained unfriendly towards me is the weather. I and the cold climate have never been on good terms despite my best efforts to acclimatise to the new environment. And so I developed some fever, with a persistent headache which made me consume paracetamol tablets frequently. The culture shock of what was obtainable and the procedure for seeking medical attention in the Netherlands was deep. Back home I would have just walked into the nearest hospital and see any doctor available, but here it's a completely different ball game.

First you have to book an appointment over the phone before you can get to see a doctor who would examine you and then decide if you need to go to the hospital. Considering that the headache wouldn't stop, I decided to go to the hospital. My ordeal started on that fateful day. After days of unsuccessfully trying to book an appointment myself through the phone, I decided to go to the university service desk to get

help booking the appointment. The staff on duty helped me place a call through to St. Antonius hospital. They asked some preliminary questions and after they established that I am from Nigeria, I was stunned because they said I couldn't see the doctor directly, the university staff was asked to take my body temperature which he did twice and reported back to them the readings which were normal (36.9c and 36.7c the second time). Subsequently the appointment was scheduled for 5.30pm.

On arrival at the hospital facility, I walked straight into the building and got on the escalator. On my way up, a security guard rushed out and called on me to come back, so I got off and came down back to him. Initially I didn't suspect anything when he asked me to wait outside the building, but after I got outside the building, it struck my mind that this could be related to an Ebola scare, so I called him and

“Only unintelligent and ignorant people do not realise that Africa is made up of 54 countries and that out of those 54, it is only 3 that currently have cases of Ebola.”

asked why he asked me to wait outside the building and not even at the reception.

That was when he confirmed my fear to me. He claimed they had to take 'special' precautions. Initially I had no problems with that, so I waited diligently for their 'special' precautions. I waited close to an hour and nothing was actually happening, no one came to attend to me, instead all I noticed was a routine for which I started to feel some embarrassment. Some members of staff would come out, stare at me and go back inside. I was forced to ask the security guard again what the issue was. It was already past an hour. He eventually came and took my phone number. How he got my number was rather dramatic. It was a glass wall that

separated me from him, so he typed on a text message on his phone and showed it to me asking me to give him my mobile phone number, I obliged his request.

Eventually I was called on the phone by the hospital medical staff. They asked me some routine questions; I'm sure for the purpose of establishing my Ebola status. I responded to their questions to the best of my knowledge; which I am very sure would have convinced any reasonable person that I did not have Ebola.

It was going on to two hours already that I had been standing outside the hospital building in a cold night in Utrecht. Eventually the battery power of my mobile phone was exhausted and the device went off. So phone to phone communication for someone just outside the building was no longer possible. Hence, they had to improvise since they were not yet satisfied that I did not have Ebola. However, I did not anticipate that their next step of improvisation on their 'special' precautions was about to be taken one step higher from the absurd to the ridiculous.

What they did next left an eternal scar on my psyche. The security guard came out through an emergency door, dropped a mobile phone on the floor and walked back about ten metres, then he called out to me and asked me to pick up the phone, so that they would call me on that phone. I was stunned and speechless. I asked him if he could not have the simple courtesy of handing me the phone rather than preferring to drop it on the floor for me to pick it up; he apologised in a very unapologetic manner and walked back inside.

I was livid and enraged. I tried to calm myself down, and eventually their call came in again. I queried why I was being insulted and dehumanised. I reckon that as an African, by default I am often not looked upon with respect or dignity. This is a reality which as individuals and collectively we have to battle with continually, a reality which I try to overlook because I do not want to operate with a siege mentality. Sadly some find it convenient to constantly reinforce that reality and remind us of

how we are viewed as lesser, through their actions/inactions or utterances/silences.

It is on record that in this recent outbreak of the Ebola virus disease, the following countries have recorded cases: Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal, United States of America and Spain. It is also on record that some of the affected countries have been able to contain the spread and have eventually been declared free of the disease; this includes Nigeria and Senegal. There is no doubt that five out of the seven affected countries are in Africa. However, only unintelligent and ignorant people do not realise that Africa is made up of 54 countries and that out of those 54, it is only 3 that currently have cases of Ebola.

While I was having the last phone conversation with the St. Antonius medical staff, I asked if I was an American or Spanish, whether I would be kept outside the hospital and she said no, so I reminded her that Spain and America had cases of Ebola as well. I was eventually let into the hospital and they carried out preliminary observations before referring me to the University of Utrecht medical hospital where they claim they had experts who could handle tropical diseases. Eventually I left for that facility. I got there, all relevant tests were conducted and eventually I got a clean bill of health, in the words of the doctor 'probably it's the flu because it's the season of the flu in the Netherlands'.

Naturally I would have overlooked the whole incident if not for the part of dropping the phone on the floor for me to pick up. One would have thought that coming to this part of the world with their remarkably high ratings in every segment of human development, common sense would actually be as common as the word itself.

Ebola virus disease is not even a hundred percent lethal; I shouldn't be the one telling a medical professional what precautionary measures to take. Anyway, the point remains that they have only acted in accordance with the usual stereotype and discriminatory contempt meant for the African – albeit with a smile on their face and the usual post action

“I was stunned and speechless. I asked him if he could not have the simple courtesy of handing me the phone rather than preferring to drop it on the floor for me to pick it up.”

apologies that always accompanies such behaviour.

No doubt I come from a country plagued by a major leadership deficit, a leadership that continues to embarrass its citizens by its severe inadequacies. Nevertheless it is sickening and depressing when one repeatedly becomes a victim of discriminatory behaviour, however mild or acute it may be, simply because of one's nationality and race.

Africa is a continent of 54 sovereign countries, not a country. And even though many of these countries are still appendages to their former colonial overlords, it cannot be denied that they maintain a level of sovereignty that is internationally recognised and respected. It is ridiculous and unpardonable that when we live in a society so awash with information, yet people still remain so ignorant.

Why is Africa so typically stereotyped as a continent defined by suffering, poverty, disease, illiteracy and backwardness? I'm sure if I was a white person whether from America or Spain who walked into St. Antonius and

“I'm sure if I was a white person whether from America or Spain who walked into St. Antonius and complained of a fever, I wouldn't have been treated the way I was treated.”

complained of a fever, I wouldn't have been treated the way I was treated. The natural inclination won't even be to ask if I had visited any of the Ebola plagued countries. My experience is just one of the mild cases in the never ending list of discriminatory actions against black people and other minorities.

The sad reality is that it will never end. Across the world, people continue to be profiled and ill-treated on the basis of certain criteria deliberately drawn up by some to differentiate themselves from those whom they consider lesser than themselves or unfit to be part of 'their' society. And unfortunately the black race seems to be at the receiving end of such behaviour the most.

We are a people with a rich history and we have come a long way. The rest of the world may be ahead of us for now in certain aspects of development but it is on record that whatever we are passing through at this stage in our history is certainly not peculiar to us, hence, that does not make us any less human than the rest of humanity.

There are lots of good things happening out there in Africa and there are certainly a lot of black people doing wonderful and amazing stuff, who are contributing immensely to humanity. Going back in history, there are many records of great, noble and positive achievements by black people and Africans. Africa and Africans must not be looked down upon all the time.

As a person, I have a lot of personal goals to achieve; I need not be distracted by having to contend with proving myself worthy of acceptance or respect simply because of the colour of my skin. If you must disrespect me, then please do so on the basis of my character and my conduct, not simply based on my nationality, race or any other factor of convenience.

Finally, by order of priority, henceforth I would appreciate it if I am recognised first as a human being; second by my nationality and then if there is need for it by my racial origin. I believe if everybody would learn to recognise every other person in this simple order, it would create a more inclusive and equal society irrespective of whatever part of the world a person may find him or herself in. ■

Nurturing Thinking and Responsible Citizens



It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of light, it was the season of darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us... Charles Dickens, A Tale of Two Cities

Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories. Amilcar Cabral (1965)

By Loftus Mmusinyane

The above two quotes indicate a need for an appraisal of the status quo in relation to civic virtue in our nation. Dickens also reflects on the ever-present constant contradictions that characterise our socio-political life. This article provides an overview

of the state of civic education in South Africa, considers its implications for our constitutional democracy and proposes some mechanisms for teaching it in and out of school.

