



African Challenges and Europe's Responsibility



A book by **Pär Granstedt**

In cooperation with
Lavinia Crawford-Browne
Joe Frans
Jessica Longwe
Marion Verweij



Production Notes

Authors

Pär Granstedt in cooperation with Lavinia Crawford-Browne, Joe Frans, Jessica Longwe and Marion Verweij

Editing

Marion Verweij, Theo Kralt, Anastasia-Areti Gavrilii and Emanuela Falzon Campbell

Design

Anastasia-Areti Gavrilii

Cover Illustration

Catell Ronca, Magnet Reps, London

AWEPA International

Prins Hendrikkade 48-G
1012 AC Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel +31 20 5245678
Fax +31 20 6220130

amsterdam@awepa.org
www.awepa.org

© AWEPA 2015

Originally published in Swedish by Humanus Utbildning AB.

About the authors

Pär Granstedt was a member of the Parliament of Sweden for the Centre Party for 25 years. He has published a number of books and articles on international relations, sustainable development and democracy. Educated at the University of Stockholm (Masters, Political Science), he worked in the Foreign Affairs Committee as an MP, Chair of the Parliamentary OSCE-delegation and a member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Between 1995 and 1999, he was advisor to the Swedish Government on security policy and international relations. As founding member, Vice President and Secretary General (2007-2009) of the Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA), he has been directly involved in African development for over thirty years.

Pär Granstedt produced *African Challenges and Europe's Responsibility* in cooperation with:

Lavinia Crawford-Brown a South African who worked for twenty two years in the office of Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu as his personal assistant. She now works as Marketing Liaison for the Desmond Tutu HIV Foundation. She compiled and edited *Tutu as I Know Him*, a collection of Desmond Tutu's personal experiences by fifty contributors published in 2006.

Joe Frans (aka Kojo Frans) was born and raised in Ghana. He is a Swedish politician and former Member of the Swedish Parliament. He studied Communication at the University of Gothenburg. He was the producer of the TV-show 'Sweden Today'. For many years, he worked in the office of the Mayor of Stockholm before becoming a member of the Swedish Parliament. Currently, he is the CEO of Next Generation Africa/NGA Novum AB and has also served as an Independent Expert for the United Nations Human Rights Council, Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent. He is a member of the National Executive Board of the Christian Wing of the Social Democratic Party in Sweden.

Jessica Longwe is a South African who has been an activist since her early days in the struggle against Apartheid. She worked for 18 years for the Association of Parliamentarians with Africa (AWEPA) culminating as Director Partner Relations. Recently, Ms. Longwe took a step further in her political carrier by taking a position in 2014 as Head of Office for Minister Lindiwe Zulu at the Ministry of Small Business Development in Cape Town, South Africa.

Marion Verweij is a British national living in the Netherlands. She has been involved in Africa for many years through her voluntary work for Feminenza International and as Head of the President's Office at the Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA). Ms. Verweij is a writer and facilitator in her spare time.

Acronyms

ANC: African National Congress

AU: African Union

AWEPA: Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa

ACP: Africa, Caribbean, Pacific

BRIC: Brazil, Russia, India, China

CADP: Common Agricultural Development Policy (within the AU)

EAC: East African Community

EALA: East African Legislative Assembly

CEMAC: Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Central

ECOWAS: The Economic Community of West Africa States

EPA: Economic Partnership Agreement

FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization

GATT: General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs

G8: Group 8 - The eight richest countries in the world

G9: G8 plus Russia

G20: The group of the 20 richest countries in the world, including BRICs

G70: The group of developing countries, also including BRICs

IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The World Bank

IMF: International Monetary Fund

JAES: Join Africa-EU Strategy

LDC: Least Developed Countries

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development

NIEO: New International Economic Order

OAU: Organization of African Unity

OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries

PAP: Pan-African Parliament

REC: Regional Economic Communities

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SADC-PF: SADC Parliamentary Forum

SDGs: Sustainable Development Goals

SDT: Special and Differentiated Treatment

UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

WHO: World Health Organization

Contents

Chaper I: African Challenges	7
Chapter II: Africa's historical roots.....	10
Chapter III: The European Rule.....	15
Chapter IV: Nation building in trouble.....	20
Chapter V: Roads towards good governance and prosperity?.....	27
Chapter VI: Natural resources and ecological challenges.....	32
Chapter VII: Economic and social challenge.....	37
Chpater VIII: African strategies and cooperation.....	45
Chapter IX: Africa and the world.....	52
Chapter X: A rising Africa.....	65
Chapter XI: Towards a new African – European Partnership.....	73
Literature.....	78

I. African Challenges

The world is facing a number of major challenges one of which is the fact that our consumption is coming close to surpassing the supply limit of the planet on which we live. At the same time, half the world population lives in poverty and more than a third in abject poverty. Growth and development in our production of necessary commodities is necessary, but it must be sustainable; ecologically, socially, economically and morally. Africa has the largest share of the population living in poverty and is probably the continent with the greatest potential to substantially increase necessary production. How are we going to address this challenge?

Africa, like any other continent, is a product of its history. The slave trade and colonialism interrupted the normal social, political and economic development of Africa and led to what the historian René Dumont calls "Africa's poor start". In this book, we begin with that history and then move forward to consider the challenges Africa faces, how to meet them, and how Africa and Europe could form a real partnership for sustainable development.

Africa is emerging. After two difficult centuries the continent is on its way towards taking the global lead in economic development. According to the World Bank the average economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2012 was almost double the world's average, and this growth is expected to continue for a few more years although 2015 has seen a slow down due to lower demands, mainly from China. In any case, there are enormous possibilities for what is still the poorest continent in the world, but also big challenges. Will the development be sustainable, economically, socially and ecologically? Will the pattern of mismanagement, corruption and the many conflicts that have plagued the continent be ended or at least brought under control? Are we seeing a new scramble for Africa, a scaled-up exploitation by domestic elites and for international economic interests? What role will the global worth, of which Europe is an important part, play? Will the developed world willingly give up its traditional dominance to support sustainable growth in Africa? How can Europe, a significant contributor to Africa's problems, contribute to the solution?

Africa in a globalised world

The late 20th century and first decades of the new millennium represent a dynamic period in the history of Africa. In the wake of decolonisation, mainly in the 1960s, a challenging period of nation-building began with varying degrees of success. The heavy, destabilizing burden of Apartheid policies in South Africa and south west Africa, white domination in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and the persisting Portuguese colonialism came to an end and a wave of democratisation swept over Africa.

After an initial phase of innovative politics in many of the new states, severe economic and political difficulties followed and Africa's relative position in the world economy generally became weaker.

Fundamental changes in the world economy over the last years have triggered a turning point in the economic development of Africa. China, India and other emerging economies are seriously challenging the economic dominance of the old industrialised countries. They have created a boom in the demand for raw materials, and Africa has benefitted from a rapid increase in the flow of investment from world powers such as China. As the African economies are growing, so too is the African middle class with the resultant expansion of domestic markets. This is creating a broader economic base for Africa's development.

Will it be sustainable?

The challenge for Africa and its global partners is to make sure that the current economic development is sustained. Sustainability is not just an African challenge, but something that concerns the entire globe.

Development must be ecologically sustainable or prosperity will be short lived. Major reforms are needed in the mining sector and oil industry in order to make production ecologically safe and secure, and to ensure that scarce resources are not wasted. Similarly great efforts must be made to make agriculture and forestry ecologically sustainable. The unashamedly exploitative attitude towards Africa over centuries has continued to the present day, resulting in impoverished soils and desertification, and rapid deforestation. Climate change is also having a devastating impact on a continent that has contributed the least to this global challenge. Africa is experiencing irregular weather patterns, severe drought, and floods

that might well wreck the positive economic prospects of the continent. Africa should be better prepared to bear the consequences of global warming as well as having access to the technology that will ensure that its own development will be climate-smart.

Of equal necessity is social sustainability. Current development makes the elite richer and gives room for the rise of an ever larger and relatively well-to-do middle class. But the poor in the urban slums and poverty-stricken rural areas are unaffected and may even see their situation getting worse. At times, this unfair distribution reinforces ethnic and other divisions in society. The growing social differences create a breeding ground for tension, conflict and even civil war, destroying any prospect of progress.

Without ecological and social sustainability, there cannot be economic sustainability. African countries are also vulnerable in their dependence on a few primary commodities, leaving them at the mercy of fluctuating global prices. The lack of foreign investment and expertise are also a threat to stability and the possibility of economic sustainability.

Africa and Europe

The leadership in Africa and Europe have a shared responsibility for the vulnerability of Africa today. The colonial powers left an Africa organised to serve the economic and political needs of Europe rather than those of the African people. Africa for its part, after independence, has suffered too many examples of bad management and abuse of power. The dramatic increase of business interest in Africa from new actors such as China, India and Brazil creates an opportunity for a fresh start. There is competition for partnership with Africa and this is a fertile ground for African-European cooperation and a new opportunity for prosperity.

Africa is also affected by power politics. During the Cold War, African dictators could always count on the support of one superpower or the other. Now Africa, north of the equator, is being drawn into the "War on Terror".

For a long time, the continent has been a loser in the global game. Perhaps now the time has come for Africa to become a winner? The question is whether it can take command, or whether history will repeat itself and the future of Africa will be decided from the outside.

The struggle for liberation was led by a number of visionary statesmen; Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Sekou Touré of Guinea, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania and, last but not least, Nelson Mandela in South Africa. It is also important to note the effect of the moral leadership of personalities such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and the environmental activist Wangari Maathai of Kenya, who's influence has been recognised in their being Nobel Peace Prize laureates. They have helped to shape the vision of a free Africa and a freer world. An Africa led by and for the people of Africa.

The legacy of history

Africa's challenges are not uniquely African. All countries and regions in the world have undergone similar trials and tribulations in their development, with important regional differences of course. Europe has a dramatic history of tyranny, massive abuse of power, war, epidemics, famine, poverty and huge economic gaps. It is from this history of misery that the Western European welfare state emerged. The difference is that Europe has had centuries to spend on nation building while Africa has had only a half-century. This difference is due to Europe's violent intervention in African history.

The responsibility for Africa's development is now with its people and its leaders. But the Global North, and specifically Europe, also has to assume its historic responsibility. The question is how the North can become a real part of the solution without creating new, or conserving old, dependencies, and without trying to impose on Africa development models that might benefit the North more than itself. This is an old debate, but at this time it is more relevant than ever.



II. Africa's historical roots

Pre-colonial Africa was, like other continents, a mix of mighty empires, smaller states and areas inhabited by tribal people. Before the impact of Europe's colonisation of Africa, followed by the knock on effect of Europe's Industrial Revolution, material conditions around the world did not differ very much. Wealth and poverty, war and peace characterised civilisations everywhere.

Like Europe, Africa can trace its cultural roots back to the ancient civilisations in the eastern Mediterranean - Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece. In particular, the Egyptian culture gave strong impulses that penetrated all the way through the continent to its southernmost parts.

From Egypt to Swahili culture

The Egyptian Empire succumbed, after a millennium of prosperity. When Egypt was part of the Roman Empire, a great part of the ancient Egyptian culture survived in the south in the kingdom of Kush in present day South Sudan with Meroë as its capital. In the 4th century, the leading role was taken over by Axum in present day Ethiopia.

The Axum Empire flourished with the help of a rich trade in the classic goods: slaves, ivory and gold. In the fourth century Axum converted to Christianity, and thus laid the foundation for today's Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Over the centuries, the centre of the kingdom gradually moved southward through Ethiopia, to Lalibela, Gondar and, in modern times, Addis Ababa.

Abyssinia (Ethiopia) continued to be East Africa's great power during most of the Middle Ages, but was periodically also fighting for its existence. Until the 7th century, the Abyssinian Kingdom had mastery of both shores of the southern Red Sea including large parts of present day Yemen.

The Arab expansion, from the 7th century onwards, involved both trade and colonisation. The African-Arab Swahili culture that has characterised the coastal land of large parts of East Africa up to the present day developed from commercial centres like Mogadishu, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar-es-Salaam and Zeila. Trade relations extended far into the country, especially the copper-rich regions in the current Zimbabwe, which was dominated by the Kingdoms of Monomotapa and Katanga.

Kingdoms around the Great Lakes region developed early on. They were based on a rich farming culture. Several of these still exist; Rwanda, Burundi, and Buganda (in Uganda). The inhospitable savannah in western Kenya and Tanzania made contact between these kingdoms and the coastal Swahili culture very limited.

The Sudanese kingdoms

The downfall of the Kingdom of Kush led, paradoxically, to the spreading of Egyptian models of government across Africa. What historians call the Sudanese civilisation came to influence development from around the first millennium, and for several centuries thereafter. It stretched from the Horn of Africa in a broad band west to the Atlantic Ocean in Senegal. The names of some states today, such as Ghana and Benin, are taken from the powerful West African kingdoms that developed around the year 1000. This cultural impulse penetrated more to the south, and came to influence large state formations in Central and Southern Africa, in areas such as the present day Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zimbabwe. Traces of the "Sudanese" idea of royalty can be found even today in Swaziland, in the southernmost part of Africa.

The traditional "Sudanese" Kingdom was based on a hierarchical structure whereby the King was considered to have a divine status. He lived separated from his people and his public appearances were often made from behind a curtain. The King played a key role in fertility rites that would secure the crops.

The real power was often held by the high clergy and officials, while a particularly strong position held by the oldest woman in the royal family, "the queen mother". The ancient Egyptian belief that the King could only marry his own sister was also practiced in many places.

Africa north of the equator had contact with the Roman Empire and other Mediterranean cultures. Eastern Africa had vivid

contacts with the Byzantine Empire, the Arab Caliphate, Persia, India and even the Indonesian archipelago.

The message from Mecca

After the end of the Roman Empire, the Arab Caliphate became an important carrier of the classic culture, with great influence in Africa as well as in Europe. When the Caliphate collapsed, it was followed, in North Africa, by mighty empires created by the Berber people who had converted to Islam. The Almoravid Empire in the 12th century stretched from southern Spain down to Senegal, while the Almohad Empire stretched further east but no further south than Morocco. A lively trade through the Sahara promoted the emergence of a rich Muslim culture in West Africa with a famous centre of learning in Timbuktu.

Many of the old Sudanese kingdoms turned to Islam, and new kingdoms emerged. Ghana (west of modern day Ghana) was the leading power in West Africa until the 14th century, followed by Mali, which two hundred years later, succumbed to Songhai. They were geographically vast empires that flourished thanks to the rich trade through the Sahara, and were held together by agile cavalry armies.

Further east, the Kingdom of Kanem was centred around Lake Chad. Kanem (later known as Bornu) is unique in that it was governed by rulers from the same family, the Sef dynasty, for 1000 years from the 9th to the 19th centuries. South of Kanem a number of smaller states developed. These are the Hausa states which still exist today as “traditional monarchies” in northern Nigeria. Among them is the Bornu Sultanate - a direct heir of the Kanem Empire.

Many Sudanese kingdoms were formed before the year 1000. Later, in the 13th and 14th centuries, States were formed in the tropical forest areas closer to the Gulf of Guinea. One of the most well-known is Benin, famous for its artwork. While Benin is now the name of a modern state, the traditional Benin monarchy remains within Nigeria.

Central African kingdoms

In the south of Central Africa, what is now Zimbabwe became an important cultural and economic centre due to its rich mineral resources. In the 11th century the Shona Kingdoms emerged with rulers living in mighty castles. The impressive ruins of Great Zimbabwe still exist today. In the 15th century, the Monomotapa and Chang Amir kingdoms developed and came to play a crucial role in the region until the end of the 19th century. In particular, commerce flourished in the Monomotapa Empire, which was well situated at the crossroads between the Congo Empire and, later, the Portuguese culture in the west and the Swahili culture in the east.

In the 14th century, the peoples of what is now northern Angola and the areas around the lower reaches of the Congo River (in today's Democratic Republic of the Congo and Republic of the Congo) formed what became the Congo Kingdom. Culturally, it had much in common with the Sudanese kingdoms and the King, Mfikongo, had an almost divine status.

Slave trade undermines African civilisations

Pre-colonial Africa was a continent of many mighty empires, a well-developed farming culture and vibrant trade relations with the outside world. There were also areas where nomadic and tribal cultures existed outside of the more settled communities. Life was hard, with only a small elite living well. In that respect, Africa differed little from other parts of the world at the time. What dramatically changed Africa's destiny was the transatlantic slave trade in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The slave trade across the Atlantic was a traumatic intervention in Africa's development. Slavery did exist in the continent since ancient times, like in most of the world, but nothing compared to the big business in slaves that now occurred. Not only was a significant part of Africa's working population abducted, but it also led to the collapse of African social structures. When the kings could not guarantee the safety of their subjects, they lost their authority and many ancient kingdoms fell apart. In their place a number of slave trader states developed along the coast of West Africa. These African traders with firearms from Europe raided the hinterland for slaves and sold them to the Europeans.

It was the Portuguese who opened Africa to Europe. They set up a series of trading posts along the African coast, and established trade relations with the African kingdoms with whom they came into contact. These included Mali, Kanem-

Bornu and Benin in West Africa, Congo Kingdom in western Central Africa, and the Monomotapa Empire in south-eastern Central Africa.

In West Africa, the Portuguese were soon challenged by other European powers such as France, England and originally also the Netherlands, but they continued to play a dominant role in South West and Southern Africa. There, they clung to their colonies, Angola and Mozambique, until the end of the 20th century, decades after the rest of Africa was decolonised.

At first, the trade relations between the European and African countries were generally peaceful and mutually reasonably favourable. The change came when the slave trade exploded.

Slavery and the slave trade had existed in Africa, as in other parts of the world including Europe, since time immemorial. But with Europe's conquest of the American continent a trend began that would give the slave trade a new and even more malicious character.

The Industrial Revolution that began in England in 1700s, and the commercial expansion that followed, triggered the development that expanded the slave trade to enormous proportions. The textile industry needed cotton, the British sailors needed rum to endure the hardships at sea, and the growing middle class clamoured for sugar. Tea and coffee became fashionable. Cotton plantations in the south of the USA and sugar cane plantations in the Caribbean needed a vast supply of cheap labour. The labourers were to be found in Africa. In the 18th and 19th centuries, an extremely profitable triangular trading system developed. Ships from Europe loaded with glass pearls, fabrics, simple weapons and other industrial goods sailed to the European trading posts along the African west coast. There, these goods were exchanged for slaves, who were then sold in America for sugar and cotton that were, in turn, shipped back to Europe.

It is estimated that over 15 million people were shipped from Africa to the Americas during the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. But Africa's total loss of people, either killed in the slave raids or falling victim to inhuman treatment, was many times greater, perhaps 100 million. Of course it was the young, healthy, and strong who were abducted, a demographic disaster for Africa.

But perhaps even worse were the effects on Africa's social structures. The African kingdoms could usually rely on their citizens' loyalty provided they could – in return – ensure a degree of security in their lives. The ruling class wielded power either through their relationship with higher powers that could protect their people against super- and sub-human forces, or through their armies that kept human enemies at bay. Slave raiders thwarted this social contract. Neither the rites of their shamans and priests, nor their armies could withstand the marauders. Kingdom after kingdom perished, including several powerful empires such as Mali, Benin and the Bakongo. In their place warlord and slave trader states emerged and the traditional structures of past centuries devolved into anarchy and chaos.

Towards the middle of the 19th century, the demand for slaves from Africa diminished due to the emergence of industrialisation and, within more liberal economies such as England and the northern states of North America, slavery became increasingly unacceptable. The collapse of the slave trade on a large scale opened the way for other European interests in Africa.

The scramble for Africa

The end of the transatlantic slave trade in the late 1800s also changed the conditions for European colonisation. The small trading outposts at the coast were no longer profitable. Now, interest was directed towards the exploitation of Africa's raw materials and minerals as well as agricultural and forest products, and towards exploiting African labour in Africa. This required territorial control - interests in real conquest were growing.

Large areas of Africa had been devastated and populations depleted. The breakdown of traditional social structures created the opportunity for European conquest. Colonial powers took possession and carved up large areas of Africa, arbitrarily creating borders with no thought to the ethnicity, language, or allegiances of the local people.

Colonisation began on a relatively limited scale - French annexations in Algeria and Senegal, the Dutch and the British in South Africa, the Portuguese in the Zambezi valley and along the Angolan and Mozambican coasts.

It was King Leopold II of Belgium, with his eyes on the potential riches of the Congo, who led the way for the large scale European conquest of Africa from 1880 onwards. He promoted the idea of the Congo Free State as a strategy to open up

the vast area of the Congo River basin for economic development for the benefit of all: for those poor backward “natives” and to meet the business interests of all European countries. He played the great powers against each other. A consensus was reached that it would be advantageous to all for his Association Internationale d’Afrique to take control of this vast and potentially rich area, rather than any rival great power. What emerged was, however, not a free trade area but a strong trade monopoly entirely under his control. And there was no “benefit for all”, but rather what was to become known in history as one of the worst examples of ruthless and cruel exploitation in Africa’s cruel colonial history.

So the race started! The competition was sharpened by the arrival of another powerful actor on the African scene, namely the German Empire. The reunification of Germany as late as 1871, created Europe’s strongest power. Eager to establish its place in the world, Germany turned to Africa and helped itself to valuable possessions - Tanganyika (now Tanzania), South West Africa (now Namibia), Cameroon and Togo. But Germany’s Africa policy was subordinate to its European power politics, where the country’s intention was to create discord between Britain and France. German power politics reached a pinnacle when the legendary German leader, chancellor Otto v Bismarck invited all the great powers of the time to a conference in Berlin in 1884, the purpose of which was to set the rules for the colonial carve-up of Africa.

The final declaration of the Congress of Berlin contained beautiful language in opposition to slavery, the promotion of the native development, etc., but its main focus was the areas of interest between the European powers. The big players, Britain, France, Germany and Belgium, had each taken a hearty slice of Africa to conquer and exploit. The condition was that the colonial powers should gain effective control over their territories. This opened the door for the scramble for Africa.

Sometimes the annexation of new territories took place quite easily, by bribing a local chief who had little understanding of what a mark on a paper would imply. For larger and well-organised states, it took more bargaining with guarantees for far-reaching autonomy and generous subsidies to the rulers. Other states yet put up strong resistance to these incursions, such as Zululand and Matabeleland in southern Africa, Dahomei, Ashanti and the Fulani kingdom in West Africa, and the Mahdi kingdom in Sudan. With their superior weaponry, the Europeans were eventually successful in all these wars and the resisting kingdoms were crushed, often brutally. The major exception was the Italian effort to conquer Abyssinia, which resulted in defeat at Aduwa in 1896.

II. The European Rule

The methodology of colonialism

The conquest of Africa by the colonial powers resulted in African economies being reorganised, primarily to satisfy European needs. At the same time, Africans were shut off from almost all leading positions in their own countries. Africa would be the raw material supplier for European industries and a market for simple industrial goods. Agriculture would be produced primarily for European needs not local markets. Subsistence agriculture was held back making it increasingly difficult to feed a growing population, while cash crops were developed to serve European markets. The mining industry exploited ill-paid workers or even forced labour and shipped the ore to Europe, where all profits were made. The infrastructure that was built up was entirely focused on exploiting the colonies at the expense of the natural development of African economies.

Colonial relations with the indigenous populations were mostly about keeping control. If deemed necessary, that meant violent “pacification” and punitive expeditions. When the local rulers and the population in general began to realise that the treaty they had signed in reality meant the loss of land, forced labour and changes to their traditional way of life, rebellions took place. These uprisings often started in remote areas where the colonial power had a low presence. When troops were sent to the trouble spots, the population in the colonial centres took to the streets as well. The tactics of the colonial powers were generally not only to suppress the armed resistance, but to punish the civilian population as well to discourage new uprisings. The troops, led by European officers, were usually conscripted from the local population often from different tribes to those they wanted to subdue to ensure their loyalty. It was not unusual for “pacification” to escalate into genocide.

Ethnic divisions were cynically exploited. Colonial powers systematically fuelled tensions between the different communities in order to strengthen their own power. They might give an ethnic minority a privileged position that would make them totally dependent on, and supposedly obedient agents of, the colonial power. This occurred with the Tutsis in Rwanda and Burundi. Immigrants were also brought in, Lebanese people in parts of West Africa and Indians as indentured labourers in East Africa and South Africa,

After the banning of the slave trade, the economic penetration of the colonial domains was often slow. The economies of African countries were dominated by subsistence farming communities, as in Europe some 150 years earlier. The elite - kings, priests, chiefs and tribal leaders - were living off land tilled by slaves or serfs, and gifts in kind from their subjects. Agricultural production was focused on the necessities of life. This was of little interest to European colonial powers who were seeking wealth from ivory, gold, and possibly other minerals.

