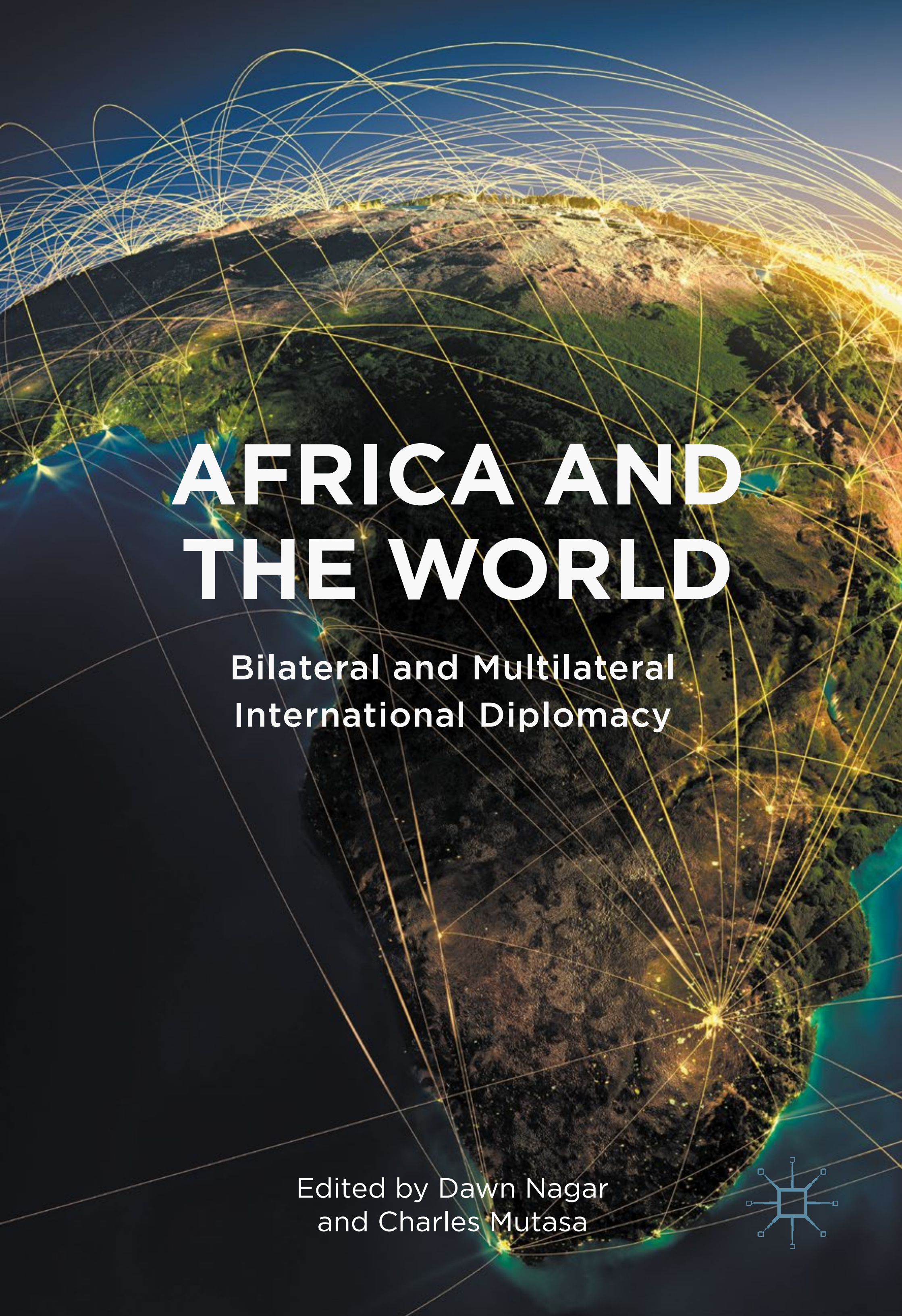

# AFRICA AND THE WORLD

## Bilateral and Multilateral International Diplomacy

Edited by Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa

Africa and the World

Dawn Nagar • Charles Mutasa
Editors

# Africa and the World

## Bilateral and Multilateral International Diplomacy

palgrave
macmillan

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ISBN 978-3-319-62589-8    ISBN 978-3-319-62590-4 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017953376



Cover Image: © Zoonar GmbH / Alamy Stock Photo
Cover Design: Samantha Johnson

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

# Acknowledgements

The editors, Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa, are grateful to all the contributors to this book and to all the staff and Board at the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town, South Africa, who in their different ways have made the publication of this book possible. We would like to thank the publication and editing team in particular for their tremendous support. We would like to especially thank Jason Cook for copyediting the manuscript so meticulously.

Most importantly, we are indebted to the Embassy of the Kingdom of Norway, who provided the funding for this publication. In addition, we are grateful to the people and the government of Sweden, for their consistent support of the work of CCR.

*Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa*

The original version of this book was revised. The biographies are moved from chapter end to book front matter.

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# List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AAF-SAP | African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socioeconomic Recovery and Transformation |
| ABC | Agência Brasileira de Cooperação |
| ABE | Africa Business Education |
| ACDEG | African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance |
| ACHPR | African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights |
| ACIRC | African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises |
| ACJHR | African Court of Justice and Human Rights |
| ACP | African, Caribbean, and Pacific ACP group of states |
| ACP | African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries |
| ADF | African Development Fund |
| AFD | Agence Française de Développement |
| AfDB | African Development Bank |
| AFISMA | African-led International Support Mission in Mali |
| Afri-Can | Japan Citizens' Network for TICAD |
| AFRICOM | Africa Command |
| Afrocom | Coordination Committee on Economic Cooperation with Sub-Saharan Africa |
| AFSI | Aquila Food Security Initiative |

| | |
|---|---|
| AGA | African Governance Architecture |
| AGOA | African Growth and Opportunity Act |
| AIDA | Accelerated Industrial Development for Africa |
| AIIB | Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank |
| ALBA | Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America |
| AMISI I | AU Mission in Darfur |
| AMISOM | African Union Mission in Somalia |
| AMU | Arab Maghreb Union |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| ANGOSAT | Angolan National System of Satellite Communications and Broadcasting |
| AoA | Agreement on Agriculture |
| APF | African Peace Facility |
| APPER | Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery of 1986–1990 |
| APRM | African Peer Review Mechanism |
| APRRP | African Peacekeeping Rapid Response Partnership |
| APSA | African Peace and Security Architecture |
| AQMI | Al Qaida au Maghreb Islamique |
| ASA | African Studies Association |
| ASA | Africa–South America Forum |
| ASCM | Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| ASF | African Standby Force |
| ASPA | Summit of South American-Arab Countries |
| AU | African Union |
| AU-ECA | African Union Economic Commission for Africa |
| BAAP | Buenos Aires Action Plan |
| BATUK | British Army Training Unit Kenya |
| BIS | Bank for International Settlements |
| BITs | bilateral investment treaties |
| BMATT | British Military Advisory Training Team |
| BME | Black and Minority Ethnic |
| BNDES | Brazilian National Development Bank |
| BPS TEA | British Peace Support Team |

| | |
|---|---|
| BRICS | Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa |
| CAR | Central African Republic |
| CARD | Coalition for African Rice Development |
| CARICOM | Community of Caribbean States |
| CCCE | Caisse Centrale de Coopération Économique |
| CCECC | Chinese Civil Engineering Construction Company |
| CCFOM | Caisse Centrale de la France d'Outre-Mer |
| CCR | Centre for Conflict Resolution |
| CDC | US Centres for Disease Control |
| CDSP | Common Defence and Security Policy |
| CET | common external tariff |
| CFA | Communauté Financière Africaine |
| C-FTA | Continental Free Trade Area |
| CGFOME | General Coordination for International Actions Against Hunger |
| CIA | US Central Intelligence Agency |
| COBRADI | cooperation for international development |
| COMESA | Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa |
| COP | Conference of the Parties summit |
| CPA | Cotonou Partnership Agreement |
| CPLP | Community of Portuguese-Language Countries |
| CRA | Contingent Reserve Arrangement |
| CRRs | Transformation Country Review Reports |
| CSDP | Common Security and Defence |
| CSOs | civil society organisations |
| CSSF | Conflict, Stability, and Security Fund |
| DAC | Development Assistance Committee |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| DFIs | Development Finance Institutions |
| DGCID | Direction Générale de la Coopération Internationale et du Développement. |
| DKK | Danish kroner |
| DPKO | UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| DTI | South Africa's Department of Trade and Industry |
| EAC | East African Community |
| EACTI | East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative |
| ECCAS | Economic Community of Central African States |

| | |
|---|---|
| ECDPM | European Centre for Development Policy Management |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States |
| EDF | European Development Fund |
| EEAF | Argentina's Forensic Anthropology Team |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| EGA | Environmental Goods Agreement |
| E-HORN | East Horn of Africa Election Observers Network |
| EMBRAPA | Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation |
| ENI | Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi |
| EPAs | economic partnership agreements |
| EU | European Union |
| EUAVSEC | EU Aviation Security Mission |
| EUBAM | EU Border Assistance Mission in Libya |
| EUCAP | EU Civilian Capacity Building Mission |
| EUCAP Nestor Somalia | EU Civilian Capacity Building Mission in Somalia |
| EUCAP Sahel | EU Civilian Capacity Building Mission in Nigeria EUCAP Sahel in Nigeria |
| EUCAP Sahel in Mali | EU Civilian Capacity Building Mission in Mali EUCAP Sahel in Mali |
| EUFOR | EU Force to protect civilians |
| EUPOL | EU Police Mission |
| EUROSUR | Frontex European Border Surveillance System EUROSUR |
| EUSEC | EU Security Sector Reform Mission |
| EUTM Mali | EU Training Mission in Mali |
| Exim Bank | Export-Import Bank of China |
| FAC | Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération |
| FCO | Foreign and Commonwealth Office |
| FDI | Foreign direct investment |
| FIDES | Fonds d'Investissements pour le Développement Économique et Social |
| FIFA | International Football Federation |
| FIOCRUZ | Oswaldo Cruz Foundation |
| FNLA | Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola |
| FOAR | Argentine Horizontal Cooperation Fund |
| FOCAC | Forum on China-Africa Cooperation |
| FRELIMO | Mozambique Liberation Front |
| FTAs | free trade agreements |

| | |
|---|---|
| G5 | South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, India, and China Group of Five |
| G8 | Group of Eight |
| G20 | Group of 20 |
| G77 | Group of 77 states |
| G90 | Group of 90 states |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GCA | Global Coalition for Africa |
| GCC | Gulf Cooperation Council |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GNI | Gross National Income |
| GNP | Gross National Product |
| HIPCs | heavily indebted poor countries |
| HIV/AIDS | Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| IBRD | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development |
| IBSA | India, Brazil, and South Africa |
| IBSAMAR | Brazil military cooperation and trilateral naval exercises |
| ICC | International Criminal Court |
| IDA | International Development Association |
| IFTF | Trade-Related Technical Assistance |
| IFU | investment funds for developing countries |
| IGAD | Intergovernmental Authority on Development's |
| IIRSA | Regional Infrastructure of South America |
| IMATT | International Military Advisory and Training Team |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IPEA | Institute of Applied Economic Research |
| IS | Islamic State |
| ITA (WTO) | Information Technology Agreement |
| ITA (Italy) | Italian Trade Agency ITA |
| ITC | International Trade Centre |
| JAES | Joint EU-Africa Strategy |
| JBIC | Japan Bank for International Cooperation |
| JETRO | Japan External Trade Organisation |
| JICA | Japan International Cooperation Agency |
| JSPS | Japan Society for the Promotion of Science |

| | |
|---|---|
| LAC | Latin American and Caribbean nations |
| LAS | League of Arab States |
| LDCs | least developed countries |
| LGBTT | lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and transvestite |
| LPA | Lagos Plan of Action |
| LRA | Lord's Resistance Army |
| MCA | Millennium Challenge Account |
| MDC | Movement for Democratic Change |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MENA | Middle East and North Africa |
| MERCOSUL | Southern Common Market |
| MFN | most favoured nation |
| MINURSO | United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara |
| MINUSCA | United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in the Central African Republic |
| MINUSMA | Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali |
| MINUSTAH | United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti |
| MISA | African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic |
| MOFA | Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| MONUSCO | United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo |
| MoU | memorandum of understanding |
| MPLA | People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola |
| MPs | members of parliament |
| MRTAs | mega-regional trade agreements |
| MTN | Mobile Telecommunication Network |
| NAM | Non-Aligned Movement |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organisation |
| NAVFOR | EU Naval Force |
| NDB | New Development Bank |
| NDF | Nordic Development Fund |
| NEN | New Economic Neighbourhood programme |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development |

| | |
|---|---|
| NERICA | New Rice for Africa |
| NGOs | non-governmental organisations |
| NHS | National Health Service |
| NKR | Norwegian kroner |
| NLC | Nacala Logistics Corridor |
| NTBs | non-tariff barriers |
| NTC | National Transitional Council |
| OAS | Organisation of American States |
| OAU | Organisation of African Unity |
| ODA | official development assistance |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| OECD-DAC | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development-Development Assistance Committee |
| OIC | Organisation of the Islamic Conference |
| OIF | Organisation de la Francophonie. |
| ONUMOZ | United Nations Operation in Mozambique |
| OPEC | Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries |
| P5+1 | USA, China, France, Britain, Germany, and Russia |
| PAIGC | African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde |
| PALOP | Portuguese speaking African Countries |
| PARLACEN | Central American Parliament |
| PEAP | Poverty Eradication Action Plan |
| PEPFAR | President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief |
| PIDA | Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa |
| PMDB | Brazilian Democratic Movement Party |
| PNF | National Fascist Party |
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| PRGF | Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility |
| PRSP | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper |
| PSC | Peace and Security Council |
| PSDB | Brazilian Social Democracy Party |
| PSI | Pan-Sahel Initiative |
| PwC | Pricewaterhouse Coopers |

| | |
|---|---|
| RCEP | Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| RECs | regional economic communities |
| RENAMO | Mozambican National Resistance |
| RMs | regional mechanisms |
| SACU | Southern African Customs Union |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SADR | Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic |
| SALs | structural adjustment loans |
| SANDF | South African National Defence Force |
| SAPs | structural adjustment programmes |
| SDGs | Sustainable Development Goals |
| SDR | special drawing right |
| SEC | Securities and Exchange Commission |
| SEK | Swedish krone |
| SHEP | Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment and Promotion |
| SICA | Central American Integration System |
| SIDS | small-island developing states |
| SMEs | small and medium-sized enterprises |
| SMMEs | small, medium, and micro enterprises |
| SOEs | state-owned enterprises |
| SPS | sanitary and phytosanitary measures |
| SRE | Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| SSR | security sector reforms |
| SWAPO | South West Africa People's Organisation |
| TAAG | Angolan national airline |
| TBs | tariff barriers |
| TDCA | Europe-South Africa Trade Development Corporation Agreement |
| TFA | Trade Facilitation Agreement |
| TICAD | Tokyo International Conference on African Development |
| TIKKA | Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency |
| TISA | Trade in Services Agreement |
| TPP | Trans-Pacific Partnership |
| TRIMs | Trade-Related Investment Measures |

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| TRIPS | Trade-Related Intellectual Property System |
| TSCTI | Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative |
| TWN | Third World Network |
| UAE | United Arab Emirates |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNECA | UN Economic Commission for Africa |
| UNEFI | UN Emergency Force in Sinai |
| UNEP | UN Environment Programme |
| UNFCCC | Framework Convention on Climate Change |
| UNGA | United Nations General Assembly |
| UNIFIL | United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon |
| UNITA | National Union for the Total Independence of Angola |
| UNMOGIP | United Nations Observer Missions of unarmed military officers: in India and Pakistan |
| UNODC | United Nations Office Against Drugs and Crime |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |
| UNTSO | United Nations Observer Missions of unarmed military officers: in the Middle East |
| UPA | Union of the People of Angola |
| USA | United States of America |
| USAID | US Agency for International Development |
| VEB | Vnesheconombank |
| WAEON | West Africa Electoral Observers Network |
| WEF | World Economic Forum |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WTO | World Trade Organisation |
| YALI | Young African Leaders Initiative |
| ZANU | Zimbabwe African National Union |
| ZAPU | Zimbabwe African People's Union |
| ZOPACAS | Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic |
| ZTE | Zhongxing Telecommunications Equipment |

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CHAPTER 1

# Introduction: Inspirations and Hesitations in Africa's Relations with External Actors

*Charles Mutasa*

In the aftermath of colonialism, the Cold War dominantly defined Africa's international relations with the rest of the world. But with the end of the Cold War (circa 1989–91), and particularly since the deadly terrorist attacks of Al Qaida on America's Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001, a myriad of issues, most importantly terrorism, migration, the quest for investors, and integration in the face of the emergence of new world powers and alliances, seem to be exerting influence and defining Africa's relations with external actors. The notion of "Africa Rising"[1] has gained prominence and given an impression that, in addition to being an investment opportunities destination, Africa is gravitating towards sustainable economic growth and becoming a political force to reckon with in the shifting post-Cold War global order.

The end of the Cold War marked an end of competition for African proxies and allies between the superpowers—the United States (USA) and the Soviet Union. This dynamic change also meant a change in the bargaining power of African countries when dealing with these superpowers, impinging on the continent's international relations and more so on its political, social, and economic development. Issues of globalisation and liberalisation, which preceded the end of the Cold War, seem to have intensified even after its end.[2] This book by the Centre for Conflict

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_1

Resolution (CCR) in Cape Town, South Africa, presents 22 chapters written by scholars from across the world giving serious analysis to the relationship between Africa and other external players beginning from the end of the Cold War. Given the different geographical positions and perspectives that the authors are writing from, both from the inside out and the outside in, the book gives a balanced picture of Africa's international relations in the post-Cold War era.

This book provides a contemporary scholarly assessment of Africa's political, social, cultural, and economic landscape in the post-Cold War period. It analyses African governments' relationships with Western powers such as the USA, France, and the United Kingdom (UK); with so-called non-traditional powers such as India, Latin America, and the Islamic world; and finally with international organisations such as the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In so doing, the book probes key issues pertaining to Africa's relations with global actors, providing a comprehensive trajectory of Africa's relations with 15 key bilateral actors and 7 multilateral actors in assessing how the Cold War affected African states' political policies, economies, and security. Africa's relations with the various global actors are discussed in three broad categories: bilateral relations with traditional powers—the USA, the UK, China, Russia, France, Portugal, and Italy; bilateral relations with non-traditional powers—Brazil, India, Japan, the Nordics, Latin America, Europe, the Islamic world, and the Middle East; and multilateral relations—with the United Nations (UN), the ICC, the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), the European Union (EU), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank, and the IMF.

## Africa's International Relations

International relations between Africa and the most powerful states, especially the USA and its allies in the West, and the Soviet Union and its allies in the East, from 1957 to 1989–91, were determined by the Cold War. During this period, the USA and the Soviet Union instrumentalised the newly independent African governments in their conflicts with one another. Both the West and the East pursued a policy of supporting African countries that supported them ideologically—the capitalism of the West and the socialism of the East. The Soviet Union provided political support, weapons, and military training to Marxist parties and governments in Africa, while the USA was against seeing the establishment of such governments on the continent. This had a profound and devastating effect, as it made it necessary for African leaders of the time to value more what the East or the West wanted than what was good for their own people. The effects of the Cold War are still palpable today, more than 25 years after its end.

The civil wars in Angola, Mozambique, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC, Zaire) were mostly Cold War-driven. Take, for example, Angola: the independence of Angola in 1975 was marked by the onset of a civil war between the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The West was not keen to see the African Marxist movement of the MPLA taking over power in Angola. UNITA was America's key ally in Africa during the Cold War and a recipient of substantial US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) aid during the 1980s.[3] On the other hand, the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Yugoslavia offered what African liberation movements and governments wanted to ensure that the MPLA assume office in Angola. Without Soviet and Cuban support, the MPLA would not have defeated UNITA, which was backed by the CIA and apartheid South Africa at the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1988.[4] It was the presence of Cuban troops supporting the MPLA government that prevented the apartheid regime and its UNITA proxies from taking power.

Although Africa has had diverse global relations with different players over the years, much of independent Africa's external relations seem to have more to do with its legacy of colonialism. Its former colonisers have continued to directly or indirectly dictate what needs to take place on the continent. Besides, bad governance, aid dependence, and underdevelopment seem to be the lure for some of the awkward international relations in which the continent finds itself. It seems not much critical thinking and collective planning in terms of sustainable regional development has been done by African leaders, apart from working together to dismantle colonialism and apartheid. After the Cold War, there came another phase in which the West pushed the good governance and democracy agenda in Africa through programmes rolled out with the aid of institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO.[5] During this phase, most African countries struggled to catch up with the policies of structural adjustments, deregulation, and liberalisation, for which they were arguably ill-prepared. Massive poverty, unemployment, and migration to the North dominated the period.