What is civic education?

The United Nations Development Programme (2004:4) defines civic education as “learning for effective participation in democratic and development processes at both local and national levels.” This implies that those who are lucky enough to

be exposed to civic education are more likely to have the ability, capability and motivation to participate in a much more rational manner in a variety of activities that affect their lives. In this way, the recent voter apathy, political intolerance, violent service delivery protests and xenophobic attacks can be seen as clear indicators of a nation suffering the consequences of not taking civic education seriously. Given this state of affairs, it is important to remember

education became part of their school curriculum.

The current school curriculum in South Africa does not accommodate the teaching of civic education as a separate course but it is offered as a cross-curricular subject. This approach provides a superficial and mediocre citizenship education. This 'civic deficit' as Sonja Schoeman (2006) refers to it, signifies a neglect of civic education which poses a possible danger to South Africa's newly-founded democracy.

violent ways. Giroux (1995:17-18) emphasised the significance of civic education in a democratic state, saying:

...citizenship and democracy need to be problematised and reconstructed for each generation...public schools must assist in the unending work of preparing citizens for self-governance in an evolving social environment. Through the public schools, learners can be taught the values and skills necessary to administer, protect and perpetuate a democratic society.

KNOWLEDGE	SKILLS	ATTITUDES AND VALUES
Institutions of democracy	Critical thinking	Acceptance of the rule of law
Citizens' rights and responsibilities	Communication skills	Respect for human dignity
Current political issues	Problem solving	Respect for human rights
Functions of Civil society organisations	Conflict resolution	Respect for tolerance
Social Relations		Rejection of prejudice and all kinds of discrimination
Preservation of the environment		Commitment to peace
Economic literacy		Commitment to truth
Sustainable development		
Cultural heritage of own country		

Source: Audigier: (2000)

what Oliver Tambo once said:

The masses are never wrong. We should respect them a little bit more. We should focus our minds a little bit harder to understand why they do what they do.

This statement raises a few questions. Why are the masses so violent when protesting about poor service delivery? Why are the masses so apathetic about exercising their democratic right to vote during local government elections? Why are the masses so politically intolerant of each other? Perhaps there is a need to begin to refrain from ignoring the challenges that have engulfed us, and masking difficulties. Perhaps it is time to stop pretending to be perfect, masking our mistakes and failures, and to 'claim our easy victories.'

It is important to note that the biggest challenge facing modern democracies is how to maintain and sustain their democratic character. It is for this reason that democracies in many parts of the world realised the importance of active, informed citizens as necessary for sustaining their democracies. Hence civic

According to the IEC a total of 251 960 people had their ballots declared invalid and 6 726 836 registered voters decided not to vote in the 2014 general elections. Other indicators of 'civic deficit' include political intolerance, xenophobia and violent service delivery protests. The situation is similar to the one referred to by the French philosopher Rousseau, who lamented: "We have physicists, geometers, chemists, poets, musicians, and painters; we no longer have citizens."

It is a paradox that at the same time as the government acknowledges the significance of citizens' participation in democratic and development processes, civic education is not being given priority in our schools and communities, let alone in the National Development Plan.

The need for civic education in South African schools

Civic education is one way to help people overcome political apathy, teach more peaceful forms of political and civic behaviour and help provide tools to solve social problems in non-

The above quote implies that civic education must become an eternal activity, a lifelong learning process that ensures that future generations are better prepared for a democratic culture. Given one of the key desired goals of the entire school curriculum in a democratic state should be the promotion of democratic attitudes, the study of civic education should play a significant part in the socialisation of the young into positive attitudes towards the democratic philosophy and process. *Inter alia*, this involves an understanding of political tolerance, co-operation, empathy, diversity and social responsibility.

To ensure that democracy is sustained, civic education should become an integral part of the school curriculum. Schools should become sites of inculcating civic knowledge, skills and values. The following examples are typical of issues that may be covered in a civic education curriculum:

The above issues should guide the formulation of the curriculum in order to produce active and democratic citizens. If taught properly, this should

prepare learners for their future responsibilities as mature citizens of a democratic dispensation. It is for this reason that government, in an effort to develop civic competency and responsibility among learners, should seek to do the following:

- appoint an independent body to develop a civic education curriculum;
- provide appropriate teaching resources;
- fund civil society organisations which conduct civic education; and
- engage publishers to produce quality curriculum materials.

Civic education should aim to strengthen democracy and increase participation by civil society and not consist of propaganda for any political party or religious group. In an effort to inculcate civic education, schools need to:

- Teach civic education from Grades 1-12. This can be done by spiralling the curriculum content so that every learner at any stage of development can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form.
- Introduce programmes that can engage learners in society, e.g. debating societies, voluntary social work projects and environmental clubs.
- Offer extra-curricular and co-curricular activities so that learners are able to “live what they learn” about civics and democracy.

In this regard, citizen education must go beyond inculcating civic knowledge, skills and values, but should encourage the application of those knowledge, skills and values in real life situations. As Naval et al (2002) asserted that democratic civic education prepares learners to actively participate in the socio-economic and political life; it must therefore be a life-long learning process.

The role of community development workers in promoting civic education

Civic education cannot be confined to the classroom. As a lifelong activity, it must also be taught and promoted outside school. In this regard, Community Development Workers (CDWs) are strategically positioned

to act as advocacy planners for the promotion of civic education.

According to the South African Management Development Institute (SAMDI: 2005) Community Development Workers (CDWs) are officially mandated to develop and transform communities by, amongst others:

- informing them about, and assisting them to access the services provided by the government; and
- determining the needs of communities and communicating these to the government.

This implies that CDWs must become advocacy planners. In other words, they must advocate in relation to issues that affect their specific communities. In this way, civic education becomes pertinent.

“Civic education is one way to help people overcome political apathy, teach more peaceful forms of political and civic behaviour and help provide tools to solve social problems in non-violent ways.”

Given their role of promoting citizen participation, CDWs can mobilise civil society organisations and organs of state to teach communities about issues that are inherently civic in nature.

The same skills, attitudes and values outlined in the table above in relation to a school curriculum can be gained during advocacy campaigns on civic education. These campaigns can link to the work of a number of civil society and independent state-led institutions. Examples include the Human Rights Commission, the Public Protector, the Gender Commission, the IEC, the SAIHR and Lead SA.

Based on the above, it is quite clear that CDWs can enhance state proactive responsiveness to its citizens, thereby obviating the problems of xenophobic attacks, gender based

violence and violent service delivery protests which are all the hallmarks of an uninformed citizenry and a lack of civic culture.

Conclusion

In order to ensure that norms and values of citizenship are well grounded in South African society, the following need to be considered by the government:

- Make civic education part of the school curriculum.
- Fund Civil Society Organisations that have knowledge and skills to promote civic education.
- Provide enough resources for CDWs to act proactively and effectively as advocates for increased civic education.
- Publish and disseminate information brochures on civic education issues.