Substantial investment was needed to make Africa commercially interesting. New crops that thrived in the warm climate needed to be introduced, plantations established, mines opened, and roads, railways and infrastructure built to gain access to the hinterland. The population should be persuaded to become wage labourers and be trained to produce the new export-oriented crops. This required large capital resources with uncertain returns. The economic exploitation of Africa was therefore often entrusted to private contractors, who were given a free hand to extract what they could. Long-term investments were made only where there were sufficiently large mining interests, and where European plantations were established. The social and educational responsibilities of the local communities were left to the mission societies. Missionaries often made heroic efforts to improve living conditions, but the missions also waged a propaganda war against traditional culture and thus became an instrument of European cultural dominance in Africa.

The more extensive the European penetration into the new territories, the harsher the consequences became for the African population. Where Europeans chose to settle as farmers the local population was expelled, often with dire consequences. This happened extensively in southern Africa and Algeria. Kenya, Ivory Coast and Senegal were other areas with substantial European settlements.

The culmination of colonialism

The European dominance over the world was fundamentally shaken by World War I. The USA, the new superpower; itself established by European colonisation, opposed the European colonial empires on principle and for economic reasons. They saw the closed market colonial system as an obstacle to the expansion of US trade.

After the First World War the League of Nations was born with the vision to create a new peaceful world order. The organisation was dominated by ethnic European states. Abyssinia/Ethiopia was the only African member country. But the League of Nations embodied the concept of a new beginning and some sort of global order. When Germany was defeated, the League was entrusted with the responsibility of determining the future of the former German colonies. It allocated responsibility for these territories to the two leading colonial powers, Britain and France, as well as South Africa. The former colonies were not to be known as colonies but as “mandates”. The mandate was to be managed by the colonial power as “a sacred civilizing responsibility” until the country could “stand on its own in the harsh conditions of the modern world.”

These mandates, negotiated with the active participation of Britain and France, became justification for a second colonial rule. Europe represented a superior civilisation that would spread enlightenment worldwide. The development of the former colonies was supposed to create material wealth for the benefit of the native population, but of course, development would also bring material wealth to the benevolent colonisers.

The reality, of course, remained far from the great declarations of the League of Nations and the parliaments of the colonial powers. Still, the colonial powers abandoned their laissez-faire oriented policy and focused more on development. The consolidation phase was over and fewer resources were needed to put down rebellions. Despite neglect, there had also been some economic development and the colonial powers saw the opportunity for the colonies to make significant contributions to the mother country's economic growth. Investment in education and infrastructure in the colonies increased.

Different development visions

In Europe, it was hoped that investment and the expansion of European settlement in the colonies would spur development in Africa. This was successful only to a limited degree. The economic interest remained focused on mining and, along with large financial investment, new urban communities emerged in mining areas, especially in South Africa. But the legacies of European superiority and earlier slavery continued in South Africa. The permanent jobs at all levels were reserved for white workers. Blacks were employed as casual labourers. They were not allowed to settle with their families in the towns that grew up around the mines, but were housed in hostels under appalling conditions while their families were expected to stay in their “home villages”. In the Congo, in the Katanga region and in the Gold Coast (Ghana), where mine owners were more dependent on black workers, permanent residence with families was allowed. But the workers were on minimum wages, health standards were poor and mortality high. Large slums emerged with great social misery.

The colonial powers held different views regarding the development of their African territories. The British held one model while France, Portugal and Belgium held a different, “continental” view.

The British model was based on the idea that colonies and the colonial populations should develop in their own way socially and culturally. In the best case this could be seen as an expression of respect. At worst, it expressed an idea of white superiority that was to become entrenched. A positive aspect of the British view was the realisation that the colonial relationship was not forever, that liberation one day must come.

The continental colonial ideas, and especially the French vision of development, were more about assimilation. It was based on an assumption of cultural superiority and a sense of mission to spread that superior culture to underdeveloped peoples, la mission civilisatrice. France invested heavily in supporting the development of la francophonie and in educating Francophile elites in their colonies. The colonies would develop into Départements d'outre-mer overseas provinces. The Portuguese also tried to develop a class of assimilados and, after the Belgian government took over the management of the Congo, there was a similar ambition. The expectation was that the colonial subordinates, through training and “civilisation” could become full French, Portuguese and Belgian nationals. The results however were limited.

The continental attitude could maybe be seen as less racist than the British but, on the other hand, it devalued the culture of the colonised countries. The continental model also assumed that the colonies were to be regarded as integral parts of the colonising countries indefinitely.

The British colonies, north of Rhodesia were consequently better prepared for independence and Britain was more willing to participate constructively in their liberation than France. Many of the former French colonies have continued to be very dependent on France in many respects. The Belgian Congo was disastrously ill-prepared when independence came, and the Portuguese colonies did not gain their independence until after the long war of liberation. The two largest colonised countries, Angola and Mozambique, went almost directly from the war of liberation to civil war.

In British colonies with significant European settlements, particularly South Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and, to some extent, Kenya, the white population took early command. Advanced systems to oppress the black majority of the population were established.

During the period between World War I and World War II the debate on the future of Africa was dominated by Europeans. The old African aristocracy was crushed or marginalised, and a new generation of leaders was not yet visible. Defending the rights of indigenous peoples was left mainly to the Europeans - missionary societies, non-profit organisations and even liberal politicians. But, as more educational opportunities arose, a basis was created for a new generation of educated Africans prepared for the process of liberation to come.

Colonialism questioned

After the Second World War the debate on colonialism gained momentum. The United States, with its fundamentally negative attitude towards European colonialism, dominated world politics. The old colonial powers were severely weakened. The second dominant world power, the Soviet Union had established its own colonial empire in Central Asia, but this did not have any impact on world affairs. According to the Marxist ideology, colonialism is an expression of capitalism, and the struggle against colonialism became a part of the struggle against world capitalism. The large colonial empires in Asia – British India, Dutch India (Indonesia) and French Indochina – had already begun their process of liberation. In North Africa, other than in Algeria, the liberation process began almost immediately after World War II. Sub-Saharan Africa would have to wait till the 1960s, and certain countries until the 1990s.

The United Nations (UN) succeeded the League of Nations with a clearer agenda emphasising the equal value of all people and equal rights for all, encoded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and spelled out in a great number of UN declarations and conventions in the decades to follow. The number of member countries with a definite anti-colonialist agenda grew steadily, and the dominant position that Europe had enjoyed in the League of Nations was gradually phased out.

The colonial powers in Africa were on the defensive. It was becoming increasingly important to emphasise the developmental aspects of their dominant role in some African countries. It was also useful to argue that development in the colonies could also help in the reconstruction of Europe.

This led to more investment in education at all levels, including universities. But still, only a minority of African children received even the most basic education. In the British colonies, the mission schools were providing a good education, albeit now with public support. However, these schools were few with limited access. In the French colonies, on the other hand, the state was running basic education in line with France's secular state tradition. However, there was less interest in improving higher education because the French governments saw an intrinsic value in talented young Africans completing their studies at a university in France. Belgium and Portugal showed little interest or ability to invest in tertiary education in their colonies.

In spite of these limitations, the improved educational opportunities in many colonies opened the way for talented and ambitious young Africans, many of whom had their roots in the traditional ruling classes. But it also made obvious the system of racial discrimination especially in the public systems. Most of the budgets made available for development of the colonies were spent to finance European experts, teachers and administrators and there was little room for well-trained Africans. In the private sector, the situation was often even worse. So, for those who received training and higher education, career opportunities were still very limited.

The colonial liberation

The liberation process in sub-Saharan Africa began on three different levels. On a grassroots level, opposition was often inspired by cultural and religious concerns. Local churches once created by the European missionaries had gradually adopted African religious and cultural traditions and had become important carriers of African identity and self-respect. Further north, Islam, which had also developed an African identity over centuries, played a similar role, strengthening black consciousness. Secondly Britain, especially, subtly tried to decentralise power and influence in the colonies. This often triggered a power struggle between European colonisers and African representatives.

A third process emerged among a group of well-educated young Africans, initially mainly operating outside Africa. These

pioneers included future political leaders such as Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Sekou Touré of Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. They had lively contacts with the U.S. civil rights movement and they found inspiration in Marxist ideas of world revolution. They laid the foundation for the Pan-African movement, which was to play a big role in the emancipation process. Even today it inspires Pan-African cooperative efforts, now in the African Union.

The African liberation movement had its first successes in West Africa, and it was the Gold Coast who took the lead. As early as 1948 the nationalist movement began systematic actions, including boycotts, against European business interests, these sometimes developed into riots. The British, who were essentially dedicated to a growing national autonomy rather than liberation, alternated between concessions and repression. A decade later, in 1957, the Gold Coast became the first colony in sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence, under the name of Ghana. This was the beginning of a landslide and, ten years later, the British Empire in Africa ceased to exist. In many cases, the process had been smooth, in others there were serious conflicts between African freedom movements and white settlers. In Southern Africa, as we know, the liberation was completed only in the 1990s.

For France, the other large colonial empire in Africa, the road ahead seemed less clear. France cultivated the idea of “France d’outre-mer”, where all residents would sooner or later become French citizens. Two of the most influential African leaders, Léopold Senghor of Senegal and Félix Houphouët-Boigny from Ivory Coast, were members of both the French National Assembly and the French Government in the 1950s. As it turned out, however, after varying degrees of hesitation, all the colonies opted for independence. But, especially in some smaller states, France continued to exert a strong influence.

Belgium and Portugal, the two smallest and weakest of the main colonial powers in Africa had the greatest difficulties in giving up their colonial possessions. Belgium did virtually nothing to prepare Congo for independence but could not resist the momentum for liberation. The conditions for the new state were disastrous. There was no Congolese administration left to build on when the Belgians moved home. The army had only Belgian officers, and an interim solution, with Belgian officers staying on subordinate to the new Congolese Government, collapsed in a mutiny. With the support of Belgian mining interests and, according to some allegations, perhaps with the Belgian Government’s blessing, the mineral-rich Katanga province broke away, and Congo collapsed into civil war.

Portugal managed to keep its colonies until 1975, but at the cost of liberation wars that were ruinous both for Portugal and for the colonies.

So the liberation of Africa was not totally complete in the 1960s. The Portuguese Empire apart, there was still the great power among the colonial relics, Apartheid South Africa with South-West Africa, and white-ruled Rhodesia. This was possible, partly due to the dynamics of the Cold War, discussed further in the next chapter.

IV. Nation building in trouble

The liberation of sub-Saharan Africa was one of the great events in world history and, for most countries, the period of transition was short. Basil Davidson, famous scholar and African history expert, exemplifies how, for decades, Africans had been barred from ruling in their own countries and suffered systematic discrimination. In Zambia, no African had been allowed to run a train, but only to shovel coal for the white train driver. Africans in Kenya were not allowed to cultivate coffee, that was the “white man’s crop”. No Ugandans could process the cotton they grew. In the Belgian Congo, an African could not move from one place to another without police permission. In the Portuguese colonies, the colonial authorities decided what crops indigenous farmers could grow. Even in more progressive colonies such as Nigeria, all banking transactions and all large-scale commercial activities were closed to African entrepreneurship. Not more than a handful of Africans, no matter how talented they were, could hope for a higher position in the public sector or academia. Africans could only rarely participate in decision-making on matters relating to their own country’s government policy. Even those who managed to acquire the necessary training were kept outside the important policy making processes.¹

The Africa that emerged from the ashes of colonialism was in a troublesome shape. Before the slave trade and colonialism, in the late 18th century, the difference in material wealth between Africa and Europe was small. Two hundred years later, Africa is extremely poor and Europe extremely rich. Not only had Africans long been prevented from managing their own affairs, and from acquiring the knowledge and experience that would be required for them to do so. The whole economic and social structure was built to serve European interests, not African ones. State borders reflected colonial administration. The vast majority of the people suffered from poverty, illiteracy and poor health. The new leadership had no experience in governing.

The infrastructure was generally poor. Major roads and railways, outside European settlement regions, had been designed mainly to carry African commodities from the interior to the coast. The education system was designed to meet the colonial needs for low-skilled and cheap labour. The biggest challenge was perhaps how to build efficient and coherent states to meet all these challenges.

Unnatural borders and civil wars

Africa has been a continent of civil wars. Wars between African states are rare, but internal violence is more common. Ethnic tensions leading to violent conflict are not unique to Africa. In Africa, however, the fact that the state structure does not reflect the historic nationalities of the region aggravated the situation. Every African nationality is divided into several countries and almost every state in Africa divided into several nationalities.

A major conflict line cuts through a number of states in the northern part of Sub-Saharan Africa. Immediately south of the Sahara extends the Sahel, an arid region ranging from semi-desert to savannah. It is traditionally inhabited by cattle-raising nomadic people who are mostly Muslim, with a proud history as empire builders and controllers of trans-Saharan trade.

In the south the Savannah gradually turns into tropical rainforest, and pastoral culture into farming. This is the land of old states like Benin and Ashanti. The religion is now mostly Christian. At this conflict line, we find a large number of states with a tragic history of civil war and power struggles between the peoples of the north and south such as Sudan, now divided into two states, Nigeria and a number of smaller states. Typical to these states is that there is no joint pre-colonial history; the people have very different cultures and social structures as well as economic conditions. It is therefore very difficult to achieve cohesion in these countries. Economic stress is often aggravated by environmental degradation that tends to lead to violent clashes. The post-colonial history of many of these countries is marked by a series of civil wars and military dictatorships. The conflict in Mali during 2012-2013 is a typical example. But this is not the whole story. There are also impressive efforts towards peace, reconciliation and democracy.

There are many other examples of states where ethnic tensions are high. Kenya has a history of, sometimes violent, tension between Kikuyu, and other ethnic groups. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), internal communication difficulties, and diversity of culture make the country extremely difficult to hold together. One of the most extreme and tragic cases is of course the genocide in Rwanda in 1994.

¹Basil Davidson: *Africa in the 20th Century*.

Ethnicity and geopolitics

In Rwanda and Burundi, the colonial powers, first Germany and then Belgium, had used existing social differences to create an institutional racist model. At the bottom there were the Twa people, then the Hutu majority, then the Tutsis as a “higher” race, and of course the whites at the top. This was a deliberate “divide and rule” policy, implemented to create a domestic elite dependent on the colonial masters for their privileged position. Indian immigration was used by the British in a somewhat similar way in Eastern and Southern Africa, and Lebanese and Fulani/Peul by the French in West Africa. The social tension and even racial hatred that this policy fuelled was, after independence, ruthlessly exploited by unscrupulous political leaders in a way that sometimes resulted in genocide. An important underlying factor behind the catastrophic developments in Rwanda and even Burundi is the struggle for land. The two countries are certainly fertile, but very densely populated, and the people are totally dependent on agriculture and animal husbandry. A rapidly increasing population and ongoing ecological degradation intensify competition for land, and conflict between farmers and shepherds.

Somalia on the other hand is one of the very few ethnically unified countries in Africa. Almost everyone is Somali, speaks Somali and is Sunni Muslim. But the colonial borders meant that the Somali people were divided between British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, Ethiopia and Kenya. The colonial rule prevented the Somalis from setting up any national institution, and the Somali identity is mainly related to the tribe or clan. Somalia’s strategic location on the Horn of Africa has attracted the interest of the great powers, which with their periodic interventions, have had disastrous consequences for any attempts towards nation building. When the arch-enemy, Ethiopia under Haile Selassie, was allied to USA, Somalia and its dictator Siad Barre received support from the Soviet Union and leased a naval base to the Soviets.

When, in 1974, the Emperor was ousted, the new Ethiopian leadership turned to the Soviets and Barre made Somalia the client of USA. But when Mengistu, in turn, lost power in 1991 and Ethiopia again became a friend of the USA, the Soviet Union was no longer available to take over the support to the Somali regime. Barre was removed from power by a rebellion of tribes that considered themselves disfavoured by his regime, and a period of internal wars between different tribes and war-lords followed. The USA saw obvious risks of an Islamist take-over and in 1992, with the support of a UN resolution, landed 25,000 troops to “stabilise” the situation. The operation was not successful. After the mission had lost 18 men in October 1993, the United States withdrew under the pressure of strong domestic public opposition to the war.

The chaos continued, in spite of peace-making attempts by the United Nations, until, in the early 2000s, the moderately Islamist Islamic Courts gradually seized control and managed to restore order. The USA suspected, however, that the Islamic Courts had links to Al Qaida and financed an Ethiopian invasion to prevent them from taking power. This threw Somalia back into chaos. Meanwhile the Ethiopians had withdrawn and were replaced by an African Union force. A process to create national institutions based on the tribes and warlords is ongoing, while the more radical Islamist Al Shabaab has taken over the initiative from the Islamic Courts. In 2013-14, we see the conflict having an increased effect on the whole of East Africa and especially Kenya.

Ghana – an encouraging example

Ghana, on the other hand, can serve as an example of those countries that, after a journey through serious difficulties, has reached what seems to become a much brighter future.

Ghana was one of the birthplaces for the African freedom movement and was the first sub-Saharan colony to gain independence in 1960 when Kwame Nkrumah became President. He united Ghana as a nation and became an inspiration for the liberation struggle in the rest of Africa. He was a Pan-Africanist and, together with Sekou Touré and Julius Nyerere, he was a leading promoter of African socialism.

He was ousted by a military coup in 1966, which is generally believed to have been staged or at least encouraged by USA. This was followed by a revolving door situation with successive civilian governments and military juntas, while the economy and administration declined. 1992 however, was a turning point when Jerry Rawlings, hopefully the last military ruler, handed over to a civilian government. A new Constitution opened up for multi-party democracy and, after two decades of peaceful democratic development, Ghana is at the top of the list of the world’s fastest growing economies.

Colonial settlers vs. indigenous population

Classic examples of ethnic tensions created by colonialism are of course those between domestic populations and colonial settlers. The most serious cases were South Africa, Rhodesia and Algeria. Another case, which is often overlooked from that perspective, is Liberia. Liberia was founded in 1824 by an American humanitarian society, which wanted to create a homeland for freed slaves from the United States. No consideration was given to whether the returnees had any roots in that particular part of Africa or not. Therefore the immigrants established themselves as colonisers in the same way Europeans had done in other parts of Africa, including conducting colonial wars against the indigenous population. The Americo-Liberians, who only represent 5% of the population, held the political power in the country until 1980, when Alexander Doe from one of the tribes in the interior took over power in a military coup. This initiated a period of an extremely cruel civil war that ended only in 2008. At present under the new President, Ella Johnson Sirleaf, a more united Liberia is on its way to become one of the African success stories.

South Africa and Zimbabwe represent two very different examples of dealing with post- colonial ethnic tension. Both countries emerged out of a very traumatic liberation struggle that lasted long after the rest of Africa had been liberated.

South Africa – from Apartheid to peace and reconciliation

In the 1960s, the brutality of the Apartheid regime in South Africa began to gain international attention. Clerics such as the Anglican monk, Fr. Trevor Huddleston, and later Archbishop Desmond Tutu, helped to galvanise the international community to oppose apartheid. At no other time has there been such an outpouring of solidarity and support for an oppressed people across the world.

The anti-Apartheid movement was extraordinary – and effective. Sanctions and boycotts increased the resolve of the white government to hold on to power but mounting internal unrest, international pressure, and finally bankruptcy led to capitulation. In 1990, President F. W. de Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela who was held on Robben Island off the coast of Cape Town under a life sentence.

South Africa began a negotiated process to hand over power from oppressor to the former oppressed. In 1992, negotiations began to found a democratic state; the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), founded on the principle of a non-racial, democratic society, brought together all parties to hammer out the way forward to a new political dispensation. Tensions were running high both on the side of the African National Congress (ANC), led by Nelson Mandela, and the Nationalist Government led by President De Klerk.

There were horrific incidents of violence and on several occasions the talks broke down. The country was in frequent turmoil, as illustrated by the assassination in April 1993 of Chris Hani by a Polish immigrant, Janusz Walus. Hani was a gifted young man who had risen to lead the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and was a prospective successor to Mandela. At his funeral, held in Orlando Stadium, Soweto, Archbishop Desmond Tutu gave an impassioned oration to calm the huge crowd. The country was on a knife edge – the moment passed, CODESA talks resumed and mechanisms for South Africa's first democratic election, to be held on the 27 April 1994, were put in place.

One stumbling block in the negotiations was the fear of reprisals from a new black government against the Apartheid security establishment. Mr. de Klerk called for amnesty for perpetrators of violence and torture against political prisoners and others who had been held without trial. But this would not be fair to the individuals and their families who had suffered so much in the struggle for liberation. From this impasse was born the notion of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Amnesty would be granted to perpetrators provided their violent acts were politically motivated, and that they revealed the full truth of their actions. Victims, or their families if the victim was deceased, could come to the Commission to tell their stories of torture, murder, and suffering at the hands of security forces. The Commission's brief was to submit a full report on their findings and to make recommendations regarding reparation and rehabilitation to victims of gross violations of human rights or their families. Many, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu who was Chair, have indicated that the Commission had many flaws but it served to stabilise the country after a turbulent transition to constitutional democracy.

Central to the CODESA negotiations was the agreement that the "new South Africa" would be a constitutional democracy in which the Constitution, rather than Parliament, would be supreme. The Constitutional Court was then established with oversight responsibility to lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and in which every citizen is equally protected by law. The new Constitution was signed by President

Nelson Mandela in December 1996. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is considered to be one of the most progressive Constitutions in the world.

Under Nelson Mandela's leadership and the banner of the Rainbow Nation, South Africa focused on bringing the nation together. The Truth and Reconciliation process negotiated as part of the Constitutional transition, made sure that the injustices and human rights violations of the past would not be shovelled under the carpet. This has assisted South Africa in securing a constitutional democracy that respects minorities. It has also favoured the economic development that has given South Africa membership of the exclusive club of BRICS-countries (Brazil, India, China and South Africa). A strong focus on developing the market economy has, however, pushed ambitions for poverty eradication into the backwaters.

South Africa is today one of the most unequal countries in the world. The living conditions of most of the poor have hardly improved since the transition from Apartheid, and in some instances the poorest are even worse off economically. This inequality is now threatening social cohesion, nation-building and stability, and longer term economic development. The shooting of 39 mine workers by the police, at Marikana in 2012 was a frightening reminder that the end of apartheid did not mean the end of social tension. The economy is still very dependent on mining and exploitation of natural resources. Tendencies of de-industrialisation are also an issue, for example in the automobile and textile industries.

Zimbabwe – a long struggle for democracy

When Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1989 after a long and violent liberation struggle, it seemed to embark on a similar path of reconciliation. The country was acknowledged as a positive example to a South Africa approaching the end of the Apartheid era. But behind the façade, there was a fierce power struggle taking place between the two major liberation movements, now turned political parties. This was also a conflict with ethnic roots as the majority party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), was mainly based on the Shona people, while the opposition, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, was based (ZAPU) on the second largest ethnic group, the Ndebele. President Robert Mugabe wanted a one-party system, which ZAPU resisted. The conflict escalated into a civil war with many casualties, especially among the Ndebeles. This conflict ended with a forced merger between ZAPU and ZANU, to become the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). However, poor economic development, rising unemployment, and poverty caused the opposition to reorganise into a new party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), with strong trade-union backing. ZANU-PF's and Mugabe's position was endangered. In this context, President Mugabe launched his campaign against the white minority, who until then had managed to retain their dominant position in the Zimbabwean economy.

There was definitely a strong case for radical land reform in Zimbabwe. The Shona people, especially, were deserving of consideration; they had been forcibly removed from their land to make space for white settlers in the 1930s. The idea of land return won wide support in Zimbabwe and in Africa generally, but the implementation of this reform created economic chaos in Zimbabwe and deepened poverty and tension. Land reform was also used as a cover for massive repression against the opposition. There was a strong reaction from the old colonial power, Britain, and its allies but this only served to strengthen Mugabe's political position. Since then, Zimbabwe has gone through a very troublesome period, but the developments in 2013-2014 gave hope that the country is back on track towards democracy and prosperity. However, in 2015, the country again ran into a political stalemate and economic decline. The parliamentary by-elections in June were characterised by a boycott from the opposition and very low voter turnout. Consequently, ZANU-PF won all the contested seats.

Africa and the Cold War

In spite of a conscious effort from many leaders, Africa could not avoid being affected by the Cold War for both ideological and power-political reasons. Soon there developed two camps among the new African leaders. One group, including Sekou Toure of Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana; Julius Nyerere of Tanzania; Congo's first Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba; and the leaders of the liberation movements in southern Africa advocated various forms of African socialism. They believed Africa should stay outside of the world capitalist system. Others, including Houphouët Boigny of Ivory Coast; Omar Bongo of Gabon; Hastings Banda of Malawi; Congo's new leader after the Civil War, Joseph Mobutu; and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, favoured closer cooperation with the West, including the former colonial powers.