Another phase of external influence after the Cold War followed the period of good governance and structural adjustment—by the 11 September 2001 attacks on the USA and the consequent global war on terrorism. Although Africa itself is unlikely to be classified as an exporter of terrorism, the weakness or lack of internal security controls over its territories from Islamic militancy and threats of terrorism makes it a possible harbour, link, and viable route for terrorists.[6] This makes it necessary for the West not to neglect Africa if it is to succeed in its war against terrorism. Besides, the problem of poverty on the continent creates a conducive environment where terrorists and terrorism flourish. After the 11 September attacks, the USA identified East Africa and the Horn, especially Djibouti, Somali, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania, to be at great risk from terrorist organisations.[7] US intelligence also claimed that a number of North Africans, especially from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, were identified as fighting with jihadists in the insurgency in Iraq.[8]

Just as during the Cold War, today African governments that support the international fight against terrorism (with their votes at the UN and in their policies and operations at home) are strongly supported by the international powers. A similar scenario seems to be unfolding with the EU seeking to end its refugee crisis by halting African migration into Europe. All these issues point to the fact that, in the post-Cold War era, Africa cannot be genuinely independent and sovereign without taking control of its own internal security. The challenge of providing and feeding its own with less dependence on other continents remains a key issue. As long as Africa still relies on others, especially the West, for its fight against terrorism and political and economic development, it remains subdued and weak in the global arena.

## Theoretical Perspectives

The experiences of Africa and the scholarship generated in this book contribute to a greater practical understanding of the main theories on international relations, giving a critical analysis of Africa's relations with various external actors. A number of theoretical perspectives ranging from realism, neorealism, Marxism, and the Westphalian model, among many other theories, help explain why African governments relate to external actors the way they do.

Classical realism has built its concepts of international relations on the literature of the Melian dialogue and Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta. The Melian dialogue provides an understanding of how powerful states create and join institutions in self-interest, based on their domestic concerns. Thucydides argues: "The strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must",[9] and Gideon Rose notes that "Foreign policy behaviour and foreign policy choices are made by political leaders and elites, and so it is their perceptions of relative power that matter, not simply relative quantities of physical resources or forces in being."[10] One of the key characteristics of realism is that it cannot accommodate any non-state actors within its analysis. Realism perceives international relations as comprised of competing nation states and postulates that aggressive competition between states can lead to war.[11]

Given its pessimistic view of human nature, realism also claims that the international system is regulated through international law and distinct institutions. Richard Nossal asserts that each state pursues its own interests and should always be on guard against other self-interested (state) actors in international relations.[12] As is demonstrated in this book, the pursuit of national interests, both during and after the Cold War, by external actors—in particular, superpowers such as the P5+1 (the USA, China, France, Britain, Russia, and Germany) on the UN Security Council—has been paramount. The engagements of such superpowers with Africa have been shown to be very much linked to their parochial needs to propagate their capitalist or socialist ideologies and to benefit from Africa's natural resources through exploitative practices.

Liberalism points us to the optimistic view of human nature which stresses the idea of negotiations and cooperation between states which help avert wars. It puts emphasis on individual rights, which form the basis for a modern civil society, democratic state, and capitalist economy in a post-Cold War era.[13] According to Kelvin Dunn and Tim Shaw, African states are weak, especially with regard to global politics.[14] Some of the major causes of their weakness are their bad governance, weak economies reeling from the effects of colonialism and basically their dependence on primary commodities, their lack of representation on the UN Security Council, and donor dependence. Marxist approaches to international relations, on the other hand, emphasise the conflict between the strong and the weak, the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed, within and among societies. In this volume, Africa's external relations with both bilateral and multilateral actors display a lack of a skilled, coherent, united, and informed approach in negotiating deals, especially trade and investment, at both the African Union and member-state levels.

The Westphalian model of international relations assumes the existence of functioning states across the globe. The state is the unit of analysis, which becomes a challenge in places where a functioning state does not exist.[15] The Westphalian model is premised on two major principles—sovereignty and equality of states. It emphasises the supremacy of the nation state in the international system, taking a state-centric approach to international relations.[16] However, a major gap in the theory is that it fails to recognise the large scale of informal transborder movements, thus reducing the complexity of the world to a monocultural and statist notion of international relations that fails to recognise transborder sociocultural relations.[17] It turns a blind eye to the multiplicity of players that deal with external relations.[18] As recent developments discussed in this volume demonstrate, on the African continent the state is not the sole determinant of international relations. There are transboundary challenges of informal groups such as terrorists, and developments on the border that seem to defy the control of the state. For example, the influx of refugees into Europe has left the EU hopeless in its continuous struggles in dealing with migration that is infused with terrorism.[19] Informal transborder relations in Africa exceed formal international relations by state actors. This scenario challenges the use of state as a major unit of analysis in Africa. Be that as it may, Hadley Bull sums it all up by saying: "The international society while precarious [does] provide important elements of order in the international system."[20]

A key challenge in Africa's international relations, especially in the post-Cold War era, is the continent's dynamic composition, comprising 55 sovereign states with divergent foreign policies that in many cases are difficult to reconcile. For instance, the continent's approach to EU economic partnership agreements (EPAs) exposed the continent's failure to agree on a common response. In many situations, the African Union's role as an international actor on behalf of African countries is complicated by the difficulty of promoting consensus among African states and then maintaining that consensus in the face of often divergent national interests. Since African Union (AU) member states have not ceded their sovereignty to this supranational body in the face of disagreements, each member state often resorts to going its own way.

The unifying theme of this book is the need for the AU and its individual member states to seek a more appropriate characterisation of their relations with external actors, to be proactive, to improve the effectiveness of their unity, and to be well-coordinated and innovative in determining their own destiny, rather than leaving it in the hands of external actors to pave their future. There is huge potential and resources for Africa to determine its own future, choose whom to relate with, and make its international relations mutually beneficial to escape dependency.

## Part I: Africa's Bilateral Relations with Traditional External Actors

The first part of this book focuses on the bilateral relations between Africa and external actors. In Chap. 2, "Africa and the United States: A History of Malign Neglect", Adekeye Adebajo argues that the hegemonic policy of the USA towards Africa during the Cold War ignored Africa's basic democratic principles and socioeconomic development. He goes further to analyse the post-Cold War securitisation of policy under the US presidencies of Bill Clinton (1993–2000), George W. Bush (2001–08), and Barack Obama (2009–16).

Adebajo underlines three major points here. Under Clinton, through his administration's "enlargement" policy, the USA claimed to be increasing democratic governance in Africa, while in practice it supported autocratic governments in Rwanda, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Second, under Bush, the major focus of the USA was the war on terror, during which Africa, especially its Muslim communities, saw a dark side of US policies, while the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was more beneficial to the USA than to Africa. The lowering of tariff barriers for many African goods was a good start, but it needed to be widened. The most positive thing for Africa under Bush was the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), which helped provide treatment for over 1.7 million HIV/AIDS sufferers in Africa between 2003 and 2008. The Obama administration brought with it a lot of hope for Africa, but not much changed, as it continued with the securitisation agenda of the Bush administration, through military expansions in countries such as Kenya and Uganda and the establishment of drone bases in countries such as Chad and Ethiopia.

In Chap. 3, "Africa and Russia: The Pursuit of Strengthened Relations in the Post-Cold War Era", Rosaline Daniel and Vladimir Shubin note that Russia's engagement with the continent dates back to its support for national liberation struggles in countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The Soviet Union supplied military equipment during these liberation struggles. Besides, the Soviet Union/Russia has always traded with African countries in the form of arms deals and other military equipment. Daniel and Shubin further argue that the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union meant that Russia was unable to continue its engagement with the continent because of its weakened economy. In the past decade, Russia's engagements in Africa have revolved around mineral trade, with 20 major Russian companies engaged in mining the oil, gas, and petrochemical sectors across Africa. In 2015, Russian exports to Africa were reported to be $7.3 billion, compared to $2.3 billion-worth of African exports to Russia.

In Chap. 4, "Africa and China: Winding Into a Community of Common Destiny", Haifang Liu examines the growing influence of China on the continent, which has made it Africa's largest bilateral trading partner in the post-Cold War era. Issues of concern regarding China's engagement revolve around the use of Chinese labour in its projects rather than the use of local African labour.[21] Criticisms of African governments' engagement with China include environmental degradation and destruction of local textile industries in preference for cheap Chinese products. Nonetheless, China is believed to be offering an alternative to Western conditionalities and interferences in local governance in exchange for development aid and preferential treatment in trade deals. China uses what it regards to be a "non-interference" policy, which has been appealing, as African governments often find it difficult to meet the expected international human rights standards and governance systems and thus find it easier to deal with China than the West. China has the potential to reduce Africa's dependence on Western countries. However, a major challenge facing the Sino-Africa partnership in the post-Cold War era is that Africa seems to lack a long-term strategy for engaging China.

In Chap. 5, "France and Africa", Douglas Yates reveals that France after colonialism and during the Cold War used military, financial, and politico-cultural means to maintain its hegemonic grip on former colonies in Francophone Africa. Military and economic pacts signed between France and former colonies gave it a continued "sphere of influence" on the continent, making it difficult for countries like Nigeria to lure Francophone states into the regional integration scheme of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). This French stance was challenged after the end of the Cold War, as many events, including the Rwandan genocide of 1994 and the fall of Mobuto Sese Seko, forced France to shift its approach to use the UN and the EU as its points of intervention. France's image, though, was damaged between December 2013 and June 2014 when allegations of sexual abuse of children by its troops were reported in the Central Africa Republic (CAR).

With the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, Britain has shown marginal interest in its former African colonies. Relations between Africa and the United Kingdom came to be more determined by trade than politics, as the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) faced significant budget cuts. The UK is interested in evolving mutually beneficial relationships with African states in order to deliver greater prosperity and increased security for both the UK and Africa. In Chap. 6, "To Brexit and Beyond: Africa and the United Kingdom", Alex Vines argues that British foreign policy over Africa in the Cold War era seems to be one driven by guilt over colonialism, migration worries, and fears of terrorism, but with greater trade interests mainly with South Africa. Nonetheless, the Labour government of Tony Blair brought in a radical shift, which to a large extent rekindled British interest in Africa, climaxed by the Commission for Africa and the multilateral debt-relief initiative for Africa of the 2005 Group of Eight (G8) Gleneagles summit. The Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and its successor Conservative government built on this, through rebooting trade and investment promotion, and rebuilding the UK's diplomatic network in Africa. Britain is engaged in UN peacekeeping, contributing to deployments in South Sudan and Somalia. It is also engaged in some military capacity-building, but only in selected African countries, such as Kenya, Sierra Leone, and Gambia. With Brexit, the UK is forced to do away with most partners and left to prioritize a few which are of strategic importance to Britain's trade relations with Africa. Vines predicts therefore, that there is likely to be greater de-prioritisation of Africa in British policies, as the Theresa May administration is beginning to shift its concentration on to Brexit negotiations and a few key African partners—South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, and Ghana—behind.

In Chap. 7, "Africa and Portugal", Clara Carvalho discusses Portugal's foreign policy, which is exclusively directed towards the Portuguese-speaking African countries—Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP)—marked by aid and cooperation, trade and economic exchanges, and political and strategic mediation. Portugal's relationship with Lusophone Africa has been greatly determined by its accession to the EU in 1986, and the end of civil war in Angola and Mozambique. Carvalho critically assesses the role of the Community of Portuguese-Language Countries (CPLP) as an effective forum for implementing economic and development policies in Africa during the post-Cold War era, given the mixed interests of Portugal, Angola, Mozambique, and other PALOP countries. The author notes that Portugal's influence in Africa was eclipsed by Brazilian interests, especially during the administration of Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva. However, Carvalho cautiously concludes that Portuguese influence in Africa in the post-Cold War era continues to depend on Portugal's ability to keep Lusophone African countries on the EU agenda and on promoting a trade and not aid strategy.

In Chap. 8, "Africa and Italy's Relations After the Cold War", Bernardo Venturi notes that Italy's influence in Africa has been more strongly felt in North Africa than in sub-Saharan Africa. Italian interaction with North Africa has been based on mutual respect in politics, inter-cultural communication, and mutual economic benefit. From the beginning of decolonisation to the end of the Cold War, Italy had not shown much interest in sub-Saharan Africa. Italy's presence in the region decreased considerably, especially when compared with its presence in other African countries, relegating it to a secondary role in terms of the country's economic footprint on the continent. In 1992, after the Cold War, Italy was credited with peace-brokering and ending the civil war between the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), with the peace agreement signed in Rome. Thus, Italy's renewed interest in sub-Saharan Africa grew gradually after the Cold War. Venturi further notes that more was done to improve relations between Italy and sub-Saharan Africa after the mid-2000s, as the Romano Prodi regime (2006–08) gave greater attention to Africa, prioritising the continent for development cooperation. Prior to this, Prodi had helped promote the Africa-EU summit in March 1999.

The main game changers in African-Italian relations in the post-Cold War era have been those who took over the Italian leadership from 2013. For instance, Emma Bonino as minister of foreign affairs was instrumental in planning the country's first Italy-Africa ministerial conference, in May 2016, which was attended by top-ranking institutional officials. Since 2014, a South Africa-Italy summit has taken place on an annual basis, with the business sector being particularly active at these meetings. Italian exports to African countries comprise six product categories: machinery and mechanical appliances; mineral fuels, mineral oils and products; electrical machinery and equipment; iron and steel; vehicles and parts; and articles of iron and steel. Fifty percent of these go to South Africa, followed by Morocco and Tunisia, and then Ethiopia.

Despite the increasing rapport, it is worth noting that migration issues, Islamophobia, and terrorism seem to be tainting relations between Africa and Italy, with the latter fighting to keep out illegal African migrants.[22] Nonetheless, Italy's good relations with North Africa position it to be a mediator and facilitator of public relations and dialogue between the Western countries and the Arab world in tackling the issues of Islamophobia and terrorism.

## Part II: Africa's Bilateral Relations with Non-traditional External Actors

The re-emergence of non-traditional actors on the African continent in the post-Cold War era has had both positive and negative consequences. The new interest in Africa on the part of non-traditional actors has significantly reduced the relative importance of traditional partnerships to Africa's development agenda. An important aspect of bilateral relations between Africa and non-traditional actors is the phenomenon of South-South cooperation, covering mostly relations with Latin America, the Middle East, and Asian countries. South-South cooperation goes beyond development assistance, largely focusing on trade and investment, tourism, and peacekeeping operations. The fast growth of big economies like China and India over the past two decades has resulted in a newfound interest (internally as well as externally) in the economic and political potentials of South-South collaboration.

Among the non-traditional actors (Japan, the Latin American countries, the Middle East, and the Nordics) are the emerging economies for international development—Brazil and India. Part II of the book analyses why in the post-Cold War era these non-traditional actors have rejuvenated development cooperation, what they actually do in Africa, and how they do it. An important aspect that seems to be expressed by non-traditional external actors in development cooperation with Africa is the potential gains that may accrue to African economies in terms of larger room for manoeuvre due to increased competition and the challenge to traditional donors' development hegemony. Non-Western countries, especially Brazil and India, have improved Africa's infrastructure and boosted its manufacturing sector.

In Chap. 9, "Brazil-Africa Relations: From Boom to Bust?", Adriana Erthal Abdenur argues that post-Cold War relations between Africa and Brazil plummeted after the Workers' Party-led government of Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva (2003–10). The post-Lula regimes have been characterised by a loss of momentum in Africa-Brazil ties, due to Brazil's current economic doldrums and political contestation. Africa has been an important focus of the Brazilian South-South diplomacy in the post-Cold War era, with a focus on Portuguese-speaking African countries, Nigeria, and South Africa. The historical ties between Brazil and Africa date back to the Portuguese empire and the slave trade. During the Cold War era, especially after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal on 25 April 1974, Brazil supported independence movements in Africa without Portuguese constraint. Trade and investment ties increased during the 2000s, as major Brazilian companies such as Odebrecht and Vale invested in Africa with financial backing from the Brazilian National Development Bank (BNDES). Under Lula, Brazil adopted a more aggressive position in Africa. Lula sought to diversify foreign trade partnerships and open new investment frontiers, and also believed that Brazil, due to the slave trade and its legacies, had a moral duty to Africa and that its historical debt should be paid. Lula's successor, Dilma Rousseff (2011–16), displayed a lack of interest in foreign policy, and budget restrictions, growing competition from other external players in Africa, and other factors meant a decrease of Brazilian pursuit of South-South ties, including in Africa.

In Chap. 10, "A Renewed Partnership? Contemporary Latin America-Africa Engagement", Danilo Marcondes focuses on how the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) countries, including those other than Brazil, have expanded their relations with the African continent, including through initiatives such as the Africa-South America Summit (ASA). The strengthening of post-Cold War bilateral relations between the LAC countries and Africa can be seen as part of a strategy to increase contacts with countries of the global South. This was particularly the case with the inauguration of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela (1999), Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva in Brazil (2003), and Nestor Kirchner in Argentina (2003). Besides the trade component, the expansion of diplomatic interaction between LAC and African states is valued because it offers an opportunity for countries in both regions to seek support for specific issues in their foreign policy agendas. For Cuba, for instance, African diplomatic support at the UN was fundamental to denouncing the US-imposed embargo against Cuba at the UN General Assembly. For its part, Cuba has trained thousands of African students in its universities and teaching schools, and has offered Cuban doctors to several African countries, while other LAC countries, such as Argentina, have contributed militarily to UN peacekeeping missions in Africa.

In Chap. 11, "Africa and India: Riding the Tail of the Tiger?", Kudrat Virk traces the partnership between the two continents, beginning from the fact that India's founding premier, Jawaharlal Nehru, supported

African liberation movements from the 1960s and also promoted the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) under the banner of Third World solidarity. The Africa-India relationship, especially at the UN, has over the years demonstrated what maximising the development potential of South-South cooperation can do for developing countries. During the Cold War, India and Africa partnered in international fora, especially at the UN, in their fight against racism, discrimination, colonialism, global inequalities, and injustice. Virk also observes that, in the post-Cold War era, India's engagement with Africa has been partly a reaction to competition from China. Thus in 2008, two years after the launch of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), India launched the India-Africa Forum. Nonetheless, New Delhi's diplomacy seems to be stronger in the Indian Ocean littoral than inland, concentrating on Africa's eastern seaboard, mostly South Africa, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Kenya. In the area of peacekeeping, India has played a significant role in the provision of UN peacekeepers deployed to the continent.

In Chap. 12, "Africa-Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era", Scarlett Cornelissen and Yoichi Mine note that Japan's aid relationship with Africa dates back to 1966, when it provided "development loans" to Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. From the outset, Cornelissen and Mine underscore that, while this book engages Japan as a non-traditional player, this chapter uses the term "traditional" to imply relatively long periods of time—as when recalling that Africa-Japan relations date back to the pre-Second World War period. In considering Cold War relations, Japan's trade with Africa was largely with apartheid South Africa, which estranged Tokyo from the rest of the continent. In 1974, South Africa was the main supplier of platinum metal for Japan's motor industry, while Tokyo was Pretoria's leading African trade partner in 1987. The creation of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in 1993 was significant, and has been a model for newer development fora such as the FOCAC of 2000 and the India-Africa Forum summit of 2008. The multilateral nature of TICAD is one of its distinguishing features, remaining through the various iterations of the TICAD process. Since its inception, TICAD has held five summits in Japan, with the sixth, held in 2016 in Nairobi, Kenya, becoming the first to be held in Africa. In 2015, bilateral trade between Japan and Africa totalled $20 billion. Japan's development cooperation with Africa is based on an aid philosophy that seeks to promote "self-help" and African ownership, which is a key feature of the country's bilateral and multilateral official development assistance (ODA).

In Chap. 13, "Africa and the Nordics", Anne Hammerstad argues that, for the Nordic countries (especially Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), cooperation with and common approaches to the African continent during the Cold War were based more on solidarity and were arguably less complex and multidimensional than today, given that cooperation is now clouded by political and security interests, particularly to curb migration flows to Europe and to combat terrorism. Hammerstad also asserts that, although there are numerous instances of informal consultation and commonalities of interest, as well as some co-investment by Nordic funds, there is not much concrete and institutional Nordic cooperation on African issues. Nonetheless, the Nordic countries have strong reputations in Southern Africa due to their sustained contributions to the region's anti-apartheid and liberation struggles. White papers published by Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in 2007 and 2008 revealed a shift of focus in their foreign and aid policies towards greater promotion of trade and investment. The Nordics still show some interest in commonly pursuing international climate change cooperation in Africa, as well as conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and supporting Africa's own regional integration.