It is incumbent on the state to prepare its citizens to be able to cope effectively with the complex nature of today’s socio-political and economic environment. Indeed, ‘we have everything before us’ to make civic education much more conspicuous in our everyday life, as well as to re-ignite personal commitment to make us an enlightened, capable, developmental and responsive state. This requires working together with all interested parties to re-invigorate the aura of civic education in our schools and communities and ‘stop claiming easy victories’. Anything less than full support for on-going and honest civic education carries the risk of hiding the truth from our people and thereby falling into the trap of ‘masking mistakes and failures.’ ■

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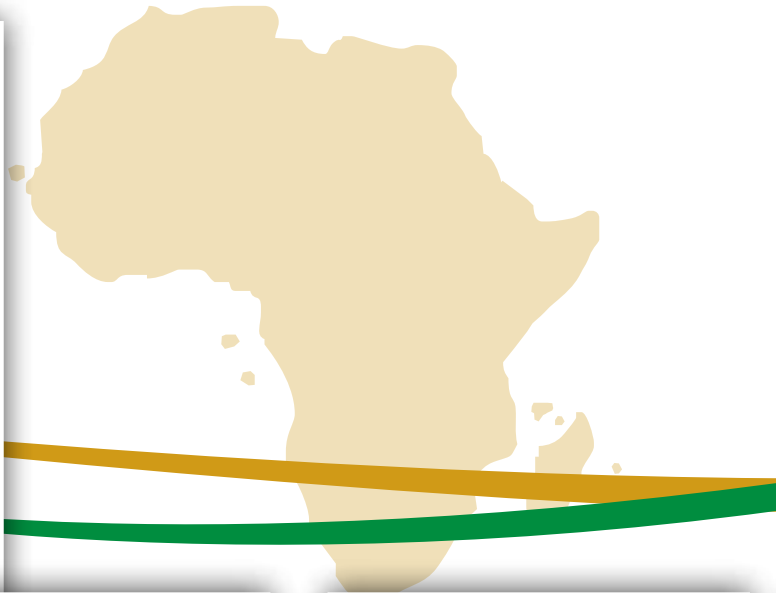
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One Africa, One Voice



Hon. Bethel N. Amadi – President



Hon. Roger Nkodo – 1st Vice-President



Hon. Suilama Hay Emhamed –
2nd Vice-President

Despite a restrictive mandate as an advisory and consultative body, the PAP is continuing to play a key role in promoting democracy, good governance and the harmonisation of laws on the continent. This will lead to more direct investment, development and prosperity for the peoples of Africa.

The objectives of the PAP are mainly to promote the principles of human rights, democracy, good governance, peace and security. The PAP is also expected to promote collective self-reliance, strengthen continental solidarity and build a sense of common destiny among the peoples of Africa.

Structure

The highest decision-making organ of the PAP is in the Plenary Session. However, the main work which results in the decisions is performed by the 10 Permanent Committees, which meet to oversee the work of the AU.

The Bureau of the PAP, which is responsible for the management of the Parliament, is composed of the President and four Vice-Presidents, who represent the five regions of Africa. The current President of the PAP is the Hon Bethel Nnaemeka Amadi,

from Nigeria. The First Vice-President is the Hon Roger Nkodo Dang from Cameroon, the Second Vice-President is the Hon Suilma Hay Emhamed Saleh from Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic, the Third Vice-President is the Hon Loide Kasingo from Namibia and the Fourth Vice-President is the Hon Dr Ashebir Woldegiorgis Gayo from Ethiopia.

The Bureau is supported by a Secretariat comprising of permanent staff members drawn from all over Africa. The Head of the Secretariat is Adv Zwelethu Madasa from South Africa.

Transformation

The Assembly of Heads of States and Government at the recent June 2014 AU Summit in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, took an epoch making decision regarding the status of the PAP. The Assembly approved the transformation of PAP from an Advisory and Consultative Body to a continental legislative body with competence to make laws subject to the approval of the Assembly. The approval of the revised PAP protocol is, however, subject to the signing and ratification by the requisite number of states before coming into

force. The PAP will henceforth have the ability to contribute meaningfully to the economic integration process of the continent by providing the necessary legislative mechanisms and framework. ■

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One Africa, One Voice



Hon. Loide Kasingo – 3rd Vice-President



Hon. Ashebir W. Gayo – 4th Vice-President



Adv. Zwelethu Madasa – Clerk of PAP

SAB Sets Tangible Sustainable Development Targets for Local Community and Business Growth



Prof. Mike Muller of the National Planning Commission; Monwabisi Fandeso, SAB Director Corporate Affairs and Transformation, Thandeka Mbassa, HOD Gauteng Department of Rural Development and Agriculture; and Dr Morne du Plessis, CEO of WWF-SA, at the launch of SAB's sustainable development campaign, Prosper.

By South African Breweries

The South African Breweries (SAB) recently announced its targeted approach towards building strong South African communities and to ensure a prosperous future for all, which it plans to achieve through a new, global sustainable development framework called Prosper.

The framework highlights tangible targets to be achieved by the company over the next five years in the areas of responsible alcohol consumption,

securing water resources, reducing waste and carbon emissions, supporting small enterprises, including emerging farmers, and the support of responsible and sustainable land use for brewing crops.

Prosper is a global SABMiller sustainable development approach, with SAB in South African honing in on those challenges facing the country.

“SAB believes that its success as

a business is linked to that of the communities in which it operates and is therefore acutely aware of its impact on them. As a leading corporate citizen, SAB is committed to working with its partners, NGOs and government in tackling the challenges which face society to ensure a prosperous future for all,” says Monwabisi Fandeso, SAB Director Corporate Affairs and Transformation.

Prosper is SAB's evolved

approach to sustainable development. Several years ago, SAB initiated its Ten Sustainable Development priorities providing a clear framework to help the company deal effectively with risks and identify opportunities for the business and local communities. The key focus was on water, energy and carbon. Through targeted initiatives in these focus areas SAB moved from using 4.5 litres of water per litre of beer to 3.6 litres of water and reduced its carbon footprint by 16% in the manufacturing process.

Prosper, which integrates the Ten Priorities into five shared imperatives, is a step change, committing SAB to publically stated targets rather than being selective in its sustainable development focus.

“Prosper is a holistic approach to sustainable development and it is indicative of the kind of world that SAB wants to contribute towards. In South Africa, we made it our own and honed in on those issues which impact our country, our communities and our business,” says Monwabisi.

The five shared imperatives of Prosper are:

1. A Sociable World in which we endeavour to make beer the natural choice for the moderate and responsible drinker through effective communication campaigns; support of responsible retail practices, road safety awareness and enforcement, including not drinking and driving; and reduce underage drinking. SAB will train more than 25 000 liquor traders in responsible retail practices through its Responsible Trader Programme (RTP), encourage behavioural and attitudinal change amongst men on social issues by means of the SAB Tavern Intervention Programme for Men (TIP) and through its 18+ campaign, call on adults to become role models in the fight against underage drinking. The You Decide roadshow will continue educating teenagers about the dangers and consequences of underage drinking. In terms of road safety awareness and discouraging drinking and driving, SAB has sponsored the establishment

of 15 Alcohol Evidence Centres across South Africa at a cost of R1 million each. We also have the Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) programme to discourage alcohol consumption during pregnancy.

2. A Resilient World where we will secure shared water resources for our business and local communities. SAB will strengthen its CSI water projects, particularly to contribute towards community water security. We will continue to support and participate in the Strategic Water Partners Network (SWPN), as we believe that it is only through collective action and effective partnerships that we are going to secure this critical resource. SAB also aims to reduce its water

“ As a leading corporate citizen, SAB is committed to working with its partners, NGOs and government in tackling the challenges which face society to ensure a prosperous future for all. ”

use to 2.89 per litre of beer by 2020 within our manufacturing process and implement programmes to mitigate shared water risks for our key crops such as hops and barley.

3. A Clean World in which waste and carbon emissions will be reduced within the business and across the agricultural value chain and distribution network, as well as a high proportion of brewery waste being diverted from landfill to create new value from waste. We are committed to a 30% total value chain carbon footprint reduction by 2020, while also continuing to reduce the amount of waste that end up in landfills.

4. A Thriving World in which we will accelerate growth and social development through our value

chains by supporting more than 30 000 small enterprises through our flagship youth entrepreneurship development programme, SAB KickStart, our Customer Business Development Programme (CBD), distribution development programmes like the Owner Driver Scheme and in the agricultural sector through support of emerging farmers.

5. A Productive World in which we will support responsible, sustainable use of land for brewing crops by creating secure, sustainable supply chains and by helping small-scale farmers increase profitability, production and social development. SAB aims to strengthen the Go Farming initiative, through which we will increase local sourcing of agricultural inputs, particularly from emerging farmers. Together with our partners, we will continue to promote sustainable farming practices through programmes like Better Barley Better Beer.