The conflicting superpowers and their allies offered generous support to those in favour of their system and tried to punish those opposing it. Many African leaders fell into the temptation to become clients of either superpower, while some tried to maintain a delicate balance. Apartheid South Africa was seen as a "bulwark against Communism". USA and its allies saw that

South Africa had what it took to maintain control of Southern Africa, and also support its like-minded neighbours, Rhodesia and the Portuguese rule in Angola and Mozambique.

Rivalry between the superpowers impeded the march towards democracy in Africa, not only by keeping the racist regimes in Southern Africa alive; it also created a situation whereby every dictator who declared himself anti-communist could count on US support and each who declared himself socialist could count on support from the Soviet Union. In fact, both superpowers seemed to prefer to deal with dictators and authoritarian regimes, which were seen as more reliable than democracies, which could change policies and alliances at the next election.

The end of the Cold War therefore also had strong repercussions for African development. Ever since the 1950s, and particularly after the liberation in the 1960s, the struggle against the white minority rule in Southern Africa was in the spotlight. Independent Africa, all other former colonies in the Non-Aligned Movement, the majority in the UN General Assembly – all acted for the liberation of Southern Africa. Across the world, there was a strong anti-apartheid movement, including AWEPA – the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action Against Apartheid – now AWEPA, campaigning for sanctions against the racist regimes and support for liberation movements and frontline states.

But as long as the USA and its allies considered it in their interests to maintain the Apartheid regime, it could survive. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 also shook the foundations of white rule in Southern Africa. Shortly after Michael Gorbachev realised that the Soviet system would not hold for long, a similar realisation came to President De Klerk in South Africa regarding Apartheid. Nelson Mandela was released from Robben Island and negotiations on Africa's final liberation could begin.

The end of Apartheid sent a wave of democratisation across Africa. South West Africa became Namibia, Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. In Mozambique and Angola, the civil wars ended. The multiparty system was introduced in country after country and dictatorships were overthrown. This process of democratisation has continued over the past 20 years, with many serious setbacks, certainly, but also with a clear trend towards fewer civil wars, and better functioning democracies.

In North Africa, however, the end of the Cold War did not have the same effect. Strategically, North Africa is part of the Middle East and strongly affected by the conflict between the Western world and radical Islamism. Since the end of World War II, the control of oil supplies has taken top strategic priority for the USA and its allies. The end of the Cold War meant that Western dominance became even stronger, including alliances with virtually all of the region's authoritarian regimes and dictatorships, and eventually also Libya's Khaddaffi. In the spring of 2011, the democracy movement attempted to break up this hegemony, in what became known as the Arab Spring, but with the return of military rule in Egypt, the old system was back, with more brutality than ever, and therefore generating even more violent resistance, and spreading also into neighbouring regions of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Post-Cold War

The end of Cold War around 1990 was of profound significance to the power game in Africa. The Soviet Union disappeared from the scene and China, also moving towards a market economy, turned its policy towards Africa from ideology driven to one based on their economic interests. Thereby, the USA also lost its geopolitical concerns in Africa and moved towards a more ideological approach. A primary and profound effect of that was that the Western support for the Apartheid state turned into demand for democracy.

President George Bush Senior declared the New World Order, under which the partnership was terminated with a number of the Cold War dictatorial allies such as Zaire, Liberia and Sudan. This change in attitude facilitated the democracy wave of the 1990s. South Africa went to majority rule, while one-party states like Mozambique, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, and eventually Zaire and Liberia turned multi-party. A number of civil wars, including in Angola, Mozambique, Zaire/DC and Liberia were initially settled but flared up again later.

Meanwhile France retained much of its grasp on its former colonies, maintaining an economic and monetary union, special trade agreements and a military presence in a number of military bases. France also maintained cordial relations with a number of dictatorial leaders, dependent on French support for their power.

Apart from French bases and Cuban support to liberation movements, there was not much direct military intervention after the UN mission in DRC was withdrawn. An important exception, however, was Somalia (see p. 20). Since this disaster, the USA has avoided direct military intervention in Africa.

The Cold War was soon followed by a new global East-West conflict. A militant Islamic ideology began to gain strength in the Middle East, opposing the U.S. military and political domination in the region. It became very clear that this development could also affect Sub-Saharan Africa when the United States Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed in October 1998. In 2001, the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon led to a dramatic military escalation and President George W. Bush launched the "Global War on Terrorism", which was also to affect Africa. In 2007, Bush launched a new strategic initiative that opened the way for more direct U.S. military intervention in Africa. It was named the New Unified Combat Command Unit for Africa (AFRICOM).

The hottest battlefields are still Libya and Somalia, proliferating into East Africa and particularly Kenya. After the Libyan Civil War in 2011 there has also been a movement of well-armed militant groups into the Sahel area. In 2014, the jihadist group Boko Haram has stepped up its activities and destabilised much of northern Nigeria.

China, after abandoning world revolution, now sees military cooperation primarily as a means to promote its economic interests on the African continent. Since it does not have aspirations to democratically govern countries nor demonstrates respect for human rights, China has become a welcome helper for dictatorial leaders who have difficulty finding support from other sources.

Hope for the future

The last decade of the 20th and the first of the 21st centuries have seen dynamic development in Sub-Saharan Africa and much hope for the future. The Nobel Peace Prize Laureate, the late Prof. Wangari Maathai, summarises some aspects of this in the following:

"Nevertheless in the half century since most African countries achieved independence, and in the nearly two decades since the end of the Cold War, the continent has moved forward in some critical areas of governance and economic development. More African countries have democratic forms of governance, and more Africans are being educated. Debt relief has been granted to a number of African states, and international trade policies are now subject to greater scrutiny to assess their fairness. South Africa has made a successful, and peaceful, transition to full democracy from the time of apartheid. In 2002 Kenya held its first genuinely representative elections in a generation. Decades-long civil wars in Angola and Mozambique have ended. Liberia has emerged from a devastating series of internal and regional conflicts. In 2005 it elected to the presidency Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the first woman to head a modern African state, and the process of reconciliation and reconstruction is under way. Rwanda a decade and a half after the 1994 genocide, has a growing economy, and Rwandan women constitute almost half of its Parliament, the highest percentage in the world."²

She also mentions cautious progress in other countries such as DRC and Sudan, and emphasises that civil society organisations in many cases dare to act more freely than before. Another important fact that Maathai mentions, and is now strikingly obvious, is Africa's growing economy. This largely reflects the increased demand for raw materials from emerging economies such as China, India, the Arab states, Brazil and others. Although this development has created great opportunities, it brings with it threats. We will return to this later in the book.

² Wangari Maathai; *The Challenge for Africa – a New Vision*. Page 10.

V. Roads towards good governance and prosperity?

The colonial heritage

The concept of colonisation was simply that the colonies should benefit the economic interests of the colonial masters. The colonies should provide raw materials for the industry and markets of the colonial power. The European expansion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was largely a result of the industrial revolution. The early industrialised countries, Britain, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, also led the colonial expansion in the 19th century. Industrialisation was to lead to an explosive increase in demand for primary commodities of all kinds to meet the needs of industries for metals, cotton and, for a growing middle class, the demand for sugar, coffee, tea and cocoa. Today we see a similar commodity boom as a result of the new industrial revolution in China, India and many other countries.

Therefore, the production of the colonies needed to be organised according to the industrial needs of European countries. For colonies that had rich mineral resources, such as South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Belgian Congo, and Ghana, their success was assured; but agricultural products were also of interest. These could be acquired either by encouraging Europeans to establish plantations or by persuading local farmers to grow the desired crops. A common method was to impose taxes on peasants, requiring that these be paid in cash and then assigning the production of the required raw materials as the best way to earn that money.

Often, cash crop farming in indigenous agriculture was strictly centrally planned. Colonial authorities decided that there should be cotton in Sudan, Uganda and Mozambique, coffee in the Ivory Coast, eastern Belgian Congo and Madagascar, cocoa in Ghana, sisal in Tanganyika, etc.

The colonial planned economy also aimed at preventing the development of a processing industry. The colonies should remain as deliverers of raw materials and as markets for the European industry. The trade and supply chain should be in European hands. The colonial administration usually paid very little attention to developing local supply and domestic markets.

On the conditions of the rich

This meant that the economies of the African states that emerged from colonialism were extraordinarily vulnerable. They were, and to a great extent still are, divided into a traditional self-sustained economy, in all respects primitive and stagnant, and a monetary economy that is extremely export- and import-oriented, and too often dependant on one or a few commodities. Therefore, the African producers' share of the end value of the products is often low, sometimes only a few percent. The use of technology remains low. The long-term development of price relations (terms of trade) between exports and imports was unfavourable for a long time. However, this is a situation that is rapidly changing with the increasing demand for raw materials and increased supply of cheap manufactured goods from the newly industrialised countries.

The new African states made their entrance on the world market in a context where the rules were set by their former colonial masters and a few other rich countries. Furthermore, companies based in these rich countries still owned a large part of Africa's natural resources, especially minerals. The trade was also controlled by multinational companies based in the North. This means that the pricing is essentially in the hands of interests outside Africa.

There was a shortage of skilled workers and experts, and a poor infrastructure. Most of the typical colonial education was a simple basic training to create a workforce on the bottom of the social ladder. It was only a privileged few who had access to any schooling at all and at least could learn to read and write. In most colonies at most one boy in ten received primary education, for girls even fewer.

To summarise, there was an industry that was not adapted to domestic needs, an infrastructure that was generally poor and an education system that was equally poor and unsuitable.

Part of the legacy of the colonial history is a cultural dualism. There is a folk culture with deep roots in pre-colonial Africa that is an important part of the African reality with large variations between different peoples and regions. This folk culture has strong elements of traditional religion with great reverence for traditional authority and nature. There is also an elite

culture, imported from Europe and depending on colonial history. The people in the villages live mainly in the realm of popular culture. The urban, modern business and management is more characterised by the elite culture. Part of the challenge of the young African states is to integrate these cultural elements in a way that benefits from the best of the two traditions.

Ideas on Economic Development

The challenge for Africa's new leaders was to modernise Africa, trying to catch up with the technological and organisational train that is disappearing at high speed on the horizon. The new African states had no difficulties in obtaining good advice on how they should organise their economic and social development. This was a time when the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism was at its peak. To "educate" Africa was part of the global power struggle between two superpowers, the USA and USSR.

In countries where the former colonial powers had strong influence, the economy continued to function similarly to how it had functioned under colonialism, with a strong role for European and multinational companies. Some countries with stronger economies, like Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Kenya focused on building a domestic free enterprise system, others went for a socialist model, in particular those who were late in gaining their independence and received support from the Eastern bloc. In Angola and Mozambique, the leading liberation movements the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) adhered to a communist ideology. Their main support was from the Soviet Union and its allies, particularly Cuba, and many of the senior officials and politicians had received their education at the Lumumba University in Moscow. In Zimbabwe, the ideological watershed between the two liberation movements, Mugabe's ZANU and Nkomo's ZAPU, was also a battle between Chinese Maoism and Soviet communism. In independent Ethiopia, after the Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown, a communist regime came to power led by Mengistu Haile Mariam.

One much debated question is whether independent Africa should try to imitate the industrialised world, running the risk of falling into a new dependency. Or should it rather turn back to its own roots? But history never turns back. Trying to recreate the Africa that colonialism destroyed was not possible. The population had multiplied since then, and population pressure continues to increase rapidly. The primitive agriculture which still prevails in most parts of Africa at one time could provide sufficient livelihood for families, but due to changing weather patterns and social pressure, now creates poverty and environmental degradation. A more developed industrialised and modernised society is absolutely necessary. The question is how can this be accomplished?

African socialism

The pioneers of free Africa tried to find ways to link African tradition to modernity. Senegal's first president, Leopold Senghor, launched the concept of "negritude", to describe Africa's cultural and social specificity. Julius Nyerere spoke of "Ujamaa", Nelson Mandela of "Ubuntu", both words expressing a spirit of community. Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah discussed economic policy in terms of African socialism, and this concept was taken up by Nyerere in Tanzania, Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia, and many others. The notion was that consensus, unity and cooperation is more important than diversity, contradictions and competition. The ideal was the elders, sitting under a tree and discussing a problem until everyone agrees to the solution. Not the antagonistic debate to win majority, nor the smart businessman getting rich at the expense of others. Nyerere believed that the capitalist model of society that the country had inherited might provide increased wealth for the elite, but it left the masses in deeper poverty. He also meant that poor African countries that made themselves too dependent on the world economy would be the inevitable losers. An African development model should build on Ujamaa, social cohesion and self-reliance.

In a pamphlet published in 1962 Nyerere describes the roots of African socialism as different from the European model:

"In tribal society the individual or the families within a tribe were 'rich' or 'poor', according to whether the whole tribe was rich or poor. If the tribe lived in prosperity all members of the tribe shared in this prosperity. Tanganyika today is a poor country. The standard of living of the masses of our people is shamefully low. But if every man and woman in the country take up the challenge and works to the limits of his or her ability for the good of the whole society, then Tanganyika will prosper; and that prosperity will be shared by all her people. But it must be shared. The true socialist may not exploit his fellows. So if the members of any group within our society are going to argue that, because they happen to contribute more to the national income, than some other groups, they must therefore take for themselves a greater share of the proceeds

of their own industry than they actually need; and if they insist on this in spite of the fact that it would mean reducing the group's contribution to the general income and thus slowing down the rate at which the whole community can benefit, then that group is exploiting (or trying to exploit) its fellow human beings. It is displaying a capitalist attitude of mind..."

"...The European socialism was born of the Agrarian Revolution and the Industrial Revolution that followed it. The former created the 'landed' and 'landless' classes in society; the latter produced modern capitalism and the industrial proletariat. These two revolutions planted the seeds of conflict within society, and not only was European socialism born of that conflict, but its apostles sanctified the conflict itself into philosophy. Civil War was no longer looked upon as something evil or something unfortunate, but as something good and necessary. As prayer is to Christianity and Islam, so civil war (which they call 'class war') is to the European version of socialism – a means inseparable from the end. Each becomes a basis for a whole way of life. The European socialist cannot think of his socialism without its father-capitalism.

Brought in tribal socialism, I must say that I find this contradiction quite intolerable."³

Ujamaa was to be a grass-roots socialism, which established the links to an idealised village community where common problems, including security of supply for all, were solved in consensus.

The ideas of African socialism and self-reliance linked to trends in other parts of the postcolonial world, where the newly independent states wanted to stand at the side of the East-West conflict and find their own paths to development. With leaders like India's Nehru and Indonesia's Sukarno, these tendencies led to the emergence of the concept of the Third World, and the advent of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The period of economic crisis

The first decade or so after independence meant great success in many countries, regardless of the development model. The 1960s showed record growth in the global economy and that also gave a boost to the young African states. But from the 1970s onwards, one global economic crisis has led to another, as we all know. All of them hit hard on the fragile African economies. Injustices in society became more apparent and the struggle for life got tougher. In many countries, tensions aggravated ethnic and religious divides, with chaos and violence all too often ending in civil war and/or military dictatorship.

African socialism went the same way as so many other socialist experiments, degenerating into authoritarian one-party systems, oppression, bureaucracy, abuse of power and corruption. But similar problems also appeared in many countries with a more capitalistic model. The large cooperative and public enterprises proved to be sources of inefficiency, corruption and abuse of power. Import duties meant to protect the emerging new industries instead covered up low productivity and high prices, hitting the poor domestic consumers hard. Efforts to fight poverty through subsidies on food and other basic needs made the countries increasingly indebted.

Between 1970 and 2002, Africa received more than \$ 500 billion in loans from the World Bank and returned about the same amount, but still owed \$ 300 billion in interest costs. The problems were largely due to failed economic policies of various kinds, but also direct mismanagement, corruption and abuse of power. According to assessments, the two Nigerian presidents in the 1990s, Babangida and Abacha, together seized \$ 8 billion of public money during their presidential terms. Charles Taylor, the dictator of Liberia is alleged to have stolen about \$ 5 billion. The Ivory Coast's long-time president Houphouët-Boigny managed to collect \$ 6 billion over 30 years, and Zaire's Mubutu Sese Seko \$ 5 billion. Altogether, according to some estimates, about \$ 140 billion has been stolen by political leaders and high-level officials since the 1960s through embezzlement and corruption. Most of this disappeared into bank accounts in tax havens.⁴

In the end, the attempts to create an African socialist society collapsed in one country after another under the pressure of its own inefficiency, citizens' dissatisfaction and the apparent better performance of market economy. But also because of pressure from the Western powers and the World Bank.

African socialism, and the desire to create protected home markets had never met with any enthusiasm among the rich market economies. When African countries were forced to turn to the World Bank and its affiliated agencies, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Development Association (IDA), they were met with demands to adopt structural adjustment programs. A tough adjustment to the market economy was required with drastic cuts in state budgets, an end to subsidies, removal of trade barriers and generally liberalisation of trade and industry. It was the IMF who set the terms, but most of the donor community joined in.

³ Julius K. Nyerere: *Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism*.

⁴ Wangari Maathai: *The challenge for Africa*.

The impact was hard, resulting in increased poverty, sometimes even starvation, closing down of industries and massive unemployment. Eventually, the IMF eased their conditions somewhat and many countries began to see some positive effects. In too many countries, however, the hard conditions contributed to a downward economic spiral and increasing social conflicts. Still, it is also fair to say that the measures played a role in paving the way for the economic growth Africa is today experiencing.

Democracy or not

The strongest impact colonialism had on Africa's development was maybe in the area of governance. Although some forms of local government often remained the state apparatus under colonialism it was of course ruled by Europeans. The liberation was about recreating African governance. In the best cases, this was prepared by gradually increasing autonomy, but in many cases not at all.

So the challenge was basically to create new state structures from scratch. The historical states in Africa had mostly been crushed. The new states were to be created within borders drawn by the colonial powers, and often lacked common pre-colonial history and cultural traditions.

What the colonial powers left behind was an extremely authoritarian system where power was based on violence. But governance in Africa also had an indigenous tradition to draw on. It is, of course, multifaceted because Africa is a continent of considerable cultural diversity.

If Africa were to find its own governance roots, this could mean going back to an old-fashioned authoritarian and hierarchical system that was stopped in its development hundreds of years earlier. But there were other traditions to build on too. There were also participatory models with various forms of village councils, elders and chiefs who were dependent on their "subjects" support. An important feature of this type of governance is striving for consensus where the ambition is that all should agree, no matter how long you have to discuss. This tradition of governance existed not only in tribal societies, but also, at the local level, in many of the old monarchies. And it lived on as a kind of local self-government in large areas of Africa throughout the colonial era. These ideals have inspired concepts like Negritude, Ubuntu and Ujamaa. Against the western individualism and competition mentality, also expressed in confrontational western parliamentary systems, ideals such as community, consensus and solidarity were posed.

These traditional ideals of unity and communion were combined with an attitude that you should stick together to face great challenges. This was widely used as a justification for imposing one-party systems. The argument went that democracy would be ensured within the party framework through traditional consultations at various levels. In practice, however this ideology was used as a way to combat the opposition. Any opposition was blamed for creating disagreement, and threatening the common good.

But, one-party systems lacking organised and legitimate opposition sooner or later lead to authoritarian misrule. The lack of organised opposition meant a lack of scrutiny and accountability. This in turn created a favourable climate for corruption, abuse of power and inefficiency. In other countries, growing chaos paved the way for military takeover. The agenda presented was often to unite the country, restore order and wipe out corruption and mismanagement. In reality the military rulers often proved worse than the civilians.

In the 1990s, however, at the end of the Cold War and the South African Apartheid regime, a wave of revitalized democracy flushed across sub-Saharan Africa. One-party systems were replaced by multiparty systems, military dictatorships left for civilian rule and civil wars ended. New opportunities appeared for building better governance, and this paved the way for Africa's economic take off.

In North Africa, however, the military dictatorships, often headed by former generals turned civilians, remained in power, largely due to strong support from the USA. After the end of the Cold War, another "east-west conflict", the "war on terror", came to dominate security policy considerations regarding North Africa and the Middle East. The USA's alliances with a number of military and monarchical dictatorships in the region were a cornerstone in the strategy to control the supply of oil. The "Arab Spring" of 2011 challenged these alliances, but the return to power by the military in Egypt seemed to have restored the old order. There is now serious concern that the crushed bid for democracy in the Middle East has contributed to the growing extremism and violence that is destabilising the northern part of Africa.

VI. Natural resources and ecological challenges

As we are all aware, the world is facing a number of challenges of a more or less existential nature. The consumption of mankind is in many ways reaching, and even passing the limits of our planet Earth. At the same time, half the world population lives in poverty and more than a third in abject poverty. Growth and development are needed, but this must be sustainable; ecologically, socially and economically.

The ecological challenges

In the last couple of decades, increasingly frequent and alarming warnings caution that mankind is surpassing the ecological limits of the Earth. For instance, in the OECD's 2012 report "Environmental Outlook to 2050", it is stated that "Continued degradation and erosion of natural environmental capital are expected to 2050, with the risk of irreversible changes that could endanger two centuries of rising living standards."

In the global North, environmental degradation is often an unwanted side effect of affluence – eutrophication of the seas, acid rain, climate change, chemicals in the environment, high-level nuclear waste in the bedrock, etc. In Africa, environmental degradation is more the result of poverty – deforestation, soil degradation, soil erosion, desertification and lack of sanitation.

Africa is also affected disproportionately by the effects of the rich world's environmental degradation. Sometimes this is done consciously, as is the case for the dumping of toxic waste and marketing of toxic chemicals banned in industrialised countries. But the worst effect is probably that of climate change. We can already see how climate disruption leads to serious disturbances in weather conditions, sometimes resulting in droughts or flooding. Africa's own poverty-driven environmental degradation such as deforestation and soil erosion interacts with the climate effects with devastating results. Particularly hard hit is agriculture, the base for livelihood and survival. Adding to immediate disasters, medium term economic developments are also threatened and thus this engenders political stability. With a growing population and some improvements in living standards, the pressure on agriculture is intensified and the risk for further soil degradation is thereby enlarged.

Environment and livelihood

In large parts of Africa, such as the rainforest and parts of the savannah areas, traditional agriculture is based on slash and burn. If population density is low, this is a very labour efficient method. But, with increasing population density and more frequent cultivation periods, biomass does not have time to recover, and yields decrease. Finally the soil is becoming slowly infertile. A common alternative in rainforest areas is to clear the forest and establish a more conventional form of agriculture. The problem then is that the soil in the rainforest often is very poor in nutrients as nutrient and water circulation mainly takes place in the vegetation above the surface. So the clearing of rainforest can easily lead to depletion and dehydration of soil and thus to soil degradation.

In savannahs and bush areas bordering deserts, such as the Sahel, south of the Sahara, there is also extensive land degradation, driven by increasing population pressure. Agricultural land expands at the expense of pastures, and shepherds with their flocks are forced towards drier areas. The situation is aggravated by trees and shrubs being cut, mainly to provide the population with fuel. The result is also the depletion of soil, desertification and erosion.

In the mountains, one can see a similar phenomenon. From the valleys, cultivation and grazing move higher up the slopes. Forests are being cut down. When the rain comes, there is less vegetation to catch it, erosion is aggravated and the risk of flooding further down also increases. Africa underwent a terrifying level of deforestation during the 1900s. In the middle of the 20th century, Ethiopia for example, was 40% forest land, while by the end of the century this figure had been reduced to 5%. Many other countries show similar data. The implications are enormous and multifaceted, such as increased soil erosion, less water infiltration and more floods, lack of fuel, carbon emissions, worsening conditions for agriculture, etc. Extensive reforestation in Africa could deliver corresponding benefits – improved water management, improved agriculture, carbon sequestration, materials for renewable energy, etc.

But Africa is not spared the environmental problems of industrial society. Even if Africa's industry, road traffic, etc. are

relatively limited, so are well-functioning environmental protection regulations. Therefore the effects of pollution on air, water and soil can still be very significant, especially locally. Indeed, weak environmental legislation is sometimes an argument for investing in polluting industries on the continent.

The climate catastrophe is already here

Africa is the continent of the world that contributes least to climate problems. Yet it is by all accounts already being hit the hardest. One cannot, of course, prove that each drought or flood is due to the greenhouse effect. But the increased frequency and intensity of disasters is exactly what scientists had predicted would happen.

Africa is simply the most vulnerable continent. Most African countries lack both the infrastructure, resources and organisation to mitigate the consequences of major weather disasters. The effects of these disasters directly hit food security and thus people's immediate survival, but also development in the longer term. When the struggle for existence is getting tougher, the risk of tensions and conflicts increases. The fighting over recent years in Somalia, Sudan and Mali, as well as the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 have been largely triggered by ever increasing competition for agricultural and grazing land and water.

What we have seen so far in climate negotiations is unfortunately not encouraging. Powerful internationally coordinated efforts to curb climate emissions seem far away. Promises from rich countries to give substantial support for poorer countries to handle the effects on climate have not been honoured. According to most scientific reports, there is no sign of reduced emissions, other than due to economic variations, and the current trend is an increase of 4% of the CO₂ content in the air by 2050 rather than the agreed 2%.