In Chap. 14, "Africa, the Islamic World, and Europe", Roel van der Veen addresses ideas about the importance of culture and emotions in international relations, noting the distinction between how the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), European, and sub-Saharan African regions relate to one another. Van der Veen argues that, since the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on America and the subsequent US invasion of Iraq, there has been a violent struggle for life, dignity, democracy, and Islamic statehood in many Arab countries, which has had serious consequences for both Africa and Europe. The running theme of the chapter is derived from Samuel Huntington's claim that, after the Cold War, the major world cultures will dominate world politics. The uncompromising revolt by the radical Arab world finds both North and West Africa to be attractive regions for enlisting new fighters into its ranks because of the poor living conditions in these regions dominated by the Islamic religion.

Using Dominique Moisi's geopolitics of emotions as a framework of analysis, van der Veen notes that there is a general fear of the "Arab implosion", with any promise of a new democracy, freedom, and better life through political reforms undermined by the current problems associated with unemployment, climate change, and migration from Africa. The EU has become anxious to halt the spread of radical Islamic ideas in Africa and to install border control measures across Europe to avoid an influx of

Islamic youth into its countries. In African countries like Algeria, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, and Kenya, security concerns now dominate policymaking. Van der Veen concludes that there is a need to tackle youth unemployment, the issue of migration, and climate change, if development and peace are to prevail in both Africa and Europe. The states to the north (that is, Europe) and south of the Arab world (Africa) need to work together and put security first.

In Chap. 15, "Africa and the Middle East: Shifting Alliances and Strategic Partnerships", Hamdy Hassan and Hala Thabet trace Cold War-era Afro-Arab cooperation as tied to the Arabs' support for Africa's struggles against racism and colonialism and the joint condemnation of Israel's expansionist policies against the Palestine people at the UN.[23] The cementing of relations between Africa and the Middle East has come through four Afro-Arab summits: the first in Cairo in 1977, the second in Sirte in 2010, the third in Kuwait in 2013, and the fourth in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, in 2016. At all these summits, political rather than economic matters have taken centre stage, especially issues of tackling terrorism, regional disputes, and the Palestinian refugee problem. Relations between Africa and the Arab world seem to be declining, especially after the Arab Spring, with some African countries like Kenya, South Sudan, and Ethiopia welcoming Israel's support for counter-terrorism, agriculture, medicine, and other fields. A number of sub-Saharan Africa countries discovered that Arab aid was not only occasional, but also, in many cases, religiously biased. African states learned to follow a more balanced policy towards the Arabs and Israel, thereby benefiting from trade and aid from both sides.

The events of the Arab Spring led to the emergence of new African regional powers—South Africa and Ethiopia—while Egypt and Libya experienced a decline in their AU leadership. A number of individual Arab countries have developed bilateral relations with African countries. Iranian diplomacy aimed at breaking the siege imposed by the West through the acquisition of new spheres of influence in Africa, with Iran under the leadership of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad seeking to secure a supply of uranium from Africa and support for its nuclear programme.[24] But Iran-Africa relations have suffered setbacks, with a number of African countries, including Nigeria and Uganda, voting in the UN Security Council in favour of sanctions against Iran over its nuclear programme. Turkey's new Africa policy sought to strengthen its diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties with the continent, though its trade volume with sub-Saharan Africa has remained low compared to the size of Africa's developing market and population. Much of the trade of the Middle East (Iran, Turkey, and Israel) in sub-Saharan Africa is with South Africa. Hassan and Thabet conclude that there are still many opportunities to strengthen trade between the Middle East and African countries, but more needs to be done by both parties to tap these opportunities.

## Part III: Africa and Multilateralism

Multilateralism is indeed more complex today than ever before. The global order and interconnectedness of the world make it of prime necessity for states to be innovative, flexible, ready to change, to look beyond their national sovereignty, and dexterously navigate their way through supranational bodies. Africa's role in international relations has altered somewhat in the post-Cold War era. The establishment of the AU, and platforms such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), as well as discussions around the rationalisation of its regional economic communities (RECs), the challenges with the Doha Development Agenda, and the quest to democratise the international financial institutions and the UN Security Council, all point at efforts aimed at empowering Africa within the global multilateral transformations of the twenty-first century.

In Chap. 16, "Africa at the United Nations: From Dominance to Weakness", James Jonah assesses the strength of Africa's engagement with the UN since the 1950s. He argues that the African position within the UN has moved from one of dominance to one of decline, providing a brief but meticulous background and analysis of the key challenges that have confronted African governments within the world body during and since the Cold War. Jonah claims that, during the 1970s and 1980s, Africa was in a dominant position at the UN, given its majority on the UN General Assembly and the fact that the two superpowers were competing for the friendship of African states. Nothing could be adopted at the General Assembly concerning Africa without African representation, and the continent had a strong capacity and leverage in defining a course of action for its own issues. However, as the Cold War drew to a close and the Western powers declared themselves victorious, a long-standing problem began to emerge for Africa as the Soviet Union confronted its own political concerns, and a strong member of the Non-Aligned Movement, to which Africa belonged—Yugoslavia—collapsed, weakening Africa's position at the UN.

With many new European states now joining the UN General Assembly, Africa lost its majority status on the General Assembly. On the other hand, Africa experienced major wars and conflicts in countries such as Liberia, Angola, and Somalia. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor to the AU, was weak, having no troops of its own to represent it in peacekeeping missions, and therefore ended up seeking the help of Western countries at the UN.[25] The international community would not take any action on African issues unless invited to do so by the OAU. About half (29 out of 56) of the UN's peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era have taken place in Africa. This has subjected Africa to the whips and whims of the UN Security Council, which normally acts without the voice of the UN General Assembly. The Security Council is lopsided, in that it no longer represents the balance of power in the world demographically. The rest of the world's needs are not met at the UN, as the Security Council's permanent members—especially the USA, Britain, and France—use their veto power to resist what goes against their interests.[26] Jonah concludes by recommending that, in order to regain its lost power, Africa needs to put into place high-calibre ambassadors to represent the continent at the UN. The continent must also steer itself away from dependency and pay its UN dues to adequately reflect membership in the world body. Africa, with the help of its allies, needs to amplify its call for reform of the UN Security Council.

In Chap. 17, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", Dan Kuwali tackles the thorny relationship between Africa and the ICC. He argues that it is the relationship between law and politics—including the politicisation of the ICC—that poses the wider issue, one of great concern to African governments and peoples. The root of the problem is not the ICC's obsession with Africa but rather its shift away from independence shown in its formative stages towards dependence on the UN Security Council and the great powers (the USA, France, and Germany).[27] He goes on to argue that the ICC is not a Western tool designed to subjugate African leaders on the continent and advance an imperialist agenda. Rather, the ICC can be a crucial bulwark against impunity on the continent, where national legal systems are particularly weak.

Kuwali further argues that the AU's adoption of Article 46A *bis* of the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights to circumvent the challenge of the "Africanisation" of the ICC is legally problematic, as it is inconsistent with international law. It is a departure from, in stark contrast to, and inconsistent with international law, which allows international courts to lift immunity from sitting heads of state and senior officials and upholds the principle of equality before the law. Kuwali concludes by recommending that the ICC regime should help to strengthen the domestic jurisdiction of African countries to be able and willing to genuinely prosecute their own—positive complementarity—insofar as the ultimate goal is to end impunity and provide reparations for victims. He urges the AU to support the ICC in the exercise of its mandate by allowing it to open an African liaison office at AU headquarters in Addis Ababa. Such an office may help to demystify its work on the African continent and also keep open the lines of communication between the ICC and the AU. Most important, African leaders should stomach the hard reality that the rule of law requires that the rules should apply to all equally, including to those who make them.

In Chap. 18, "Can the BRICS Re-Open the 'Gateway to Africa'? South Africa's Contradictory Facilitation of Divergent Brazilian, Russian, Indian, and Chinese Interests", Patrick Bond argues that, although the BRICS network has been presented as an "alternative" to exploitative global multilateralism, Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa are in fact junior partners in perpetuating the under-development of Africa. For him, the BRICS stand accused of under-developing Africa in several respects, a process amplified by roller-coaster commodity price changes during the period 2002–16. The BRICS have not done much in terms of helping emerging states influence stronger ones to gravitate towards inclusive development in the post-Cold War era. Contradictions within the BRICS have been evident and well-pronounced. For example, Russia and China joined the USA, France, and Britain to *deny* UN Security Council seats to the other three BRICS, in spite of a decade-plus campaign to democratise that body (for fear of diluting their own power). Nonetheless, some scholars think the BRICS have to a greater extent impacted the global order by driving some change in procedural values of multilateralism. Bond concludes by predicting that with the rise of the BRICS there will be more top-down scrambling within Africa and more bottom-up resistance.

In Chap. 19, "Europe-African Relations in the Era of Uncertainty", Gilbert Khadiagala argues that the events of 2016, especially the Brexit, the crisis of confidence around regional integration in Europe, the controversial EPAs, the cutting of EU funding to the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) by 20%, and the clamping down on African immigrants in the Mediterranean, are likely to have serious repercussions on what seems to be a fading relationship between Europe and Africa. The EPAs negotiations symbolised a maturation of EU-Africa relations. Another issue of consternation is Europe's introduction of migration control as a new condition for development cooperation following the refugee crisis. The tragedy is that certain African countries will now be forced to agree to those migration conditionalities to secure EU trade concessions. During the post-Cold War era prior to 2016, Africa enjoyed good relations with Europe. The year 2016 seems to have been a turning point, while 2017 promises to be an indecisive year in EU-Africa relations, with Brexit on the horizon. Khadiagala bemoans the lack of leadership and ideas in Africa to capitalise on the events in Europe to strengthen its own regional integration.

In Chap. 20, "Africa and the World Trade Organisation", Mariama Williams assesses Africa's performance over the past 20-plus years of involvement in the World Trade Organisation trade and development trajectory, including the unfortunate Doha Round and other WTO agreements. In the Cold War era, Africa's global trade was determined by its relationships with former colonial powers under the auspices of the Lomé Convention, covering 79 African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries. Under Lomé, the emphasis was market access through preferential trade agreements, and stabilisation of commodity prices. In the post-Cold War era, with the coming into force of the WTO in 1995, the focus shifted to trade liberalisation on the continent as WTO measures extended into areas of procurement, healthcare, and food security, and consequently a reform of the preferences, especially the agricultural export subsidies, that the ACP countries enjoyed with Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries.

Africa's share of world exports declined from 5.5% in the 1970s to 3.5% in 2015, while the manufacturing sector's contribution to the continent's total economy declined from 12% to 3.2%, with the continent facing new risks, especially high costs of doing business and a lack of regulation in several markets. Thus the WTO era contributed, together with structural adjustment programmes, to Africa's de-industrialisation, as it led to trade-induced volatility by restricting the policy space. Williams further argues that the Doha Development Agenda has not been able to address the broader trade-related issues, which are of major concern to Africa. Export competition, enhanced market access, the right to progressive liberalisation, the need for flexibility in implementing WTO agreements, and issues of preferential and differential treatment remain Africa's headaches in global trade under the WTO. Williams concludes by urging African countries to pursue economic diversification and structural transformation, do away with over-reliance on low-valued primary goods, boost intra-African trade, expedite the establishment of a continental free trade area, and strike a better balance between individual country interests and continent-wide interests. There is strong emphasis on the fact that an enlarged integrated market of 55 AU member countries and about 1 billion people—free of tariffs and non-tariff barriers to trade—would allow for large economies of scale and stimulate intra-African trade.

In Chap. 21, "Sub-Saharan Africa: the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund", Adele Jinadu points out that, beyond the Cold War, there is a structure of asymmetrical global power relations of Western nations and multilateral institutions that disadvantages sub-Saharan Africa. He examines how the Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund—became the greatest purveyors of poverty in Africa, despite their rhetorical claims of the opposite. The controversial structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the Bretton Woods institutions exacerbated poverty in Africa by advocating for the lifting of market restrictions; free access to markets, with relaxed tariffs and taxes; encouragement of inward investment and external trade; and liberalised labour markets. These institutions' neoliberal framework failed to take into account the realities of Africa's socioeconomic inequalities. Despite popular resistance to the SAPs, the Bretton Woods institutions, with the help of some local dictatorial leadership, pushed them through.

Jinadu notes that SAPs failed to relate the problem of democracy in Africa to the structural problem of under-development and the unequal exchanges created by the imperialist logic of globalisation. By so doing, through SAPs, the insensitivity of the Bretton Woods institutions promoted the de-democratisation of politics in Africa. Thus, these institutions, representing the powerful Western nations and the financial interests that dominate them, have contributed to the exploitation of both the peoples and the resources of the vast majority of Africa. Jinadu concludes by recommending that the WTO and IMF reform by discarding their neoliberal agenda and Western domination through giving African states more voice and leadership.

## Where Do We Go from Here?

Over the years, African leaders, through the AU, seem to be realising that regional integration, cooperation, and coordinated action are required and necessary to survive in the new international order. There is no doubt that Africa needs to develop policies that will enable it to navigate an ever more challenging international environment. This requires it to do things differently than it has in the past. In fact, Africa's survival could depend more on how it handles its international relations than anything else—not to mention the need for deep internal reforms that can make it easy to start a business, improvement in taxation, and tackling problems associated with impunity, corruption, property rights, land titles, and credible transfer of power, electoral reforms, among many other things. External actors like the EU need to help the continent's regional integration and open up to trade by not imposing their EPAs on Africa. More significantly, African countries should work towards ensuring that their international relations with both traditional and non-traditional external actors are complementary. It is therefore crucial for African countries to ensure policy coherence and effective coordination between both traditional and non-traditional actors. In addition, African ownership of development assistance (traditional or non-traditional) is an imperative.

Africa's international relations have been largely influenced by how external actors have impacted on the continent both during and since the Cold War. Due to its colonial history and various differences, such as language and cultural differences linked to being Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone, and other attributes, Africa faces many challenges in attaining a common policy of engaging external actors. The conclusion of the book by Dawn Nagar provides a critical analysis of the core problems and also proposes a way forward in providing key policy recommendations to be considered by Africa and its diasporas, the international community, their governments and policymakers, as well as the civil society community.

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PART I

# Bilateral Relations: Traditional Powers

CHAPTER 2

# Africa and the United States: A History of Malign Neglect

*Adekeye Adebajo*

After the Second World War ended in 1945, the United States (USA) at first portrayed itself as an anti-colonial power, urging decolonisation in Africa and Asia. With the onset of the Cold War by the 1950s, Washington changed its anti-colonial tune in Africa and talked instead of a global struggle for "containment" and "anti-communism". Uncle Sam no longer urged his European allies—Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain—to surrender their African possessions. The Cold War's "axis of evil" largely involved the contested rivalry of two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union—in addition to France—to gain a stronghold over Africa. All three powers turned Africa into a strategic playground to conduct their ideological games, resulting in the deaths of millions of Africans. The continent was flooded with billions of dollars of weapons provided to local proxies in countries such as Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, and Somalia. During the Cold War, Washington's policies in Africa frequently ignored principles as basic as democracy and development, and focused parochially on containing the "red peril"[1] through protecting and providing military and financial assistance to often brutal and undemocratic clients such as Liberia's Samuel Doe, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, and Somalia's Siad Barre, in exchange for political support and military bases.[2]

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_2

It is important to note that Africa enjoys the lowest priority in the implementation of US foreign policy around the world. The US president is rarely directly involved in making Africa policy, which has often been delegated to the level of assistant secretary of state. The State and Commerce Departments, the Pentagon, and the US Agency for International Development (USAID) also do not always pursue coherent or coordinated strategies in Africa. Nevertheless, policy is still carried out in the name of the president, and on issues such as anti-terrorism, military coups, and peacekeeping in Africa, the president is often directly involved.

This chapter examines US policy after the end of the Cold War under the three presidencies of Bill Clinton (1993–2000), George W. Bush (2001–08), and Barack Obama (2009–16). I argue that American policy towards the continent under all three administrations has largely continued the history of "malign neglect" of the Cold War era. Development and democracy were often undermined by the securitisation of policy and support for autocratic regimes, while empty rhetoric and symbolism often triumphed over meaningful engagement and substance.

## Bill Clinton: Feeling Africa's Pain[3]

After the end of the Cold War, Washington announced in the early 1990s that its Cold War-era obsession with "containment" was to be replaced by what President Bill Clinton's national security adviser, Anthony Lake, described as a policy of "enlargement" that envisaged the United States seeking to enlarge democracies worldwide, rather than keeping tyrants in power. Though Washington abandoned its former African clients on whom it had lavished billions of dollars in arms and aid during the Cold War, Clinton's democratisation record in Africa was abysmal. Policy often resembled the Cold War era, as strategic rationales were found to justify a failure to support multiparty democracy in various African countries.[4] Despite the efforts of courageous African civil society activists and democrats to replace autocratic regimes, "enlargement" was soon replaced by American support for a cantankerous warlords' gallery that Clinton, during a diplomatic safari to Africa in March/April 1998, arrogantly dubbed Africa's "new leaders": Uganda's Yoweri Museveni, Ethiopia's Meles Zenawi, Eritrea's Isais Afwerki, and Rwanda's Paul Kagame. None of these leaders could be accurately described as operating anything like a genuine multiparty system, and all were thinly disguised autocrats. No sooner had Clinton anointed them as Africa's model rulers than they went to war against each other: Ethiopia and Eritrea fought a bloody border war between 1998 and 2000, while Uganda and Rwanda, after supporting rebels to invade, and themselves occupy part of, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in a bid to topple the regime of Laurent Kabila in August 1998, soon fell out over strategy and the spoils of war in the mineral-rich country and turned their guns on each other, killing scores of Congolese civilians in clashes in Kisangani.

Undoubtedly, the worst failures of US policy towards Africa in recent times were Clinton's actions in Somalia and Rwanda. In a secret, botched mission to hunt down Somali warlord Mohammed Farah Aideed—planned entirely by the Pentagon without the knowledge of the United Nations (UN)—18 American soldiers and about 1000 Somalis, including women and children, were killed in October 1993. In order to deflect the strong domestic backlash and to prevent the Republican Party from generating political capital from these events, Clinton inaccurately blamed the military fiasco on the UN and withdrew American troops from the Horn of Africa, effectively crippling the mission without achieving peace in Somalia.[5]

Six months after the Somali debacle, the Clinton administration led efforts in the United Nations Security Council to force the withdrawal of most of a 2500-strong UN peacekeeping mission (which had no American soldiers) from Rwanda. As Clinton himself would later admit after leaving power, a reinforced UN force could have prevented the worst excesses of the Rwandan genocide. Washington, however, blocked any effective UN response to the killing of about 800,000 Africans. It is important to note that the USA was not being asked to provide peacekeepers in Rwanda, but merely to mandate the UN to take action to save helpless victims of genocide. But with congressional mid-term elections approaching in the USA (as Clinton's African-American National Security Council Adviser for Africa, Susan Rice, is said to have argued), cynical political calculations took precedence over an international moral and legal obligation to prevent genocide. Clinton's officials were ordered not to describe the massacres as "genocide" in a bid to escape pressure for the UN Security Council to mandate a military intervention to stop the massacres.[6]

In the area of development, 85% of American trade and investment in Africa was concentrated during the Clinton era in four countries: the oil-rich trio of Nigeria, Angola, and Gabon, as well as South Africa. The fact that $2 billion of American aid annually was going to the autocratic regime of Egypt's Hosni Mubarak (Israel received over $3 billion a year), while 48 sub-Saharan African states, constituting some of the poorest countries in the world, had to share less than $1 billion, was the clearest sign that political and strategic considerations, rather than poverty and democratic considerations, continued to drive Washington's policy towards the continent.[7] The US Congress passed the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in May 2000, granting greater access to African goods in selected sectors of the American market. The controversial Act called for African countries to fight corruption, respect intellectual property, and remove barriers to US trade and investment. AGOA did yield some dividends for Africa. In the first seven months of 2002, African apparel exports to the USA exceeded $100 million, while an estimated 200,000 new jobs were created in Africa between 2000 and 2002 as a result of increased exports from AGOA.[8] But despite some progress, AGOA had very limited success: the Act allowed market access to a limited number of African goods in selected sectors of the American market in exchange for low tariffs and free access for US investors to a wide range of African industries.[9] Most of the African exports also consisted of petroleum products.

## George W. Bush: Muscular Born-Again Crusader

Under the administration of George W. Bush between 2001 and 2008, US foreign policy was almost universally perceived to be arrogant and unilateral, particularly the illegal and illegitimate invasion of Iraq in March 2003 without UN Security Council authorisation. Drawing on a sanctimonious, muscular, born-again Christianity, Bush's arrogant and deeply insulting insistence—in the days following terrorist attacks on the USA on 11 September 2001—that the whole world decide whether it was "with America or with the terrorists" came right out of an atavistic Old Testament world where doctrines such as "an eye for an eye" reigned supreme. In this absolutist "new world order" there was no more room for nuance or subtlety. One could not at the same time condemn terrorism and caution America not to kill innocent civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq in a vainglorious attempt to "impose" democracy around the world through the barrel of a gun.