Key Target Highlights:

- Responsible consumption – reach 25 000 liquor retailers and provide business and responsible trading training
- Water security – further reduce water consumption to 2.89 litres of water per litre of beer and work with local communities and partners on shared water risks
- Small business development – support more than 30 000 small enterprises, including emerging farmers
- Carbon and waste reduction – 30% total value chain carbon footprint reduction
- Responsible and sustainable agricultural land use. ■



EU and Africa foster closer ties to fight dangerous diseases



EU Director-General for Research, Innovation and Science Robert Jan Smit addressing the launch of EDCTP 2 together with Minister of Science and Technology Naledi Pandor in Cape Town on 2 December 2014.

By Department of Science and Technology

The launch of the second phase of the European and Developing Countries Clinical Trials Partnership (EDCTP) in Cape Town on 2 December marked an important milestone in Africa's efforts to combat the continent's burden of disease.

The programme will see South

Africa (under the leadership of the Department of Science and Technology), several African nations and the European Union co-investing over the next 10 years to harness health innovation. The launch of the EDCTP2 extends the EU's collaborative research support for the development

of new or improved interventions to prevent or treat HIV, TB, malaria and non-communicable diseases in sub-Saharan Africa.

Newly appointed EU Commissioner for Research and Innovation, Carlos Moedas, said that there was a need to build and strengthen African health



Minister of Science and Technology Naledi Pandor addressing young people at the Desmond Tutu HIV Foundation Youth Centre in Masiphumelele on World Aids Day. The Minister was accompanied by EU Commissioner for Research, Innovation and Science Carlos Moedas.

institutions. He said that the launch of EDCTP 2 heralded an exciting phase in the EU's partnership with Africa.

"I am delighted that today, alongside our partners and South Africa, we are launching a second phase of the EDCTP programme. In view of the great dangers infectious diseases continue to pose, it is essential that we continue to invest in medical and vaccine research. With an increased investment of some R28 billion, the EDCTP2 will do just that," he said.

Addressing the launch conference, the Minister of Science and Technology, Naledi Pandor, emphasised the need for training and strengthening African research partnerships. "Our aim is to boost research and innovation in Africa. We cannot thrive in isolation. We need to be part of a vibrant African research and innovation system," the Minister told the conference.

The EU established the EDCTP in 2003 with 15 member states. The partnership aims to accelerate the development of new drugs, vaccines, microbicides and diagnostics for diseases such as HIV, TB and malaria, with a focus on clinical trials in sub-Saharan Africa.

The first phase supported 246

projects, involving 190 African and 70 European countries, with a total investment of €383 million. A hundred of the 246 projects were clinical trials (30 on HIV/Aids, 27 on TB, nine on TB/HIV co-infections, and 34 on malaria). Over 100 000 research participants were involved.

Africa accounts for less than 1% of global health expenditure, but carries 25% of the world's burden of disease. The intertwined scourges of poverty, malnutrition and infectious diseases are compounded by limited access to affordable, effective, safe and quality medicines and diagnostic tools.

Minister Pandor called for stronger co-ownership by governments in Africa, not only to build research in Africa, but also to enhance the continent's profile as a technology partner for Europe.

"Co-ownership also means co-investment. Africa is committed to and is increasing investment in research, innovation and partnership frameworks such as the EDCTP to create an opportunity to leverage an even greater return on these investments," said Minister Pandor.

Leading Cameroonian biotechnologist, Prof. Rose Leke,

who also addressed the conference, called on the EDCTP to create an environment that would encourage African scientists to stay on the continent. While the EDCTP had been instrumental in building, renovating and equipping laboratories and health facilities, Prof. Leke said some facilities had closed down after funding had expired.

"The support provided by the EDCTP should be long term, and matched with a realistic, sustainable, local plan that ensures proper functioning beyond the EDCTP," said Prof. Leke.

Prof. Peter Piot, Director of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who was part of the team that discovered the Ebola virus in 1976, also attended the event. He said that it was important for the continent to build its capacity in order to tackle and contain epidemics like Ebola. He said thousands of people had died in three Western African countries because there was no infrastructure to deal with outbreaks like Ebola. ■

A Social Contract for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements

We the representatives of various stakeholders, recognise the need to recommit ourselves to the co-production of “Sustainable Human Settlements and Improved Quality of Household Life”. We commit to work together to achieve exponential growth in the economy, through the initiatives we undertake collectively, in our efforts to provide sustainable human settlements for the achievements to the 2030 vision.

The Social Contract for Sustainable Human Settlements is a statement of intent to work together for a common goal, whilst appreciating and understanding the relationships between us. It provides a framework for partnerships and targeted resource mobilization, and articulates our commitment to develop answers collectively for a shared future.

OUR OBJECTIVES

We the signatories undertake and recommit to work together to:

- (a) Create enabling conditions for the coproduction of integrated sustainable human settlements;
- (b) Promote choice in the type of housing that suits the needs and that is consistent with citizen’s lifecycles and that of communities, neighbourhoods, cities, towns and villages;
- (c) Provide decent houses within liveable human settlements;
- (d) Accelerate delivery of subsidized housing and new affordable housing units for the affordable or gap market to enable an overall improved supply of housing to meet the demands of dynamic and growing society;
- (e) Ensure households have access to functional water and sanitation services, eliminate bucket sanitation in formal areas, ensure access to energy through grid and non-grid connections, and enable efficient movement between places of residence, social development, work, consumption and leisure;
- (f) Upgrade informal settlements with basic services and infrastructure, their long term development and integration into the workings of the local municipality and economy;



human settlements

Department:
Human Settlements
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



THE SOCIAL CONTRACT TO ACHIEVE 1.5 MILLION HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES BY 2019 WAS SIGNED AT THE NATIONAL HUMAN SETTLEMENTS INDABA AND EXHIBITION THAT WAS HELD AT THE SANDTON CONVENTION CENTRE FROM 16 TO 17 OCTOBER THIS YEAR.

- (g) Ensure that all planning processes are satisfactorily complete, effectively allowing for the efficient transfer of title deeds for all residential units;
- (h) Enable rapid release of land that is well located, for the purpose of creating sustainable and viable communities;
- (i) Extend access to affordable mortgage finance by exploring innovative mechanisms to tackle costs, risks and affordability concerns;
- (j) Mobilise communities to be active participants within the construction processes.

OUR TARGETS

We, the signatories of this Social Contract jointly undertake to work together to deliver in the next 5 years:

- 1.5 million housing opportunities, including 110 000 affordable housing opportunities for the gap market, 70 000 affordable rental opportunities, undertake 50 catalytic projects and install basic services and infrastructure in 2000 informal settlements, while laying a foundation that will ensure that by 2030 all South African live in adequate housing; and
- Eradicate the backlog of title deeds for pre and post 1994 housing stock.

Prioritising Strategy Execution in the African Continent



Africa must develop its youth cadres to be the true vanguard of the continent and ambassadors of strategic plan and policy execution to fast track development.

By Miyelani Mkhabela

African leaders have developed strategic plans, some with a 5 year vision, that have impacted on our communities from Kwame Nkrumah's generation to the current leadership. Some of the plans have had to be revised and the vision reduced in the light of global economic challenges. African public sector implementation has proceeded at a tortoise pace and unfortunately still does so in most cases. At times public sector leaders even totally fail to implement critical plans, leaving their country without the necessary infrastructure and policy progress to enable it to compete globally and to serve society at large.

Kwame Nkrumah pointed out: "We

participated in a number of conferences designed to achieve political, cultural and economic co-operation not only among the member states of the Union of African states – Ghana, Guinea and Mali – and the Casablanca Group but also among other African countries. We have organised various conferences for the youth of Africa to come together here in Accra in order to bring home to them more forcefully their role in the new Africa that is emerging. We also convened a conference of women representing various women's organisations in Africa to inspire and develop the new womanhood Africa needs today." (*Towards our Goal*, September 1962)

We continue to engage in

continental forums but progress is minimal. For example we have the architects' plans but very few roads, railways, ports or bridges are actually built in line with plans and time-frames. It is a common complaint that policies and plans that are well developed are rarely well implemented.

While it is often said that rewards go to the bold, it is also true that patience is a virtue when investing in Africa. Experienced foreign investors repeatedly note that nowhere else is there such a direct correlation between careful planning (and flexibility about plans once formed) and a successful outcome.