There is much that could be done for Africa to be able to better cope with the challenges. For example:

- Extensive building of dams and irrigation systems;
- Development of sustainable agricultural practices;
- Turning deforestation into reforestation;
- Investment in renewable energy and the conservation of energy and natural resources.

Many of these measures have the advantage of counteracting climate change, mitigating its consequences, improving the ecology in general, and also benefitting economic growth. Building dams and irrigation systems alleviates the effects of both drought and massive rainfall, and generally improves agriculture. Africa has a large potential for improved agriculture. Ecological methods that build soil fertility and prevent erosion, while avoiding dependency on oil for fuel and fertilisers, can help management of climate by absorbing CO₂ and producing biofuels. Deforestation probably has the biggest impact on climate generated in Africa. Here, projects are being developed whereby farmers are being paid not to cut down the forests. Reforestation instead of deforestation would further create new carbon sinks and improve water balance and microclimate, which would benefit agriculture. It would create livelihoods and renewable energy replacing oil, wood and paper that can replace plastic, and methanol and biogas that can replace gasoline.

With the right policies, Africa could make important contributions to climate management. These policies would also benefit the continent's economy. Europe and the North in general, should contribute with expertise and funding. It may seem expensive but, as the so-called Stern report, presented to the UK Government 2006, noted – the costs are moderate compared with what they will be if we wait too long.

A global funding system, based on the “polluters pay” principle, could be a useful factor of sustainable economic growth in Africa.

The scramble for Africa's natural resources

Land and water

We are again facing a world food crisis, which threatens to hit Africa the hardest. A few decades ago, especially in the 1960s, “world hunger” was a big issue. Then came the new progress in agricultural technology, particularly the so-called “Green Revolution”, with hybrid seeds and increased use of fertilisers and pesticides, which greatly improved yields in many parts of the world.

The emerging new food crisis is partly due to population growth, but primarily to increased food standards, especially meat consumption, in emerging economies. At the same time the “Green Revolution” shows signs of coming to an ecological impasse. The increased need for fertiliser and water is problematic at a time when water shortages are becoming imminent in a growing part of the world. The production of fertilisers is heavily dependent on fossil fuels and the process also creates multiple climate hazards. The high intensive cultivation methods also show evidence of depletion of soil fertility. In some place, hopes are being invested in a greater use of genetically manipulated (GM) crops, while others fear new ecological hazards.

Growing concerns for food security lead to an increasing rush for agricultural land. Many richer countries cast their eyes on Africa in their efforts to secure their supplies for the future. The inflow of foreign investment into the African agricultural sector has potentially positive effects, but also dangers. Africa is the continent with the best supply of unutilised or underutilised arable land in the world. What is required to develop Africa’s potential is investment in technological development and know-how. Improved farming techniques, better water management, etc., are needed not only for improving the yields of African agriculture, but also to prevent it from succumbing to environmental degradation and climate change.

Foreign investment can be beneficial, but not always. In fact, there is a great concern that the “land grabbing” may simply become a new form of ruthless exploitation that leaves many of the poor even more impoverished.

In September 2010, the World Bank published a report on “Large Scale Land Acquisitions”. It identified land investment projects covering a total of 46.6 million hectares, the majority in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Bank is in favour of international investments in the agricultural sector in principle. Yet it concludes that the cases examined show more negative than positive consequences, at least for the local population and for food security in the countries concerned. Investors are taking advantage of the lack of governance and the absence of legal protection for the local population in the countries they invest in. Small farmers and nomads are driven away from the land they lived on, often without any compensation. Investment often has no or very limited positive effect on the local population, in terms of employment or income opportunities. The new cultivation is focused on exports, and the result is that the food supply in the local market deteriorates, despite increased production.

Among the investors are European and American stakeholders, and increasingly China, India, and Saudi Arabia. The Government of Saudi Arabia has long been preoccupied with ensuring food security for the rich desert country. It is now buying up or leasing farmland on a very large scale, mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Large investments are being made in the neighbouring Ethiopia and Sudan, but also in West African countries, such as Senegal and Mali.

Fishing

The exploitation taking place in the agricultural sector is still relatively limited compared to the situation that has long been prevailing in fishing. Europe, especially, has pursued a very deliberate policy to take over control of African waters. The exhaustion of the North Atlantic, Mediterranean and Baltic Sea was getting serious in the 1970s. The solution was to find new fishing grounds. Now Africa delivers 60% of Europe’s fish supply, but almost all the fish is caught by European fishing companies and processed in Europe.⁵

At first, fishing along the African coasts was completely unregulated, but in 1982 the United Nations Convention on the Laws of the Seas, (UNCLOS) was adopted. This convention grants coastal states one Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of 200 miles (about 320 km) from the coastline, within which the state has sovereign control over fishing. UNCLOS determines that European fishing fleets need permission from the concerned coastal states in order to fish in this zone. This was first solved by bilateral fishing agreements and later the Fisheries Partnership Agreement (FPA).

Since the African countries themselves, with few exceptions, only have capacity to conduct small scale coastal fishing, the trend has been to grant very extensive deep sea fishing rights around the coasts of Africa to non-African, mostly European, fishing fleets. The relatively modest aid efforts for the African fishing that are included in the FPA, do not seem to effectively change the situation. Europeans’ taking over deep sea fishing hampers potential African business development. In spite of contractual clauses on fish conservation, the foreign fishing in many areas also lead to a depletion of fish stocks, which is affecting the local coastal fisheries.

In recent years, Europe faces increasing competition in this field from the new large economic actors – China, India and the Arab states. This certainly gives the African countries better negotiating positions, but it also leads to stronger pressure, as

⁵ *A new scramble for Africa.*

a result of which the environment as well as local socio-economic concerns might be sacrificed for cash contributions to the Treasury, or perhaps directly into decision-makers' pockets.

The advantages of foreign involvement in African fisheries are increased revenues to African governments, some assistance efforts to the local fisheries, and some increase in employment in African ports and in some industries. The disadvantages are the same as in other areas where African natural resources are exploited by foreign companies: processing and sale outside of Africa. The economic and employment potential of the natural resources is, to a large extent, lost for Africans. There is great risk that natural resources and the environment are will be destroyed in order to meet short-term, mainly non-African, profit interests.

Minerals

Historically, African minerals have had a tremendous impact on the continent's economic and political development. The Egyptian pharaohs fetched gold from Punt somewhere in Central Africa. Copper was the base for the Zimbabwean Empire and gold for the Ashanti Kingdom. The lust for minerals was also a driving force behind colonial conquest and the Boer War was much about control of South Africa's diamond resources.

The footprints of colonialism were consequently extra deep in the mining districts. Normally, the mining companies assumed full control there. Local people were displaced or turned into labourers in slave-like conditions. Health and environmental conditions were generally poor. The benefits went to Europe, although there were some positive by-effects, primarily investments in infrastructure such as railways, roads and ports.

After the colonial liberation, it was the ambition of the new states to ensure that mining would benefit the country and its peoples instead of disappearing overseas. In many countries, the mining industry was nationalised or closely regulated by the government. The ambition was to have better wages for miners, more employment of domestic subcontractors and more processing in the country.

The 1960s and much of the 1970s were characterised by considerable optimism. A strong demand for African minerals contributed to positive development in many countries. The late 1970s oil crisis, however, was favourable for oil exporters, but led to a global economic crisis and decreased demand for all other minerals. This was a hard blow to Africa. The late 1970s and 1980s meant a serious decline for the African mining industry, due partly to this generally weak demand, but also to the lack of competitiveness that greatly exacerbated the effects.

The crisis in the mining industry was part of an overall political and economic crisis in the 1980s that put many African countries under pressure. It made it necessary to reconsider economic policy, also to satisfy the IMF and the World Bank. Privatisation of state enterprises, deregulation and trade liberalisation were important elements in the structural adjustment programme that was to set out the conditions for new loans and aid to economically depressed African governments.

This, and the democratisations of the 1990s, led to a much-needed clean-up of the political systems and bureaucracies in Africa, even if much still need to be improved. When markets slowly bounced back, this facilitated the possibility for many African countries to emerge from the stagnation of the 1980s, to a steadily improving level of growth. For the last couple of decades, growth in mining and oil extraction has turned into a real boom. The main reason is, of course, the surge in demand from China and other emerging economies. The big issue now is whether African countries have sufficient control over their own mineral resources; whether they can make sure that the industry is working in an ecologically and socially sustainable way; and whether enough of the revenues remain in Africa. Also, there remains much to be improved. 2015 has seen a serious slow-down in demand from China and other emerging economies, which puts the sustainability of African growth to the test.

One critical debate points to the risk of Africa returning to something reminiscent of the colonial situation, where the bulk of the gains from African mining happen outside Africa. Wages and terms of employment, as well as environmental conditions are often poor, and the countries have rarely been successful in developing efficient tax systems. The gains that do remain in Africa tend to end up in the pockets of a few, and social divisions and conflicts tend to increase.

The incident at the Marikana mine in South Africa in 2012, where protesting workers were shot by police, dramatically showed the growing tension. Labour unrest, especially in the mining industry in South Africa, has since then continued. In other parts of Africa, conditions are much worse but the opportunities to protest are far fewer.

VII. Economic and social challenges

A new economic world order

The accelerated globalisation process at the very end of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century has created an economic vitality that came to include more and more of the world. From Western Europe, North America, Australia/New Zealand and Japan, it spread to Japan's neighbours in East Asia, continued in Latin America, South Asia and Eastern Europe.

The global recession since 2009, centred in Europe and North America, resulted in a sharp economic decline. Six years later, the USA has recovered while Europe still faces serious problems. At the same time, it became more evident that the emerging economies are taking the lead in the global economy.

We are now moving towards a new economic world order. As the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) summarises in their Human Development Report 2013: "The 21st century is witnessing a profound shift in global dynamics, driven by the fast-rising new powers of the developing world. China has overtaken Japan as the world's second biggest economy, lifting hundreds of millions of people out of poverty in the process. India is reshaping its future with the new entrepreneurial creativity and social policy innovation. Brazil is raising its living standards by expanding international relationships and antipoverty programmes that are emulated worldwide." UNDP's Human Development Report 2013 is entitled "The Rise of the South – Human Progress in a Diverse World". It demonstrates how the economic world order is fundamentally changing, making the Euro-American dominance of the world economy into a historical parenthesis.

A comparison can be made between a Southern group of Brazil, China and India, on the one hand, and a Northern group comprising Canada, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States, on the other. At the very beginning of the colonial era, in 1820, the Southern group is estimated to have accounted for 50% of the global economic output, and the Northern for 20%. In 1950, at the turning point of colonialism, the Southern group was down to 10%, while the Northern one peaked at 50%. In 2013, the two curves are estimated to have met at 30% each. The projection for the year 2050 is that the Southern group will account for 40% of the world economic output. At that point, the Northern group is expected only to provide 20%.

Between 2009 and 2030 what is defined by the UNDP as "the world's middle class" is expected to grow from 1.8 billion people to 4.8 billion. This growth is expected to take place entirely in the global South, whose share of the middle class will grow from 46% to 80%. UNDP notes: "The South is now emerging alongside the North as a breeding ground for technical innovation and creative entrepreneurship. In North-South trade the newly industrializing economies have built capabilities to efficiently manufacture complex products for developed country markets. But South-South interactions have enabled companies in the South to adapt and innovate with products and processes that are better suited to local needs." Between 1980 and 2011, South-South trade, as a share of world merchandise trade rose from 8.1% to 26.7% according to UNDP.

This change of paradigm is of course dominated by the big actors in the BRICS group and the Asia-Pacific region. In 2030, about two thirds of the world's "middle class" is expected to live in that region, compared to around a quarter now. Compared to that, what is happening in Africa seems much more modest. UNDP refers to a report produced by Brookings Institution in 2012, which estimated that Africa's share of the world's "middle class" will be 1.7% in 2009, rising to 2.2% in 2030. In real terms, this would however mean that the numbers would more than triple from about 32 million to 107 million, revolutionising the domestic market situations in large parts of Africa. Judging from the last couple of years, it is possible that the African development might even be a bit faster – assuming that an economic slow-down in China will not hamper the progress too much.

"But", says UNDP, "the "Rise of the South" is a much larger phenomenon. Indonesia, Mexico, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey and other developing countries are becoming leading actors on the world stage. The 2013 Human Development Report identifies more than 40 developing countries that have done better than expected in human development...."

Many of these countries are situated in Africa. Still, Africa is the poorest continent, but it is now becoming the fastest growing. An important part of the "rise of the South" is indeed the rise of Africa. And the challenging question is – will it be sustainable?

The World Bank summarises the African situation (Africa's Pulse April 2013) as follows:

"Sub-Saharan African countries continue to grow at a strong pace, spurred by domestic demand and still high commodity prices. Economic prospects are tilted to the upside. Good progress has been made on a few MDGs, even though the region lags in achieving the development goals. More than a decade of strong growth has reduced poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa, but high inequality and resource dependence have dampened the poverty-reducing effect of income growth. Several opportunities—mineral wealth, elevated food prices, rapid urbanization and a demographic dividend—hold the promise of accelerating the income growth of the poorest groups, but appropriate policies are required to unleash this potential."

The World Bank reports that, in 2012, the economic growth of Sub-Saharan Africa is estimated at 4.7% and 5.8% when South Africa is excluded. This is to be compared with the world average of 2.4% the same year and the developing country average of 4.9%. One country in four had a growth rate of 7% or more, qualifying among the fastest-growing in the world. Medium term growth prospects are, according to the World Bank, strong, remaining on the level of 5% over the 2013-2015 period.

Finally a number of African countries have entered into the top of the growth league, albeit at a very low level. But is this the beginning of a long-term sustainable trend, or just a short-term commodity boom? Will it help to eradicate poverty in a sustainable way? One could certainly imagine significant economic development in Africa that does not come much closer to solving the poverty problems. Africa has much that is attractive to the big national and corporate economic actors. That includes large mineral and fossil fuel reserves, great untapped farming and forestry potential and an abundance of unskilled and very cheap labour.

An important driving force is China's need for raw materials for its industrial expansion and markets for its products. But China, like earlier foreign actors penetrating Africa, has little regard for democracy or human rights.

In 2014-2015, we have been seeing a slowing-down in the economic growth of countries like China, India and Brazil. This has negatively affected their demand for African commodities, which, in turn, has had a cooling effect on Africa's growth. The dramatic fall in oil prices in late 2014 and in 2015 has of course harmed the economy of Africa's big oil producers like Angola, Nigeria, Algeria and Libya (where, however, this was overshadowed by the effects of the political turbulence and violence) and benefitted oil importers. However these developments are not predicted to alter the long-term perspectives for Africa's economic development.

The sustainability of the economic development will very much depend on how well ecological and social sustainability is achieved; on how well economic distribution is achieved; or on environmental factors. Africa is increasingly experiencing the pinch of corruption, mismanagement, social tension and environmental degradation. What is causing problems in China might quickly turn into disasters in the much more fragile Africa.

Determining factors will include: continued development of democracy; respect for human rights and good governance without corruption or abuse of power; vigorous measures against environmental pollution, especially strong measures to tackle climate change such as reforestation, water regulation, more ecological farming methods, etc.; development of technologies adapted to African needs and conditions; reduced dependence on commodities in the economy and the development of the processing industry; fair trade conditions; and, last but not least, priority given to agriculture.

Development and technology

Africa's economy is still mainly based on primary commodities. Africa is benefitting strongly from the present boom but this development is very fragile. And it is natural and necessary that Africa should now begin to build up processing and consumer goods industries. Conditions are becoming more favourable, as the labour costs are rising in emerging economies. It may seem cynical to congratulate Africa on becoming the next low-wage haven, but this is seemingly always a good place to start. Sustainable industrial growth, however, depends on improved educational standards and good governance as well as technological development.

Africa has so far been dependent on technology imported from the North, technology adapted for good access to capital, cheap raw materials, expensive labour and high educational standards. What Africa needs for its industrialisation is less capital-intensive and more labour-intensive technology. Here, the growing South-South cooperation with countries like China, India and Brazil allows the know-how to be tailored to specific African conditions and Africa to build its own capacity for research and development.

So far, the rules of world trade have been set by the old rich countries. Now the power balance is rapidly changing. But still the poorest countries find themselves left in the backwater. Chad's trade problems are not the same as those of China and India. A major area of dispute is whether free trade is the best way to promote development, or whether some level of protectionism is needed to build up industry. During the African socialism heydays, protectionism was definitely part of the arsenal. The experience was bad; the protected markets and state run companies became fertile ground for inefficiency and corruption. Open markets were among the most important requirements in the structural adjustment programmes the troubled African states had to implement in order to get loans and aid. The same philosophy also characterises the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) that the European Union has concluded with some difficulty with most African countries.

This forced economic openness had a positive impact, not least on the domestic price level and on the state budget deficit. However, there is a clear tendency for countries to get further locked in the primary commodity trap. The domestic industrialisation process stops, and the dominance of multinational corporations increases. Traditionally, these companies have been European and North American, but now, of course, China and, to a lesser extent, India and Brazil are taking over. This, however, does not seem to make much difference from an African perspective. Indeed, often enough, many of the companies based in emerging economies are even more cynical in their attitudes, and generally less exposed to NGO and media scrutiny in their home countries [see page 61].

It is worth noting that, in general, the emerging economies that today are so successful, built up their industries with the help of more or less protected markets, different types of subsidies, etc. China is still working with an undervalued currency as a competitive tool. Even the EU protects sensitive industries, and especially agriculture, with various types of tariffs and subsidies. In conclusion, there might sometimes be a need for some protection of emerging industries, and protection against potentially harmful foreign development interests. The challenge is to find the right balance between protection and free trade.

Agriculture is fundamental

In its 2012 Africa Human Development Report 2012, entitled "Towards a Food Secure Future", the UNDP notes that: "The chain of food security that runs from food availability through food access to food use is under constant stress in sub-Saharan Africa. Agricultural productivity remains much lower than in other regions. Many countries in the region are net food importers, and some frequently need food aid. Even where food is available, millions cannot afford it or are prevented from buying or trading it. Important as food availability and access are, food security is about still more. Proper use of food determines whether food security sustains human development.

Malnutrition leads to illness and death—as insufficient access to safe water, energy and sanitation combine with diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria in a lethal mix. Misguided policies, weak institutions and failing markets are the deeper causes of sub-Saharan Africa's food insecurity. This tainted inheritance is most evident in households and communities where unequal power relations further trap vulnerable groups in a vicious cycle of deprivation, food insecurity and low human development. Moreover, demographic change, environmental pressure and climate change add formidable threats to the region's food security."

Traditionally agriculture has neither been given top priority in African development planning, nor in donor policies. Modernisation has often been considered to be about increasing other industries at the expense of agriculture. The farming population has often been seen mainly as a source of tax revenue and as a labour reserve. Any efforts made were mainly focused towards large-scale modern plantations for export crops. In recent years, a shift has started. Prospects for food security are becoming increasingly worrying, as UNDP highlights. In addition, there is a realisation that effective poverty eradication policies actually have to target the poor, who are largely found among small farmers and the rural landless. The UN agricultural agency, FAO, estimates that food consumption in Africa would have to increase 2.5 times to reach the average for all developing countries. Even that would not mean food security for all.

Still, Africa is probably the continent with the greatest potential to substantially increase agricultural production in the world. The 2012 Africa Human Development Report notes: "Yet sub-Saharan Africa has ample agricultural land, plenty of water and a generally favourable climate for growing food." But African soils are often fragile. It is important to make sure that intensified agriculture is implemented in an ecologically sustainable way. Simply going for harder exploitation will accelerate land degradation with devastating consequences.

Water is essential for all agriculture, and to increase the productivity of African agriculture, it is crucial to invest heavily in better water supplies. The actions required are about the same as those needed to address climate impacts – extensive tree planting, large and small dams, water-conserving farming practices, etc. It is also about organic practices, taking advantage of manure, nitrogen-fixing crops, etc. in order to secure the long-term build-up of the humus content of the soil.

Positive development of African agriculture has major spill-over effects on the economy, making substantial contributions to poverty reduction and to the prevention of a global food crisis. Although food production for local markets must take the highest priority, there are rapidly growing export opportunities. By cultivating fast-growing forest in an environmentally safe way, Africa can build an export industry for biofuels and contribute to mitigating climate threats.

The UNDP Africa Human Development Report argues for action in four interrelated areas: “First, boosting agricultural productivity in sustainable ways can improve food availability and economic access by bolstering food production and purchasing power. Second, effective nutritional policies can set the conditions to absorb and use calories and nutrients properly. Third, building resilient communities and households can protect access to food. Fourth, empowering the rural poor and especially women can improve access to food by harnessing the power of information, innovation and markets and more equitably allocating food and resources within families and across communities.”

Poverty and social injustice

The widespread poverty in Africa is partly due to the fact that the continent’s economic development over a long period was not focused on African needs. Instead, it was focused on serving European interests. Africa was forced to stay in the periphery of development, prevented from taking advantage of the developments in technology and know-how which, in the global North, helped create prosperity that is unique in history.

When Africa, only half a century ago, finally got the chance to take responsibility for its own development, it was in a weak position, not only in relation to its old colonial masters and other industrialised countries, but also in relation to the countries that had freed themselves from colonialism decades earlier. And, as development tends to favour development, the challenge was not only to catch up, but to avoid lagging even further behind.

This bad start was not only a hindrance to creating prosperity comparable to Europe and North America, but primarily a challenge to meeting the basic need of life, including food, shelter, health and education.

Women – holding the keys to development

The image of an African woman carrying water on her head gives the sense that she is a servant but this is not the traditional role the vast majority of African women actually had. Still today there are grandmothers who are the matriarch of the family. Colonialism reinforced or strengthened the role of the woman in the kitchen but turned it into something subservient whereas, prior to colonialism, the women indeed took care of the domestics but, with it, they were often the council which offered advice to the Chiefs. Chiefs held the overview but listened to the women’s council. The colonists from Europe told the Chiefs they were weak for listening to the women and so westernisation slowly reduced women to a subservient role.

As time went on, and men needed to leave the village for work in urban areas and in the mines, so the women rose again to take charge of the family. There are still many Africans today who hardly knew their father or grandfather as he only came home for holidays and led a different life elsewhere. It was the women who therefore took care of the home front and agriculture. Even though the men owned the land and although they only lived at subsistence level, women grew the produce for the family. Still today, a far larger percentage of women till the ground of Africa. It is therefore important to ensure women’s voices are heard in the dialogue on sustainability; they are the ones who tend to have the greater relationship with the land and its needs.

Leadership on the African continent mostly excludes women from the decision making process. Even where they are included, such as with parliamentary quotas, they are given little possibility to bring about actual change. Yet, it is essential that women become integrated into the politics on sustainability. They have the long term considerations and help organisations would do well to involve the women in the move towards a more sustainable economy. If women’s role could be lifted from growing produce just to help their family survive, they could contribute to the economy of their country. Women need to be involved in both caring for and protecting the land as they are the ones who work it and have done for

generations.

Generally, society in Africa has socialised women to think they shouldn't stand up and speak. Because they have been educated this way, it is harder for them to break the mold. When they do, they make a big difference, and societies need to realise that women have an important contribution to make and help them in fulfilling this potential. Their skills need to be promoted and accommodated. Intelligent school girls already start thinking young how to get married, often giving up the idea of a career at an early age. The system should actively promote them, so young women see there is a role for them and how they might fulfill that.

At leadership and governance level, consideration is rarely given to the different pressures a woman is under. Male ministers or politicians usually have a wife at home to support them. A woman minister, on the other hand, generally has to arrange home care and all the domestic responsibilities before she is able to put her mind to her political role. Many African women in leadership end up divorced because the juggling of many responsibilities becomes too much. But also, when a woman gets into a position of power, she often has no precedent or training to handle it.

If help can be given to build the confidence of the women whilst creating space to accommodate their situation, then they can play a much more vital role in sustainability.

Poverty creates poverty

Poverty in itself is a major obstacle to economic development. Domestic demand is extremely low. It is difficult to build up domestic market-oriented production of consumer goods and services. Technological and market disadvantages at home also represent a severe handicap for competing with high value-added products on the world market. Too often, the only available comparative advantages are domestic natural resources and cheap labour. Poverty forms a vicious circle with bad health and lack of education. Too many are trapped in illiteracy, and too few are able to gain the professional skills that society so desperately needs.

Malnutrition, poor sanitation and lack of health care weaken society. Pandemics such as HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria are hitting Africa harder than any other continent. The poor health status puts the brakes on economic development and has had severe social consequences. A dramatic example is that of the HIV/AIDS pandemic which, by targeting people in the most active age groups across a number of regions, particularly southern and eastern Africa, has caused family structures to collapse, leaving the old and the very young to fend for themselves. A devastating consequence is the increase in so called "child-headed" households, where no adult is available, and the oldest children, perhaps in their early teens, are trying to help their younger sisters and brothers to survive.