The profound and widespread concern in Africa about Bush's "war on terror" was that new justifications would be found—as occurred under the Clinton administration—to back autocratic allies who supported the USA in its declared hunt for terrorists, rather than supporting democratic allies and principles. This fear came to pass and continued with greater vigour under the Obama administration (discussed below). The establishment in 2002 of a US military base and a joint Horn of Africa command in

Djibouti—with about 1500 soldiers and the goal of tracking terrorists in the region—came to mirror Washington's support of autocratic governments in Kenya, Somalia, and Sudan during the Cold War. The support of these three countries was justified at the time by the need to protect strategic sea-lanes used for transporting oil from the Middle East. In 2003, Washington launched its $100 million East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) to provide training and equipment to states in the region, particularly Kenya and Ethiopia. The USA also strengthened security ties with Eritrea, while continuing to maintain strong ties with Ethiopia, with the aim of benefiting from the intelligence network of the pre-eminent military power on the Horn of Africa.

Another American counter-terrorism effort, the Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI), worked with autocratic regimes in Mauritania and Chad. The US European Command further collaborated with Senegal, Gabon, Mali, Ghana, Uganda, Namibia, and South Africa to upgrade ports and airfields, and signed access agreements allowing Washington to deploy rapidly to counter terrorists in Africa. In 2005, the $500 million five-year Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) was launched to build the capacities of African states such as Algeria, Chad, Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Mauritania, and Tunisia to patrol borders and intercept terrorist groups.[10] Some African regimes appeared to be taking advantage of American fears about the spread of terrorism on the continent to crack down on domestic dissent. In a striking replay of Washington's response to the attacks of 11 September 2001, Morocco, with its autocratic political system and draconian press laws,[11] rushed anti-terrorism legislation through its rubber-stamp parliament, allowing capital punishment against terror suspects. This followed deadly suicide attacks in Casablanca in May 2003.[12] The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) also reportedly used Moroccan territory to question suspected terrorists, conducting interrogations that often disregarded due process.[13] Other countries, such as Uganda, Ethiopia, and Tanzania, drew up anti-terrorism legislation that civil libertarians criticised as giving the government too much power to clamp down on genuine domestic dissent.

During the US presidential campaign of 2000, Bush had reiterated his lack of interest in Africa and subsequently spoke about Africa as if it was a country rather than a continent. As he noted in June 2001: "Africa is a nation that suffers from incredible disease."[14] In the area of trade, AGOA—which involved 37 African countries by 2007—often continued to be falsely touted as a major success story of US policy towards Africa.

Most of the benefits of the programme were—and remain—from oil imports to the USA, which grew by 53% in 2005, while non-oil African exports fell by 16%. Significantly, AGOA did not envisage opening up America's wasteful and heavily subsidised agricultural sector—at a cost of \$109 billion in 2005—in which Africa has a comparative advantage, with about 70% of its population working in this vital sector.[15] By 2006, 93% of AGOA imports were petroleum products. The foreign textile companies set up in Lesotho, Namibia, Malawi, Mauritius, and Swaziland—largely by companies from China, Malaysia, and Singapore—to take advantage of AGOA, also largely faltered: 20,000 textile jobs were lost in Lesotho between 2005 and 2007, while a Malaysian-run factory in Namibia closed down after only 5 years of operation.[16]

By 2006, the US Congress had cut funds for Bush's Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), launched in 2002 to assist African states. The rhetorical commitment of the administration to democratic governance was not matched by funds to promote the principle in Africa. The programme was slow to disburse funds (only \$1.75 billion by 2006 instead of the \$5 billion target), and only Madagascar, Cape Verde, and Benin had signed a "compact" to receive assistance.[17] Like AGOA, the MCA laid down strict but nebulous criteria for African governments to receive funding, such as "encouraging economic freedom", "investing in people", and "ruling justly". These conditions were less than transparent, as autocratic regimes such as Blaise Compaoré's Burkina Faso and Yahya Jammeh's Gambia qualified for funding. Though Washington allegedly provided Africa with \$4 billion of "aid" in 2005, as much as \$1.2 billion of this figure (25%) was emergency food aid, mostly bought from US producers, shipped by American vessels, and distributed by US non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Only \$517 million of these funds went directly to development assistance.[18]

While the Bush administration was critical of the increasingly autocratic regime of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe, it closely embraced the autocratic regime of Egypt's Hosni Mubarak (in power for 27 years in 2008, having banned his main opposition, the Muslim Brotherhood, and being frequently accused of committing human rights abuses). Mubarak continued to receive \$2 billion annually in American aid for being friends with Israel. Two oil-rich tyrants were also welcomed to Washington: Gabon's Omar Bongo, who was in power from 1967 until his death in June 2009, met with President Bush in May 2004; while Equatorial Guinea's Teodoro Obiang Nguema, who had taken power through a military coup three decades earlier, met with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in April 2006. Both Bongo and Nguema had been criticised by the US State Department's own reports for flouting human rights and for engaging in massive corruption.

The one area, however, in which the Bush administration can be given some credit was its substantive contribution to the global battle against AIDS, announced in January 2003.[19] The $18.8 billion President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) provided support to 15 of the world's most heavily affected countries, including 12 in Africa: Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. PEPFAR provided treatment to 1,700,000 people and care to 6,600,000 AIDS sufferers globally between 2003 and 2008. However, questions were raised as to why heavily affected countries such as Malawi and Lesotho were not included in the programme,[20] and some of the anti-abortion and anti-condom conditions attached to funding weakened the programme's effectiveness. Nevertheless, the Bush administration's provision of resources in this vital area far exceeded the spending of the Clinton administration, which talked a good game but delivered little to Africa.

But the worst aspect of American policy was clearly Bush's militarisation of Africa policy. The American-encouraged Ethiopian military invasion of Somalia in 2007 represented a misguided attempt that was utterly unable to stem the protracted civil conflict in Somalia. Ethiopia withdrew its troops from the country in December 2008 after having suffered dozens of fatalities. The 2007 intervention was more of an auxiliary of *Pax Americana*'s erratic "war on terror" than a mission to promote sustainable peace on the Horn of Africa. Addis Ababa later deployed about 4000 troops as part of the 22,000-strong African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in January 2014, backed by a strong Ugandan contingent, joined by troops from Kenya, Burundi, and Djibouti, which propped up a weak interim government in Mogadishu.

Equally disturbing to many Africans was the American decision in February 2007 to establish a new Africa Command (AFRICOM) by September 2008. This plan, championed strongly by Donald Rumsfeld—the disgraced former US Defence Secretary and architect of the Iraq debacle of 2003—was ostensibly meant to strengthen Washington's military cooperation with Africa. The Pentagon was seeking to consolidate three commands covering Africa into one, in order to be able to intervene more effectively on the continent to fight terrorism, stem conflicts, and provide humanitarian assistance. This approach further increased America's prioritising of militaristic anti-terrorist approaches towards Africa. Although American planners often assured Africans that AFRICOM would not result in a large US military footprint on the continent and that Washington could deploy troops from bases elsewhere, this has not proved to be the case.

## The Rise and Fall of Obamamania[21]

When Barack Obama was elected the first Black president of the USA in November 2008, a wave of "Obamamania" swept across the African continent. Former South African president Nelson Mandela noted: "Your victory has demonstrated that no person anywhere in the world should not dare to dream of wanting to change the world for a better place." The Kenyan president Mwai Kibaki said: "The victory of Senator Obama is our own victory because of his roots here in Kenya"; while late Nigerian president Umaru Yar'Adua noted: "Obama's election has finally broken the greatest barrier of prejudice in human history."[22]

By the time Obama visited South Africa, Senegal, and Tanzania in June and July 2013, the "Cinderella syndrome" had worn off. The unrealistic expectations that the US president would act as a "messiah" for Africa had not even come close to being fulfilled. Despite Obama's Kenyan ancestry, as president he had other pressing policy priorities (the economy, healthcare, Afghanistan, the Middle East, China, and North Korea) that took precedence over the continent. US policy towards Africa also still lacked consistent congressional support, while the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) had 2 senators out of 100 in the US Congress, and 46 out of 435 members in the US House of Representatives, in August 2016. Despite its limited members though, the CBC was sometimes able to build coalitions for taking action in specific African cases.

### *The Four Pillars of Obama's Africa Policy*

I next assess the four pillars of Obama's Africa policy that sought to prioritise democratic governance; conflict management; economic growth and development; and access to quality health and education.[23] Much of these activities have taken place in three African sub-regions: North Africa (the "Afro-Arab Spring" and events in Egypt and Libya); Eastern Africa (security issues in Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan); and West Africa (terrorism concerns in the Sahel focused largely on Mali and Nigeria). I will also analyse the first ever US-Africa summit, which took place in Washington, D.C., in August 2014, before offering some observations on the future of this often tortuous relationship. The four announced pillars of Obama's Africa policy were built on shaky foundations, and the administration's flowery rhetoric was often not matched by concrete actions on the ground. Obama continued several of the truculent George W. Bush's most egregious policies, militarising American engagement with the continent.

"Extraordinary rendition" of terror suspects abroad, with the risk they might be tortured, continued; 2000 American soldiers remained in Djibouti to track terrorists; autocratic regimes in oil-rich Equatorial Guinea as well as in Egypt, Morocco, Uganda, Rwanda, and Ethiopia remained staunch US allies or clients; and officials of America's Germany-based AFRICOM still roamed the continent in search of "mad mullahs" in a seemingly endless "war on terror". The Obama administration deployed killer drones to Somalia and Libya that notoriously killed scores of innocent civilians wherever they were used, and often created more anti-Americanism among affected populations. A drone centre was established in Niger to track terrorists in Mali, and surveillance drones were also used in Nigeria. In addition, 100 US special forces operated inside Somalia during Obama's presidency.

### *Strong Men Trump Strong Institutions*

Six months into his tenure, Barack Obama visited the Ghanaian capital of Accra in July 2009 on a 24-hour sojourn that marked the first trip to sub-Saharan Africa by America's first Black president. This followed a brief stopover in the Egyptian capital of Cairo a month earlier. In Accra, Obama delivered a major address to the Ghanaian parliament on development and democracy in which he stressed the interdependence of Africa with the rest of the world, declaring: "The twenty-first century will be shaped by what happens not just in Rome or Moscow, or Washington, but by what happens in Accra as well."[24] The US president also supported African "agency" in resolving the continent's own problems, arguing that "Africa's future is up to Africans". Obama further noted his own strong identification with Africa: "I have the blood of Africa within me." His message was one of "good governance", as well as increased opportunity, better health, and conflict resolution. He essentially noted that Africa needed "strong institutions" rather than "strong men".[25]

The revolution by millions of peaceful protesters in Egypt in January/February 2011 that toppled the mummified 30-year dictatorship of the American-backed autocrat Hosni Mubarak presented an early test of Obama's Accra commitment to back "strong institutions" rather than "strong men". Following Mubarak's departure from power in February 2011, Obama praised the "moral force of non-violence" and reminisced about "Gandhi leading his people down the path of justice". In June 2009, the US president had delivered a speech in Cairo in which he spoke out forcefully for democratic values in Islamic countries, but then diluted his message by arguing that "each nation gives life to this principle in its own way".[26] This was in stark contrast to his unequivocal, if patronising, support for democratic governance in his Accra speech a month later. Obama thus appeared rhetorically to support democracy strongly in sub-Saharan Africa, while preferring to support autocratic stability over democratic freedom in the Arab world. As late Lebanese-American intellectual Fouad Ajami observed: "The Arab liberals were quick to read Barack Obama, and they gave up on him. They saw his comfort with the autocracies, his eagerness to 'engage' and conciliate the dictators."[27]

The Obama administration continued to provide Mubarak's Egypt with $1.5 billion a year. Clearly fearing the uncertainty of a possible Islamist takeover in Cairo, Obama spoke out of both sides of his mouth during the 2011 crisis until it became clear that the political wind was blowing the way of the protesters. The victory of Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsi in presidential elections in June 2012 was followed by a military coup by General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in July 2013 and the subsequent killing of nearly 1000 Muslim Brotherhood supporters. The American president refused to call this blood-soaked unconstitutional change of government a coup and employed political chicanery to ensure that the US Congress did not halt its support to the Egyptian army (as required by law after a military coup). This fuelled both el-Sisi's political bravado and continuing corruption in the country. Though prior to the coup Washington had threatened "consequences" against any attempt to depose an elected government, its subsequent response was to call for yet another "democratic" transition, rather than a restoration of the elected *ancien régime*. In October 2014, the *New York Times* called for Obama to halt arms deals to Cairo, noting that the country was "in many ways more repressive than it was during the darkest periods of the reign of deposed strongman Hosni Mubarak".[28] The newspaper went on to complain that el-Sisi had rigged an election; curbed demonstrations; muzzled the media and civil society; and reportedly used US-built tanks to shell civilian areas in Sinai. Egypt, however, continued to receive $1.5 billion annually in American assistance, while all 49 sub-Saharan African countries combined shared $6.7 billion in 2014.

Despite the pretty poetry heard during the 2008 presidential campaign by the most cosmopolitan and worldly individual to occupy the White House, Obama ruled in pragmatic prose. He was very much a dyed-in-the-wool politician, cut from the same cynical cloth as his Democratic Party predecessor Bill Clinton. Both men demonstrated a willingness to sacrifice core principles at the altar of political survival. Just before Tunisia's 23-year tyranny of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali was toppled by a popular uprising in January 2011, the Obama administration had approved $12 million in military aid to the regime. Not wanting again for America to be caught on the wrong side of history, Obama belatedly threw in his lot with the Egyptian people a few months later. But despite his lofty rhetoric following Mubarak's ousting, this was an unedifying spectacle. In direct contradiction of his Accra commitment, Obama had now clearly decided to support a "strong man" in Cairo rather than help to build "strong institutions".

Some of Obama's officials also failed to inspire confidence in his administration's commitment to Africa. Johnnie Carson, an experienced African-American former ambassador to Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Uganda, served as the president's Assistant Secretary of State for African affairs between 2009 and 2013. In 2009, Carson delivered a speech on US policy towards Africa at the African Studies Association (ASA) gathering that took place in New Orleans in November 2009. The speech was disappointing, and could easily have been delivered by a member of the George W. Bush administration: it was a disingenuous and ahistorical portrayal of US policy towards Africa, glossing over damaging American actions and exaggerating apparent successes in areas like trade and security. This was one of the worst sales pitches I had ever heard.[29] Carson later intervened in Kenya's March 2013 polls by seeming to urge Kenyans not to vote for Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, both of whom had been charged with, but not convicted of, crimes against humanity by the Hague-based International Criminal Court (ICC). The cases against both leaders were dropped by 2016 due to a lack of evidence. A month before Kenya's polls, Carson clumsily threatened that "actions have consequences", appearing to contradict Obama's own statement days before that the USA would not favour any candidate in the forthcoming election. This interference in the sovereign responsibility of Kenyan citizens is believed to have contributed to swaying the closely fought 2013 presidential vote in favour of Kenyatta.

## Pax Americana *Trumps* Pax Africana

American security interests clearly trumped promoting democracy and African security priorities in what can be described as “Obama’s secret wars in Africa”. Under Obama, George W. Bush’s militarisation of Africa policy was accelerated. The US-Africa Command cost $300 million a year by 2013, with 100 training programmes and exercises in 35 African countries (total military spending in Africa was estimated at $7 billion).[30] The command was involved in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation’s (NATO) campaign in Libya between March and October 2011. From that time until the end of Obama’s term in January 2017, the command concerned itself with combating piracy and oil bunkering on the Gulf of Guinea, as well as fighting narco-trafficking in West Africa. American special forces were deployed to the Great Lakes region to hunt Ugandan warlord Joseph Kony. In May 2010, Obama signed into law an act to disarm the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) and support recovery in northern Uganda, making it American policy to kill or capture LRA warlord Kony and to defeat his rebellion in northern Uganda.

The Obama administration—through the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency—in fact oversaw one of the largest military expansions into Africa. In addition to the US troops in Djibouti’s Camp Lemonnier, from which F-15 bombers and drones were flown, the Obama administration established small bases and outposts throughout the continent: in Kenya (Camp Simba); Uganda (surveillance aircrafts from Entebbe); the Central African Republic (CAR), South Sudan, and the DRC (US special operations forces); Ethiopia (Camp Gilbert, and drones from Arba Minch airport); Burkina Faso (air-base for surveillance planes); and Ghana and Senegal (military use of Tema and Dakar ports). Washington expanded drone bases in Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Seychelles. Thirty US warships supported operations in Africa. The USA also established a small military camp in the Chadian capital of N’Djamena, working closely with France to support the autocratic regime of Idriss Déby, which by the US State Department’s own assessment had committed gross human rights abuses.[31]

The Obama administration did, however, provide $355 million to the 22,000-strong African Union (AU) mission in Somalia, though many African armies continued to complain that they needed more logistical support and equipment, and not counter-terrorism training. In post-conflict Liberia, the USA also led efforts to train a 2000-strong national army and national police force. But the government of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf struggled, from 2006, to receive concrete donor assistance to complete its critical security sector reform efforts. In the Horn of Africa, Obama appointed General Scott Gration as his Special Envoy to Sudan in March 2009. Though the US president and many of his officials vowed to be tough on the regime of Omar al-Bashir in Khartoum, discordant voices were heard. Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State between 2009 and 2012, and Gration, seemed to favour accommodation with Khartoum, while Susan Rice, the then US Permanent Representative at the UN and later US National Security Adviser, called for stronger action. Gration was widely seen to be out of his depth and not conversant with the intricacies of the treacherous Sudanese landscape. The more able Princeton Lyman, a former US ambassador to South Africa and Nigeria, replaced Gration as Special Envoy to the country in March 2011. Washington had also chaired talks on Abyei in Addis Ababa in October 2010, remaining involved in the peace process. The USA was further instrumental in securing South Sudan's independence from Sudan by July 2011. But the Obama administration and others were criticised for the lack of effective security sector reform, which contributed greatly to a resumption of civil war in South Sudan by December 2013.[32]

In West Africa, the Obama administration played an important role in Mali and Nigeria, focused largely on counter-terrorism. Throughout 2012, Washington had consistently warned against a premature deployment of an African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA), doubting its capacity to rout Islamist and Tuareg militias in the north. The USA proposed instead a two-step process for AFISMA: to train the Malian army first before engaging in peace enforcement activities. Washington had spent $41 million between 2009 and 2012 training the military in Mali, including a future putschist, Captain Amadou Sanogo. Before the Malian coup in March 2012, the USA had shifted resources from Mali to Mauritania and Niger because it felt that Mali's military top brass was not focused enough on America's own counter-terrorism and anti-narcotics priorities. Washington thus remained wary of supporting the Malian army and AFISMA, even after a French-led intervention in Mali in January 2013. But it is also critical to note that it was the sophisticated weaponry from Muammar Qaddafi's Libya that had enabled Islamists—who had been fighting in that country during the NATO-led campaign in 2011 (described later)—to launch the successful destabilisation of northern Mali.[33]

The obsessive American and French push for presidential elections in Mali in July and August 2013, as well as November parliamentary elections in Mali that same year, proved to be misguided. The northern part of the country was still full of rebels in mountains and desert territories, alongside a weak government in Bamako with no effective army under firm civilian control. Washington provided logistical support to France's deployment in Mali. By 2013, the Obama administration had also deployed drones to Niger to track militants in Mali, while keeping a small number of soldiers operating on the ground in Mali, a key country for Washington's Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative. The USA further pressured Algeria (which has historically been wary of French influence in the region) to back an African-led military intervention in Mali. One of the greatest disappointments of Obama's presidency for Africa is that he continued to support, rather than challenge, neocolonial Gallic actions in countries like Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, the CAR, and Libya. The US president could have lent greater support to regional efforts through the UN in all four cases, supporting early deployment of AFISMA in Mali. This approach could also have helped bolster the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)-initiated UN mission in Côte d'Ivoire; accelerate the "rehatting" of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) mission into a UN one in CAR; and support AU mediation and the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force in Libya.

In Nigeria, the USA worked with a country that had traditionally provided it with about 10% of its oil, and that was an important part of its counter-terrorism activities in Africa. The Nigerian government of Goodluck Jonathan (2010–15), however, demonstrated rank incompetence and callous indifference in tackling the terrorist group Boko Haram, particularly following the kidnapping of 276 schoolgirls by the militant group in April 2014. The group has killed an estimated 20,000 Nigerian civilians since 2009, and at least 2,000,000 people have been internally displaced.[34] Under Jonathan's administration, the Nigerian army struggled with equipment, logistical, and other capabilities, and the $6 billion annual security budget that Abuja claimed to be spending was clearly not reaching the army. By May 2014, Washington was providing Jonathan's government with surveillance and intelligence assistance in its battle against Boko Haram terrorists with links to Islamists in Mali and Somalia, but Abuja remained wary of too close a military relationship with Washington. The sometimes tense relationship between the USA and Nigeria, however, improved under the new Nigerian president, Muhammadu Buhari, when he took office in June 2015 and visited the White House merely a month later.