No strategy is self-executing: sustainable success in Africa will increasingly turn on identifying, nurturing and retaining talented and committed local staff. Meanwhile, for firms focused on reaching Africa's many underserved customers, effective strategy execution should be people-focused in another sense: eschewing top-down approaches.

Great leaders are those who come with strategies and execute them for a better life for our African society.

Chief Albert Luthuli was deeply committed to the creation of a non-racial and non-sexist democratic society in South Africa that would uphold basic human rights such as equality before the law, freedom of association and speech, social justice and human dignity. For him to realise an equitable state and redress the imbalances of the past the popular masses as well as the leaders had to be involved in the shaping as well as the execution of policy positions and decisions.

Nelson Mandela's strategic Reconstruction and Development Plan which was introduced sought to deliver a better life for all with limited resources and less expertise within the government and cabinet. The RDP served as the foundation for building a united South Africa. Policies like affirmative action and BEE were also introduced around the same period.

The Growth Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) was designed to improve government financial management, attract Foreign Direct Investment and release funds

to ramp up economic growth and development.

During that period growth rates were impressive with high inflow of capital to expand factory plants and boost manufacturing. However, the growth rate was not inclusive though transformation was prioritised; and Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment benefited only a small section of the black population.

Project execution in very many cases has not been effective during the first two decades of South African democracy, with the result that the promised 'Better life for all' is still elusive for many communities.

The main question is, will the National Development Plan and Industrial Policy Action Plan consolidate the past policies and succeed in addressing the backlog of service delivery and reinstate South Africa as the biggest GDP African nation? We are likely to see a continued lack of service delivery if the implementation of these strategic plans is not prioritised. The NDP depends on partnerships with the private sector in executing it, and the sour relationship between government and the private sector puts at risk the realisation of the key manufacturing and beneficiation strategic vision.

If this is the case, youth unemployment in particular may well increase, in spite of the fact that the NDP specifically aims to reduce this problem. Such an indictment of the ruling party could result in its achieving, for the first time since the beginning of our democracy, a total vote of below 60 percent in the 2019 elections.

The IMF believes that Angola's 2014 budget will further reduce to around a 5% deficit and will be used mainly to finance the removal of infrastructure bottlenecks. Angola continues to push its National Development Plan but targets will not be realised due to under-spending of capital funds in 2010, 2012 and 2013. Active operational management and project prioritisation can add value, enabling Angola to achieve inclusive economic development.

Ghana recorded a 10.8% deficit due to a decline in tax revenues and exorbitant spending on wages and

salaries. The government is now faced with the problem of funding capital projects and refinancing debt. Had they prioritised budgeted project implementation, they would by now have a solid infrastructure. Ghana produced Kwame Nkrumah and Kofi Annan. It is disappointing that it is failing to execute the strategies that they designed.

In Kenya, infrastructure shortfall, intermitted drought, poor inflows of foreign direct investment and an uncertain regional security situation pose palpable risks to its economic stability. Although it is currently sitting with a huge foreign debt, it has an appetite for extra debt to fund its infrastructure projects. When state funds are misdirected to unplanned projects, communities are the ones to suffer, with poor economic

“No strategy is self-executing: sustainable success in Africa will increasingly turn on identifying, nurturing and retaining talented and committed local staff.”

development and rising unemployment of both skilled and unskilled workers.

In Nigeria projects that have been provided for in the national budget have rarely been fully implemented. For the past decade, Nigeria has failed to improve its infrastructure in oil and gas, upgrade governance standards and improve its security in the face of terrorist attacks. As Africa's biggest economy in terms of GDP, one would expect Nigeria to have competitive institutions.

NEPAD points out "In part, Africa's inability to harness the process of globalisation is a result of structural impediments to growth and development in the form of resource outflows and unfavourable terms of trade. At the same time, we recognise that failures of political and economic

leadership in many African countries impede the effective mobilisation and utilisation of scarce resources into productive areas of activity in order to attract and facilitate domestic and foreign investment." (October 2001).

Africa must develop its youth cadres to be the true vanguard of the continent and ambassadors of strategic plan and policy execution to fast track development. African youth must work to strengthen African unity and understand continental challenges to enable them to become the future leaders the continent requires.

Strategy implementation is the key component of the strategic management process. As C Jooste and B Fourie write: "... strategy implementation, rather than strategy formulation, is the key to superior organisational performance. However, the high failure rate of strategy implementation efforts is well documented, and many barriers to effective strategy implementation exist. A lack of leadership, and specifically strategic leadership, at the top of the organisation has been identified as one of the major barriers to effective strategy implementation. In turn, strategic leadership is also viewed as a key driver to effective strategy implementation... Human resource development, especially for middle and lower management or team leaders, should be at the heart of strategy execution."

For the past two decades, strategy formulation has been widely regarded as the most important component of the strategic management process – and there has been less focus on strategy implementation or strategic control. However, recent research indicates that strategy implementation, rather than strategy formulation alone, is a key requirement for superior business performance (Holman 1999; Flood, Dromgoole, Carroll & Gordon 2000; Kaplan & Norton 2000). African nations must stand together and support each other as African enhanced development will always come from our own efforts. To realise a capable continent, capable leadership is needed, supported by youth, to launch a clear road map of African pride with less reliance on aid and more on trade capital inflows. ■

Algeria and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, 1955–1994



In this issue we publish extracts from a lengthy chapter in the *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*, Volume 5, published by the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET). For reasons of space the edited version excludes a great deal of detailed information as well as the footnotes. We thank SADET for granting us permission to publish extracts from this chapter.

By Smail Debeche

Notions of freedom and liberation from oppression are well-rooted in Algerian culture and attitudes. So too is the will to fight against human rights violations and the injustices of discrimination. Furthermore, MK cadres found common cause with FLN guerrillas in their endeavours against the foreign domination and minority rule. Under such circumstances the Algerian people stood firmly behind the ANC both morally, and materially...

In this context it is interesting to refer to a report in recognition of Algerian support by Margaret Resha, whose husband Robert Resha (succeeded by Johnny Makathini) was the deputy chief representative of the ANC in North Africa from 1966. To quote her:

I remember us stuffing money into a birthday cake for some commemoration of the ANC anniversary. The money [received from the Algerian government] had to go to Dar es Salaam in disguise. Similarly, at one stage the then Algerian President Haouari Boumediene, donated 50 000 Francs to the ANC without being asked for funding, a gesture so moving that the then president of the ANC, O.R. Tambo, wrote a letter of gratitude to President Haouari Boumediene on behalf of his organisation and the oppressed people of South Africa on what was a characteristically remarkable act of solidarity and internationalism...

Unconditional Algerian support for the South African struggle against the apartheid regime was united at both state and party levels until 1989. Thereafter, with the introduction of the multiparty system, the support continued. In this period, the Algerian press played an important role in the form of journals and newspapers, such as *El Khabar* and *El Chourouk Al Yaoumi* in Arabic language; and *Liberté* and *El Watan* in French. All upheld the view that the Algerian stance on the South African liberation struggle was an integral part of Algeria's outlook for a liberated African continent. Until the victory of the ANC in the democratic elections of April 1994, there was an article or report virtually daily in Algerian newspapers about the ANC and the South African struggle...

The situation in Algeria was similar

in many ways. French colonial troops in the cities of Setif and Guelam in the eastern region and Ain Timouchent in the western region of Algeria savagely attacked and killed more than 45 000 civilian people in May 1945 in reaction to protests demanding that French pledges to give the people their freedom be met. They had been promised liberation in exchange for their participation with the French against the Nazis during the Second World War. On 8 May 1945, Algerians went out to the streets celebrating the victory over Nazism and Fascism, which was supposed to be followed by the realisation of the Algerians' dream of regaining their independence. A massacre followed and this made national movements and other political parties rethink their attitude of non-violence towards French colonialism. Armed struggle appeared to be the only way out of the impasse. Influential militants such as Ahmed Ben Bella (the first president of Algeria); Mostapha Ben Boulaid (who led the first armed offensive against the French); and Mohamed Boudiaf (president of Algeria in 1992); individually began to prepare for the alternative of armed struggle that came to a head in November 1954...