The impact of Ebola

Ebola is a serious infectious illness which often proves fatal. The virus, which is thought to have originated in fruit bats, was first detected in 1976 in an outbreak near the Ebola River in what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo. Ebola is transmitted through direct contact – through broken skin, or the mouth and nose – with the blood, vomit, faeces or bodily fluids of an infected person. Infection may also occur through direct contact with contaminated bedding, clothing and surfaces – but only through broken skin. It is still unclear how long the virus survives on surfaces but there is some evidence to suggest it can last up to six days. The Ebola outbreak in West Africa was first reported in March 2014, and rapidly became the deadliest occurrence of the disease since its discovery in 1976. Over 30,000 people were infected and, within a year, over 10,000 died from the outbreak in six countries; Liberia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, the US and Mali.

As well as being a humanitarian crisis, Ebola has had an economic, social and political impact. While the epidemic was limited to the West African states, it created an unprecedented global reaction. The disease struck under circumstances that could not have been less favorable. Liberia and Sierra Leone, both among the poorest countries on earth, are still recovering from brutal civil wars.

The social impact on the affected countries in the form of orphans, decimated families and stigmatisation was apparent. It also led to discriminatory action towards all Africans in general across the globe, and particularly those from the affected countries.

The outbreak of Ebola exposed a high degree of mistrust towards politicians. Sustaining peace and development in the region required emergency initiatives to repair the damage caused by the outbreak. The most serious effects of the Ebola outbreak are almost certainly yet to come and are economical and humanitarian. Decreased spending, combined with a sustained period of damage to cross-border trade and food markets, dampened economic recovery efforts in the entire region. Given the political and social damage from civil war, the secondary effects of the outbreak could ultimately overshadow the illness itself. While Ebola is terrifying, it also showed that concerted effort could bring the situation under control as was the case in Nigeria and Mali.

Ultimately, it may well prove necessary to allocate international aid packages to Ebola-stricken countries in order to address revenue shortfalls and budget deficits for a long time to come. Aside from rebuilding the health sector, the region needs investment for local agricultural production to ensure that food markets function and help rural communities get back on their feet. In the meantime, the Ebola endemic has disappeared largely from the agenda. It seems HIV remains a far more serious threat.

Boko Haram – part of a global security threat

Nigeria's militant Islamist group, Boko Haram, has caused the most serious security threat in West Africa in the post-independence era. It is part of a global security threat.

Boko Haram ("Western education is forbidden"), officially called Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad "Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad", is an Islamist terrorist movement based in northeast Nigeria, also active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon. The group is currently led by Abubakar Shekau.

Boko Haram killed over 5,000 civilians between July 2009 and January 2015, in attacks occurring mainly in northeast, north-central and central Nigeria. The group has orchestrated terrorist attacks in Africa's most populous country through a wave of bombings, assassinations and abductions. Its stated objective is to overthrow the government and create an Islamic state. Boko Haram is inspired and influenced by the Koranic phrase: "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors."

After its founding in 2002, the group's increasing radicalisation led to a violent uprising in July 2009 in which its leader was executed. Its unexpected resurgence, following a mass prison break in September 2010, was accompanied through increasingly sophisticated attacks, initially against soft targets, and progressing in 2011 to include the suicide bombing of police buildings and the United Nations office in Abuja. The Nigerian military proved ineffective in countering the insurgency.

Since mid-2014, the militants have been in control of swathes of territory, estimated at 50,000 square kilometers (20,000 sq mi), in and around their home state of Borno, but have not captured the capital of Borno State, Maiduguri, where the group was originally based. The Economic Cooperation of West African States (ECOWAS) initiated a coordinated response making the fight against Boko Haram truly regional. The deployment of troops has driven many out of Maiduguri, their main urban base, and they have now retreated to the vast Sambisa forest, along the border with Cameroon.

From there, the group's fighters have launched mass attacks on villages and towns in Nigeria, looting, killing and burning properties. In August 2014, Mr. Shekau declared a caliphate in areas under Boko Haram's control and praised Iraqi national Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the self-declared caliph (ruler) of Muslims worldwide.

Boko Haram is part of a global security threat allied with the Islamic State network, Al Qaida and Al Shabaab.

The need for peace and democracy

Sustainable development must be peaceful development. War and violent conflict always lead to deeper poverty and environmental destruction. Sustainable, peaceful development is best promoted by democracy. Democracy, and especially parliamentary democracy, implies conflict resolution through talking and negotiation rather than by force. A stable society must be based on people having confidence in the leadership, and being able to get rid of their leaders peacefully when that trust is forfeited. A strong power can impose peace for a while, but sooner or later the pressure will build up and lead to an explosion.

Africa's aborigines

Africa's aborigine peoples are often forgotten in political and historic analyses of Africa. This might be explained partly by their limited numbers and partly by the political social and economic marginalisation of aborigines in Africa like in the rest of the world.

Although the majority of African peoples can be considered “domestic” in the sense that they originate from the continent and nowhere else, in practice, few communities can be considered as aborigine peoples based on their connection to the region where they live. Groups and communities who claim they are aborigines, and require recognition of this, often have a very long history of belonging in their district but living outside the dominant state system. They are often in conflict with the surrounding dominant community on access to land and the right to hunt, fish and farm. Too often they suffer collective punishments and violations of their human rights.

The term aborigine peoples have a great acceptance in Africa, but there is also a discussion in both the national and international context of the status they should have under the national government. Examples of aborigine peoples in Africa are the San people of southern Africa, the Twa in Central Africa, the Amazigh or Berber in North Africa, the Bororo in the Horn of Africa, the Ogiek in East Africa and the Tuareg of West Africa.

VIII. African strategies and cooperation

The Pan-African Movement and the Organization of African Unity

There is a general agreement that regional integration is vital for Africa. Pan-Africanism was a guiding light for most of the African freedom leaders - Senghor in Senegal, Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere in Tanzania, etc. As early as 1963, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), was formed as a forum for consultation among African leaders. In 2002, the organisation was restructured and renamed the African Union (AU), based on the model of the EU, including a Pan-African Parliament.

The Pan-African Movement actually began outside the African continent, among descendants of slaves in the Caribbean and North America, who wished to reconnect with their African origin and to strengthen the African identity among African-Americans. Soon African leaders, such as Sekou Touré, Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, came to play an increasingly prominent role and the movement's main task came to be the promotion of the liberation of Africa. The main idea was that independence was not enough. The goal must be to unite Africa. Julius Nyerere states in his book from the 1960s entitled "Africa's Freedom":

"Only if we are united, we can ensure that Africa is truly independent. Only with unity can we be sure that African resources will be used to Africans best."⁶

Pan-Africanism became, in some ways, the official ideology in the struggle for independence, although various leaders attached different meanings to the concept. For many of the more radical leaders, it was important to see Africa as part of the non-aligned movement, while others, particularly in the old French colonies, preferred close links with the West and the former colonial powers. Others, especially political leaders with a background in the liberation struggle against white minority regimes and Portugal, preferred close links to communist powers such as the Soviet Union, China and Cuba.

Despite ideological and strategic differences the Pan-African idea had critical success when the creation of the OAU was proclaimed in 1963 at a meeting in Addis Ababa. The historian Basil Davidson points to three significant political effects of this step. Firstly the advent of the OAU provided proof that the African states were moving towards independence after the colonial period and were determined to try working together. Secondly, the OAU became the African states' own tool in efforts to settle disputes, develop common action, come together in defence of African independence and continue the struggle for liberation. Thirdly, through the OAU, the old Pan-African ideals became anchored in reality.

The end of Cold War was, as we have pointed out, important for Africa too. Not least, it meant that democracy and human rights became more important for the Western powers than the struggle against communism. So, finally, support for the Apartheid regime in South Africa came to an end, which as we have noted, triggered very important developments across large parts of Africa. But many also saw that the liberation of Eastern Europe might lead to less interest in Africa from both Western and Eastern powers, compared to when African leaders could comfortably play the USA and the Soviet Union against one another.

An important argument in the Pan-African debate was the need for Africa to take more responsibility for its own future. A driving force in this work was Mandela's successor as South African president, Thabo Mbeki. Even before he was elected, Mbeki launched the vision of the African Renaissance together with the then leaders of the other African superpower, Nigerian President Olesenju Obasanjo, and the leading Francophone State, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal. These visions received wide support among other African leaders. The "African Renaissance" was, however, a rather vague concept and there was a debate on whether this renaissance would be cultural, economic or political, or perhaps all three. The debate about the African Renaissance stimulated new steps toward African unity. The OAU, the rather loose and idealistic association of African states should be replaced by a more tangible organisation, the African Union (AU), which was founded at a meeting in Durban in 2002, with a structure inspired to a great extent by that of the European Union. The African Union was established in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; the Pan African Parliament in Midrand, South Africa.

The African Union

The African Union is, according to its vision statement, the principal organisation of the African continent for the promotion of faster socio-economic integration to strengthen unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples. Its work

⁶ Quoted from Basil Davidson: *Africa in the 20th Century*.

should be guided by a “common vision of a united and strong Africa and by the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion among our peoples.”

The AU is still a weak organisation with limited resources, but the simple existence of joint organisations where senior representatives from all African countries regularly meet and discuss common problems, is a very big step forward. It will be a long time before the AU can be compared with the EU. A better comparison can probably be made with the Council of Europe, which also works mainly through consultation, but whose importance in creating some form of cohesion in a war-torn continent should not be underestimated. More on the AU and sub-regional cooperation bodies later.

The African Union has a structure similar to the EU. The highest governing body is the Summit, a Conference of Heads of States and Governments. Below that, is a Council of Ministers which, like that of the EU, has different compositions depending on the case. There are also two specialised councils, the Peace and Security Council, which plays a major role in the AU's peacekeeping efforts, and the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, which connects to the private sector and civil society. The intention is also to establish a Pan-African Court to enforce the AU's conventions and treaties, including the African Convention on Human and People's Rights.

The political leadership also includes a Parliamentary Assembly, the Pan-African Parliament (PAP). It consists of members appointed by the parliament of each member country. The Parliament monitors the executive power of the Union and promotes the citizens' needs and wishes. So far, it has only advisory functions, like the European Parliament had in its early years but the aim is that it also should gradually acquire more and more normal parliamentary powers. This is an important ambition in the agenda for 2014 and beyond that came out of the 10th anniversary of the Parliament in 2014.

The PAP plays today a role similar to that of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, whose importance to creating the political conditions for strengthened European cooperation should not be underestimated. It is a place for truly Pan-African discussions about joint problems and possible joint solutions. The members are also members of their national parliaments, which provides a link between national and Pan-African politics.

The executive powers of the AU rest with the Commission, which comprises a president, a vice-president and eight additional commissioners. The commissioners are responsible for the following portfolios: Peace and Security (conflict prevention, conflict management and counter-terrorism); Political Affairs (human rights of democracy, good governance, electoral institutions, civil society institutions, humanitarian issues, refugees including internal refugees and repatriation issues); Infrastructure and Energy (including transport, communications and tourism); Social Affairs (health, children, fight against drugs, population, migration, labour and employment, sports and culture); Human Resources and Science (including education, IT and Youth); Trade and Industry (including customs and immigration); Rural Economy and Agriculture (including food safety, the environment, water and natural resources and desertification); Economic Affairs (economic integration, monetary affairs, business development investments and resource development).

The AU also plays a very important role in conflict management. The Union has organised discussion forums for the African conflicts, set up by mediators; provided observers for elections in sensitive contexts; and even dispatched peacekeeping troops.

Policy strategy – NEPAD

The AU has developed Pan-African strategies in different areas. The most important and comprehensive of these is the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which was launched by the South African President Thabo Mbeki and his Nigerian colleague Olusegun Obasanju. This was perhaps the first real attempt to turn the Pan-African idea into a real plan of action.

NEPAD emerged simultaneously with the aim of developing the OAU into the U. Mbeki and Obasanju were supported by leaders of countries including Algeria, Egypt and Senegal. The OAU Summit in 2001 adopted the NEPAD programme and it became a basic political programme for the African Union, founded the following year.

The main idea behind NEPAD is that the African people and its leaders must take the primary responsibility for the development of Africa. Development policy must be all-African and carried out in collaboration with African partners abroad. At the same time, one clear objective of NEPAD from the beginning has been to convince the world that it is good to invest in and develop trade which assists Africa. The NEPAD initiative received early support from the G8 group of the world's richest countries.

The objective is for NEPAD's priorities and guidelines to guide individual countries' development strategies, as well as multilateral and bilateral development cooperation. However, there has been criticism that NEPAD has not achieved as many concrete results as hoped, and that it spent too long directly related to the AU's operations in general. Therefore, NEPAD is now being mainstreamed into the AU's regular strategic and coordination work, amid criticism that the steam is running out of the NEPAD process.

The AU summit 2010 decided to mainstream NEPAD into the work of AU. The NEPAD secretariat was transformed into the NEPAD Agency, with more technical tasks to coordinate and implement AU development projects within the NEPAD framework.

The NEPAD Agency works within the following thematic areas:

- Agriculture and food security;
- Climate change and natural resource management;
- Regional integration and infrastructure;
- Human development;
- Economic and corporate governance;
- Cross-cutting issues of gender and capacity development.

The Agency's objectives include:

- Strengthened regional and continental integration to achieve sustainable economic growth and development;
- Enhanced capacity of member states and regional economic communities (RECs) to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the NEPAD programme;
- Implementation of effective growth strategies and poverty eradication programmes to accelerate African development goals through high quality sector and cross-sector programmes and projects;
- That Africa achieves the desired implementing capacities for active engagement on the global stage in all respects;
- That the NEPAD Agency becomes the knowledge hub on the continent;
- Partnerships based on equality, mutual respect, accountability and responsiveness are forged between Africa and development partners for better delivery of the AU/NEPAD development goals;
- Civil society and the private sector as an integral part of the development processes.

A potentially important cooperation linked to NEPAD is the Common Agricultural Development Policy (CADP). The main purpose of CADP is to give agriculture a higher priority in African countries' development planning. Traditionally, most national development strategies have focused on the fastest possible means of industrialisation, and agriculture has been neglected.

This policy has aimed to keep food prices low and thereby benefit the urban population. This has prevented investment and development in agriculture. A stagnant and often old fashioned agricultural industry has made it increasingly difficult to feed a rapidly growing population, and Africa's food imports have grown at a rapid pace. With rising food prices, this has become an increasingly heavy burden on African economies. Since the majority of Africa's population is employed in agriculture, rural development is crucial for poverty reduction.

The guidelines set for the share of the national government budgets to be spent on agricultural development are far from being achieved, but there is no doubt that agricultural development has received higher priority in the last decade. An increased interest among donors has also contributed to this, as well as world market developments. CADP has also played a role in the coordination of African positions in trade negotiations. This has largely involved preventing European and North American dumping of food surpluses on African markets to the detriment of domestic production, whilst also facilitating the export of African agricultural products to rich countries' markets. During the past few years, however, such issues have tended to be replaced by the opposite challenge; the need for food imports at reasonable prices.

Delivering on Africa's promise – The World Economic Forum on Africa

The World Economic Forum on Africa, held in Cape Town in May 2013, took as its theme "Regional Agenda: Delivering on Africa's Promise". This was followed up on during the 2014 meeting in Abuja, Nigeria under the heading "Forging Inclusive Growth, Creating Jobs". For obvious reasons, the discussions were held in a spirit of optimism and self-confidence not seen since the 1960s, but also with the awareness that much has to be accomplished to secure sustainable growth for Africa. The

conferences noted that “Africans are starting to explore their competitive advantages and talking about what they are going to do to make the continent more self-sufficient. In a mood of pragmatic optimism, participants addressed how to deliver on Africa’s potential.” (Conference report 2013).

Diversification is defined as key to Africa’s economic success. Inclusive growth needs to be created by building more job-intensive industries, adding value to commodities. This is made urgent by the large number of young people and the rapid urbanisation taking place. In this context greater regional integration is essential. Bigger markets will attract investments into regional supply chains and create commercial enterprise along transport corridors. Intra-Africa trade – currently about 12% of the continent’s total trade – needs to increase. Therefore, governments also need to remove impediments to the movement of goods and people around the continent. More regional integration should also facilitate the large scale improvements to infrastructure needed.

Inclusive growth requires significant and strategic investment in people, particularly women and youth, who are often economically marginalised, the Forum notes. There is also a need for a new focus on sectors that will provide jobs, skills and incomes. The agenda highlights agriculture, already the biggest contributor to GDP in most African countries. It is however suffering from low productivity through poor farming methods and inputs; a lack of land titles for women, who comprise the majority of African farmers; inadequate information; and little access to markets. A change of mindset is required in order to begin viewing the sector as a commercial enterprise rather than a small scale subsistence-driven activity. Large investments are needed in the entire value chain of agriculture and agro-processing.

However, to achieve this, there is a need for long-term improvements in competitiveness. The Forum’s Global Competitiveness Report 2013-2014 notes that 14 out of the world’s least competitive countries are in Africa. The problems include infrastructure deficits, lack of skills, poor education systems, low manufacturing capability, inefficient bureaucracy, and the high costs of doing business. Nevertheless the interest in African markets is growing, with a new inflow of investments and technology. The demand for African oil and gas is a driving factor, as are rising labour costs in Asia and increased demand on African markets. Improved African self-confidence encourages more intra-African investments and trade.

Large scale improvement of infrastructure is identified as essential “if rising growth rates are to be sustained and if growth is to translate into development that significantly improves the lives of people.” The current shortfalls in terms of infrastructure have been estimated to weaken GDP growth by up to 2% across Africa, and transport costs are estimated to be doubled due to insufficient standards of roads, railways, ports, air links and border crossing facilities. Only about 30% of households in Africa have electricity. Vast natural water resources, needed for irrigation and power generation remain unutilised due to lack of infrastructure.

The Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), developed by the African Union together with the United Nations, the African Development Bank and NEPAD, has identified 51 infrastructure projects of regional priority suitable for public-private partnership investments. They include power generation, transportation water and telecommunications. The overall costs by 2020 are estimated at US\$ 68 billion, 0.2 of Africa’s GDP. The World Bank estimates that Africa as a whole will need to spend US\$ 93 billion a year for a decade to bring infrastructure to an acceptable standard.

To secure sustainable growth in Africa, investment in the continent’s Human Resources must be given priority. The UN Human Development Report 2014 still shows Sub-Saharan Africa at the bottom of the list for factors such as life expectancy at birth and education as well as the general Human Development Index.

“While foreign direct investment is surging, the continent needs to implement innovative methods of including historically underutilized segments of the population, particularly women and young people”, the Forum concluded. The World Bank estimates the participation of women in the labour force to be 61%, which is higher than in most parts of the world. But women are discriminated against legally and educationally. Therefore, broad empowerment policies are needed to strengthen women in the labour market; increase the number of more women in advanced positions; and promote women’s entrepreneurship and leadership.

The 20 countries with the highest percentage of the population under 15 in the world are all in Africa. The continent’s population growth can be a comparative advantage, as populations are declining in large parts of the rest of the world. But to tap into that advantage takes a lot of innovation and entrepreneurship. In 2012, around 90 million young Africans joined the labour market, but only about 36 million, 40%, found jobs.

The Arab Spring in North Africa and its fate have obviously been an eye opener for many politicians, including in Sub-Saharan Africa. The desperation among young people who see no future is a driving force behind protests that easily turns

violent. Better education and promotion of entrepreneurship are also crucial here as the way ahead.

Economic and social sustainability was very high on the agenda at the meetings of the World Economic Forum on Africa. Still, less attention seems to be given to ecological sustainability. This indicates an underestimation of the economic and social consequences of a failure to meet the ecological challenges, and especially those posed by climate change. These consequences are already a hard reality in many parts of Africa.

Regional cooperation efforts

Concrete cooperation is often easier at sub-regional level than at the Pan-African level. Therefore, RECs have been of great significance for African cooperation. The most important of these are South African Development Community (SADC) in southern Africa, the East African Community (EAC) in East Africa, The Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa Parliament (CEMAC) in West Central Africa, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa and the Maghreb Council of North Africa.

Their activities vary, but all are engaged in multilateral development projects and try in various ways to promote cooperation among member countries in economic, industrial and trade policy. CEMAC is a fully developed customs and currency union. For ECOWAS, conflict management, including military peacekeeping operations have become an important part of the work undertaken. SADC, too, has made similar efforts.

Like the AU, several RECs have parliamentary assemblies: SADC Parliamentary Forum (SADC PF), East African Legislative Assembly (EALA), the CEMAC Parliament (CEMAC-P) and ECOWAS Parliament (ECOWAS-P). All these parliamentary assemblies are elected by the national parliaments. EALA is the only regional parliament in which the members are not also members of national parliaments. EALA also has more definite decision-making powers including regional agreements and control over the EAC's budget. The other regional parliaments have more advisory functions, similar to the function of the Council of Europe.

Advances in regional cooperation are key to Africa taking command of its own development. In the book "The Rise of China and India in Africa", Professor Fantu Cheru, world leading expert on African cooperation policies, together with researcher Magnus Calais, emphasises that this is necessary, not only to keep the US and Europe at bay, but also to make sure that the interest from the new economic powers of the world will indeed benefit Africa, and not do long-term harm.

Cheru and Calais identify a number of areas where, in their view, more concrete regional cooperation would be required, in order for Africa to be able to meet, to its own benefit, the growing interest of the world, particularly China and India.

To begin with, it is important to create a regional platform for the harmonisation of macroeconomic policies and investment policies. This is an important component of the NEPAD cooperation but, so far, NEPAD and the AU coordination mechanisms have been too weak. This makes it difficult for foreign investors, and keeps the many small economies, in particular, marginalised. At the same time the risk of foreign economic domination increases. Through concrete coordination between several countries, e.g. in the framework of the RECs, African control can be strengthened and nine more countries will be attractive to investors.

A regional platform is also needed for coordinating strategic infrastructure development. Here, development has come a bit further, but the results are still modest. Primarily, however, development is driven by foreign players such as the World Bank and China, being leading investors in African infrastructure. It is important here to have a comprehensive programme under the AU's auspices, with the sub-regional programmes handled by the RECs. The African Development Bank should be a valuable instrument to achieve this, according to Cheru and Calais.

An additional regional platform would be needed to promote investment and trade. This touches the core of the responsibilities of the AU and RECs. Increased coordination in these areas is necessary, both to facilitate investment and trade across Africa, and to ensure African control over the conditions that apply.

There is also a need for a strong regional financial sector. Currently, only a few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have a domestic financial sector to speak of, primarily South Africa and Nigeria, and to some extent, countries like Ghana and Kenya. To build strength, and to assert itself reasonably against the major multinational financial houses, the African financial sector needs to develop on a regional basis and, therefore, also needs therefore regionally coordinated rules. Investment agreements should be regional rather than bilateral. This would help to create a clearer and a more level

playing field in various parts of Africa and strengthen African control. This is also strongly recommended by UNCTAD. Cheru and Calais also call for a regional coordination of research and education. It is, again, only a few African countries that can pursue research and advanced training. Meanwhile, both old and new partners, and China in particular, are very generous with training, while most Africa-relevant research is conducted outside of Africa.

IX. Africa and the world

Africa is, like every continent dependent on the outside world. Historically, this has meant inequality and vulnerability for Africa. Rich countries, and international organisations dominated them, with ambitious programmes and strategies to help Africa and other poor regions. But there are always conflicts between development strategies and the political realities, whether these involve trade and economic relations in general, or the struggle for natural resources. Now, the basic conditions for Africa's relations to the rest of the world are rapidly changing.

The new international economic order that was so intensely discussed during international conferences in the 1970s and 1980s is now, as discussed in chapter VII, progressing without any international agendas or agreements. China is the undisputed leader of this development, with other parts of East and South Asia, as well as Latin America, following suit. Africa has long been seen as marginal in this development, but is now rapidly catching up, albeit slowly. South-South trade and investments have given a new impetus to African economic development, especially important during the economic crisis of the West, and Africa is now definitely a part of the rising South.

The Millennium Development Goals

In 2000, countries throughout the world adopted the eight UN goals for the global development, the so called Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The intention was to achieve the objectives by 2015:

The UN has been reporting annually on the progress towards reaching these goals. In the 2014 report, the situation was summarised as follows:

"This report examines the latest progress towards achieving the MDGs. It reaffirms that the MDGs have made a profound difference in people's lives. Global poverty has been halved five years ahead of the 2015 timeframe. Ninety per cent of children in developing regions now enjoy primary education, and disparities between boys and girls in enrolment have narrowed. Remarkable gains have also been made in the fight against malaria and tuberculosis, along with improvements in all health indicators. The likelihood of a child dying before age five has been nearly cut in half over the last two decades. That means that about 17,000 children are saved every day. The target of halving the proportion of people who lack access to improved sources of water was also met."