In an interview with the *New York Times* in August 2014, Obama described the aftermath of NATO's Libya intervention in 2011 as his "biggest foreign policy regret", noting that "there has to be a much more aggressive effort to rebuild societies that didn't have any civic traditions".[35] This intervention had been spearheaded by France and Britain, with the USA infamously "leading from behind". Libya reinforced the view that the Obama administration still considered parts of Africa as European "spheres of influence" to be largely parcelled out and managed by two medium-sized European former great powers. In the UN Security Council, London and Paris have been the most hyperactive members, drafting all the resolutions concerning 11 out of 15 African cases on the Council agenda (with the USA "holding the pen" in two other African cases). Obama was able to convince the leaders of Africa's two aspiring hegemons—Nigeria and South Africa—to vote for the Libya intervention in the UN Security Council. South Africa would later regret the decision, and became a vociferous critic of the abuse of a resolution intended to protect civilians that was instead used to pursue an agenda of "regime change". Washington informed AU officials in April 2011 that any ceasefire in Libya would be contingent on Muammar Qaddafi's departure from power. Along with France and Britain, the USA encouraged the intransigence of Libya's rebel National Transitional Council (NTC), even as AU mediators—led by South Africa's President Jacob Zuma—shuttled back and forth between both parties. Having at first denied a "regime change" agenda, Obama finally conceded in October 2011 that "we … had to make sure that Muammar Qaddafi didn't stay there … Qaddafi had more American blood on his hands than any individual other than Osama bin Laden".[36]

Following the assassination of Qaddafi in his hometown of Sirte in October 2011, a myth developed in American policy circles that NTC horsemen had ridden into Tripoli to establish a new dawn of multiparty democracy. This was most eloquently expressed by Susan Rice, the US Permanent Representative to the UN at the time, who noted that the NATO mission had put Libya back on a path of freedom; as she explained: "this closes what I think history will judge to be a proud chapter in the Security Council's history…".[37] Nothing could have been further from the truth. As UN Ambassador, Rice was often seen as a pit-bull terrier with a brusque style that employed tactless and sometimes foul language. She practised a diplomacy that lacked finesse and subtlety, seeming to rely more on the might of her country than on the force of her arguments. With Qaddafi's murder and with growing chaos in Libya dominated by local warlords, military strongmen, and Islamists, the debacles in Afghanistan and Iraq appeared to be closer to the future that awaited post-Qaddafi Libya. Following NATO's ill-planned intervention, Libya became a powder-keg divided between rival governments in Tripoli and Tobruk, while political assassinations continued unabated. This was clearly not one of Obama's finest moments.

More positively, it should be noted that the Obama administration consistently supported UN peacekeeping in Africa, providing 22% of the UN's assessed contributions in this area (though Washington underfunded UN peacekeeping by $350 million in Congress's 2014 budget) and backing the creation of new peacekeeping missions in Mali and the CAR. As earlier noted, however, these missions have sometimes been manipulated by France to pursue other, more parochial interests.

### *Supporting the Socioeconomic Pillars*

In the socioeconomic sphere, the Group of Eight (G8)-led New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition was launched in May 2012. Washington supported it, seeking to create about 650,000 jobs and benefit over 5,000,000 smallholder farmers.[38] However, by August 2014, only 37,000 jobs had been created, though 3,000,000 smallholder farmers had reportedly been reached. Civil society critics argued that the programme had benefited large foreign agri-business at the expense of African smallholders. They also accused the project of neocolonial tendencies, forcing African governments to change laws in favour of foreign investors, and noted the lack of effective monitoring and accountability mechanisms in the programme to measure its impact on hunger and poverty. European Union parliamentary critics raised similar issues, and particularly condemned the programme's focus on intensive agriculture.[39]

In the area of education, various US programmes—spearheaded by the Africa Education Initiative inherited from George W. Bush—sought to improve early-grade reading for 500,000 children in Nigeria; to deliver emergency education to 150,000 children in South Sudan; and to provide scholarships and other support to girls in Liberia, the DRC, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Côte d'Ivoire.[40] Obama also inaugurated a Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI) through which 1000 African young leaders under the age of 35 (Mandela Washington Fellows) were provided with 6 weeks of intensive executive leadership training, networking, and skills building in US institutions in the areas of business and entrepreneurship;

civic leadership; and public management. Internship placements were then sought in African private and public institutions, while a paltry $10 million was provided by the US government for building businesses and social enterprises and enhancing NGOs in Africa.[41] The short-term nature of the programme and its limited funding and experience were criticised in Africa.

In the area of health, Obama cut AIDS funding to Africa by $214 million in 2012. As earlier noted, this had been one of the few successes of US policy towards the continent under George W. Bush. The Obama administration, however, increased the number of people receiving treatment for AIDS globally from 1,700,000 in 2008 to 6,700,000 by 2013, and was providing testing and counselling to over 12,800,000 pregnant women in the same year. From October 2014, Obama's administration deployed a 3000-strong military contingent to build hospitals in Liberia in order to treat victims of Ebola, a disease that would kill 11,315 people in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Nigeria by January 2016.[42]

### *The 2014 US-Africa Summit*

In a touching but typically symbolic event involving the first Black presidents of America and South Africa, Obama delivered the most eloquent eulogy at Nelson Mandela's memorial service in Johannesburg in December 2013, describing the Nobel peace laureate as "a giant of history, who moved a nation towards justice, and in the process moved billions around the world … the last great liberator of the twentieth-century".[43]

Eight months later, Obama hosted forty African leaders in Washington, D.C., in the first ever US-Africa summit. This empty summit embarrassingly exposed the widespread myth across Africa that Obama's 2008 election would help transform Africa's political and economic fortunes. Amid cheap flattery about "Rising Africa" and empty slogans about "good governance", this meeting was effectively a talking shop that did not produce any concrete results. By hosting this summit, the USA was merely catching up with China, Japan, France, and the European Union (EU), which had all convened periodic meetings with African leaders. There was a sense that Washington was particularly concerned about Beijing's growing presence on the continent, which has made China Africa's largest bilateral trading partner with over $300 billion in commerce. The US-Africa summit focused on investment; peace and regional stability; and governance. A US-Africa Business Forum was also convened.

There were damaging allegations at the summit of Obama treating African leaders like supplicant "tribal chiefs" being summoned to Washington to pay obeisance to America's "commander-in-chief". Unlike other African summits with Japan and China, at the 2014 summit Obama refused to hold any bilateral meetings with the 40 African leaders. Following much criticism, his vice president, Joe Biden, agreed to meet with the leaders of South Africa and Nigeria. In a further breach of protocol, American cabinet ministers were asked to host African leaders at private dinners without Obama's presence. Leaders from Zimbabwe, Sudan, Eritrea, and the CAR were excluded from the summit for not being in "good standing" with Washington, even as autocrats from Gambia, Burkina Faso, Equatorial Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, and Chad made the guest list. The meal that Obama hosted for his African guests was also not at the level of an official state dinner. The presidents were served grilled beef with coconut milk and cappuccino fudge cake with vanilla-scented papaya, which must have left many of them feeling homesick!

The summit also saw pledges of $14 billion from America's private sector. Obama's "Power Africa" (pledging $7 billion of government funding, but involving only 6 out of 54 African countries by 2014) also unconvincingly promised to double electricity to 20,000,000 Africans households within 2 years of Obama's departure from office. Only $285 million had been specifically allocated to this project by March 2014. As Obama prepared to leave office in September 2016, this $9.7 billion project had left the continent in the dark: less than 5% of new power has been generated at 400 megawatts, way short of the target of 10,000 megawatts.[44] A gimmicky African Peacekeeping Rapid Response Partnership (APRRP) was also announced at the US-Africa summit with a paltry price-tag of $110 million. An equally symbolic Security Governance Initiative was announced, with only $65 million pledged to support it.[45] As with any such bazaars, Africans should sensibly have adopted the mantra "buyer beware!"—as many of these investments are unlikely to materialise. They should instead have insisted on the American saying: "Show me the money!" The fact that no substantive final document was produced from the 2014 Washington summit was the clearest sign, if any were needed, that this "photo-op" gathering represented a triumph of symbolism over substance.

### *Obama's Farewell Tour to Africa*

In July 2015, Obama visited Kenya and Ethiopia, two of America's closest allies in its anti-terrorism battles in Africa. In Nairobi, he co-hosted the 2015 Global Entrepreneurship summit. The US president also focused centrally on the country's fight against al-Shabaab terrorists—waged closely with Washington—warning that too heavy-handed an approach to domestic terrorism could alienate the country's Muslim community. This was especially rich coming from a president whose drone warfare had killed thousands of innocent civilians and created much anti-American resentment in the Muslim world. Obama further met with President Uhuru Kenyatta, speaking out strongly against corruption and in favour of gay rights. This first presidential visit to his ancestral home at the end of his second term represented the ultimate triumph of the "politics of symbolism" that had characterised Obama's engagement with Africa.

Obama also travelled to Ethiopia, where he praised the government as an "outstanding partner" in the fight against terrorism. The US president was criticised for describing as "democratically elected" a regime that human rights activists viewed as an autocratic, repressive regime that had just—with its allies—won 100% of parliamentary seats while locking up journalists and other opponents. In Addis Ababa, Obama also delivered a major address at the Chinese-built AU headquarters, reinforcing the symbolism of America's first Black president visiting the seat of Pan-Africanism. He gave a tough speech in which he warned that Africa's democratic progress was at risk when leaders refuse to surrender power. Obama condemned the continent's presidents-for-life, noting that "the law is the law, and no person is above the law, not even the president".[46] His support for autocratic, anti-terrorist leaders across the continent, however, appeared to contradict this flowery rhetoric.

## Conclusion

As the first Black US president was preparing to send more troops to wage war in Afghanistan, word came through in October 2009 that Barack Obama had won the Nobel Peace Prize. Many of his foreign policy actions unfortunately followed in the hawkish footsteps of his predecessor George W. Bush: Obama ordered targeted assassinations of suspected terrorists through an average of one drone strike every four days, compared to Bush's average of one strike every forty days. While Bush ordered about 50 drone strikes in eight years, Obama had ordered 375 strikes in four and a half years. These actions killed over 3500 people (mostly in Afghanistan and Pakistan), including hundreds of innocent civilians.[47] Stung by criticisms from conservative, prejudiced "birthers" that he was not born in the USA, Obama almost seemed determined to prove that he was more American than anyone, playing to his country's machismo culture of "kicking arse". His perpetual quest for identity, and the need to belong and be accepted as an American, sometimes appeared to be driving his martial fervour. Like a tragic Macbethian figure, Obama had been taught how to kill, seeking in vain to wipe the blood of his victims off his permanently stained hands.

Moving forward, in supporting democratic governance, development, and peacebuilding on the continent, it is important that pro-Africa lobbyists work closely with legislators in the US Congress (conservative Christian Republicans, liberal Democrats, and pro-business moderates), as well as Washington-based interest groups, as they successfully did in sanctioning apartheid South Africa during the 1980s. The tens of thousands of highly educated Africans in America must also be mobilised to build a viable constituency for Africa. Washington should support more substantively and consistently the role of UN peacekeeping in Africa, as well as the strengthening of Africa's regional organisations. The USA must also eliminate its deleterious agricultural subsidies to its farmers, and allow free access to its markets for Africa's agricultural products. This must be done not just out of some altruistic feeling of charity, but also to take advantage of the potential of trade with an African market of one billion consumers with a fast-growing middle class. US exports to Africa tripled from $7 billion in 2001 to $21 billion in 2011, though 75% of American imports from Africa still consisted of oil, while AGOA accounted for only 2% of US trade.

That Obama's first lengthy visit to Africa occurred in June and July 2013, after his re-election a year earlier, underlined the continuing low priority of the continent for US foreign policy. As an individual, Obama has remained widely popular across Africa. But the early lustre of Obamamania clearly faded, as the realisation gradually dawned on Africans that even a powerful leader with close family ties to the continent could not change six decades of "malign neglect" of their continent by Washington. The tragedy of this tale is that the enduring continuity of US foreign policy has trumped the early idealism of an extraordinary individual of African ancestry. Obama not only failed to remake Africa, he has also failed to change America and the world. Many of his key achievements—including healthcare, the Iran nuclear deal, and rapprochement with Cuba—could be dismantled by the nativist Donald Trump administration which took over power in January 2017 and is likely to continue the militarisation of Africa policy pursued by Bush and Obama. The "dreams of our fathers" have now morphed into a ghastly nightmare that could reverse many of the gains of the civil rights struggle. Another "parting of the waves" may soon be needed. Where is our Black Moses?

## Notes

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CHAPTER 3

# Africa and Russia: The Pursuit of Strengthened Relations in the Post-Cold War Era

*Rosaline Daniel and Vladimir Shubin*

Historically, Russia's relationship with Africa differed from that of colonisers such as Britain, France, Portugal, and Belgium.[1] During the Cold War, the Soviet Union provided diplomatic, economic, and military assistance to various African countries. It also provided support to national liberation struggles in Africa, as part of the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet constitution. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the Russian Federation was economically weak and, by and large, initially disengaged from Africa, while its government focused on efforts to transform its own political and economic system. It also sought closer ties with the West, but concern over North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) expansion eastwards contributed to Russia's turning to emerging powers in the global South. From 1996 onwards, Moscow pursued a more confident foreign policy with Yevgeny Primakov as foreign

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_3

minister. This continued under Vladimir Putin, elected president in 2000, who has been at the helm of a more assertive and autonomous foreign policy stance that views Russia as a major actor in global affairs. This chapter first discusses mechanisms for Russia's foreign policy towards Africa, and then considers Russo-Africa relations in the political, economic, and military spheres, taking into account the context of continued Western sanctions on Russia and worsening relations between Russia and the West. The chapter also explores Russia's relations with Africa within the context of the United Nations (UN) and the BRICS group (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). Finally, the chapter offers recommendations for strengthening relations between Africa and Russia.

Russia is an important global player, with a gross domestic product (GDP) of $1.3 trillion in 2015, and $329 million in foreign exchange reserves as of July 2016.[2] Russia has emerged as something of a balancing force in international affairs, especially with regard to US policies, and has retained many of the credentials that contributed to its Soviet-era power. With an estimated population of 144,000,000 in 2015,[3] Russia spans a vast geographic area covering most of eastern Europe and northern Asia. It is a major nuclear power; the world's largest natural gas exporter, and also now the largest oil exporter as of 2015[4]; and is one of the five nations with veto power on the UN Security Council. Russia enjoys membership in blocs such as the Group of 20 (G20) countries and the BRICS.

Recognition of the geopolitical and economic role that Africa can play in furthering Russia's national interests has meant that Moscow has shown persistence in pursuing relations with African countries. Russia's engagement with African countries follows a pragmatic course designed mainly to achieve its international objectives. This includes participation together with South Africa in the BRICS bloc, seeking a support base at the UN, and pursuing trade and economic goals. With an estimated population of 1.2 billion people, Africa represents an important ally, both economically and politically.[5] However, in comparison with other countries such as rapidly developing China, the European Union (EU), and major powers such as the United States (USA), Russia's influence in Africa remains limited.

## Mechanisms of Russia's Foreign Policy Towards Africa

The mechanism of Russian foreign policy is based on the constitution of the Russian Federation adopted in December 1993, soon after Yeltsin's "presidential coup"—the dissolution of the previous parliament, the

Supreme Soviet, and the abolition of the previous constitution followed by a tragic armed conflict in Moscow in October 1993. A distinct feature of the constitution is the extensive authority of the president, especially in the spheres of security and foreign policy. According to Article 86 of the constitution: "The President of the Russian Federation shall: (a) govern the foreign policy of the Russian Federation; (b) hold negotiations and sign international treaties and agreements of the Russian Federation; (c) sign ratification instruments; (d) receive credentials and letters of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to him."[6]

At the same time, the government is responsible for the implementation of foreign policy (Article 14),[7] and the minister of foreign affairs attends cabinet meetings, but reports directly to the president. There are two departments in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that deal directly with Africa: the Department of Africa (sub-Saharan) and the Department of the Middle East and North Africa. It should be noted that the top officials of the ministry are not alien to the South; incumbent minister Sergey Lavrov's initial speciality was Sri Lanka; state secretary and deputy minister Grigory Karasin was the first Soviet student of Hausa in a Nigerian university; while another deputy minister and President Vladimir Putin's special representative for the Middle East and Africa, Mikhail Bogdanov, served as ambassador to Egypt.

Minister Lavrov is a member of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, where he sits in particular with the heads of two other bodies involved in Africa affairs: Sergey Shoigu, the Minister of Defence and an army general; and Sergey Naryshkin, director of the External Intelligence Service. The council is chaired by the president and assesses the challenges and threats to the national interest and security of Russia in the international sphere. It submits proposals to the president of the Russian Federation for his decision as the head of state on issues of the Russian Federation's foreign policy in the field of national security.[8] The council's activities are not well publicised, but they include contacts with relevant bodies in African countries. For example, its secretary, Nikolay Patrushev (former director of the Federal Security Service), visited Angola and South Africa in November 2015. Two other executive bodies should be mentioned: the Ministry of Economic Development, which includes the Department of Asia and Africa,[9] which in particular supervises the work of Russian trade missions abroad; and the Ministry of Industry and Trade, which has its own division covering the Middle East and North African countries, and a division covering African countries.[10]

The foreign policy concept of the Russian Federation approved by the president in November 2016 stipulates that "when preparing foreign policy decisions, the federal executive bodies work on a regular basis with the chambers of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, Russian political parties, non-governmental organisations, expert and academic community, cultural and humanitarian associations, business associations and mass media, encouraging them to take part in international cooperation".[11]

However, the power of the Federal Assembly (which is distinct from that of the president) is limited to the provision of "legislative frameworks for the country's foreign policy and the fulfilment of its international obligations",[12] such as ratification and denunciation of international treaties and consultation on the appointment of ambassadors. Its two chambers, the Council of Federation and the State Duma, also maintain interparliamentary ties, including exchange of delegations with African countries, though this is far from intensive. Only a handful of the 77 existing Russian political parties maintain contacts with African counterparts on a bilateral basis, although some of them meet Africans at international conferences.[13] For example, the Communist Party took part in a conference of similar political forces in Johannesburg in 2010, while in 2012 the "A Just Russia" party attended the congress of the Socialist International in Cape Town.

It is hard to determine the degree to which Russian academics influence government policy, more so because they differ in their assessments. To some extent it depends on the field of their studies. "Globalists" often have a negative view of the African continent, alleging that it is one of the regions that "will not be able to find its niche in the global economy and most probably will continue developing non-stable regimes of adaption to external and internal shocks".[14] However, specialists in Africa, such as researchers at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, who know the realities, believe that Russia and Africa have a great potential for mutually advantageous cooperation.

Perhaps the weakest sphere of bilateral relations is in the area of "people's diplomacy"—strange as it may seem, following the "democratisation" of political and social life in Russia. In 1991, the activities of non-governmental organisations in the sphere of foreign policy became much weaker, especially contacts with Africa. The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, which for several decades had been rendering political and practical support to African liberation movements, was reorganised in 1992 as the Society of Afro-Asian People's Solidarity and Cooperation, but is now practically defunct, mostly due to lack of funding.

## Political Relations

The fact that Russia never tried to colonise the African continent and that the Soviet Union supported the anti-colonial struggle in Africa gives the country credibility as a reliable partner. However, in the 1990s, after the "dissolution" of the Soviet Union, the African continent was obviously neglected by the rulers of a "new Russia", and relations with African countries were sacrificed for chimerical expectations of "aid" from the West.

Moscow has had diplomatic relations with all African states and maintains over 40 embassies on the continent.[15] However, its presence was drastically reduced in the early 1990s, when ten embassies and four consulates, as well as the majority of cultural centres and trade missions on the continent, were closed, and many development projects were abandoned. Russian airlines stopped flying to Africa.

The first visit of a Russian head of state to an African country occurred in 2005 when Vladimir Putin went to Cairo. He visited again in 2015. Although he was expected in South Africa much earlier, it took another year for him to visit the sub-Saharan part of the continent. Putin visited Cape Town in September 2006, and signed with President Thabo Mbeki a treaty of friendship and partnership between Russia and South Africa, and on the way back he visited Morocco. Then in April 2008 he met Muammar Qaddafi in Libya.