This view was shared by Hassani Abdelkarim, an Algerian liberation fighter and one of the officers who trained MK cadres including Nelson Mandela. Hassani said:

Before the arrival of our South African cadres I myself did not know that our revolution had such an impact in a place so far away as South Africa. I was in charge of training the ANC soldiers along with other Africans from Angola and Ghana. The leadership of the Algerian National Liberation Army (ALN) led by Colonel Haouari Boumedienne insisted on keeping the names of the soldiers secret. We gave them internal names (nicknames) for the sake of their security as the French in Morocco were actively spying on us. The fear was more from Hassan II, the son of the king Mohamed V, who had a close relationship with the French, and his power and influence in the decision making especially in the Moroccan army was strongly rising. I myself was especially charged by Bouteflika, the secretary general of the

ALN in our western front, to train them in using transmission instruments. In my discussion with them I insisted on self-reliance in the guerrilla battles because the timing and the situation requires individual initiative and rapid action. Whenever Mandela came to train, he and the ANC soldiers showed a new interest in knowing about our tactics, challenges and achievements in the field. We were instructed by our chiefs to provide Mandela and his comrades with all details. We dealt with them in the same manner as Algerian fighters. On their part they were polite and very friendly. We really had a very good time with them...

Military training was an important factor in the thinking of the ANC military leaders, especially the strategies of guerrilla warfare and military

“We were at the last stage of armed struggle and negotiations with the French had already started. When I met him most of our talks were about our revolution’s achievements and its process to reach such a stage.”

operations. ANC fighters (among them Mandela) were trained by highly skilled Algerian military officers such as Cherif Belkacem (who later became prominent in the era of President Boumedienne); Mohammed Lamamari (who became one of the top figures in the Algerian army leadership from 1994 to 2005); and Mustfai Chawki, who was praised by Mandela himself in his book *Conversations with Myself*, describing him as a ‘masterpiece’. Mandela later explained how and why he went for military training and the value of the lessons provided by the Algerians...

In an interview with the author, Dr Mustfai Chawki (who was a representative of the FLN and the Algerian provincial government) reported the content of his discussions with Mandela at their meeting on the

Algerian-Morocco border:

Immediately, when I met Mandela [in late November 1961?], we formed a bond and talked for hours daily. I was frank with him in every detail of our revolution; we spoke as two intellectuals – him as lawyer and me a medical doctor – politically and militarily motivated. Mandela’s inquiries were very intelligent. I felt that we were beginning to celebrate the regaining of our independence. We were at the last stage of armed struggle and negotiations with the French had already started. When I met him most of our talks were about our revolution’s achievements and its process to reach such a stage. He really showed the interest to understand and the readiness of a great and intellectual leader believing in a just cause that must be realised. We shared human values, nationalist principles, intellectual analysis and convictions of the necessity of armed struggle as the only means the colonialists and racists understood. We also shared the experience of early-age participation in the national movement and its development to reach the option of armed struggle. From my side I lived and experienced the massacre of 8 May 1945 that convinced us to adopt the option of armed struggle. Similarly, Mandela had lived and experienced the Sharpeville massacre which made the ANC (and Mandela himself) opt for armed struggle, with Mandela the leader of MK. I gave Mandela all the detail he wanted and what he was interested in, to the extent that I felt that he drew a diagram from my clarifications to exploit for MK military actions. When I met Mandela again in May 1990, he remembered all he had experienced with us on the western frontier during our liberation war. He reiterated how beneficial this had proved to his mission. I was thrilled to meet him in the final stages of the liberation war of the South African people – just as had been the case when Mandela came to us first during the last stage of our liberation war...

Algeria is highly respected by South Africans for its special anti-apartheid role and its close relationship with the ANC throughout the history of the South African armed struggle for liberation. This was openly expressed by

the then South African president, Thabo Mbeki, on the occasion of the visit of the Algerian president, Abdel Aziz Bouteflika to South Africa in October 2001:

Clearly, despite the physical distance imposed upon us by geography, the relationship between our two countries is an intimate one, going back many decades to the struggle of the African peoples for national liberation and freedom from colonial rule. In the darkest days of apartheid rule, Algeria was among the first countries to offer support to our national liberation movement and cadres of the African National Congress benefited through receiving military training and advice from the Algerian government. Through the solidarity of Algeria, the liberation movements of Southern Africa were beneficiaries of the benevolence of the Algerian people, who believed that the freedom of one country on the continent was inextricably bound to another and that African unity must prevail for peace and prosperity to exist for all the peoples of this continent. ... In particular, we must thank President Bouteflika... for the important role he played in the decision to isolate the racist government of South Africa. Accordingly, the UN withdrew the credentials of the apartheid South Africa clearly because they did not represent the people of this country. This decision was also important because it intensified the fight against the apartheid regime and ensured its isolation from the rest of the world. Once more, we must express our profound appreciation and gratitude for the contribution that your government and your people made to our own struggle for liberation. Our meeting today in a liberated South Africa is thanks to our brothers and sisters in Algeria, to the great African family that embraced our cause as their own. The result of this solidarity and struggle which took place over many decades is the strategic partnership that we have today...

...in celebration of the Algerian victory, Mandela was a special guest at the festivities, on the invitation of the first Algerian president, President Ben Bella. Mandela was received not only as a great South African revolutionary leader but as an inspiration to African

people throughout the continent. President Ben Bella saw to it that the Algerian authorities concerned provided financial support for the ANC and undertook to continue receiving ANC militants for military training at the best Algerian training bases. He also pledged to give the ANC representatives in Algeria full diplomatic status and provide them with Algerian passports and all the travelling facilities they required for political and diplomatic activities abroad. Algeria soon became a vital base for ANC activities in Africa and Europe...

Activities organised in Algeria in

“The liberation movements of Southern Africa were beneficiaries of the benevolence of the Algerian people, who believed that the freedom of one country on the continent was inextricably bound to another and that African unity must prevail for peace and prosperity to exist for all the peoples of this continent. ...”

support of the South African struggle included regular media campaigns, conferences in cultural centres, exhibitions, and collecting donations from the Algerian people. There were also anti-apartheid demonstrations and protests against Western-colonial powers which were often held in front of the headquarters of their diplomatic missions. Some activities were officially supported and organised at both party and state levels, and there were even those supervised at a higher level by the Algerian president himself, Ahmed Ben Bella. In the months of June/July 1963, South Africa Week was held in Algiers

and was inaugurated by President Ben Bella. On 26 June he inaugurated the new ANC office...

Changes at the leadership of Algeria on 19 June 1965 had no effect on Algeria's hard-line position for a final end to colonialism. They maintained their call for a tougher stance against Western influence, especially the West's alliance with the apartheid regime. If anything, Algeria's stance grew sharper and stronger...

The African Cultural Festival not only showcased African cultures and traditions, but was also an opportunity for dialogue between Africans on how to strengthen their united effort against colonialism and Western domination as well as finding ways to build on their political achievements in the economic and social fields...

The festival programme included discussion on the ways and means of reinforcing support to African liberation movements, solidarity and African unity. The Algerian press did not lose the opportunity of intensifying its campaign against colonialism, condemning the apartheid system for oppressing the black South African workers' movement by allowing a 'few white extremist workers to form a false trade union at the expense of the vast majority of South African workers'...

Just as had happened in 1965, the death in 1978 of President Houari Boumediene had no effect on Algeria's hard-line stance against colonialism and minority rule. The newly elected President Chadli Ben Djedid affirmed Algeria's support for the liberation forces in Africa and in the world as a whole. In a speech to the nation on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of Algerian liberation, he said:

We continue our strong support for southern African struggle against the upholders of racial discrimination, oppression and domination backed by their Western allies. African solidarity and unity will impose the respect and demand support from the Western camp to the humane and just cause of the South African people.

At the parliamentary level, Algerian deputies frequently engaged in debates on how to reinforce solidarity worldwide for southern African struggles against apartheid, and how the world

parliaments might be able to use their influence to advance solutions in the UN for the eradication of racism and discrimination...