The regional "MDG Progress Report for Africa 2014", shows that a lot of achievements have been made, but many challenges remain:

Goal 1

Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. Halve the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day by 2015 compared to 1990. According to the "Progress Report on Africa 2014", poverty is declining, but this goal will not be met. The poverty rate has declined but the total number of Africans living below 1.25 dollars a day has increased. Hunger is being reduced slowly – between 1990 and 2013 the proportion of malnourished children in Africa only went down from 33% to 25%. The number of people with access to clean drinking water doubled from 250 million in 1990 to around 500 million in 2014. The progress is unevenly distributed, however, often not reaching the rural poor.

Goal 2

Achieve universal primary education. All children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary education. The Progress Report notes that Africa has made spectacular leaps in primary education enrolment, and that most countries will meet the enrolment target. Dramatic results have also been achieved regarding primary school completion, but drop outs remains a challenge, not least regarding girls

Goal 3

Promote gender equality and empower women. Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education by 2015. The best results are in primary education, says the Progress Report, while progress is much slower in secondary and tertiary education and the labour market. The variation between countries is considerable.

Goal 4

Reduce child mortality. Reduce the mortality rate among children under five by two thirds by 2015 in comparison with 1990.

According to the Progress Report, half of the countries will have reached the goal, or are well on track regarding under-five mortality while the other half show insufficient progress. The maternal mortality rate fell from 990/100,000 live births in 1990 to 510 in 2013. For the world as a whole, the figures fell from 380 to 210. The under-five mortality rate fell from 177/1000 live births in 1990 to 98 in 2012. World figures are 99 and 53. In spite of great progress in the struggle against child mortality, Africa still suffers the most childhood deaths in the world. In 2009, one child out of eight died before their fifth birthday.

Goal 5

Improve maternal health. Reduce maternal mortality by three quarters by 2015 compared to 1990. Achieve universal access to reproductive health by 2015. Africa still has the highest burden of maternal death despite a 47% decline between 1990 and 2013, the report states. Access to reproductive health is still far from sufficient.

Goal 6

Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases. Halt and reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS by 2015. There is, according to the Progress Report, a reversal in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Still the number of Africans living with HIV/AIDS has barely started to decline. Access to treatment is falling short of universal levels. The share of those affected who have access to medication, however, rose from 3% in 2004 to nearly 40% in 2013. But still, the region accounts for about 70% of the AIDS-related mortality. The decrease in malaria-related mortality is also the biggest in the world. Between 2008 and 2014 nearly 300 million were treated and mosquito nets were distributed.

Goal 7

Ensure ecologically sustainable development. Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and national programs and reverse the loss of environmental resources. Reduce biodiversity loss, achieving a significant reduction in the rate of loss by 2010. Halve the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water and acceptable sanitary standards by 2015. Africa's CO₂ emissions increase with increasing industrialisation, the report notes, but on a very low level, if North Africa is excluded. CO₂ emissions increased worldwide from 21.6 billion metric tons in 1990 to 32.2 billion in 2011. Africa's contribution however is still modest, increasing from 0.7 billion to 1.2 billion metric tons. The situation regarding access to drinking water and sanitation is improving, but remains insufficient and unevenly distributed.

Goal 8

Develop a global partnership for development. Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system; address the specific needs of the least developed countries, landlocked countries and small island developing States; deal comprehensively with developing countries' debt; provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries, in cooperation with pharmaceutical companies; and make available the benefits of new technologies, in cooperation with the private sector. Here, the results are discouraging. The Progress Report notes, however, that there is limited progress in developing an open, rule-based, predictable and non-discriminatory trading and financial system. At the same time, official development assistance (ODA) from OECD-countries to Africa has declined the last couple of years. Net bilateral aid to Africa (where 34 of the 48 LDCs are located) fell by 5.6 per cent in 2013 to \$ 28.9 billion in real terms. The DAC survey suggests the likelihood of a continued decline by 5% in country programmable aid to LDCs and low income countries, particularly in Africa."

Sustainable Development Goals

In September 2015 a United Nations Summit met in New York to evaluate the MDGs and adopt a post-2015 development agenda. A major part of that is a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The Summit followed up from the UN Conference on Sustainable development held in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012, the so-called Rio+20, commemorating the 20th anniversary of the first conference on sustainable development in Rio and the 10th anniversary of the second, held in Johannesburg.

The Rio+20 outcome document entitled "The Future We Want" resolved to establish an Open Working Group to prepare the SDGs. In connection with Rio+20, there was also a special African ministerial meeting where 40 states made commitments to the continued process. The UN Secretary General has also been conducting a number of other high level consultations to mobilise support for the SDGs

In mid-July 2015 the UN's Third International Conference on Financing for Development was held in Addis Ababa to consider ways and means to finance the SDGs. In the conference report the ambitions of the post-2015 agenda are expressed as

follows:

“Our goal is to end poverty and hunger, and to achieve sustainable development in its three dimensions through promoting inclusive economic growth, protecting the environment, and promoting social inclusion. We commit to respect all human rights, including the right to development. We will ensure gender equality and women’s and girls’ empowerment. We will promote peaceful and inclusive societies and advance fully towards an equitable global economic system where no country or person is left behind, enabling decent work and productive livelihoods for all, while preserving the planet for our children and future generations.”

According to UN estimates, for the new goals to be met will require no less than \$ 11.5 trillion a year for next 15 years. The conference was not able to produce any concrete financing strategy or funding commitments, but outlined policies including both domestic and international funding policies from the public as well as the private sector and also involving the civic society.

The UN summit in September 2015 adopted 17 goals, concretised in 169 targets. The goals are the following:

1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere
2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation
10. Reduce inequality within and among countries
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts (Acknowledging that the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change is the primary international, intergovernmental forum for negotiating the global response to climate change)
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development.

Effective aid?

The colonial liberation in Africa in the 1960s triggered significant development optimism. There was an acute awareness of the deep poverty from which virtually all the new states suffered. The causes of poverty were obvious – lack of infrastructure, the low education level with extensive illiteracy, the lack of a well-trained labour force, predominance of primitive subsistence farming and so on. Therefore, it was simple to deal with the problems and fix them, or so it seemed. The 1960s was a decade of strong development of the world economy, completing the recovery after the Second World War. The UN launched the first development decade, the rich world committed 0.7% of their GDP to development, and by the end of the century extreme poverty would be eradicated.

But the 1970s and 1980s brought economic crisis and, in the 1990s, the optimism had given way to a realisation that development is not so easy. Development cooperation had not yielded what it had proposed. The lavish promises had not been fulfilled; barely a third of the 0.7% target was achieved. There was also criticism about how aid was designed.

Aid policies were determined by the donor community, often with poor understanding of the recipient’s needs and driven largely by donors’ own political and economic agenda. The possibilities for the developing countries to plan and manage their own development were seriously undermined. Often aid was tied to purchases from donor countries’ companies, and much development funding took the form of loans that created huge debt burdens.

Donors responded to these criticisms by pointing to poor management in the recipient countries with a high incidence of corruption, client systems, neglect and abuse of power. What all could agree on was that development cooperation had not delivered the results hoped for. Although there was some progress, reaching the goal to eradicate poverty through development aid was as distant as ever, and the gap between rich and poor countries had increased.

In 2002, a major international conference on Financing for Development was held in Monterrey, Mexico. One topic was the difficulties in reaching the 0.7% target, and another important task was starting up a comprehensive process to improve aid effectiveness.

In the Monterrey Consensus, it was agreed that aid must increase, but also that major efforts by both donors and recipients were needed to make development cooperation more effective in order for the MDGs to be achieved.

The next high-level meeting on aid, held in Rome in 2003, focused on the lack of coordination. The Rome Declaration on Harmonization demanded that donors coordinate their efforts, in agreement with the recipients. But the big breakthrough for a new approach to aid, whereby real cooperation is based on partnership rather than charity, came with the Paris Declaration in 2005.

The Paris Declaration

The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness set down a number of principles which should apply to all development cooperation:

- **Ownership.** The partner country (recipient) should exercise effective leadership of its development policies and strategies and coordinate development efforts. In this respect, partners commit to develop prioritised strategies and exercise leadership over the management of aid, while donors are expected to respect this leadership;
- **Adaptation.** Donors should adapt their overall support to the national development strategies, institutions and procedures of the partner countries. Partner countries commit themselves to strengthening their systems so that they are effective, accountable and transparent;
- **Harmonisation.** Donor countries must operate in a way that is more harmonised, transparent and collectively effective. This includes a commitment on the part of donors to have coordinated and simplified procedures, make a rational division of labour at country level and provide effective assistance to fragile states;
- **Management for results.** Both donors and partners undertake to manage development assistance in a way that produces results and to carry out common procedures to evaluate these results;
- **Mutual accountability.** Partner countries commit themselves to strengthening the role of parliaments on development strategies and budgets, and donors committed to providing early, transparent and comprehensive information on aid flows to enable partner countries to present comprehensive budget reports to their parliaments and citizens;

The Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation

In 2008, a third high-level meeting was held in Accra, Ghana. There, it was concluded that, although some progress had been made, this was far from sufficient to achieve the MDGs on time. For the first time, there was also a special parliamentary delegation at the meeting, organized by AWEPA. Since then, parliamentarians, facilitated by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) and AWEPA, have continuously participated in the process as an independent representation, in addition to government representatives from donor and partner countries and relevant civil society organisations (CSOs).

The Paris Declaration was concretised into The Accra Agenda for Action. In this, the following points are given priority:

- **Predictability.** Donors should make long-term commitments with a 3-5 year horizon.
- **Land Systems.** Partner countries' national systems should be used.
- **Conditionality.** Donors should avoid conditionality attached to aid and respect the partner countries' development goals.
- **Untying aid.** Conditions that prevent partners from freely choosing the most cost-effective supplier of goods and

services should not be accepted.

The fourth and final High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness was held in Busan, South Korea in November-December 2011. There it was decided that the process should be formalised into the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation. The Working Party on Aid Effectiveness was phased out and replaced by a steering committee by June 2012. The OECD and the UNDP play a supportive role. The Global Partnership provides a platform for discussions on aid effectiveness between donor and partner countries as well as CSOs, overseeing the implementation of the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action. As agreed earlier, member countries are represented not only by their governments, but also by parliamentarians, coordinated by international parliamentary organisations such as the IPU and AWEPA.

The first High-Level Meeting of the Global Partnership took place in Mexico City in 2014. It was an exchange of views and experience in areas such as progress in implementing the key principles of effective development cooperation; domestic resource mobilisation through taxation; effective and inclusive development in middle income countries; South-South and triangular cooperation; and improving the role of business in development.

Global Trade Policies

The MDGs are intended to guide all relevant global cooperation. In reality, their impact on policy making is limited outside of the direct development cooperation. Especially regarding global trade, other interests take over. There, the principle of survival of the fittest still prevails. In the 19th century, world trade became successively a matter between European countries, including their colonial empires and former European colonies, mainly in the Americas. The end of colonialism ended the direct political control, but not so much the economic control. World trade continued to be dominated by Europe and North America and the rules of the game were designed accordingly.

After the colonial liberation, demands for reforms in global trade were raised. In 1964, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was founded. The aim was to modify the rules of world trade to make them more suited to the needs of the newly born states. But interest among the economically leading countries was limited and not much happened in the first ten years.

The Euro-American dominance was shaken by the 1970s oil crisis. A group of new powerful players appeared on the global economic scene, the oil producing states. Through the formation of a common interest group, OPEC, this group of states gained real power. The shaking up of power relations in the world economy that emerged paved the way for demands for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). This was a big issue at the UN General Assemblies in 1974 and 1975, and UNCTAD was the body entrusted with the more concrete work.

High on the agenda was the opening of the markets of rich countries for exports from the poor countries, without tariff reduction necessarily being reciprocal. It was seen as particularly important to remove the so-called escalating tariffs, whereby the tariff rate increases for more processed products, as this tends to lock developing countries into selling raw materials. There was also a demand for commodity agreements that could stabilise commodity prices. Additional demands regarded investment agreements and codes of conduct for the multinational corporations.

Eventually, the demands for radical systemic changes started to fade away. A North-South Commission led by the former German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, presented a report in 1980 that focused on a number of more specific issues, especially the debt crisis, and the need for commodity agreements. After follow-up meetings in 1981 and 1983 the steam went out of NIEO. However, the 1987 Brundtland Commission report "Our Common Future" gave some new impetus to the debate, with more focus on the need for sustainable development.

The vision failed

The demands for a radical remake of the world economic system were sliding off the agenda. The old rich countries secured their dominance which meant that their interests would characterise the economic development of the world for a few more decades. In the Lagos Declaration of the early 1980s, the African countries tried to launch their own development agenda characterised by self-reliance, regional integration and an industrialisation process based on domestic conditions, but it had limited impact. Their own economies were so weakened, after the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s, and donors and creditors were so uninterested in the idea of development in Africa, that the whole project had to be abandoned. Instead, the countries were forced to accept the World Bank's and IMF's neo-liberal agenda in the form of

“structural adjustment programmes” with severely reduced public spending, privatisation and open markets.

UNCTAD never became a body with decisive influence on world trade rules. The real power lay instead with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The GATT was established in 1947 as a basic commercial policy agreement between the world's market economies. With the trade wars of the economic crisis in the 1930s in memory, it was felt that there was a need to lay the foundation for a strong free trade regime. Actually, the aim was to create a regular UN agency, an International Trade Organization (ITO). Together with the World Bank and the IMF, it should encourage development and constructive cooperation in the economic field, and prevent new outbreaks of trade wars and economic collapses. The formation of ITO fell through, however, due the resistance in the U.S. Congress, and the GATT, which was only intended as an agreement, instead came to be institutionalised. The African voice at that time was limited to the then few African member countries of the UN. In Sub-Saharan Africa, these were only Apartheid South Africa, Ethiopia and Liberia.

The GATT became the instrument for a number of important trade policy measures:

- gradual reduction of import duties on industrial goods;
- the most-favoured-nation principle, which means that trade advantages granted to one member state automatically also apply to all others;
- limitations on the use of non-tariff trade barriers such as quantitative quotas, not objectively justifiable product requirements, etc.;
- derogations mainly regarding free trade areas and customs unions, anti-dumping measures, reduced requirement for reciprocity for developing countries;
- Dispute resolution.

The GATT's main objective was to promote the interest of the industrialised countries of a world market that was as free as possible. Some consideration was given to the needs of developing countries by enabling preferential agreements, giving them better access to markets of developed countries. At the same time, there were strong demands on developing countries to open up their markets. A major problem, from the developing countries' point of view, was that the GATT's free trade rules only applied to industrial goods. Agricultural products, the major export products for the majority of developing countries, were excluded. So despite the preference rules, most developing countries, particularly the African ones, felt disadvantaged by the GATT.

The reduced political support for the idea of an NIEO coincided with dramatic changes in the political world order around 1990, the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. It also meant the end of the Non-Aligned Movement, which served as the ideological basis for the requirements of the NIEO. It was no longer possible to play the two blocs against each other. Only one superpower was left. The collapse of the Soviet Union and its socialist system meant that the market economy ideals had won, and all the talk of planned economy and equitable distribution were dismissed as economic foolishness. Even China changed to become a market economy, although dominated by the state and the Communist party.

The oil crisis of the 1970s had sped up efforts to reduce dependency on oil, especially from the Middle East. This led both to the opening of new oil and gas fields in other parts of the world, and to increased use of other energy sources, particularly nuclear. OPEC's leverage decreased and the USA. moved to strengthen its military grasp on the Middle East. So towards the end of the century, the political influence of the oil states was greatly reduced, and the idea that the world economy could be guided by anything other than market forces was dismissed from the agenda.

Towards new power relations

But the Euro-American domination of the world economy was far from fixed. During the last couple of decades, the so-called emerging economies, leaving their developing country status behind, have come to weigh heavier on the world economy. The BRICS group of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa plays a leading role, with China, one of the world's two biggest economies, of course playing in a class of its own.

In the mid-1990s, after the definite victory of market economy over the planned economy, it was finally time to form a real World Trade Organization and the WTO was established in 1995. The WTO gained a wider mandate than the GATT, not just industrial tariffs, but the entire field of economic exchange between countries.

Developing countries grouped themselves in the G70. The leading BRIC countries, in particular, pushed the request that agricultural products should also be covered by free trade arrangements. They also demanded that the USA. and the EU dismiss their agricultural subsidies, which they see as non-tariff trade barriers. The USA. and the EU on the other hand,

wish to expand free trade in other ways, and include the so-called Singapore issues (originally presented at a meeting in Singapore in 1996): 1) investments, 2) public procurement, 3) competition policy, 4) trade procedures.

Through the establishment of the WTO, a global agreement was also signed for the first time on trade in agricultural produce and food. Other important agreements within the WTO are the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), which regulates intellectual property rights, including patents, and lays out the conditions for foreign investment, and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

There is a lot of criticism among developing countries, particularly in Africa, about what they see as attempts by developed countries to limit their freedom of action in the area of economic policy. Many analysts also question whether the maximum free trade really is the best for poor economies that wish to get started in a process of industrialisation. They point to earlier experiences, notably that of the East Asian “tigers”, that show the need to protect domestic markets during certain stages of development.

Conflicting interests between developed and developing countries

Conflicting interests between the developed countries in the G20 and the developing countries in the G70 soon became apparent. The G70's highest priority was the liberalisation of agricultural trade, an end to dumping and trade distorting subsidies on food markets. The EU and the USA. responded by demanding concessions on the Singapore issues.

The questions were addressed in a new round of negotiations, the Doha Round, which was launched at a ministerial meeting in Doha, Qatar, in 2001. But at the next ministerial meeting in Cancún, Mexico, the process already became stuck. Since then, several attempts have been made to get the process afloat again, but without any real success. The WTO Ministerial Conference in Bali in December 2001 instructed the WTO Trade Negotiations Committee “to prepare within the next 12 months a clearly defined work program on the remaining Doha Development Agenda Issues.” Before the end of this period, however, in November 2004, the WTO General Council had to extend the deadline to July 2005.

The result is that instead the large and wealthy actors have initiated agreements with individual countries or small groups of countries. The Clinton administration initiated the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). This was principally based on an understanding of Africa's growing importance to U.S. trade, especially regarding the supply of oil and other strategic raw materials, and as a market for U.S. services and manufactured goods. The EU has focused particularly on the European Partnership Agreements (see later in this chapter). In recent years, however, China has been the most proactive trading power.

The new players – China

China has emerged as one of Africa's most important trading partners, investors and aid donors, comparable to the EU and the USA.

African exports to China have increased dramatically in the new century, at a rate about 40% per year. The total turnover of Sino-African trade passed 100 billion around 2010. Demand for Africa's natural resources is still the driving force. Over 60% of Africa's exports to China are oil and gas, and adding metal brings this figure up to 75%. China's demand for food and other agricultural commodities is also increasing.

China is also a major investor, and places a focus on investments in mineral extraction and infrastructure, thus facilitating transport of attractive commodities. More controversial is China's large scale purchasing or leasing of farmland to produce food for export to China, often with serious consequences for the local population and local food supply.

Development cooperation is also, to a large extent, directed towards the exploitation of raw materials, but also to monumental building projects, attractive for the political elite, such as grand sports facilities, government palaces, etc.

China's exports to Africa consist largely of cheap consumer goods. For many Africans, this has facilitated a long-awaited increase in consumption but, at the same time, it is hampering the development of indigenous production of consumer goods. Therefore the rapidly growing imports from China are sometimes controversial. But there is also a lot of Chinese investment in the consumer goods industry in Africa, mainly the textile industry. One important incentive for this is that it supposedly gives China access to European and North American markets on terms that are not available for products made in China.

There are concerns that Chinese investments will add to the existing difficulties in building a strong domestically controlled economy. Chinese companies are also considered to be harsh and ruthless employers and qualified jobs are mainly given to Chinese migrant workers. Additionally, Chinese trade and investment on the whole is still adding to Africa's dependence on primary commodities.

Another concern is that China is happy to support dictators, both economically and with arms. Still, as numerous African observers point out, there are many examples of western democratic states doing the same when it serves their strategic interests.

India – a historical presence

India's relations, in particular with East Africa, go back to the time before colonialism. Early on, there was considerable trade across the Indian Ocean. It was mainly indirect, because shipping was dominated by Arabs and Europeans. During the 19th century, the exchange between southern and eastern Africa and India took the form of internal transactions within the British Empire.

The British organised an extensive importation of labour into its African colonies. In the beginning, it was the development of infrastructure in Africa, mainly the construction of railways that drove development. The British companies simply found it easier to find skilled workers in India than in Africa. It was difficult to get Africans in sufficient numbers to leave their traditional economy of subsistence farming. The Indians were also useful as lower officials and foremen in both management and business. The fact that they lacked social ties to the local population often made them more loyal to the colonial masters. Eventually, they also established themselves as merchants in many of the British colonies. The role of Indians, or "the Asians" as middlemen in the colonial societies often made them very vulnerable, in a way reminiscent of the position of the Jews in Europe.

But the Indians were not always loyal to the colonial power. There are plenty of examples of Indians who played a leading role in the struggle against colonialism and against Apartheid. The most prominent of them all is perhaps Mohandas Gandhi, whose main achievement, of course, was India's liberation. As a young lawyer from 1893 to 1919, he played a leading role in mobilising the Indian population in South Africa against European oppression. Many Indians subsequently stood in the frontline in the struggle against Apartheid, and are playing a major role in forming the new South Africa today.

Until the 1980s, cooperation between India and Africa developed, particularly in the political and ideological sphere. Especially during Jawaharlal Nehru's time as prime minister, India played a prominent role in the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. The idea was that the new countries liberated from colonialism would make their own path and not adhere to either the Western or Eastern blocks. This attracted many of the leaders of the new African states in the 1960s - and 1970s.

The 1990s brought the dreams of the left to an end and neoliberalism took over. The same happened in India. Domestic development policies were revised and, consequently, foreign relations were improved, especially those with the United States. Now India began seriously to review its economic interests in Africa. The rivalry with China was, of course, still an important factor. But the decisive factor was, as for the other actors, the need to secure its energy and raw materials and to find markets for its manufactured goods. Trade between Africa and India still takes place on a fairly modest scale but, in the last two decades, it has increased tenfold. The composition of trade follows a familiar pattern; Oil and metals account for about 75% of trade. India's exports consist of industrial goods with a high proportion of chemical products, machinery and transport equipment.

Brazil – an old and complex relationship

Brazil has a special relationship with the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The Common language is, of course, important. A significant proportion of the Brazilian population has African roots, mainly in Angola. For a long time, this was mostly a matter of political and cultural relations. Now, however, Brazil has emerged as one of the leading new economies, the B in BRICs, and economic cooperation is rapidly growing. Although Brazil has significant mineral resources of its own, it also has an interest in participating in the scramble for Africa's resources. Apart from Angola and Mozambique, Brazilian investments also take place in many other countries such as South Africa, Gabon and Guinea.

Brazilian companies often stress that they have special advantages when operating in Africa, because of similarities in the socio-economic environment and the general level of development.

Among the new investors, Africa's neighbours in the Arab world are also to be found, especially Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states. Particularly extensive is the Saudi investment in African farmland that we covered in chapter VII.

The Joint Africa-EU Strategy

The Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES) is intended to be a cornerstone of African-European cooperation. It was launched at a summit in Cairo in 2002 and adopted in Lisbon 2009. In November 2010, a summit in Tripoli evaluated the partnership and adopted a second action program covering the period 2011-2013. At a summit in Brussels in April 2014, a new step was taken with the launch of the Pan-African Programme (PanAf) 2014-2020. At the same meeting, a Road Map and a Multiannual Indicative Programme (MIP) 2014-2017 was adopted as a first phase of the PanAf.

The strategy is based on a number of principles:

- African cohesion;
- Mutual interdependence between Africa and Europe;
- Partnerships and joint responsibility;
- Respect for human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law;
- The right to development;
- Cohesion and efficiency;
- Strong political dialogue;
- Joint management and joint responsibility in global affairs;
- Solidarity and mutual trust;
- Equality and fairness;
- Common and human security;
- Respect for international law and agreements;
- Gender equality and non-discrimination.

The aim of cooperation should be to improve the political partnership between Africa and the EU and to promote:

- Peace and security, democratic governance and human rights;
- Fundamental freedoms and gender equality;
- Sustainable development, including industrialisation;
- Regional and continental integration;
- The realisation of the MDGs in all African States by 2015;
- Effective multilateralism and a people-centred partnership.

The Africa-EU Partnership has an extensive apparatus for consultations. The summit is the formally important organ in which the two organisations meet at the presidential level. Joint ministerial meetings are the next level, which addresses more specific aspects of strategy. The European Parliament and the Pan-African Parliament have their own consultation process. The African Union Commission and the European Commission have annual joint meetings. There are also a number of informal joint Africa-EU expert groups involved in the implementation.