In June 2009, Dmitry Medvedev, who replaced Putin for four years, visited Egypt, Angola, Namibia, and Nigeria. Then Putin paid one more visit to South Africa, when he took part in the BRICS summit in March 2013 in eThekwini (Durban). So all in all, in 17 years of the "post-Yeltsin era", Russian presidents have visited 8 African countries during 6 trips. If one ignores the reception held by Yeltsin for outgoing South African president F.W. de Klerk in the Kremlin in June 1992, it was not until 1997 that an African president visited Moscow after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Later, the number of high-level visitors from Africa surpassed that of their counterparts from Russia, but all in all the figures are hardly impressive in comparison with other major powers.

In 2016, two African heads of state, King Mohammed VI of Morocco and Alfa Condé, President of Guinea, visited Russia. The latter took part in the annual Petersburg International Economic Forum in June 2016, and there he suggested the idea of establishing a Russia-Africa forum, which would be a convenient platform for discussion of new joint projects and development programmes.[16] The idea was neither rejected nor obviously supported. The proposal was derived from other external actors active in Africa, especially China and India, that regularly meet under the auspices of fora such as the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and the India-Africa Forum. The foremost document that guides Moscow's foreign policy and determines its goals is that of its foreign policy concept. The most recent version was approved by President Putin in 2016. One of its goals is to

> promote, within bilateral and multilateral frameworks, mutually beneficial and equal partnerships with foreign countries, inter-State associations, international organizations and within forums, guided by the principles of independence and sovereignty, pragmatism, transparency, predictability, a multidirectional approach and the commitment to pursue national priorities on a non-confrontational basis; expand international cooperation on a non-discriminatory basis; facilitate the emergence of network alliances and Russia's proactive participation in them.[17]

However, the attention paid to Africa in this document is limited to one phrase on enhancing bilateral and multilateral relations, improving political dialogue, promoting trade and economic cooperation, preventing regional conflicts, and facilitating post-conflict settlement in Africa, as well as promoting ties with the African Union.[18] A similar approach to Africa is echoed in another important document, the national security strategy, adopted in its new version in December 2015. It speaks about the continuation of the

> dialogue with African partners on a wide spectrum of the questions of global and regional agenda including the provision of international stability, strengthening the central role of the UN, struggle against international terrorism, the search for the ways of settlement and prevention of regional conflicts.[19]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs annually publishes a number of surveys and reports on Russia's foreign policy and its activities. The most recent survey of 2015 covers Moscow's relations with Africa against the background of the ongoing transformation of the system of international relations, the contradictions associated with the redistribution of global capacity, and the balance of power.[20]

Moscow sees as a priority the diversification of ties with continental and regional bodies in Africa, the foremost being the African Union (AU),[21] where a Russian ambassador to Ethiopia has been accredited as an observer since 2006. In addition, Mikhail Bogdanov, deputy foreign minister and

Putin's special representative for the Middle East and Africa, regularly attends AU summits. At a reception devoted to Africa Day held on 30 May 2016, foreign minister Sergey Lavrov remarked: "Today Africa is consistently strengthening its positions as a major pillar of the polycentric architecture of the world order that is currently taking shape."[22] The AU and most African countries share with Russia the rejection of the idea of a "unipolar world" with one dominating power or a group of powers.[23]

South Africa is regarded by Moscow as a key partner on the African continent. Bilateral relations are based on a joint declaration on the establishment of a comprehensive strategic partnership signed in March 2013. President Jacob Zuma visited Russia twice in 2015: in May to take part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, and in July to attend the BRICS summit. The May celebration in Moscow was also attended by Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe, then chairperson of the AU; Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, chairperson of the AU Commission; and Egyptian president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, another key African partner of Russia.

In its relations with Africa, Russia uses "soft power" instruments; unfortunately, most of these were lost in the early 1990s. The number of Russian cultural centres on the continent is limited to seven and, generally, cultural exchanges with African countries are minimal. However, cooperation in the sphere of education is more intensive. The number of African students in Russian universities exceeds 10,000, and half of the training is funded from the Russian federal budget.[24]

Russia's capacity to provide humanitarian assistance to African countries is limited. The limitation is due not only to serious economic problems, but also to the need for providing such assistance primarily to the "near abroad"—the former republics of the former Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in a number of cases, humanitarian assistance has been quite effective. For example, Russia's contribution to eradicate the Ebola virus was over $60 million, received at the AU summit in January 2016.[25] In addition, a Russian vaccine to defeat the virus was successfully tested.[26]

## Economic Relations

In his speech at an Africa Day celebration held on 30 May 2016, Lavrov emphasised that Moscow attached "special importance to the further diversification of Russian-African economic ties, which has tangible potential. Large Russian companies are ready to expand their presence in

Africa and are working on opportunities for joining new large-scale infrastructure projects. We are continuing to eliminate the debt in exchange for development programmes of our African partners, and traditional exports from a number of African countries enjoy the most favourable treatment in the Russian market."[27]

Diversification is very important to Russia in developing collaboration with Africa in the sphere of natural resources. Russia itself is rich in minerals, but exploration for and use of these minerals are becoming more expensive, as new deposits are concentrated in faraway areas with a severe climate; besides, there is a growing shortage of some minerals, such as manganese, chrome, and bauxite, that has to be made up for by imports. All in all, about 20 major Russian companies participate in mining in Africa. Russia is involved in a mega-project to develop Zimbabwe's biggest platinum mine at Darwendale, which is projected to create about 15,000 jobs and to produce about a million ounces of platinum per year.[28] Moreover, collaboration between Russia and African countries in this field can be of strategic importance because together they are custodians of a good half of significant world resources such as biogenetic materials, fresh water, and minerals. Both sides, therefore, have to defend their control over this wealth, particularly in the context of increasing global competition for natural resources.

Naturally, mining is the main sphere of Russian investment in Africa. At present, direct investments by Russian companies in Africa are assessed by Russian domestic sources at approximately $10 billion, while the African Development Bank (AfDB) estimated investments by the Russian Federation as $20 billion in 2011.[29] This discrepancy is not surprising, given that the figures often differ due to the difficulty in identifying the origin of investments made by major Russian companies. For instance, Renova Holding Limited is registered in the Bahamas, EVRAZ in the UK, and Gazprom International in the Netherlands.

Russia wants its partnership with Africa to extend well beyond minerals; it continues to be strong in engineering and science and is able to sell advanced technology. For example, Russian advanced technology and financial resources are being used to create the Angolan National System of Satellite Communications and Broadcasting (ANGOSAT). Work on the project began in early 2013. ANGOSAT-1, which is scheduled to be launched in 2017, will support Angola's telecommunications infrastructure, and will improve the quality of radio signals, television broadcasts, and telephone and internet services in the country. The satellite will also provide Angola with regional satellite coverage.[30]

Africa's share in Russia's overall trade rose from about $1.5 billion in 2000[31] to over $12.2 billion in 2014,[32] but at least two-thirds of it was with North Africa, mostly with Egypt and Algeria. It is hard to establish exact figures of trade turnover. According to African sources, it was $9.6 billion in 2015,[33] but in the opinion of Evgeny Korendyasov it remains about $12 billion annually.[34] In any case, it is much less than the potential of economic cooperation between Russia and Africa, constituting about 2% of Russia's total trade. Russian banks—VTB, Vnesheconombank (VEB), and Gazprombank—are already doing business in Africa. There are excellent opportunities for Russian tourism in Africa, though it has been temporarily hindered by terrorism in the north of the continent.

The positive atmosphere for the development of Russia-Africa cooperation in the economic sphere was created by Moscow's decision to cancel the debt of African countries (around $20 billion) in 2012.[35] Russia also introduced a preferential system for traditional African export commodities such as fruits. Several agreements have been signed with African countries on the use of remaining debts to fund development projects. There are a number of bilateral intergovernmental commissions with African countries, but unfortunately not all of them are active.

There are two perceptions about Russia's "return to Africa" that are flawed and must be rebutted. First, this "return" is often regarded against the background of China's activities in Africa. Yet, as a rule, the two countries have different interests. For instance, Russia is not a "world workshop" exporting consumer goods such as clothes or footwear; and it is not interested in the migration of its labour force to Africa, as is China. On the other hand, import of African minerals is far less vital for Russia than for China. Second, some researchers believe that Russia began activating its business in Africa in search of new markets only after the Western "sanctions" came into force in 2014. This is also wrong, because Russia's "return" began over a decade ago, though the new situation does create more favourable conditions for African exports.

The development of economic ties with Africa, especially in the area of small and medium businesses, cannot be substituted by visits at the top level. Russian business in Africa often faces not just competition from other countries, but also malicious reporting that is potentially damaging to its economic relations. For example, South African press reports on the cooperation of Moscow and Tshwane in the field of atomic energy have been negative.[36] The Russian government took some initiatives to develop economic ties with African countries through tax reductions and credit guarantees. In 2011, the Russian Agency on Insurance of Export

Credits and Investments was created to facilitate the activities of Russian companies, particularly in Africa. Its role is to protect export credits from entrepreneurial and political risks.[37] Then in 2015, the government established the Russian Export Centre as a "daughter" of the state-owned Vnesheconombank, to operate as "one window" for both financial and other steps to support exports.[38]

At the same time, Russian businesspeople interested in Africa have taken some steps to organise themselves. In 2009, the Coordination Committee on Economic Cooperation with Sub-Saharan Africa (Afrocom) united more than 90 Russian entities including ministries, agencies, organisations, and companies representing big, small, and medium business.[39] The committee now operates under the auspices of the Russian Export Centre. In 2011, a business forum was launched in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and attended by 250 delegates: African businessmen; government representatives from Ethiopia, Mali, Niger, Sudan, and Zimbabwe; and representatives from the Russian oil and gas sector. In addition, the new Africa Business Initiative was launched in March 2016 at a meeting held at the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.[40] Despite these initiatives, efforts to improve business relations between Africa and Russia have remained weak when compared to mechanisms for multilateral cooperation such as FOCAC and the India-Africa Forum.

## Military Relations

The main areas of Russia's military relations with Africa are arms transfers, military training, contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, and combating terrorism and piracy; arms exportation in particular is a lucrative area for growth, especially in the context of continued Western sanctions and a stagnant economy caused by falling global oil prices.[41] Currently, exports of Russian-made weapons and military equipment amount to $4.6 billion annually, with a contract portfolio worth over $50 billion.[42] However, the lack of transparency and the absence of figures for military expenditure in official bilateral trade data make it difficult to obtain a clear picture of trade volumes between Africa and Russia in the security sector.[43]

Cold War-era assistance from the Soviet Union included the supply of arms and military equipment through bartering and low-interest, long-repayment credit deals.[44] Today, Russia-Africa military relations include the sale of military helicopters to Mozambique, fighter jets to Uganda, and fighter jets, transport helicopters, tanks, firearms, artillery, and ammunition to Angola—with which Moscow enjoys strong military relations, especially in the area of equipment and arms.[45]

Although the USA is the world's largest supplier of arms, Russia provides an alternative source of military technology and equipment for African countries, coming as it does with less oversight and political conditionalities. Moscow is on record as seeking to expand its range of arms exports and to develop the defence sector of interested African countries. In 2014, when Britain and the USA were slow to respond to Nigeria's request for help, Nigeria turned to Russia for counter-terrorism training for its special forces and bought military hardware to fight Boko Haram.[46] In January 2015, Russia's ambassador to Cameroon, Nikolai Ratsiborinsky, pledged to provide Cameroon with advanced military material and training to bolster efforts to fight Boko Haram by a multinational joint task force comprising Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria.[47] Other counter-terrorism activities include the signing by Morocco and Russia of a joint declaration on the fight against international terrorism, during King Mohammed VI's visit to Moscow in March 2016.[48]

Russia has signed and implemented military-technical agreements with 89 countries, including some African countries such as Algeria, Cameroon, Guinea, and South Africa.[49] Efforts to strengthen ties and increase Africa-Russia cooperation include the exchange by Tshwane and Moscow of students and military courses and information. Further training in Russia is being provided for qualified South African air force pilots to build their flying hours; as well, South Africa has participated in military fora such as the Moscow Conference on International Security.[50] Russia holds its annual International Army Games, which seek to strengthen relations between the militaries of different countries and to promote combat training. In July/August 2016, Russia and Kazakhstan hosted over 3000 military personnel from 19 African countries. The participating African countries were Angola, Egypt, Morocco, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. Algeria and Namibia were observers.[51]

With regard to peace operations, several hundred peacekeepers from African countries have been trained at the Advanced Training Centre of the Russian Ministry of the Interior since 2006.[52] The training centre offers peacekeeping courses for international participants in preparation for deployment, mainly in UN missions. Russia's contributions to UN peacekeeping operations involve personnel, equipment, transportation, and training. Russia has contributed troops, expertise, and military observers to UN peacekeeping operations in Angola, the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Eritrea, Liberia, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Sudan, and Western Sahara. In 2012 alone, Russia contributed \$2 million to the AU's Peace Fund.[53]

## Diplomatic Relations: The BRICS and the UN

The Russian Federation's updated national security strategy, approved in December 2015, seeks to increase Russia's global prestige, in part through involvement in international organisations and partnerships; and to strengthen relations with Africa and Latin America, as well as with BRICS partners China and India.[54]

South Africa's admission into the BRIC group in April 2011 was largely based on the recognition by Brazil, Russia, India, and China of the need for African representation, and reflected the bloc's aspiration for more engagement with Africa. The fifth BRICS summit was the first hosted by South Africa, in Durban in March 2013. It was also the first time the AU was invited to a BRICS summit, which gave it an Africa-wide focus including the hosting of a retreat for continental leaders to promote infrastructure development in Africa. An AU initiative put forward by South African president Jacob Zuma in 2013 was the creation of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC), for which Russia and China intended to provide material support, according to South Africa's Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane. ACIRC is an interim measure to protect civilians in Africa until the 15,000-strong African Standby Force (ASF) can be established.[55] Most of the commercial agreements emanating from the Durban summit were bilateral. For example, Russia and South Africa signed eight agreements on energy, mineral resources, defence, fisheries, education, transport, science, and technology.[56] Interaction with South Africa within BRICS and the various regional economic contacts that the Durban summit retreat provided has contributed, in the words of Vladimir Putin, to "promot[ing] the growth of authority of our association".[57]

Access to African markets is an important potential economic benefit of membership in the BRICS. As mentioned earlier, although trade figures may differ, what is evident is that there is still room for strengthened economic cooperation between Russia and African countries. However, challenges to increasing trade flows include a lack of information about business opportunities in Russia and African countries. Besides trade, the BRICS group also provides mechanisms for Russia to contribute to Africa's infrastructure development through the BRICS New Development Bank (NDB), launched in July 2015. The NDB's first investment, announced on the sidelines of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank meetings in Washington, D.C., in April 2016, provides $811 million to

South Africa, Brazil, China, and India for renewable energy projects.[58] The BRICS group is still evolving and, as Putin acknowledged in 2012, the BRICS countries "have to coordinate better on foreign policy matters and work together more closely at the UN".[59]

Africa's 55 countries represent an important support base for Russian-led initiatives at the UN, accounting for nearly one quarter of the voting bloc. Shared beliefs between Russia and Africa, such as recognition of the sovereignty of states and the principle of non-interference, have been reflected in similar voting behaviour in the UN Security Council. Examples of Russia's support to African countries include its voting alongside China against sanctions and arms embargos against Zimbabwe, following post-election violence in June 2008. Russia stood in defence of Zimbabwe, citing, among other things, a vote against the politicising of international law by Western countries. In turn, African countries have supported Russia's positions in the Security Council, including its stance against the US invasion of Iraq in 2003.[60] Additionally, in March 2014, fellow BRICS members, as well as 26 other African countries, abstained from supporting a UN resolution not to recognise changes in the status of the Crimea region.[61] The fact that only 19 African countries supported the "anti-Russian" resolution was regarded in Moscow as a moral victory, and in December 2016 only 2 African countries (Liberia and Sierra Leone) supported a Ukraine-drafted resolution on Crimea. The relationship between Russia and Africa in the context of the UN Security Council has thus been mutually beneficial, and informed by historical ties, as echoed by Putin's statement that "there is still sincere goodwill [in Africa] toward Russia".[62]

## Conclusion

Relations between Africa and Russia carry no burden of a former colonial past. Instead, most African countries benefited from consistent Soviet support during their liberation struggles. Moscow's political relations with most African countries are well developed, but relations in the economic sphere do not correspond to the potential of mutually advantageous cooperation. The trade turnover is low and weighted in Russia's favour, despite preferences given to African goods, and Russian investments, though becoming diversified, are still mostly in mining.

One of the reasons for this situation is the lack of objective information about Russia in Africa and vice versa. Unfortunately, the mass media on both sides hardly have independent sources of information and often obtain this information from "third parties" that are rarely friendly and objective. For instance, former South African finance minister Pravin Gordhan's remarks at a memorial service for African National Congress stalwart Ahmed Kathrada on 1 April 2017 refuted allegations published on 2 April 2017 that he was recalled from meetings with ratings agencies and international investors in London in March 2017 as a result of comments made that "nuclear is out for South Africa".[63] Moscow lost most of its soft power during political and administrative changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In particular, Russia's cultural exchange with African countries is extremely limited, and no Russian cultural centres exist even in major countries of the African continent such as Nigeria, South Africa, and Kenya. The idea of an African cultural centre in Moscow has never materialised. Another weak point in Russia-Africa relations is the low level of "people diplomacy"; in particular, NGOs that were involved in African affairs in the former Soviet Union have either ceased to exist or have become weak, mostly due to a lack of funding. However, more positive and promising is the situation in the educational field, with a growing number of African students attending Russian universities.[64]

Russia and Africa need each other. Historical ties provide a sense of familiarity, and Moscow is an alternative to dependence on countries such as Britain, China, France, and the USA. African cooperation with Russia can serve to strengthen African countries' negotiating and bargaining power vis-à-vis other external players. In the political sphere, both Russia and African countries have common interests of defending national sovereignty and strengthening world multipolarity. In the economic sphere, Russia is a major market not only for African minerals, but also for agricultural and other goods and products. In recent years, Russia has shown an increased interest in Africa, declarations of intent have been made, and important bilateral agreements have been signed, although their implementation is often slow.

Russo-Africa relations could be strengthened by improving Russia's image through a broad information strategy aimed at increasing knowledge in Africa about Russia and vice versa. There is often uncertainty on the part of African businesses about the reliability of Russian companies in Africa, while in Russia, investing in Africa may be seen as a commercial or political risk. To this end, efforts should be made to activate the work of intergovernmental commissions, business councils, and other fora between Russia and African countries. In the area of cultural cooperation, Russian cultural centres in leading African countries could be opened and the idea of establishing a joint African cultural centre in Moscow could be revisited. Africa and Russia should also continue to seek to diversify and strengthen military and technical cooperation through efforts such as peacekeeping, support for combating terrorism, and the exchange of students, military courses, and information. The potential for closer relations between Africa and Russia is great and needs to be actively pursued.

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CHAPTER 4

# Africa and China: Winding Into a Community of Common Destiny

*Haifang Liu*

This chapter provides an in-depth analysis of, and shows evidence for, China's concrete historical relations with Africa in demonstrating its role of solidarity played in Africa's liberation from colonialism. The chapter further discusses the trajectory of prominent academic foundations and emergence of Africanists in scholarly discourse that began forming during the 1950s and had a resounding impact in the formulation of China's own foreign policy trajectory. The discussion then swings the debate by providing an understanding of China's harsh contemporary engagements with Africa.

In 1946, Mao Zedong published his famous "intermediate zones" theory, based on his interview with Anna Strong, an American journalist, in which he noted that the colonised countries in Africa must become part of China's "intermediate zones" so that Africa and China would be able to jointly unite in the fight against colonialists in Africa. Zedong's publication on "intermediate zones" raised further interest in the circles of Chinese government, and later became a long-term standing agenda point of discussion in China's foreign policy. Anti-colonialism ideology thus similarly became a core driver in China's bilateral relations with Africa. As the newly established government of China tried to explore its first major independent foreign policy initiatives outside Asia at the beginning of the 1950s,

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_4

and with its Soviet Union allies, it engaged in the Korean War and the First Indochina War. During the 1950s, most parts of the African continent were confronted with some form of struggle in the form of liberation movements. Many of these struggles in Africa received much media attention, reaching China's newspapers and journals. The coverage included, for example, liberation struggles in French West Africa, the Mau Mau movement in Kenya, the strike of coal miners in Nigeria, and Somaliland's and Libya's struggles for independence at the United Nations (UN).[1]

The literature on Africa's struggles and liberation movements was immense, with Chinese scholars compiling statistics through news, audience letters, essays, and reports on Africa's independence movements at the beginning of the 1950s.[2] In January 1952, the All China Federation of Trade Unions telegraphed Tunisia's trade union to show support, stating that "Chinese working class show respect to Tunisia striking workers and clerks, to object French colonial regime; and we wish you win the battle."[3] As Egyptian students fought against a strong colonial presence, in particular the British military, in the Suez Canal crisis during the 1950s, the China Democratic Youth Association telegraphed Egyptian youths to show its "fraternal salute" and willingness to support Egypt in its fight against British imperialism.[4] In 1958, the first generation of Africanists in China preceded Mao's 1961 appeal for Chinese scholars to conduct basic Afro-Asia-Latin American studies among their serious academic work on African history at Peking University.