Within three months after his release, Mandela visited Algeria on the invitation of President Chadli Ben Djedid. On his arrival on 16 May 1990, Mandela was warmly welcomed by the Algerian people, as well as the president and top FLN Party officials. Addressing a joyous crowd at the national football stadium Mandela reminisced about his experiences in Algeria and his military training by the ALN officers, saying that this had given him the strength and determination to push forward to victory.

Mandela's visit was seen as the recognition of Algerian support from the very beginning of the armed liberation struggle led by the ANC. While in Algeria he made constant mention of the support the FLN provided to the ANC. He recalled the names of the officers who had trained him and the Algerian dignitaries he had met and with whom he had held such valuable discussions. Mandela was emotional when remembering that he was the first ANC militant to have had the honour of being received by the first Algerian president, President Ben Bella in the early months of Algeria's independence. In a final accolade, Mandela said: 'I feel as if I am an African-Algerian of Islamic-African culture'...

Algerian national and international vision was based on the values and principles of the FLN's declaration of November 1954. After regaining its independence, Algeria made it clear that what the Algerian people had fought and sacrificed for would never be the object of negotiation or concessions. In Africa, in its bilateral relations, Algeria was openly critical of African countries that adopted a comprising approach vis-à-vis colonialism, for example Zaire under the leadership of Mobutu who was strongly influenced by the Western powers. Algeria's closest relations were with those African countries with an unequivocal stance against colonialism, such as Tanzania...

At the NAM Summit held in Algiers in September 1973, special emphasis was placed on mobilising the front against racism and apartheid. Articles in

the Algerian press called for a concerted effort to persuade the delegates to focus on the battle against colonialism, racism and Zionism...

In solidarity with African countries with a strong position against apartheid, such as Tanzania, cooperation and bilateral contact between Tanzania and Algeria were increased in a joint effort to contain support to the white minority governments in southern Africa. Both Algeria and Tanzania condemned Western support for South Africa and Zimbabwe, affirming that no doubt the West was anxious to retain their economic interests and perpetuate the exploitation of African resources and raw materials. This was particularly the case in South Africa, with its 'rich resources and its geo-strategic position

“Mandela was emotional when remembering that he was the first ANC militant to have had the honour of being received by the first Algerian president, President Ben Bella in the early months of Algeria's independence.”

on a main sea route for international trade'...

Of all the Western countries, the US, a major super power and leader of the world economy at the time, was the most pro-active in its support of apartheid South Africa to support its own imperialist interests. Kissinger's visit in the early 1970s to southern Africa and his so-called 'constructive engagement' policy in southern Africa were proof of this. The Algerian journal *El Djeich* argued that in no way should the visit be seen as a positive move and an intention to find a solution, and the liberation forces should not expect any meaningful and effective solutions. The US was obsessed with the Cold War argument that Soviet influence was an

excuse to intrude in Africa. The reality was that the US and its allies viewed South African apartheid as a crucial 'Western geo-strategic bulwark' and maintained formal diplomatic relations with Pretoria throughout the apartheid era...

Conclusion

Although the geopolitical, regional and natural factors played an important role in the flourishing relations between South Africa and Algeria, their official (governmental) relations have been and will remain positively and strongly guided by historical foundations and backgrounds. Indeed, these have been the major drivers of the excellent bilateral relations between the two countries since South Africa's liberation in 1994.

Our research for this chapter has been based largely on archival records in the form of unpublished sources, documents, reports, declarations, communiqués, interviews, daily newspapers and periodicals in the Algerian National Library, Algiers. Many of these Algerian documentary sources are in Arabic or French languages... As yet, there are few published sources on Algeria's role in the liberation struggle against apartheid in South Africa. It must be said that it was often difficult to unearth sources in old archival records; sometimes it took weeks to find a scrap of information. Finding the right people to interview also proved problematic.

The issues that have been referred to and analysed in this chapter by no means encompass all the exchanges and interactions between Algeria's official and non-official organs and representations in the period of South Africa's struggle against apartheid. We earnestly hope, however, that the work that is presented here will provide a firm foundation on which further research on the subject can be based. We foresee that this study will provide a historical background for continuing analysis of bilateral diplomatic, political and economic relations between the two countries on both regional and international levels. The author certainly wishes to pursue his work in the field of post-1994 relations between Algeria and South Africa in the future. ■

THROUGH A CREATIVE LENS

John Mhongovoya is a Zimbabwean veterinarian, currently based in Botswana's department of Wildlife and National Parks. He has published short stories and poems in magazines (*Moto*, *The Thinker*, *Parade*) and social commentary in the *Daily News* newspaper which was banned at the height of the political crisis in Zimbabwe. He was one of pioneering Zimbabweans who joined the Crossing Borders Writing mentoring programme run by British Council.

FIRST PEOPLE OF THE KALAHARI

John Mhongovoya

I have no totem
And probably no name.
Born by another child on the fringes
Of our ancestral lands
I grew like a weed but do not know weeds:
Here every plant is but a plant,
We do not grow them.
My only care is the wild watermelon
Or some medicinal shit to be picked,
Not forgetting wild berries of course.
Where are all the bows and arrows?
Long time snatched.

I hate the roof they put over me,
Sheltering us from the dancing moon.
My school is screaming Kalahari shrubs
Where honeycombs grow
In souls of lions tamed with bare knuckle.
My home is the desert's coiled guts,
Under parabolas of poison arrows.
If you should find yourself at Molapo or Xade,
Note the pleas of the sandy night.
"Where have all the people gone?"



Professor Tom Michael Mboya is a professor of African literature at Moi University in Kenya. This poem was sparked by an unfortunate remark made in a speech by president Zuma urging people to pay toll charges for a national highway: "Do not think like Africans in Africa generally ... We are in Johannesburg! This is Johannesburg! ... [This is not] a national road in Malawi." The South African elections were held on the 7th of May 2014, and one of the campaigning parties was the EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters).

POSTCARD FROM JOHANNESBURG

T Michael Mboya

Baile B, Wits Junction, (university residence) April 2014

The leaves of the maple tree
on the edge of the lawn
are browning in the chilling air
- like chopped onions in cooking oil
that is steadily warming
in a pan.

The sun
is a dull stainless steel
upholstery button
pinning up the blue sky.

Every now and then
a sleek shining car
invariably of European make
sashays
on the main street in the residence.

I am in Johannesburg!
This is Johannesburg!

And it is the season
of festivities in the city
campaign posters are flowering
on roadsides
the vote hunters are out
leading their supporters in a dance

whose stamp writes
the EFFing hope
that the hunters will bring home
the meat.

And songs of praise
and songs of abuse
sizzle in the chilling air
- like chopped onions in cooking oil
that is steadily warming
in a pan.

They think like Africans in Africa generally
here in Johannesburg.



Coca-Cola Invests in Southern African Communities



By Coca-Cola

Coca-Cola maintains its global commitments, working alongside the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation, to deliver their shared vision which seeks to create social value and to make a positive difference for the consumers and communities in which they serve.

A sufficient quantity of safe, accessible water from sustainable supplies is essential to the health of communities. Ecosystems and economic prosperity depend on it, as does business. The Coca-Cola Company has built its global commitments into a sustainability framework—“Me, We, World” – which encompasses their vision for how they seek to work with stakeholders, to create shared social value and to make a positive difference for the consumers and communities in which they serve.

Whilst these global commitments also extend to climate protection, human and workplace rights, packaging and responsible marketing, three,

inter-related areas namely water; women and sustainable agriculture are the focal points of The Coca-Cola Company and the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation’s initiatives across Africa. These commitments are maintained through the parallel efforts the Company and its Foundation(s), which delivers the power of its capabilities expertise, and funding to communities around the world. Specific to Africa, The Coca-Cola Africa Foundation is a charitable organization which has been incorporated to cultivate community relationships, invest in the growth of communities and aid in monitoring local community issues.

Water is a top priority for Coca-Cola. It is an essential ingredient in all of their beverages and is needed to produce the agricultural ingredients (e.g. sugar, citrus) on which they rely. Through the ‘Replenish program’ the Company seeks to ‘give back’ an amount of water equivalent to what is used in all products and their production by

2020 through programs focused on sustainable agriculture, water access, and watershed conservation to name a few. Water also is critical to the health and economic prosperity of the communities in which they operate. If communities are not sustainable, they simply cannot have a sustainable business.