Dissatisfaction with JAES

The ambition expressed in JAES policy is high and the rhetoric often correspondingly elevated. The reality, however, is not so impressive. Several African leaders have also expressed their dissatisfaction with the absence of concrete results from all the meetings. Conflict management and peacekeeping are, however, often given as a positive example. The AU has played a growing role, in part thanks to support from the EU.

Some observers point to the weakening position of Europe in Africa. In large part, this mirrors the strengthened position of China, India, Brazil and the Arab World. But there are also other reasons why JAES has not really brought the AU and the EU closer together.

For the EU, it has been very difficult to develop coherent common policy on global issues beyond trade policy. Still, the old great powers, Germany, France and the UK, play their own power game. For the AU, it is even more difficult to play a leading role in African-European relations. The organisation has very limited human and other resources. For AU member

states, bilateral relations with various European countries are more important anyway. The PanAf strategy document also admits that the translation of the ambitions “proved challenging”, and refers to views in “many quarters, both European and African” that one of the reasons for this was “lack of a dedicated instrument to support the implementation of the Joint Strategy”.

Pan-African Programme 2014-2020

The intention is that the PanAf, with its Road Map and Multiannual Indicative programmes, should provide the necessary instrument to implement the Joint Strategy. For the period 2014-17 five priority areas are identified:

1. Peace and security
2. Democracy, good governance and human rights
3. Human development
4. Sustainable and inclusive development and growth, and continental integration
5. Global and cross-cutting issues.

It is stated that the PanAf should have the following specific features:

- Pan African added value: The programme shall focus on activities of trans-regional, continental or global nature with and within Africa (Northern Africa and South Africa included) and support joint Africa-EU initiatives in the global arena. It will be used where the Pan-African approach provides an added value.
- Shared African and EU interests, mutually beneficial cooperation: Initiatives financed through the PanAf will reflect the key objectives, priorities and principles of the Partnership, including shared interest and mutually beneficial cooperation. All activities will be conceived so as to achieve the highest degree of coherence between the policies, strategies and development objectives of both the EU and Africa.
- Complementarity: Initiatives under the PanAf shall complement and promote synergies with other instruments. In particular, synergies and mutually reinforcing actions should be envisaged with the European Neighbourhood Instrument, (working with Northern Africa) and South Africa to address questions of shared interest between countries at regional and sub-regional level. The PanAf will be used in close coordination with the other funding sources, in particular from the EU, from Member States, and from the AU and African states.

The PanAf is expected to coordinate with other programmes to achieve maximum effect. A special budget line with EUR 845 million is also ascribed to the programme 2014-20.

The most important issue for Africa-EU relations, namely the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), is, in reality, outside of the JAES. Although they are mentioned in various policy documents, and discussed in summits, no real negotiations have occurred in the JAES framework.

The Economic Partnership Agreements

The history behind the EPAs dates back to the 1970s. At that time, the Lomé Convention was signed as an agreement between the then EEC and a number of former British, French, Portuguese and Belgian colonies in Africa, as well as the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) countries. The Convention stipulated that the responsibility of the former colonial powers for promoting the development of their former colonies was partially transferred to the EEC/EU. The Lomé Convention contained both a commitment to development cooperation, and unilateral rules on free access for ACP products in the EEC market.

After the creation of the WTO, the Lomé Convention was renegotiated and became the Cotonou Agreement in 2000. The aim of the new agreement was to create a free trade area that would be consistent with the WTO rules. Fundamental to the WTO, as before to the GATT, is the so called “most-favoured-nation” principle. This means that a member state must treat all other member states alike, not giving trade preferences to any other country or group of countries, which are not given to all. The Lomé Convention, on the other hand, gave the ACP countries such privileges for their trade in Europe.

There are certain exceptions to the “most-favoured-nation” principle. One is that special treatment is possible for the poorest countries in the form of Special and Differentiated Treatment (SDT), but then the same rules must apply to all who are in the same situation, such as all Least Developed Countries (LDCs). The problem is that the ACP group includes countries

at different levels of development, while a large part of the LDCs, those outside Africa, is excluded. Another exception applies to free trade agreements (FTAs). Rules discriminating non-members are permitted but they must, on the whole, be reciprocal within the FTA and lead to tariffs and other trade barriers being removed from virtually all trade within the FTA.

The EU works with both models for exceptions. The SDT principles are applied in the so-called “Everything but Arms” initiative, which basically gives duty-free access for imports from LDCs for everything with the exception of arms. These generous rules are undermined, however, by transitional rules and non-tariff trade barriers such as agricultural subsidies and complex rules of origin. The SDT treatment applies in principle to all LDCs and provides no special benefits to ACP countries. It excludes the ACP countries that are not also LDCs. Most African ACP countries belong, however, to the LDC group.

A free trade area was the solution chosen for the ACP group. This is to be achieved through the Economic Partnership Agreements between the EU and groups of ACP countries. Africa, who dominates the ACP group, has been divided into five regions. EPA negotiations have proven to be very complicated and the overall design is very controversial. Originally, the deadline was set to be 2008 but, at the beginning of 2015, none of the agreements have been signed and ratified yet, although a couple are deemed ready to be signed during the course of 2015.

The EPA approach has been much criticised, both from ACP countries and from organisations and commentators in Europe. Critics argue that the EU is trying to push through much more far-reaching free trade agreements than is necessary to meet WTO requirements. The EU interpretation of the term “substantially all trade” is being questioned. Above all, the EU is criticised for requiring that the so-called Singapore issues on trade in services, investments, etc., should be included in the EPAs even though this is not part of the WTO system of rules. Many African countries have reacted negatively, arguing that the benefits for them are limited, while they are forced to give up much of their economic sovereignty, and that they will be barred from an economic policy aiming at diversifying their economy.

Against that claim, supporters of the EPA’s, notably the European Commission, stress that it is in the interests of ACP countries to integrate into the world economy, that protective tariffs only make imported goods more expensive, and that it is important to encourage foreign investment.

The EPA initiative has lost much steam. The European economic crisis has obviously contributed to that. The increasing importance of China has also reduced the urgency for African countries to reach agreements with Europe. On the other hand, the growing economic importance of Africa is changing the parameters of the negotiation process. There are therefore many reasons why there should be a new start at the work to achieve functioning economic cooperation between Africa and the EU, hopefully based more on mutual respect.

Cooperation to promote gender balance in decision-making

Throughout Africa, women parliamentarians want to be the first to address issues of gender equality, violence and discrimination affecting women on the continent. AWEPA has been successfully running programmes with women since its inception over 30 years ago. It works closely with regional women’s caucuses such as the Pan African Parliament Women’s Caucus which aims to provide leadership throughout Africa in order to seize opportunities to advance the role of women as representatives of the full spectrum of African voices. The Network of Women Parliamentarians of Central Africa (Réseau des femmes parlementaires d’Afrique Centrale: RFPAC) was formed by AWEPA 10 years ago upon the request of women parliamentarians in Central Africa in order to reinforce them in their important work, exchange good practices, learn from each and be supported by each other. Similarly the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) Women’s Caucus has implemented many important activities and actions since EALA began.

AWEPA works with women parliamentarians from many national parliaments, some of which are in some of the most fragile states in the world, looking for the role women need to play in building up their countries. For example, in partnership with the Somali Women Members of Parliament (SOWPA), AWEPA is aiming to achieve the following objectives:

- Ensuring women MPs carry out their main representative, legislative and oversight roles in an effective manner.
- Increasing gender-sensitivity in the legislative process, budgetary oversight process as well as ensuring gender equitable processes in the representative role of the Parliament.
- Enhancing the visibility of the parliamentary work of women MPs and establishing linkages with CSOs to promote gender awareness.

These are some of the core issues that will make a difference to women throughout Africa playing the vital role they need to play in working towards a sustainable Africa.

Diaspora, brain drain and remittances

Originally the Greek word “diaspora”, meaning dispersion or scattering was used for Jews who were forced to reside outside of their homeland, “in diasporas”. Today it is also used to denote many other ethnic communities’ residing abroad; often, but not always as a result of involuntary migration. The African Diaspora is described as all individuals with African origin who want to contribute to Africa’s development. The African Diaspora is considered the sixth region among the African Union regions.

It is evident that today’s African migrants and refugees are bound together across national borders thanks to modern communications technology and as a consequence of globalisation. The African Diaspora constitutes, at the same time, a group which is present in their respective origin countries’ development, dispersed, yet still present. The importance of the African Diaspora in Africa’s development can be discussed in terms of the conceptual pair “brain-drain” and “remittances”.

Brain drain, when a large group of individuals with technical skills, knowledge or other capacities migrates from one country to another is de facto a loss of human capital from one country to another. This may depend on political circumstances and instability, persecution, social reasons, health reasons or economic reasons. It can also result from personal reasons or family reunification. It has most often economic benefits for the individual and for the recipient country. In the same way, it usually disadvantages the country of origin.

The loss of competence and skills is costing the African continent billions of dollars each year. Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya are considered among the worst affected. These countries produce talented doctors, teachers and other skilled industrial professionals who emigrate directly after their training. At the same time, the governments of their countries of origin are often forced to import teachers and doctors from abroad at skyrocketing expenses.

Another side to the brain drain or rather “manpower exodus” is that thousands of migrants each year send home billions of dollars. These remittances comprise the basic survival life line for many individual families. It is also the largest individual source of external foreign exchange. Remittances are several times larger than international aid.

Remittances are the money that migrants send home to their original countries. These funds have become an increasingly important part of the economy of many people in developing countries who have family and relatives resident in other countries. Remittances often contribute to investments and to jobs. The value of these remittances can be multiplied many times over, if the transfers can be done more effectively and cheaper. There are many African intellectuals and governments discussing how to transform the brain drain to an advantage called “brain gain” by, among other things, making remittances more efficient.

X. A rising Africa

New opportunities

Africa's self-confidence is, of course, boosted by the continent's new standing in the world economy. There is no doubt that the commodity boom is the major driver of African growth, but it is not restricted to that sector. Unlike the previous commodity boom, in the 1970s, a large portion of capital inflows, especially from China, is channelled into infrastructure, and Africa is experiencing a communications revolution. This is not only due to improved roads and railways, but also to the rapid spread of electronic infrastructure, such as mobile telephone and the Internet.

Some argue that mobile phone technology has meant more to Africa than to any other part of the world. Landline telephone connections were never very extensive outside the major cities and, even there, they were mostly faulty. The number of mobile subscribers in Africa has grown from about 7.5 million in 2000 to over 100 million in 2013. Mobile telephony has suddenly created contact opportunities between people, businesses and places that never existed before. Internet use is growing at almost the same speed, from 5 to about 50 million users in a decade. This has led to a resurgence in trade and services which accounts for nearly half of the African growth. As we have seen in the developments in North Africa since 2011, this also has significant political consequences.

Another, more fundamental, factor behind this African renaissance is political developments. The 1990s were the decade when Africa freed itself from the last residues of colonialism. The end of Apartheid also ended the South African destabilisation policy against neighbouring countries which had plagued Southern Africa for decades. The victory of democracy in South Africa contributed to a wave of democratisation that spread across Africa in the 1990s and into the new millennium.

In 2011, it was the time for North Africa. The democratic revolution in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia promised to become another landmark in the development of democracy in Africa. However, after a couple of years, only Tunisia seems reasonably well on track, while Libya is in chaos and, in Egypt, the military has re-established a dictatorship worse than ever.

As economic exchange and cooperation increases, communication between people develops and, above all, democracy spreads and violent conflicts tend to be reduced. In the early 1990s, 26 of the Sub-Saharan African states were afflicted by serious internal or external conflicts. At the start of 2014, seven states – Nigeria Somalia, Sudan (Darfur), South Sudan, Mali, Central African Republic and DRC (eastern provinces) – could be considered to still have serious internal conflict.

During 2014, the Boko Haram Islamist extremist rebellion in Northern Nigeria emerged as the most serious conflict in Africa. In mid-2013, a major campaign was launched against Boko Haram but, by the beginning of 2014 the situation was completely out of control. During 2013-14, Kenya has also been hard hit by terrorist attacks originating in Somalia. The situation can change rapidly, and many states are in a border zone between internal peace and political violence. An impressive stabilisation process has, however, occurred and greatly contributed to economic development.

An important factor in this economic and political development is the emergence of a middle class, often educated and committed to the development of the modern sector. During the 1960s and 1970s, the demand for well-trained workers was covered by foreigners, mostly Europeans and Americans, some Asians. The domestic middle class that began to emerge at the time was largely made up of politicians and public employees, directly or in publicly owned companies. In the 1980s and 1990s, there was extensive privatisation of the economy and thus also of the middle class. So although public officials still represent a significant part of the middle class, a substantial class of businessmen, large- and small-scale entrepreneurs and employees in private companies has emerged since the 1980s, having somewhat different interests and approaches.

Despite this, data reveals that the current economic growth benefits only a limited portion of the population. Several studies show that the rapid growth has not significantly alleviated poverty among the poorest groups. Instead, inequality has increased. One can speak of two Africas. One is the strong, modern, expanding Africa. The other is still stagnant, with subsistence farming in rural areas, and unemployment and temporary unskilled jobs in the growing slums of large cities. This gap constitutes a threat to social stability.

The Blair Commission for Africa

A clear sign of the growing interest in Europe for Africa in the new millennium came when the then British Prime Minister Tony Blair took the initiative to form a Commission for Africa. He chaired it himself, and among the members were prominent African leaders including South Africa's Finance Minister Trevor Manuel, former President of Tanzania Benjamin Mkapa, the then Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, Botswana National Bank Governor Lina Mohohlo and a number of representatives of the UN system, civil society and the business community in and outside Africa. The Commission submitted a detailed report in 2005 and five years later, in 2010, there was a follow-up giving an evaluation of what has been achieved and updated recommendations.

According to the Commission, a number of significant achievements have been made. Actions have been taken by African governments to improve the investment climate and increase aid and debt relief in the continent. A significant increase in investment in infrastructure contributes to African growth. There is strong international support for the Global Alliance for Vaccination and Immunization (GAVI). The commitment of African governments and strong donor support has led to the availability of anti-retroviral treatment from 14% in 2005 to 45% in 2008. More children than ever are in primary school and more sleeping under mosquito nets to protect them against malaria. Africa is also close to eradicating polio.

But the Commission also found that there are a number of areas where progress has been unsatisfactory: A comprehensive international trade reform seems far away. The Commission recommended that the amount of irrigated cropland increase by 50% by 2010 – but the increase was only 0.9%. Investment in higher education did not increase either – which resulted in continued shortage of trained teachers, doctors and other key skilled workers.

Against this background, the Commission recommended that African governments:

- continue efforts to make it easier to do business within and between countries, including urgent investment in infrastructure;
- ensure that it is possible to take advantage of the result of growth through improved domestic resource mobilisation;
- live up to commitments on health, education, water and sanitation, and agriculture;
- develop and implement clear strategies to create employment, reduce poverty and strengthen vital services such as health and education.

It is recommended that developed countries:

- agree that the G20 will take over the G8's previous role in making and monitoring commitments to support growth and development in Africa;
- continue to support the development of Africa, including support for the Global Fund for Education and additional financing for adaptation to climate change;
- assist Africa in negotiating the best possible deals on the exploitation of its natural resources by supporting a fund to finance legal and technical advice;
- quick start the reform of international trade rules, which has already been delayed for too long.

UNDP on Human Development

UNDP's "Human Development Report 2013" was, as mentioned previously, entitled "The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World". The report identifies three "drivers of development transformation" based on the experiences of a number of high achievers who have not only boosted national income, but have also had better than average performance on a number of social indicators. The report takes advantage of the existing experiences of emerging economies, to the benefit of countries just beginning to emerge economically. A large number of these are in Africa.

Driver 1 is a proactive developmental state. "A strong, proactive and responsible state develops policies for both public and private sectors—based on a long-term vision and leadership, shared norms and values, and rules and institutions that build trust and cohesion", according to the UNDP. These policies can include certain market regulation, export promotion, industrial and technological development and adaptation. They could also include expanded basic social services, and investment in people's capabilities through health, education and other public services.

Driver 2 is tapping of global markets. "All newly industrializing countries have pursued a strategy of 'importing what the rest of the world knows and exporting what it wants'" notes the report. However, "Success is more likely to be the result not of a sudden opening but of gradual and sequenced integration with the world economy, according to national circumstances,

and accompanied by investment in people, institutions and infrastructure.”

Driver 3 is determined social policy innovation. “Few countries have sustained rapid growth without impressive levels of public investment—not just in infrastructure, but also in health and education” according to UNDP. One should strive to create a “virtuous circle” in which growth and social policies reinforce one another. This is about investing in people, but also about social cohesion. “Promoting equality, particularly among different religious, ethnic or racial groups, also helps minimize social conflict”, says the Report.

The Report notes that many countries of the South have demonstrated much success. But even in higher achieving countries, future success is not guaranteed. To ensure that countries of the South can continue in their pace of progress, the Report suggest four important areas of focus.

The first is enhancing equity. Greater equity, including between men and women is essential for the promotion of human development. The report puts forward education as one of the most powerful instruments for this, and gives many examples of how improved education also improves other social indicators such as health, child survival, household income and welfare.

Another focus should be enabling voice and participation. The report concludes that “Unless people can participate meaningfully in the events and processes that shape their lives, national human development paths will be neither desirable nor sustainable.” The fact that dissatisfaction is on the rise in the North as well as in the South, with the youth among the most active protesters, frustrated by their lack of opportunities and voice, “can derail human development—as unrest impedes investment and growth and autocratic governments divert resources to maintaining law and order.”

The third focus area examined is confronting environmental challenges. “While environmental threats such as climate change, deforestation, air and water pollution, and natural disasters affect everyone, they hurt poor countries and poor communities most”, the report states. Although poor countries contribute least to climate change, they are likely to be most hurt by the consequences. The cost for inaction will be very high, according to UNDP, and the report suggests that “[t]o ensure sustainable economies and societies, new policies and structural changes are needed that align human development and climate change goals in low-emission, climate-resilient strategies and innovative public-private financing mechanisms.”

The fourth focus area detailed in the Report is managing demographic change. Between 1970 and 2011, the world population nearly double from 3.6 billion to 7 billion. However, population growth is slowing and that effect is strongly linked to higher levels of education. The Report points to the diverse character of the demographic challenges. In vast regions of the world, especially Africa, the biggest challenge is to offer the expanding youth generation a productive and meaningful future.

But for much of the North, and richer regions of the South, the problem is that the working age population is declining. Addressing the demographic challenges, says the Report, “will require raising educational attainment levels while expanding productive employment opportunities—by reducing unemployment, promoting labour productivity and increasing labour force participation.” In countries with a large proportion of young people the main focus will be to provide education and to promote jobs for the young. In countries with an ageing population, it is more a matter of encouraging higher participation in groups with lower labour market attainment, particularly women and older people.

Post 2015 – addressing vulnerabilities and building resilience

UNDP recognises that economic growth is not enough. And in the lead up to 2015, one could see even the emerging economies slowing down. There is an obvious risk that social gaps are widening both when economies are growing fast and when they are going slow. The theme of the “Human Development Report 2014” is “Vulnerability and Human Development”. Even when the South is rising, human vulnerability does not diminish, and the situation is aggravated by current economic instability. The Report states: “Human vulnerability is not new, but it is increasing due to financial instability and mounting environmental pressures such as climate change, which have a growing potential to undermine progress in human development. Indeed, since 2008 there has been a deceleration in the growth of all three components of the Human Development Index in most regions of the world[...]. It is critical to deal with vulnerability now to secure gains and prevent disruptions to continuing progress.”

The Human development index is based on criteria such as life expectancy at birth, educational attainment and GNI/capita. In 1990-2000 the Sub-Saharan African HDI growth rate was 0.4%. During the period 2000-2008, it rose to 1.1% but, for 2008-

2013, it fell back to 1.0%. Still, in this regard, Africa performed better than other parts of the developing world. However, Sub-Saharan Africa remains at the bottom of the list when it comes to HDI. The HDI value for Sub-Saharan Africa in 2013 was 70% of the world average and 50% of that of the rich countries. And the GNI, adjusted for purchasing power, was 25% of the world average and 8% of that of the richest countries.

The Report communicates some key messages, which it summarises as follows:

- “Vulnerability threatens human development—and unless it is systematically addressed, by changing policies and social norms, progress will be neither equitable nor sustainable.”
- “Life cycle vulnerability, structural vulnerability and insecure lives are fundamental sources of persistent deprivation—and must be addressed for human development to be secured and for progress to be sustained.”
- “Policy responses to vulnerability should prevent threats, promote capabilities and protect people, especially the most vulnerable.”
- “Everyone should have the right to education, health care and other basic services. Putting this principle of universalism into practice will require dedicated attention and resources, particularly for the poor and other vulnerable groups.”
- “Strong universal social protection not only improves individual resilience—it can also bolster the resilience of the economy as a whole.”
- “Full employment should be a policy goal for societies at all levels of development.”
- “The effects of crises, when they occur, can be lessened through preparedness and recovery efforts that can also leave societies more resilient.”
- “Vulnerabilities are increasingly global in their origin and impact, requiring collective action and better international governance.”
- “A global effort is needed to ensure that globalization advances and protects human development—national measures are more easily enacted when global commitments are in place and global support is available.”

The Report examines possible strategies to reduce vulnerability. Examples are given on how even weak economies have managed to create a basic social security network to support poor families at a manageable cost, with very positive effects both for social cohesion and local economy. It also points to the need to give priority to primary and secondary education as well as vocational training. Where unemployment is permanently high “money for work”-programmes, which engage local people in infrastructural and ecological projects such as road building and forest replanting, provide work, opportunities for poor families to support themselves, and positive effects on the local economy as well as disaster control. Even weak economies can achieve a lot with limited resources but UNDP also underlines the importance of international cooperation.

The report also includes a special contribution on the theme of “Addressing vulnerabilities and building resilience” from Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, President of Liberia, written in 2013, cited below:

“Two years from the 2015 deadline, Africa’s progress on the Millennium Development Goals remains uneven. Remarkable advances have been made in some areas, such as net primary school enrollment, gender parity in primary education, the representation of women in decision-making, some reduction in poverty, immunization coverage, and stemming the spread of HIV/AIDS.

“Notwithstanding this progress, there is ample room for more good news. Some areas have been neglected when they should have been put upfront, for example malaria, the number one killer of children in sub-Saharan Africa and many other places in the world. Additionally, the goal for school enrollment did not take into account the need for quality education.

“Over the past decade, Africa has made great strides in instituting political and economic reforms that are starting to bear fruits. These future successes are, however, vulnerable to many factors that are not within Africa’s control but can be redressed through collective engagement and a new international development partnership. Although some parts of the continent still grapple with political instability, this is now a rarity, no longer the rule. The new global development agenda that will be agreed upon in 2015 presents an opportunity for Africa to take stock of these challenges and our position in the world.

“Economic transformation is a particular priority on my continent. It will help us to reduce our vulnerability to social, economic and environmental shocks, but it is not a priority for Africa alone. The recent economic meltdown that plunged the world into recession, the widening gap between rich and poor with its attending inequalities that fuel social unrest, and the rising scourge of youth unemployment, as well as global environmental threats created by negative economic policies, clearly show that transformation is needed everywhere, not just in Africa.

"When the UN High-Level Panel on Post-2015 met in Liberia in January 2013, under the general theme of "economic transformation," we identified six key areas which we believed must form part of a transformative agenda: the pursuit of inclusive growth that reduces inequalities; the promotion of economic diversification and value addition; the creation of a stable, enabling environment for the private sector and free enterprise to flourish; the necessity to change our production and consumption patterns to protect our ecosystems; the creation and strengthening of fair and transparent institutions; and, finally, the necessity to create equal opportunities for all.

"There are opportunities today that can make the transformation not only plausible but very affordable. We live in an era where rapid technological change, especially empowered by the information revolution, is deepening the integration of the world economy, changing the structure of jobs, offering new economic opportunities for all countries, facilitating green growth and enabling many low-income countries to leapfrog through economic transformation.

We have the means and capacities to effect changes. The current global consultations on a Post-2015 Development Agenda bode well for a world with a common vision, with opportunities and shared responsibilities. Africa will contribute to develop a world where no one is left behind, where all have equal opportunity to prosper, and a world where we show respect for our environment."

A World Bank perspective

The World Bank ("Africa's Pulse", April 2013), like UNDP, sees the accelerated economic growth in Africa as a great opportunity, but is concerned that, after a decade of strong economic growth, poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa may have been reduced, but not enough. There is also a considerable variation in performance and the Bank notes the remarkable fact that poverty tends to decline at a slower pace in resource-rich countries, despite faster growth. The Bank concludes that "Prospects of large revenues from mineral exploitation, elevated food prices, rapid urbanization and a demographic dividend hold the promise of accelerating poverty reduction on the continent, but appropriate policies and institutions are required to unleash this potential."