China's historical empathies towards Africa were prominent even before the government pronounced its "Five Principles Governing the Development of Relations with Arab and African Countries" and the "Eight Principles of Economic Assistance", declared during Zhou Enlai's visit to the continent in 1963–64. These policies help explain China's deep sincerity and enthusiasm and gauged the extent of Chinese involvement in Africa. For example, over 50,000 Chinese nationals participated in the construction of the Tan-Zam Railway between Tanzania and Zambia.

In early 1974, Mao Zedong (also known as Mao Tse-tung)—chairman and founding father of the Chinese communist revolutionary movement and of the People's Republic of China (PRC)—in a meeting with former president Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, took a firm stand on China's view of being part of, and in support of, the Third World. Mao coined a theory to explain the power struggles that had emerged between the countries of the First World (the United States of America [USA] and the Soviet Union), the Second World (Japan, Europe, and Canada), and the Third

World (Asia, Africa, and Latin America) during and after the Second World War. One of the sentiments he expressed was that the major instabilities in the world were due to the hegemony of the superpowers—the USA and Soviet Russia. These views were further echoed in the UN General Assembly's sixth session in April 1974 by Deng Xiaoping, who in 1976 became the third leader of China's first generation of leaders. The rivalry and the power imbalances between the superpowers and the Third World were clearly explained and elaborated. This was a collective worldview held by the Chinese leadership in proclaiming their determination to fight imperialism and hegemony in support of the whole of the Third World. China was committed to remaining engaged, and refused to interact with either First or Second World countries. Mao's views and thinking heralded a clear change that vastly differed from the previous political stance taken by China, and supported the build-up of a political presence in Africa in furthering the continent's liberation movements.

## Economic Activities Aligned with Ideology

Following a short pause due to China's domestic and political situation, including the death of Mao Zedong in 1976; the removal of the "Gang of Four" (the political faction composed of four Chinese Communist Party officials: Jian Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and Wang Hongwen); and the ending of the Cultural Revolution, "a sea change occurred in China's African policy in the late 1970s, concurrent with the introduction of China's 'opening and reform' policy".[5] The reforms were not easy, given China's cultural identity, which is inculcated with adherence to discipline and order. In the political arena, issues such as whether to deal with non-governmental actors and to be reported to the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party, were regarded as hugely important.[6] The same applied in the economic arena, where various ideological boundaries also needed to be crossed.

In the early 1980s, Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang visited African countries and introduced a new role for Chinese experts working in Africa's Chinese-funded aid projects. While such experts took the lead in such projects, the new thinking introduced by Ziyang was that experts needed to manage projects jointly with their African counterparts and, similarly, carry their management roles jointly, instead of not being present on the ground in an effort to avoid being perceived as having "colonialist intentions". It took a long time for the Chinese experts to grasp this new thinking of African aid partnerships. The new approach, as was stated by their Premier, involved helping Africans with daily management and helping them to build "self-reliance". This approach was difficult for the Chinese because non-interference was a deep and hard-to-break "sovereignty trap".[7]

The ideological shift was also related to the process of domestic reform within China itself, since the relationship between government and its companies was undergoing adjustments to assess how to sustain the positive functions of market systems.[8] Significantly, the new bilateral relationships with Africa involved creating opportunities meant to free Chinese experts from their ideological cage and allow them more freedom in engaging Africans. This freedom was viewed as positive, in that it allowed Chinese actors to develop more creative ways of doing business without the concern of such support being seen as Chinese interference in Africa's concerns. Moreover, the additional engagement within Africa's projects allowed for the real opportunity of transferring technological skills as well as the passage of useful cultures of industriousness into the workplace, instead of only through aid projects with rather limited timelines. In Mali, sugar manufacturing survived all the political and economic challenges of both China and Mali itself in the 1960s. China's huge aid contribution to Mali's industrialisation proved a successful case of transformation into joint ventures in which Chinese experts started to participate in management during the mid-1990s.

Slowly but steadily, beginning in the 1980s, China-Africa relations evolved into more pragmatic engagements, with economic cooperation on an equal basis normalised and discussed in public, including through political as well as social-cultural cooperation. Though China's general African policy in the past was aligned with the principle of its cultural diplomacy—*chang liushui, bu duanxian* (love you little, love you long)[9]—the new approach was very different, with China distancing itself from African affairs, a move that was criticised by both Africans and Chinese scholars. These criticisms were linked to the past heritage of China approving its first batch of autonomous companies, including autonomy in the management style to operate abroad in the 1980s, including in Africa. These autonomous business practices of the past had an impact on Africa's thinking of China as a monolithic governmental presence on the continent. Many of these Chinese companies had evolved directly from their predecessors—the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that already had historical dealings in aid projects in Africa beginning in the 1960s. These SOEs included the Chinese Civil Engineering Construction Company

(CCECC), formalised by workers and cadres of professionals and activists in support of Africa against colonialism. Such SOEs had been selected from China to build railways throughout Africa since the 1950s. China's experience in Africa also included housing, water, electricity, metallurgy, transportation, communication, and petrifaction, providing Africa's new state-owned companies with self-management knowledge and spurring profits gained through the securing of contracts for labour services.

Among the new batch of Chinese companies to engage Africa during the 1960s, over half focused on promoting trade that ranged from the country level to the provincial level, carried out by provincial SOEs. There was also the visible practice of China sending many workers to Africa as part of its first batch of state-owned companies—which were to leave their "iron bowls" (working units) on the continent as a way to open space for Chinese nationals to exist outside governmental institutions. This further allowed Chinese nationals to create their own successful businesses through diversification. Today, several of these earlier business ventures are still alive and well in Chinese communities in various parts of Africa, referred to as *lao feizhou* (old Africans) as an acknowledgement of their rich experience and local African knowledge acquired over the years through many close relationships formed with African communities. These earlier Chinese business ventures and relations that were formed among both Chinese and Africans also paved the way for further cooperation in political circles. Moreover, the Chinese business bonds formed in Africa allowed communities to intervene in governmental affairs such as dealing with rebellious groups or local gangs. China's decisive action in the 1980s to allow for more fluidity of engagement between the Chinese state and the African people in aid-funded projects thus paved the way for emerging actors to further enrich these bilateral relations.

Bilateral relations between China and Africa were mostly shaped by China's domestic situation, combining its ideology, China's worldview, as well as its state-society relationship. Though there was reluctance from China's government to engage in a more people-centred approach to development, compared to the former state-centred approach, a gradual transformation began to unfold during the 1990s. Convergence of state and society was important for the Chinese people, and this period of convergence came to be viewed as China's most profound and successful era, concurrent with the events of the post-Cold War period, specifically with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It was a transformation from politicised and multilayered state-to-state relationships to people-to-people relationships with various driving forces emerging, which are discussed next.

## Politically and Economically Driven Policy Instruments in the 1990s

A big push for the change in China's bilateral relations came from the reform of its domestic companies which was under way from 1995. That year marked a significant change in China's aid implementation mechanism, which was one of the key reform measures of the Chinese government. Instead of giving an aid project as a political task to a state-owned company, a bidding system was introduced. China's domestic construction market had become saturated, and there was an urgent need to find new opportunities for construction companies as well as for large numbers of rural workers. In the new bidding system, the Chinese government purposely used assistance projects in Africa to encourage and promote competitiveness among Chinese companies, and to gain a greater share in profits from the world market.

The qualifying Chinese companies were able to take advantage of Africa's "golden age", when almost the whole of the continent was pursuing infrastructure construction and renovation from the scars of war.[10] These incentives propelled many Chinese construction companies to seize the opportunity "to go abroad", and some (such as the China Road and Bridge Company, Jiangxi International, and the CCECC, gained prominent reputations in African markets, given their exponential growth, which also allowed these companies to secure large contracts from the World Bank, the US Agency for International Development (USAID), the Arab Fund, and the African Development Bank (AfDB), among others.

Africa's roads were largely built by China Road and Bridge, recognised for its "model ways" in road construction. Beginning in 1992, some Chinese SOEs, such as Anhui Foreign Economic Construction, started their business endeavours in Africa as part of a provincial branch of China's National Bureau under the Chinese Ministry of Commerce to conduct aid projects, and managed to ascend to the ranks of the world's top 250 contractors,[11] allowing them to further widen their business by diversifying and branching into a range of investments in Southern Africa, including real estate, hotels, mining, and supermarkets.

In 1995, Zhu Rongji, China's deputy premier, visited six African countries—Tanzania, Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Zambia—to build relations with a view to increasing mutual economic benefit and promoting shared development between China and Africa. In 1995 for the first time, Africa's importance to China—in terms of "equality and mutual benefit"—appeared in an official declaration that was more politically than economically focused. As a practical representation of this principle, the Chinese leader proposed using special preferential government loans for several Chinese aid projects to be transformed into joint ventures, such as the Urafiki Textile Mill in Tanzania and the Sugar Manufactory in Mali, with a view to building "real co-investment as well as co-management".[12] Similarly, Premier Li Peng visited Africa in 1995 and 1997, and also urged that the Chinese government encourage Chinese enterprises to cooperate with African enterprises. Li further suggested using Chinese governmental preferential loans to support Chinese companies investing in Africa.

The Export-Import Bank of China (Exim Bank), for example, was established in 1994 to enhance the exporting of China's mechanical and electronic products, comprising complete sets of equipment and new- and high-tech products, through lines of credit.[13] In promoting interest by Chinese companies in African markets, Beijing introduced tax exemption as an incentive after years of operation in Africa; Chinese companies in Africa are still defined as foreign trade corporations, even though they have diversified beyond aid to corporate business. China's government further provided cushioning for its business ventures in Africa by providing export credit instruments for Chinese companies, allowing a booming of Chinese manufacturers and goods in Africa's domestic markets. For example, China's two telecommunication giants, Huawei and Zhongxing Telecommunications Equipment (ZTE), have operated in Africa as beneficiaries of their government's export credit facility, and these telecommunication giants were consequently able to access global markets.[14]

Another key example of rapid growth is China's aforementioned Exim Bank, which offers concessional loans in Africa. After an initial trial period of just three years for a scheme of preferential loans, the bank was able to further involve sixteen African countries, and by the end of 2000 the number of African countries receiving concessionary loans had expanded to a total of twenty-two. The concessionary loan package was regarded by China as one of its most important policy instruments for conducting its African affairs. Outside observers started to pay serious attention in 2004, when Exim Bank suddenly disbursed a $2 billion loan package to improve Angola's transportation infrastructure after its civil war ended in 1992.[15] This disbursement was regarded as an astronomical figure, since it exceeded the cumulative total of loans received by financial service providers in the whole of Africa.[16] Moreover, Exim Bank established a further two overseas branches in Africa—another indicator showing the importance of African affairs to China.

During the 1980s and just before the end of the Cold War, there was a diminishing need for technology and capital from the West, which provided China with an entry into Africa immediately after the Cold War and an opportunity to access Africa's lucrative market. China, therefore, had to speed up its "open and reform" processes, and shift its economic foreign policy approach to target both the developed and developing worlds with a view to gaining access to their markets. China's economic transformation since the 1980s has been an eye-opener for the Chinese government of its impoverishment and need to create the necessary conditions (resources especially) to gain entry into world markets. These moves allowed China, in 1993, to become a pure petroleum oil-exporting country after more than two decades of the country's reliance on oil imports and to muster the ability to position itself as an oil exporter. In addition to oil, the Chinese government has included other major minerals in its import basket, such as natural gas, copper, iron, coal, and bauxite.[17]

By 1995, political conditions in Africa had generally stabilised—the genocide in Rwanda had ended, and South Africa had become a democratic country, for example—though other countries, mainly the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), were still experiencing uprisings and wars. By the late 1990s, African economies had begun to recover, with the continent achieving a 2.4% average annual growth. Efforts were under way to promote trade with external actors. Between 1990 and 1998, 15 African heads of state and many African senior officials visited China to promote China-Africa relations.[18] In 1996, China's president Jiang Zemin visited six African countries, declaring the importance of, first, enhancing bilateral cooperation, especially at the company-to-company level, while still maintaining China's respect for Africa's sovereignty. Second was the need for China to focus on developing and empowering Africa's domestic base, as a way to help China acquire the resources and market access necessary for its modernisation.

Though politicised thinking had limited China's presence in Africa in the 1980s, a definite shift began in the mid-1990s, as China's strategic needs, coupled with its potential economic value, became increasingly prominent, although economic value did not carry equal weight with the embracing of the diplomatic value for China of its relations.[19] Thus the Chinese government has been strategically engaging Africa and developing its relations there through both older and newer mechanisms. These rapid changes in China-Africa relations and cooperation necessitated further institutionalisation, to ensure that political changes could work together with socioeconomic development for the benefit of both China and Africa.

## China's "Go Global" Strategy: Two Resources, Two Markets

The underlying assumption of the conventional image of single-mindedly hunting for resources is the myth of a monolithic China; China's *de facto* interests in Africa have been somewhat diversified, and the actors enhancing the bilateral cooperation are many. Indeed, initially only SOEs composed the first batch of Chinese companies moving out into African markets, dispatched by both central and provincial governments mostly to conduct trade and, later, provide services through contracts, owing to the saturation of the Chinese domestic construction market since the 1990s. After gaining access to the "first barrels of gold", the first batch of Chinese companies diversified their businesses, investing in mining, manufacturing, hotel and tourism services, and real estate, among other sectors.[20] In addition to the large quantity of small traders, construction companies and their Chinese workers were still the most visible business presence in Africa. Angola, however, was a unique case, with both large and small Chinese construction companies rapidly flooding the country soon after Luanda ended its civil wars and moved into post-conflict reconstruction efforts for the war-ravaged country in 2002.

Given the volatility of the region, for Angola reconstruction meant speedily rebuilding the country's war-ravaged infrastructure before any national agenda could unfold. For the Chinese companies, this generated huge economic opportunities, primarily construction but also other business opportunities and ventures, given their adaptability.[21] In 2000, China's total contracts for the African market were valued at only $2.1 billion, but this escalated to $75.5 billion by 2014, representing 39% of China's total global external income, just slightly less than its global external income share from the Asian markets of 44%.[22]

## China and the Extractive Sector in Africa

After China's 2001 entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO), there were increasingly less stringent barriers to trade for Chinese nationals to do business abroad, as well as more incentives for the Chinese companies to "go global" in search of markets and to use both domestic and international resources.[23] These business principles were announced by government as a Chinese strategy at its 16th Communist Party congress in 2002 and 2003.[24] Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's governmental report on China's comprehensive economic development strategy formally included the "go global" strategy. Since then, in order to establish long-term resource security, Chinese companies have been encouraged to increasingly invest in mining sectors abroad, including in resources for energy and manufacturing such as iron ore, copper, tin, zinc, nickel, and uranium. For the sake of diversifying energy resources, Chinese companies have also been encouraged to incorporate non-traditional energy sources like nuclear, solar, and other renewables, as well as investing in petroleum.

China's economic transformation of the 1980s brought to the fore the rise of a new "trading nation"[25] urgently looking for markets for resource security. However, mineral resources are only one of many interests of China in Africa. Diversified needs have brought different Chinese companies to the continent to conduct a wide scope of business, while taking into account the needs of local communities. This Chinese approach is very different from that of other countries (see Adebajo in this volume). This also explains the number of recipient countries of China's investments, and why Chinese businesses exist in almost every African country, mainly mineral resource countries such as the DRC, Gabon, Guinea, Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, but also traditionally non-resource countries such as Tanzania, Kenya, and Ethiopia, as well as countries that have not established formal diplomatic relations with China but are also home to many Chinese businesses, such as São Tomé and Príncipe, Burkina Faso, and Swaziland (see also Bond in this volume). Over the past decade and a half, trade between China and Africa has significantly increased, hitting a record high of $200 billion in 2013, with a further 5% increase in 2014.[26] Given its newcomer status, China's investment in extracting resource sectors is growing only gradually. Trade in mineral resources has long played, and still plays, a major role in China's engagement with this sector globally. According to China's Ministry of Land and Resources, the total value of imports and exports of mineral resources was $1.1 trillion in 2014, accounting for 25% of China's total foreign global trade.[27] The same goes for Africa's bilateral trade with other partners in natural resources, which currently constitutes most of its exports to China, at 60% in 2013.[28] Although China's overseas investments in Africa exceeded $107 billion in 2013, and its accumulated outbound direct investment stock reached over $660 billion, mining extraction is only one part of the story. According to statistics from China's Ministry of Commerce, by the end of 2014, China's investment in Africa was only 4.6%, in total investments worth $32 billion in stock, with the proportion invested in the mining sector at 25%—even less than the 31% in 2013.[29]

## The Diasporas

As a long-standing tradition of China, the study of the African diasporas is separate from general African studies. The study of migrant flows between China and Africa has also yet to be incorporated into the study of international relations on bilateral relations. The reasons for this are somewhat diverse; one significant reason is that the study of the diasporas does not emulate the current popular discourse that focuses on "China's penetration into Africa".[30] Since the publication of the book *China's Second Continent: How One Million Chinese Are Building an Empire* by American journalist Howard French, China's presence in Africa has often been interpreted as a systematic grand strategy of the Chinese government, to solve its domestic pressure for both natural resources and labour. According to this logic, there are no spontaneous flows of migrants from China to Africa, but only well-organised flows as a result of China's grand but hidden agenda. The long-time discourse of Chinese companies using prisoners as labourers took on a new reverberation, and the assumption that Chinese farmers were sent to grab the lands of African countries seemed to have more basis.

Before the 1980s, except for the implementers of governmental projects discussed earlier, and due to the strict migratory control, there was almost no possibility for any spontaneous flow of Chinese immigrants to Africa from mainland China. After the 1980s, the open-door policy of the Chinese government began to unfold, with greater implementation of more relaxed policies. This included the first batch of new Chinese migrants to Africa, working as "public persons", diplomats, and medical staff of state-owned companies. The majority of this first batch had direct or indirect connections with governmental institutions.[31] These debates of China's earlier relations with Africa must consider the period of the 1960s and 1970s, during which the Chinese government conducted its first batch of development projects for African countries, such as the Tan-Zam Railway and many rice farms and other manufacturing facilities in many African countries. Newer relations with Africa have since the early 1980s been based on the first batch of externally orientated companies engaging in contract services and conducting foreign trade.

China's influx into Africa seen in its earlier engagement mainly concentrated on the employment of Chinese medical teams in Africa. Africa was seen as a springboard for Chinese who could not enter the USA or Europe. Traditional stories told by older Chinese during interviews with these groups in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Uganda, and South Africa, among other countries, recount their gradual falling in love with the environment of these countries and their decision to stay, given the more easily found business opportunities in Africa than in China. These early migrants have been documented in established publications, by overseas Sinologists, as "true" migrants—meaning those individuals who chose to move from China to live permanently in other countries, for whatever reason.

But on the ground, these "true" migrants come to stay for many decades but not as permanent residents; the new trend increasingly comprises more non-traditional migrants. They are the small traders and the Chinese nationals coming to Africa to benefit state aid or commercial projects from the mainland, and conveniently they are called upon to undertake new overseas Chinese ventures in Africa, which is what differentiates the older Chinese migrants mainly from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and other Southern Asian countries from the later crowd of migrant seeking new business ventures.[32] Few of them have applied for African citizenship even after staying for many years. Likewise, the not so welcomed Africans (especially in Guangzhou) in China are facing a similar cultural status as Chinese migrants to Africa.

Rarely is it acknowledged by the Chinese government that this newer group are the hidden heroes bringing Chinese goods to Africa. Rather, they are often accused by the Chinese government whenever there is a scandal, such as drug smuggling, illegal trade in forest products and wild animals such as snakes and rhinoceros (for their horns), the slaughter of donkeys, and other criminal activities.

As forerunners, they are the original "bitterness-eaters"—the first among the two societies to encounter and interact with each other, having had to overcome significant language as well as cultural barriers. But without the necessary endorsement from the Chinese government, individuals are hard-pressed to bring about cultural change. The misunderstandings arising from both China and Africa towards the visible Chinese and African migrants are enormous. It is common practice among new Chinese communities in Africa to organise themselves into associations, be they traditional country fellowship associations, business councils, consortia of like business sectors, or pan-African continental Chinese societies.[33]

Traditionally, the roles of Chinese folk societies in Africa were limited to emergency relief and job recruitment. The current societies have organised themselves in very different ways, and undertake more diversified roles. An intermediate stratum has also been emerging wherein individuals and groups find a need to engage with African Chinese communities. Security companies, public relations organisations, law services, professional as well as practical knowledge of local societies, wild animals, religion, language and culture, conduct of business, and media services are some of the sectors and areas for which Africans request investment from the Chinese communities who have become so familiar on and with the continent. This represents an opportune moment for both the Chinese communities in Africa, and the African communities in China, to take matters into their own hands to provide more assistance to the long-term sustainability of the China-Africa bilateral relationship.