Women are pillars of the communities where the Company operates; they are critical to local and global business success and are an essential cornerstone for their ‘Vision 2020’—the Coca-Cola Company’s long-term system-wide plan to double their business. The Company believes that unleashing the entrepreneurial potential of women is one of the most powerful and enduring ways to help families and communities prosper. It is also an important way to help make their business more sustainable. Investments in the success of women fuel the Company’s success and that of communities around the world.

Studies also show that women do 66 percent of the world's work, yet earn 10 percent of the world's income—90 percent of which is reinvested in food, education and healthcare for their children, their families and their communities. To help address this disparity, The Coca-Cola Company launched 5by20™ in 2010, as a global commitment to enable the economic empowerment of 5 million women entrepreneurs across all six segments of the Company's value chain by 2020. Specifically, this means the small businesses that the Company and their bottling partners work with in over 200 countries around the world—from fruit farmers and recyclers to retailers and artisans. Drawing on local expertise, capabilities and resources, 5by20 aims to help women entrepreneurs overcome the common social and economic barriers they face due to the lack of business skills training, financial services, assets, peer networks and mentoring. Through partnership and collaboration across the Golden Triangle of business, government and civil society, The Coca-Cola Company is able to foster innovation while laying the groundwork to scale and replicate the most effective programs.

Thirdly and tying this together, perhaps one could call it the 'nexus', is sustainable agriculture and the impact it has on water stewardship, women and broader economic development. The Coca-Cola Company's business depends on a healthy agricultural supply chain because agricultural products are ingredients in just about all of their beverages and an increasing array of their packaging. Whilst they do not have direct control over agricultural practices, they are able to encourage more sustainable practices throughout their global supply chain, which they have seized. To support sustainable agriculture practices, the Company is in the process of incorporating sustainable agriculture criteria into their ingredient sourcing plans, working with partners and suppliers to improve livelihoods through efforts to increase crop yields and reduce production costs as well as through the incorporation of more female-owned smallholder farms.

In addition to the exciting work The Coca-Cola Company is supporting

as a business, the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation supports a number of initiatives separate to the business to provide holistic development in communities. The Replenish Africa Initiative or 'RAIN' was launched in 2009 as a global commitment to improve access to sustainable, safe water for two million people across Africa by 2015. The Foundation is set to expand that commitment, aiming to transform the lives of up to six million people across Africa through water by 2020.

RAIN programs seek to transform lives at the community level where the impact of access to clean water and proper sanitation leads to healthier, happier and more productive communities – especially for women and girls. The Coca-Cola Company, the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation and their partners have invested more than \$270 million in community water partnerships for projects with hundreds of organizations globally, including WWF, USAID, The Nature Conservancy, CARE and UNDP. Through these programs, they expect almost a billion litres of water to be replenished across 8 countries in Southern Africa alone by 2015.

"We are at a point where we need to see community issues holistically and can no longer isolate solutions, but rather combine our efforts to achieve maximum results in the communities in which we operate and those in which our interventions take place" said Vukani Magubane, Public Affairs & Communications Director of Coca-Cola Southern Africa

In addition to meeting public commitments to help address water access issues, sustainable sanitation infrastructure and hygiene education, RAIN also contributes to multiple sustainability priorities by contributing to the Replenish commitment and empowering women.

Women play a key role in the design, implementation, and long-term sustainable management of some RAIN projects. As women are primarily responsible for collection of water and care of children in their families, access to water allows women to apply the time normally spent fetching water to engage in activities, which could lead

to further income generation. With its many partners throughout Africa, RAIN enables the economic empowerment of women by providing them with skills development training, networking groups, and access to assets or financial services.

As committed as the Company is to managing its impact, the world's water challenges are too large to be addressed by any one organization.

The Coca-Cola Company and the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation continue to drive progress through a Golden Triangle partnership approach; which brings together governments, civil society, and businesses to encourage the systematic adoption of effective national policy and water management best practices around the world. RAIN programs are funded and implemented through partnerships formed within the 'Golden Triangle philosophy'. This enables the system to scale its commitments, have broader impact and from a longer term perspective, cultivate valuable relationships that can be leveraged for building their social license to operate.

"We realised that we cannot solve the water issue alone and we would be able to target more communities if we aligned with other organisations that have similar goals, but different





expertise," added Magubane.

The Coca-Cola Company and The Coca-Cola Africa Foundation have conducted 509 community water partnership projects in more than 100 countries across Africa since 2005. These projects include water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) access, watershed protection, productive use of water, rainwater harvesting and community water access.

Specific to Southern Africa there are a number of initiatives underway.

In Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland the Foundation has prioritized women's empowerment through its water programming. Female members of local water committees have been trained in business administration, financial management, and operations and maintenance – skills which can be used for multiple purposes, primarily to operate and maintain water facilities and to engage with the wider communities, through community management committees, on issues of water and sanitation. In addition to this, financial management training

and support to engage in income-generating entrepreneurial activities has empowered women by providing them with marketable skills that better prepare them for the formal job market.

Additionally in these countries, RAIN initiatives have focussed on the construction of long term, sustainable infrastructure such as wells, boreholes, eco-sanitation latrines as well as on enabling access to education and technical training for girls and boys alike. With funding of over 10m US Dollars extended to these three countries by The Coca-Cola Africa Foundation and its co-funding partners, RAIN expects to impact more than 434,000 people of all ages from school-going girls, to women who are the sole bread earners in their families to those suffering from HIV/AIDS in the case of the Luve gardens initiative in Swaziland. The Foundation funding is directed towards women and men across these countries through programs in communities and schools as well as government and mission clinics that are delivering HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis treatment, and HIV/AIDS support groups with garden projects.

The holistic approach of this program has meant that community members, particularly women, have been empowered through employment

in areas such as: water infrastructure technicians, local water committees and training to improve garden production. In addition to the technical training, gardeners also receive training on improved agricultural techniques and water conservation.

The Coca-Cola Company and the Coca-Cola Africa Foundation seek to create shared value in each of the communities in which they operate and there has been tangible success across each of the communities that have benefitted from RAIN, each of which have specifically and positively impacted the women in these communities. That said, the challenges remain; infrastructure, education, cultural sensitivities to name a few. Many communities are still in dire need of access to water and as businesses, government and civil society challenges remain. "We have had resounding success and impact through our initiatives, but as businesses, government and civil societies our work remains cut out for us - we need to continue focusing on developing communities through access to water and empowering the women within these communities in partnership with others," concluded Magubane. ■

Sources: <http://www.iea.org.uk/blog/denmark%E2%80%99s-fat-tax-disaster-the-proof-of-the-pudding>

About The Coca-Cola Company

The Coca-Cola Company (NYSE: KO) is the world's largest beverage company, refreshing consumers with more than 500 sparkling and still brands. Led by Coca-Cola, one of the world's most valuable and recognizable brands, our Company's portfolio features 17 billion-dollar brands including Diet Coke, Fanta, Sprite, Coca-Cola Zero, vitaminwater, Powerade, Minute Maid, Simply, Georgia and Del Valle. Globally, we are the No. 1 provider of sparkling beverages, ready-to-drink coffees, and juices and juice drinks. Through the world's largest beverage distribution system, consumers in more than 200 countries enjoy our beverages at a rate of 1.9 billion servings a day. With an enduring commitment to building sustainable communities, our Company is focused on initiatives that reduce our environmental footprint, support active, healthy living, create a safe, inclusive work environment for our associates, and enhance the economic development of the communities where we operate. Together with our bottling partners, we rank among the world's top 10 private employers with more than 700,000 system associates. For more information, visit Coca-Cola Journey at www.coca-colacompany.com, follow us on Twitter at twitter.com/CocaColaCo, visit our blog, Coca-Cola Unbottled, at www.coca-colablog.com or find us on LinkedIn at www.linkedin.com/company/the-coca-cola-company.



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