In this context, the Bank lists three avenues to make growth more poverty reducing. The first is managing mineral wealth better. There are plenty of examples of Africa's wealth of natural resources triggering mismanagement, corruption and even conflict, and the benefits ending up in the pockets of a grabbing elite and foreign exploiters. The Bank focuses on three important areas: 1) extraction, where transparency is needed regarding terms of contract; 2) taxation, where there is a need for effective tax collection and 3) investment of resource rents, where there need to be a careful prioritisation of public investment.

The World Bank also highlights the importance of advancing agriculture. Africa's agricultural sector has enormous potential. According to the Bank's projections, Africa's agriculture and agribusiness could triple from \$ 313 billion 2010 to around \$ 1 trillion in 2030. Growth from agriculture has, on average, been shown to be more poverty reducing than growth from other sectors. But that depends on policies. Expansion of large scale farming for export markets can even have a negative effect. According to the World Bank, data shows that greater poverty reduction is normally generated by increasing smallholder crop productivity, rather than export crops.

A third avenue is what the Bank calls ushering urbanization. The ongoing urbanisation process will undoubtedly continue. This is mainly driven by a growing young population. The World Bank believes Africa is about to benefit from a demographic dividend, of the kind that is estimated to account for about one third of the fast growth of some East Asian countries at the end of the 20th century. But not all urbanisation is good for employment and poverty reduction. Vast city slums tend to have the opposite effect. The Bank advocates well planned urban development projects and the development of secondary towns as a complement to the big metropolitan areas. In sum, the Bank concludes, "Africa's youth bulge provides a unique opportunity for a demographic dividend provided jobs can be generated to productively absorb the world's new workforce. Most of these jobs will be in the informal sector, requiring sufficient attention to education and skill development, access to credit, and land tenure security to enable farm consolidation. Moreover, where these jobs will be located will be equally important to reducing poverty, calling special attention to the spatial prioritization of infrastructure development across different urban settings."

Generally, the World Bank concludes that "Good governance will need to underpin efforts to make growth more poverty reducing. Indeed, success in each of the above identified trajectories will critically depend on greater government-citizen accountability to discipline use of scarce public resources."

A year later ("Africa's Pulse", April 2014) the Bank was still quite optimistic, noting that "The economic outlook for Sub-Saharan Africa remains robust, but growth is vulnerable to lower commodity prices and a slowdown of capital flows." The Bank summarises its analysis of Africa's economic situation as follows:

- The economic recovery in high-income countries is lifting global growth, but the pace of recovery in these countries remains uneven.
- Economic activity was robust in much of Sub-Saharan Africa in 2013, supported by strong domestic demand—notably investment growth.
- The outlook for Sub-Saharan Africa remains favorable, but prospects are sensitive to downside risks from lower commodity prices and a sharp slowdown in capital flows.
- The pace of expansion in recent growth spurts in Sub-Saharan Africa has been faster and less volatile than in earlier periods and higher than in takeoffs in other developing countries.
- Patterns of growth in Sub-Saharan Africa show considerable variation across countries, with resource-rich countries growing at a faster pace than non-resource-rich countries.
- Growth has shifted sectoral shares, with the resources and services sectors gaining at the expense of agriculture and manufacturing
- Global output growth is projected to strengthen to 3 percent in 2014, with much of the impetus coming from high-income countries. Despite emerging challenges, medium-term growth prospects for Sub-Saharan Africa remain positive, and regional gross domestic product (GDP) growth is projected to rise to 5.2 percent in 2014, and strengthen to 5.4 percent in 2015.

World Bank Global economic prospects 2015

In January 2015, the World Bank presented its "Global Economic Prospects". Here, the organisation notes that the world economy is still struggling to gain momentum as many high income countries continue to grapple with the legacy of the global financial crisis, and emerging economies are less dynamic than in the past. Global growth in 2014 was lower than initially expected, continuing a pattern of disappointing turnouts over the past seven years. Growth picked up only marginally to 2.6% in 2014, from 2.5 percent in 2013. The reasons behind this sluggish development is that the Euro zone and Japan, in particular, are still in crisis, while some of the big emerging economies are slowing down.

Several major forces are driving the global outlook, according to the Bank: soft commodity prices, persistently low interest rates and weak world trade. The Bank believes that the lower commodity prices and low interest rates will stimulate economic growth, especially oil-importing developing economies, while of course oil-exporters will be severely hurt.

Overall, global growth is expected to rise moderately to 3.0 percent during 2015. The Bank expects an average of about 3.3% through to 2017. High income countries are expected to see a growth of 2.2% in 2015-17, up from 1.8% in 2014. There will, according to the Bank, be much better growth in developing countries, rising from 4.5% in 2014 to 4.8% in 2015 and 5.4% by 2017. Sub-Saharan Africa should have its share of that growth, going from 4.5% in 2014 to 4.6% in 2015 and 5.1% in 2017. So the rise of the South will continue, the World Bank believes. In North Africa, the growth is projected be slower due to the dependence on oil exports and political turbulence in some countries.

African criticism against aid

In recent years, there has been a lot of African criticism of aid from both economists and politicians. Among the sharpest and most noted are the Zambian economist Dembisa Moyo and the South African economist Greg Mills. Outspoken politicians include, for example, the Rwandan President Paul Kagame and Senegal's former President Abdoulaye Wade. The criticism is drawn from the experience in the last decades of the 20th century when, despite substantial assistance efforts, Africa's economic development stagnated and the gap with the Global North was increasing. Now, when a number of African countries are beginning to grow economically, this is seen by some more to be in spite of, rather than due to, development assistance. The reason for this poor performance, the critics argue, is that aid, instead of taking advantage of African growth potential, has been locking the continent into a dependent relationship with the Global North. Development efforts often benefit only the elite in recipient countries, and corruption and mismanagement thrive. Dembisa Moyo goes as far as to suggest that all aid should be terminated within a few years to force African leadership to take responsibility.

Dembisa Moyo and other neo-liberal economists recommend a more liberal economy with less government intervention

and bureaucracy, where the local business community takes the lead. There is also a need to strengthen domestic resource mobilisation through better functioning tax systems and tax collection, and a reduction in corruption.

On the other hand, there are commentators who see stronger state commitment as a prerequisite for independence, and therefore criticise the liberalisation of the economy, which they see as having been enforced by western donors from the 1990s onwards. One such commentator is the South African economist and politician Ben Turok who, for decades, has been a leading development economist to the left. From 2009 to 2010, he led a series of seminars in South Africa on “the prospects for economic transformation” organised by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). He advocated that the state’s role should include:

- funding for large-scale investments and the creation of a physical infrastructure to facilitate business growth;
- being a leading producer of goods and services and a large scale employer;
- developing the human capital and skills crucial for economic development;
- working with commercial banks in order to ensure a well-functioning financial sector;
- regulating the economy to prevent inefficiencies and speculation;
- promoting decent working conditions.

The arguments in favour of continued development cooperation highlight that, although much else is important for growth, aid still plays a crucial role in many countries in the struggle for poverty reduction. But there is strong awareness that aid cannot be the dominant driving force for economic development, and that it needs to be better integrated into the recipients’ own development plans.

XI. Towards a new African – European Partnership

The three-legged stool

The late Nobel Peace Prize laureate Wangari Maathai often compared what is required for a well-functioning African society with a traditional African three-legged stool. The first leg represents the democratic field and human rights, including women's and children's rights, and what she called "environmental rights". She pointed out that democracy is not just a matter of "one person, one vote". It must also include minority rights, an effective and truly representative parliament, an independent judiciary and a free press. It is also necessary that there are informed and engaged citizens, freedom of assembly, the right to practice one's religion and represent opinions freely and without threat of retaliation, and a strong civil society.

The second leg symbolises sustainable and responsible management of natural resources in the interest of both those living today and future generations. It should be done in a way that is fair and takes into account marginalised people. The third leg stands for what Maathai calls the "culture of peace". It's about fairness, respect, compassion, forgiveness, and justice.

The classical stool she envisioned is made of one piece of wood and each leg supports the totality to which it belongs. In the same way, the different aspects of society must work together in a coordinated way. The three legs, said Maathai, support the seat, which is the platform for development. If citizens feel confident that the three legs are stable, it creates confidence, and a willingness to educate oneself, be productive and creative. It creates an atmosphere favourable to change and progress where many people want to promote development. It also creates better conditions for governments to mobilise resources for development and use them without corruption and to benefit all, said Maathai. It is naturally much more difficult for countries trying to balance on two legs, or even worse one.

Africa's potential is enormous, but the challenges are also great. There are plenty of well-intended and intelligent programmes to assist Africa to move from poverty to prosperity. Until now, they have mainly been a matter of the world community telling Africa what they should do. Now there is a general realisation that this is coming to an end. The challenge is to build up new forms of South-North relations.

Africa must develop an economy that, first and foremost, works in the interests of its own residents. Ever since colonialists began to penetrate the African continent, the economy and industry have primarily been organised to cater for the interests of others. Even after independence, the question is whether too much of the old power relations established by colonialism, still put their stamp on the economic relations between Africa and the richer part of the world. A greater role for new partners creates new possibilities, but there is, of course, a risk of dependence in the new relations too. Africa must be able, in its own interest, to safeguard its natural resources and environment. And African states must be free to diversify their economies, for instance with more processing and consumer goods industries.

Africa is, like countries in other parts of the world, facing the need to balance economic controls and regulations with a free market. What constitutes the right mix in each case will always and everywhere be the subject of political controversy. It is important that African countries, just like everyone else, make their own choices. The control the rich countries are trying to exercise over Africa through IMF conditions, conditional aid and various forms of trade agreements and partnerships must be substituted by partnerships based on mutual respect.

The double agenda

What appears when studying the Africa policies of Europe, as well as the U.S. and other major actors, over the past half century, is a double agenda. One part is about promoting poor countries' economic development and fighting world poverty. The main instrument is aid policy. The other is about maximising rich countries' own power and influence and promoting their own economic interests. The latter attitude characterises security and trade policies. Sometimes it also has a large influence on aid policy.

The development agenda has a number of overall objectives and values, which also characterise the MDGs. Supporting economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development with a view to radically reducing world poverty is an overall aim. Promoting democratic development is another. Enforcing respect for human rights is equally fundamental, as is

requiring good governance in all partner countries to prevent corruption and abuse of power.

The agendas of power politics, however, are often at odds with the development agenda. In power politics, geopolitical interests tend to come first. Until the 1990s, the Cold War and the power struggle between the USA and its allies, on the one hand, and the Soviet camp, on the other, determined the conditions for all relationships. After 9/11 2001, the “war on terror” altered that role. Another fundamental parameter of power politics is the direct economic and commercial interests of Europe, USA, China, etc. Evidence shows that the agenda of power politics often includes:

- Support to dictatorial regimes. These are generally considered more reliable as allies than democracies. This is especially true if the regime is dependent on economic or military support from the stronger power. In democracies, governments are more dependent on the electorate than on foreign powers, and elections can always lead to substantial policy changes. During the Cold War the West actively supported the apartheid regime in South Africa, and a number of dictators in other parts of Africa.
- Support to “friendly” governments is considered more important than good governance and the fight against the abuse of power and corruption, etc. Donor countries’ efforts to stop corruption, especially at high level, are often very limited. Generally actions against mismanagement seem to be subordinated to the security and economic interests of the donors. Regimes that cooperate in the “war against terrorism” or are open to the economic interests of multinationals can expect great tolerance for various forms of abuse of power and mismanagement.
- Rich countries use their strength to favour their own business interests in trade negotiations with poor countries. For many African countries, it is important to strengthen the domestic economy, reduce its dependence on primary commodities, build a processing and consumer goods industry and gain better control over their own finances. The rich economies’ efforts, however, still aim mainly to gain access to Africa’s raw materials for their own industries, and to penetrate the African markets with its multinational corporations. Therefore, they try to enforce trade and cooperation agreements that make it difficult for African countries to support the development of domestic business. This locks the African countries into a continued dependence on primary commodities and enforces foreign domination of the economy. Where necessary, the threat of reduced aid is used to push through the demands of the partners of the North. The difficult negotiations with the European Union about the so-called Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) serve to illustrate that problem.
- Rich countries are often not inclined to interfere with the business ethics of their companies working in Africa. When there are joint interests between them and the political and economic elites of the host countries, there are rarely any objections as long as these interests prevail at the expense of workers, local people and the country in general. There are plenty of examples of how extensive corruption involving European and American multinational enterprises is being overlooked on all sides.

From dominance to genuine partnership

Over the past two centuries, relations between Africa and Europe were characterised by European domination. The dominance was, of course, almost complete under colonialism, when Africa was a European dependency. But even after the colonial liberation, Europe has tended to continue to dominate, now together with the United States. The African countries’ dependence on aid, and their indebtedness combined with their disadvantages in terms of knowhow, also have an impact at the negotiating table. Moreover, as we have seen, the Euro-American influence has also been strengthened by alliances with the local elites.

Obviously, the Euro-American domination of Africa is now something of the past. This is part of the global shift of power in the world. The price of power politics played out in the short term can be high, with reduced long-term trust and influence. Development also makes it increasingly difficult to maintain the kind of corrupt dictatorships or oligarchies that, in many cases, have been the instrument of the Euro-American exercise of power in Africa and in other parts of the world.

A new agenda for North-South relations must be based on a shared understanding that sustainable global development must bring acceptable living conditions in both the global South and the North. The price of lack of development is political instability, conflict, refugees, environmental disasters and terrorism.

So African cooperation with its global partners must be based on a common quest for ecologically, socially and economically sustainable development globally. It must, furthermore, be based on mutual respect. Development cooperation cannot be

seen as European charity towards Africa. It must be based on the realisation that Africans and Europeans, as well as the Americans and Chinese, have a shared responsibility for the ecological, social and economic problems that must be tackled.

Remaining challenges

Following East and South Asia and Latin America, it is now, as we have discussed extensively, Africa's turn to take off economically. Nevertheless, there are also serious threats and challenges to the sustainability of African development. Deficiencies in democratic control, however, mean that leaders in many African countries have not always the interests of the popular majority in mind, but rather those of the elite. This situation also opens countries up to corruption. It increases the risk of exploitation, where domestic and foreign economic interests are benefit the few at the expense of the poor majority. Often one can speak of an unholy alliance between international economic interests and domestic elite, exploiting the people and wasting the country's natural resources.

The grabbing economy that occurs in the worst cases, and the exploitation that is generally common, lead to increased inequalities in society and create growing tensions. Sometimes paired with traditional ethnic conflicts, this can lead to violent social explosions and, at worst, civil war. This is, of course, also devastating for all development.

Another effect of the exploitative economy is, as we discussed in chapter VII, the waste of natural resources and growing environmental problems. Serious pollution associated with mining and industrial activities, destruction of forests and severe land degradation tend to follow in exploitation's tracks. The situation is exacerbated by the impact of climate change, which hits Africa's poor communities particularly hard. Persistent poverty, combined with the destruction of the environment and natural resources, is interlinked with health problems. In particular the major pandemics, HIV/AIDS, malaria and TB, have very serious social and developmental implications. Endemic malnutrition has similar effects. It is still estimated that 40% of all children in Africa are so malnourished that it can affect their health and energy as adults. The current trend, driven by increased demand in emerging economies, towards increasing food prices, and production problems due to climate change will not improve the situation.

Another serious problem, as we have seen, is that growth in Africa is particularly dependent on raw materials. Unless African industry can move up the value chain, growth will not be sustained and the effect on the economy as a whole will be limited. There is a need for wise economic policies that promote the development of the domestic processing industry without being so protectionist that they lead to inefficiency and corruption. A delicate balance!

That also requires, however, Africa's major trading and business partners to be prepared to contribute to trade and partnership agreements that promote the diversification of Africa's economy. Unfortunately, experience has not been particularly good in this respect. The USA, the European Union and China have, instead, displayed short-sighted self-interest, using their economic and political strength to bring about agreements that have been likely to lock the poorer partner into an unfavourable dependence.

Cooperation for global sustainable development

The world community is slowly realising that mankind as a whole is facing existential challenges. The OECD warns in a report from early 2013 that continued waste of the natural and environmental capital of the globe will lead, by 2050, to irrevocable damage that threatens two centuries of achievements in improved living standards. Climate change is obviously the most acute problem, but only one part of the bigger issue of over-consumption which is spoiling the human habitat.

At the same time, the majority of the world population cannot always and sufficiently cover its basic needs. Hundreds of millions live in abject poverty.

The world paradox of disastrous waste and equally disastrous poverty is a result of the fact that 20% of the world population, still mainly in Europe and North America, are grabbing 80% of the world resources, while the remaining 80% have to share the 20% that is left. This absurd situation is mainly a result of political and economic developments of the last 200 years.

The global challenge is to restructure the world economy in a way that allows it to cater for the basic needs of all mankind,

in an ecologically sustainable way. This is also a basic condition for a socially and economically sustainable development.

A new paradigm for North-South cooperation for a Global Sustainable Development is born from the realisation that the North needs the South as much as the South needs the North.

Enabling sustainable development in Africa

The Global North, as the main source of overconsumption and waste, has the biggest task ahead in developing an economy that functions within the limits of the planet. But much adaptation must also take place in the Global South.

Poverty can easily become a threat to ecologically, socially and economically sustainable development. It is tempting to react to pressing short term needs rather than consider the greater good in long run. This leads to the selling out of natural resources, neglect of environmental protection, or the ignoring of social effects for the local population. Often there are also insufficient financial resources for prevention or repair. Here, African and other governments need to take more responsibility. Also, donors and partners need to focus their assistance on sustainability. The same goes for trade agreements and other international exchanges. Not least in importance, rich countries must support their poorer partners when it comes to setting and enforcing requirements on multinational companies, ensuring a code of conduct which promotes sustainable development.

Social gaps must be closed

Creating social sustainability is also a task that needs to be addressed on all levels. The new economic world order must aim to overbridge the economic inequalities between different regions of the world, and eradicate world poverty. But creating social cohesion must also be a central task in all states, in the South as well as in the North.

As we noted, recent economic growth in Africa has mainly benefitted the elite and often created a growing middle class. But the economic benefits rarely spill down to the poorest. Instead, economic inequalities tend to increase and the poorest sometimes become even poorer. This is obviously unacceptable in itself and creates a long-term threat to stability and development. Therefore, it is important that the growth policy is also paired with a cohesion policy. The rich elite must be forced to take more social responsibility and financial resources must be redirected to education, health, sanitation and housing for the poor. Small farmers and small businesses must be given better conditions. This is a primary responsibility for the political leadership in each state, but international partners must have a significantly more positive attitude towards the active cohesion policies than we have seen in recent years.

Regional cooperation in Africa must be strengthened

Africa is characterised by many relatively small states with often very small economies. Furthermore, as we have seen, the African state structure has limited connection with nationalities. This is part of the colonial heritage. It underlines the need for cross-border cooperation in various fields. Important instruments have been created, such as the African Union, and sub-regional organisations, such as SADC in the south, the EAC in the east, CEMAC in Central Africa and ECOWAS in West Africa, and their corresponding parliamentary bodies. These organisations are still quite weak, but could prove vital in creating strong economies and viable markets in Africa, and in strengthening Africa's clout in international negotiations.

Functioning democracy – a precondition for sustainable development

The precondition for a policy in the interest of the people is democracy. In the long run, politics tends to favour the interest of those who control the power. In a military dictatorship, it is the military's interest that comes first. In societies, where power rests with other elites, it is their interests that get high priority. So the only guarantee of the creation of policies in the interest of the people as a whole is a well-functioning democracy. Democracy is also a major instrument for peaceful conflict management. If you can dispose of bad leaders through elections, then armed rebellion is not needed. Your problems can be addressed through political, democratically elected assemblies, which means there are fewer motives to pursue your claims by force. Africa's political leadership must be at the helm of Africa's development. External partners can only play a

supporting role.

To lead the continent's development, the African leadership must truly represent their people and work in their interest. Demands are high for African leadership's skills, integrity, and the ability to take responsibility. The African citizens must always have the power to assess whether leaders are good enough, and replace those that do not deliver. A well-functioning democracy must therefore be the basis for an international collaboration that respects sovereignty and partnership. That has not always been the case.

A 2011 statement released by UN Women said "Women's political participation is fundamental to democracy and essential to the achievement of sustainable development." Women's leadership and political participation in Africa are still restricted and this needs to change. Women are underrepresented as voters, as well as in leading positions, and this occurs despite their proven abilities as leaders; the statistics which prove that decision-making power among women ensures their specific needs and interests are promoted and defended; and the fact that women have proven time and again to be vital in creating a sustainable future. Therefore, continued efforts to achieve gender balance in decision making is vital to any development strategy.

The only condition that is acceptable in the new partnership needed between Africa and the donor community is the request for real democracy. Once democracy is in place, the partners should respect the priorities of the African leadership. Democratic development must then be given the highest priority in all development cooperation and all other relationships.

Such an Africa policy would mean that Europe, the USA and others would live up to their proclaimed ideals of democracy, human rights and an economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development. It would also mean a considerable remake of some of the policies that have hitherto been implemented.

Sustainable freedom

There is a broad global consensus that one must strive for development that is sustainable, not just economically, but also socially and ecologically. A new form of North-South cooperation, based on true partnership for mutual benefit, should be able to rely on this.

There are powerful forces in the global community counteracting the development necessary – domestic elites as well as foreign powers who put their own short-term interests ahead of sustainable global development. Therefore, it is important to have a functioning democracy with the active involvement of civil society, making a long-term responsibility into a political necessity.

Democracy, with enlightened and conscious citizens and a strong civil society in both the South and the North, can give hope for the future – a future that is not characterised by a short-sighted power struggle, the exploitation of people and nature, and oppression. Nelson Mandela expresses his vision of freedom, in a few words, in the concluding part of his autobiography:

"It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressed and the oppressor alike are robbed of their humanity.

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressed and the oppressor both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that that is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning."⁷

⁷ Nelson Mandela: *Long Walk to Freedom*.

Literature

- Lucia van den Bergh, Why Peace Worked – Mozambicans Look Back, AWEPA International, Amsterdam, The Netherlands 2009
- Fantu Cheru -Cyril Obi (ed.): The rise of China and India in Africa. Nordic Africa Institute and Zed Books London/New York 2010
- Basil Davidson: Modern Africa; A social and Political History, Longman Group 1989
- Luc Dhore-Julie Standaert, Démocratie et Diplomatie Parlementaire, AWEPA International, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
- Richard Dowden, Africa – Altered States, Ordinary Miracles, Portobello Books U.K. 2008
- Andrew Feinstein; After the Party, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Jeppestown, SA 2007
- Robert Guest: The Shackled Continent, Africa's Past, Present and Future. Macmillan, London 2004
- Pär Granstedt - Joe Frans, Den Trebenta Pallen, Humanus, Stockholm 2011
- Karlsson-Tangnäs-Wolper: EPA – Ekonomiska Partnerskapsavtal. Afrikagrupperna, Stockholm 2009.
- Steve Kayizzi-Mugerwa (ed.): Reforming Africa's Institutions, Ownerships, Incentives and Capabilities. United Nations University Press, New York 2003
- Wangari Maathai: The Challenge for Africa – A New Vision, William Heinemann, London 2009
- Åke Magnusson (ed) 23 Afrikaner om vägval och utmaningar. Tre Böcker, Stockholm 2010
- Nelson Mandela: Long walk to freedom, Macdonald Purnell Books, Sandburg S A 1994
- Martin Meredith: The State of Africa, The Free Press, London UK 2005
- Greg Mills: Why Africa is poor and what Africans do about it, Penguin, London UK 2010
- Dembisa Moyo: Dead Aid, Farrar Strauss Giroux, New York 2007
- Dembisa Moyo: Winner Takes All, Penguin Books, London U.K, 2013
- Mats Hårsmar: Understanding Poverty in Africa. Nordic Africa Institute: Uppsala Sweden 2010
- Julius K Nyerere: Essays on socialism, Oxford University Press Eastern Africa, Dar-es-Salaam 1968
- Roland Oliver-J.D. Fage: A short history of Africa, Swedish edition, Aldus Stockholm 1963
- Adebay O. Olukoshi: The politics of opposition in contemporary Africa, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala 1998
- Tor Sellström: Liberation in Southern Africa – Regional and Swedish voices, Noric Africa Institute, Uppsala 1999
- Roger Southall- Henning Mellber (ed.): A new Scramble for Africa? Imperialism, Investment and Development, University of Kwazulu-Natal PrA 2011
- Ben Turok (ed.) The Controversy about Economic Growth, Jacana Media, Auckland Park, S.A. 2011
- Ben Turok (ed.) Wealth Doesn't Trickle Down – The Case for a Development State in South Africa.
- Desmond Tutu: No Future without Forgiveness, Doubleday, New York, USA 1999
- UNDP Human Development Reports 2013-14

Find AWEPA on



www.awepa.org | www.twitter.com/AWEPA | www.facebook.com/AWEPAInternational