## The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

Conventionally, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), established in 2000, was perceived as a completely Chinese endeavour crafted according to China's "grand strategy".[34] However, the origin of FOCAC and its evolution need to be properly understood before any conclusion on its intention and impact can be made, though it is widely accepted that FOCAC has been successful in the decade and a half of its existence.

In fact, the most important push for the establishment of FOCAC was by Africans who required fresh measures and innovative institutions for partnership. The increasing number of African countries partnering with China proposed establishing a new kind of framework to face the new challenges and protect their legitimate interests, as well as to strengthen bilateral communications on issues of mutual concern such as peace and development. Calls from Africa to China also included the need to build large-scale, high-level contact mechanisms similar to those of other fora such as the US-Africa Business Forum, the Tokyo International Conference of African Development, the Commonwealth Conference, the Euro-African Summit, and the Franco-African Summit. In 1999, Lila Ratsifandrihama, Madagascar's Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed her sincere wish that, "since the bilateral relations between China and African countries are strong and considered to be in such good condition as both sides continue to cooperate in many areas, why not consider establishing a multilateral forum?"[35] No similar multilateral diplomatic platform had yet been established by any part of the world with China.

The Chinese leadership, after many rounds of intricate discussions at different levels of government, decided to take the plunge, having realised the extent of Western competition in Africa and the urgency of raising China-Africa cooperation to a permanent level.

Observers are often concerned with the success of FOCAC as serving the geostrategic and parochial interests of China, which is gaining exponentially from Africa. Nonetheless, superpowers like the USA have followed the FOCAC model in designing their own models for engagement in African affairs. FOCAC has also been a learning process for both Africa and China.[36] This has included the holding of ministerial meetings in a rotating manner between China and Africa at three-year intervals, and other mechanisms such as holding meetings of high officials during annual sessions of the UN General Assembly, as well as between sessions. FOCAC's design has been a cumulative effort based on many reflections, considerations, and innovations from diplomats and heads of state and government from both sides.[37]

It is important to note that FOCAC is an experimental exercise, especially given China's limited multilateral experience on the world stage. This is an unprecedentedly modest starting point on the Chinese side, given China's dealings with large-scale global initiatives such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Belt and Road (B and R) Initiative. Such initiatives testify to how FOCAC has assisted China to become constructive and conducive in shaping bilateral relationships driving towards multiple platforms. FOCAC is relevant for today's globalised environment—it deserves much praise. The FOCAC model as a new multilateral arrangement between China and the African continent is replicated in other partnerships across the globe, such as the China-Arab Cooperation Forum, the Forum on Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and the Portuguese-Speaking Countries, and the China-Latin American Forum.

Noticeably different from the current vision of building a "community of common destiny" with different parts of the world, whether Europe, Latin America, Russia, or elsewhere, the narrative on Africa of Chinese leaders is: "China and Africa have been a community of common destiny, sharing the weal and woe."[38] Not surprisingly, according to former Chinese special envoy of African affairs, Ambassador Liu Guijin, FOCAC has been a smaller scale of the Belt and Road Initiative in helping to experiment and define China's approach to engaging the world with infrastructure as well as business and trade and then, finally, building a community of common destiny.[39]

FOCAC has so far contributed significantly to China's new frontiers of foreign affairs, including through the drafting of communicable policies, building infrastructure, networking people, capital flows, trading goods, and enhancing people-to-people relations. FOCAC, however, has not just changed the traditional preferences of Chinese bilateral diplomacy, but has also built relations among African states to help build on traditional practices to solve difficult problems multilaterally. FOCAC has also helped the Chinese leadership engage with different African countries through the continent's regional and sub-regional organisations at African Union (AU) level. Gradually, as FOCAC has evolved, so the AU has become a more enthusiastic member, enhancing regional integration through capacity-building programmes.[40]

In reflecting on China's Africa policy before 2000, it should be noted that it was quite comprehensive, ranging from education and health to rural and youth development. FOCAC changed this policy like a new umbrella, covering both old measures and newer ones designed according to real needs from both sides, thus providing strategy and vision in charting timelines and ensuring monitoring of implementation. What needs to be repeated now is an institutionalised jointly launched platform, with China and Africa still playing a *pas de deux*, a dance for two, but at a higher level aimed at engaging each other to do better in pursuing a path towards a shared destiny, which seems to have wound down of late.

FOCAC is of course not yet perfect, given the institutional, capacity, communication, and cultural barriers it faces. It has been impossible for the Chinese government to fulfil the pledges from each FOCAC session without a specific body to undertake the implementation of them. It is the efforts from both the Chinese and African sides, specifically the daily work of the FOCAC Secretariat, that will ensure its efficacy. A survey on FOCAC carried out in 2011 revealed that only a few African countries (such as South Africa and Ethiopia) had specific FOCAC follow-up offices. In other countries, there may be a specific desk to organise affairs with China; otherwise, it remains the Asia or Asia-Pacific department, under the relevant foreign affairs ministry (or similar body), that is responsible for the coordination of all issues relating to China.[41] More coordination is needed among the 29 Chinese ministries and other follow-up committees to fulfil the blueprints emanating from each FOCAC session.[42]

## China's Cultural "Triple Jump" and African Talents Programme

In 1998, as proposed by former Chinese president Jiang Zemin, the first seminar of China-Africa economic management officials took place to improve China's understanding of Africa and strengthen its friendship and long-term cooperation on the continent. Twenty-two officials from twelve African countries took part in the seminar. According to President Jiang, the expected impact of the seminar was to be long-lasting, after these African officials had seen the changes in China with their own eyes. Similar types of seminars are now held twice a year.

Another layer to this partnership is the Chinese-driven communications and exchanges with Africans on culture, education, and health. After the 1980s, this mutual and balanced bilateral cooperation changed, becoming one-way intellectual aid to African countries, as China seldom sent students and scholars to Africa either to study or conduct research, and only a few African scholars visited China to give lectures to the Chinese.[43] This situation changed again in 2007, as China's Department of International Cooperation, at the Ministry of Education, established a special scholarship to send Chinese students at Master and Doctoral levels to Africa. From 2003 to 2006, under its African Talents Programme, China trained more than 10,000 Africans in many sectors, including 3700 governmental officials and 3000 professionals. Alongside the enormous increase in the number of scholarships (4000 per year) announced at the Sino-African Summit of November 2006, the Chinese government had promised to finish the task of training 15,000 Africans by 2010. Since China's preferred way of providing education is to "invite in" for intellectual support, all manner of training centres are mushrooming at many Chinese universities and colleges. Some of these training tasks are carried out by special African studies institutes, such as those at Beijing University and Zhejiang Normal University.

In the second half of 2014, some African countries were heavily affected by the falling price of mineral resources on the world market. As reported in international media, the negative impact of China's slowdown might seriously affect Africa's economy: Chinese investment in Africa fell 40% in 2016—"but it's not all bad news".[44] More recently, the concern over plummeting markets has grown, as recognised in the 2016 headline "China's Slowdown Blights African Economies".[45] This slowdown somewhat overshadowed the China-Africa summit held in December 2015 in Johannesburg. During the recent Africa Mining Indaba event, the biggest annual African event for the mining sector, more specific concern was expressed: "Gloom Hangs Over African Mining As China Growth Slows."[46] Such headlines have refuelled the widespread stereotypes of China as a "hungry dinosaur" for an incompetent and vulnerable Africa. A closer analysis of this problem shows that some African countries seem to have benefited despite the negative impact of China's downturns. Angola, for example, is a country typically said to be trapped by China's resource diplomacy, with the "Angola model" used to describe the presence of China as the "oil-thirsty monster". But from the perspective of the Angolan government, China's presence presents an opportunity for growth through infrastructural projects, with China having arguably provided the most immediate and most easily accessed chance for Angola to gain long-term benefit. Through bargaining and with China's persistence in seeing a clear vision—domestically and externally—this opportunity worked in Angola's favour. Those who felt that this was a positive and mutually beneficial outcome posed several questions, such as: what could be more convincing than the rapidly rehabilitated Benguela Railway, which could directly bring big or small business from the Atlantic coast to the inner land of Central Africa and even to the Eastern African Arabians?[47]

There is an inborn structural dilemma within China-Africa relations, in that one of China's immediate interests has unavoidably overlapped with that of hosting African countries: its large number of imported labourers.[48] Given immature business behaviours regarding the environment, labour, and market demands, as well as incomplete regulatory frameworks and limited implementing capacity of African governments, the process has been unfolding with a consistent readjustment towards the direction of sustainable development. But even when Chinese labourers return in large quantities to work in Africa, the popular idea among many African officials has been that the continent has benefited tremendously from these Chinese and their low-cost techniques and that it has therefore become necessary to allow such temporary migrant arrangements before African hands can grasp the necessary know-how.[49] But there has been increasing local pressure among Africans to request the jobs that have been taken by the Chinese nationals, the number of whom, many Africans think, should be strictly limited. The successfully localised as well as internationalised contractor Jiangxi International clarified this in an interview in July 2016 in Tanzania, pointing out that the Chinese personnel coming to Africa are professional experts expected to transfer technologies to the locals and to successfully train local labour. Despite Jiangxi International's claims, research on Chinese companies in Africa in 2016 indicates that not much has improved for Africans.[50] Cheap Chinese labour is still flooding the African market.

The popular discourse has suggested that "the China-driven commodities 'super cycle' over the past decade or so may have reinforced the resource dependence of African states".[51] Angola benefited from China in its own development, especially through the diversification of its economic sectors and access to new business partners globally. As China's current strategy towards Africa matures, so too does Africa's strategy towards China. Beijing is not just an actor in Africa's resources sector; in 2015 it began significantly broadening the scope of its commercial foray onto the continent, which was China's latest manufacturing development strategy.

There are ten cooperation areas in the new action plan, based on China's urgent domestic need to upgrade its industry, and Africa's need to industrialise as the most reliable solution for its coming demographic pressure, as well as China's need to deal with its current commodity-dependent economy in general. Specific incentives for this cooperation include $5 billion in addition to the existing China-African Development Fund and African Medium and Small Enterprises Fund. A $10 billion China-African Industry Capacity Cooperation Fund has also been established.

"As the biggest national interest, China's development still needs a lot from Africa."[52] From the point of view of bilateral trade, the exchange of resources from Africa and manufactured goods from China still needs to improve, given that the African market constitutes less than 5% of China's total export volume. With the African population increasing rapidly, and a new way of doing business (e-commerce) helping goods flow easily, the $400 billion trade volume target set up through the action plan of the Johannesburg summit has been positively received by experts.[53] Trade in other services has also been positively predicted. For example, as part of e-commerce, Kenya's M-Pesa has expanded to South Africa.

Given China's political willingness to embrace mutually beneficial economic relations, senior Chinese expert Zhang Hongming from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences recently forecast that Africa will remain the most ideal partner for China to push any initiative based on its own world vision.[54] But the question is: to what extent can African countries harness these opportunities and go beyond an economy dominated by resource extraction? It really depends on how African governments and their peoples view such opportunities.

## Conclusion: The Future of Africa-China Relations

China's diplomacy was once dubbed "bilateralism", as was its Africa policy. If there has been any multilateralism involved, it is only through South-South cooperation between China and the UN. But now even this channel of relations has shown some new tendency, as China's ascendance to a more prominent position globally requires that its cooperation move from bilateralism to multilateralism.[55] International organisations like the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have found China's traditional South-South cooperation strategy with African countries useful by engaging China's specific expertise. Likewise, a number of international organisations and governments have assisted China in finding expression and, more importantly, in crafting geostrategic positions globally, such as the British Department for International Development (DFID) (public health, international development aid, and knowledge production), France (business enhancement), and the US government (public health, specifically through the US Centers for Disease Control (CDC))—through organisation-to-organisation protocols and trilateral governmental memorandums of understanding to help China participate in African affairs.[56]

All this could not have happened without a shift in China's domestic situation between the 1960s and the 1980s. Domestic changes are the most important factors determining foreign relationships, and without them China's external engagements would not have been successful. As the ideological hurdles were removed from the top down, the behaviour of most Chinese practitioners changed significantly. In the past, when the USA, the European Union (EU), and other developed powers tried to engage China on Africa, the response was one of self-containment, with the rhetoric being more often than not whether Africa agreed. Trilateral cooperation was just lip service, but this has now changed due to domestic shifts.

The Chinese people have seemingly learned more about the essence of developing a "community of common destiny", or at least have admitted more about the interdependence of regions and countries of the world. Nonetheless, there are still debates about China's new norms as a "predator" state. On the one hand, we are increasingly seeing China becoming more integrated into the world, and a greater willingness on China's part to do so, though still with much reluctance as well as conservatism, which are unavoidable given its history of engagement. On the other hand, we are also seeing a China-Africa relationship that goes beyond bilateralism, no longer secretive but rather embracing the whole world's cooperation.

## Notes

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12. The Tan-Zam Railway had been proposed but was postponed indefinitely for not being realistic.
13. *See* website of Exim Bank, http://www.eximbank.gov.cn
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CHAPTER 5

# France and Africa

*Douglas A. Yates*

## Paradox of *La Politique Africaine*

This chapter opens with an evaluation that may seem contrary to common belief, contradictory, even absurd, but that may actually be true. France appears to be, simultaneously, both too strong and too weak in its former African empire. Consider for example the matter of French military interventions in Africa during and after the Cold War.

Between 1960 and 2005 France launched some 46 military operations in its former African colonies.[1] According to one estimate, between 1945 and 2005 France staged 122 African military interventions, starting in Gabon (1964) and including the following operations: Bison (Chad 1968–72), Limousin (Chad 1969), Lamantin (Mauritania 1977), Tacaud (Chad 1978), Leopard (Zaire 1978), Barracuda (Central African Republic [CAR] 1979), Manta (Chad 1983–84), Togo (1986), Epervier (Chad 1986–2014), Oside (Comoros 1989), Requin (Gabon 1990), Noroit (Rwanda 1990–93), Verdier (Benin 1991), Godoria (Djibouti 1991), Baumier (Zaire 1991), Addax (Angola 1992), Iskoutir (Djibouti 1992–93), Simbleau (Sierra Leone 1992), Oryx (Somalia 1992–93), ONSUSOM II (Somalia 1993), Balata (Cameroon 1994), Amaryllis (Rwanda 1994), Diapason (Yemen 1994), Turquoise (Zaire/Rwanda 1994), Azalée (Comoros 1995), Almandin (CAR 1996–97), Pelican (Congo-Brazzaville

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_5

1997), Licorne (Côte d'Ivoire 2002), Artemis (Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) 2003) EUFOR-Tchad (Chad 2007–08), Atalante (Djibouti 2008), Harmattan (Libya 2011), Serval (Mali 2013–14), Barkhane (Sahel 2014–current), and Sangaris (2013–16). This is but a small sample of the intervention operations, counter-insurgency missions, combat support operations, peacekeeping interpositions, peace security operations, and non-combatant evacuations conducted under the French tricolour.

When one reviews the extensive literature on French peacekeeping interventions in Africa, one finds criticism coming from all quarters. There are concerns that France tries to impose its own national agenda through United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations (a realist critique),[2] or instead that it has supported the primacy of the UN Security Council in peacekeeping because it is a veto-wielding member, and therefore has privileged the realist norm of "non-intervention" over the "responsibility to protect" (a liberal idealist critique),[3] or that it has used African peacekeeping forces placed under its command by the UN as "auxiliaries of Gallic foreign policy" (a pan-Africanist critique),[4] or that it has cynically perpetuated neocolonial patterns of domination behind a façade of cosmopolitan peacekeeping discourse while really giving priority to its own strategic geopolitical interests (an anti-imperialist critique),[5] or that it uses peacekeeping as a kind of international subsidy to sustain its costly military interventions (an "affordable influence" critique),[6] all of which are contradicted by concerns that its official peacekeeping rhetoric is too utopian and too self-centred to be credible (a postcolonial critique),[7] that its rights-of-man ideals are inappropriate for the African context (a cultural relativist critique),[8] or on the contrary that its rhetoric is not idealistic enough (a progressive political critique).[9] There are other concerns, especially within France itself, that French economic and military power has been on the decline for decades, that France no longer invests itself wholeheartedly as it used to in its peace operations (a "decline-and-fall" or "end-of-empire" critique),[10] yet France invests itself too much in such operations and so incurs harmful "opportunity costs" that threaten its own security (a patriotic defence critique),[11] on occasion violating international norms of non-intervention by first deploying forces and then draping them *post hoc* in legality with UN Security Council resolutions (an international law critique).[12] In sum, a legion of criticisms of French military presence in Africa raises a conundrum. "When Paris intervenes it is denounced for its interventionism if not its neo-colonialism. When Paris abstains it is reproached for its indifference or reminded of its historical responsibilities. France is in the middle of the river: It has left one bank, sliding, but has not yet reached the other, firmer bank. It is this in-between state which is interesting, this transition between the *Françafrique* of yesterday and the France-Afrique of tomorrow."[13]

## Dilemma of *La Mission Civilisatrice*

The colonial empire is often the starting point for any discussion of France's Africa policy. A distinction is generally made between the first colonial empire, which existed until 1814, and the second colonial empire, which began with the conquest of Algiers in 1830 and came to an end after violent wars of independence in Indochina in 1955, and Algeria in 1962, and more peaceful decolonisation of Africa south of the Sahara after 1960. France had wide experience with colonialism before the "scramble" for Africa. It had already built, and then lost, a great empire, including India, Canada, and Louisiana. So when the French conquered their second empire in the nineteenth century, they based their imperial policy on nationalism, in which the key element was people. The French nation had been created by the revolution on the principle of unity and the legal equality of all citizens. But as the French nation sought to expand and found colonies in Africa, a dilemma arose on the political status of the new territories and their inhabitants. Was the African colony to be part of the French nation? Were the Africans to become citizens?

One answer to these questions was no. Africans were Africans. This was the foundation of the British policy of association. But another response, pursued whenever France enjoyed a progressive regime, was yes. Africans could be evolved into a kind of "black Frenchmen". A hallmark of the French colonial project in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was its so-called civilising mission (*mission civilisatrice*), when colonial officials undertook a policy of cultural assimilation in their empire. For example, during the nineteenth century, Black Africans in four communes in Senegal were granted French citizenship along with the right to elect deputies to the Chamber of Deputies. The conditions that a "native" had to meet in order to be granted French citizenship included earning a decent living, displaying good moral standards, and speaking and writing French.

So it came to pass that a small but important group of Africans devoted themselves to their own education and acculturation, to achieve French citizenship and gain full political rights. They were known as *évolués* because they accepted the French cultural logic of evolution. They adopted the Christian religion, learned the French language, and adopted the codes of French culture, as well as the economic outlooks of their colonial masters. In most cases, the elected deputies were white, although there were some Blacks. Elsewhere in the empire a strict racial separation between native subjects and white citizens was maintained.

The French government, which had subsidised the educational work of the Catholic missions but had not regulated it, became increasingly nationalistic in the aftermath of the 1870–71 Franco-Prussian War. In April 1883, it instituted a primary school curriculum based on Jules Ferry's recent metropolitan one in which at least half of the programme involved teaching the French language and culture. This forbade the teaching of other languages, including any indigenous ones. Prior to 1945, only a minority of those who entered school stayed long enough to achieve literacy or to learn a skilled trade. Yet it was this small group who would enable the late colonial institutions to function. Its members served as the employees of the administration and commerce, and as teachers, pastors, and priests. Some of them would later sit in the territorial and federal assemblies and in the representative institutions of the French Fourth Republic. They were the ones who became "fathers of independence" (such as Léopold Sédar Senghor, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, and Léon Mba) responsible for transferring the metropolitan school programmes to Africa, thereby giving their states educational systems more closely modelled on the French in both form and content than at any previous period, and permitting other *évolués* to continue their higher education in France. Educated assimilated Africans came to see French education, and not one adapted to Africa, as the best and only means of securing their advancement. The place and orientation given to education and training in Francophone Africa was conceived to fit within the interests of the French colonial system. Its two objectives were to train auxiliary officers to accomplish tasks, and to inculcate French civilisation into the indigenous population. Education was therefore to serve as a support and carrier for the civilising mission, a corollary of France's assimilation policy.

The French empire no longer exists as a government structure. The legacy of its civilising mission, however, continues to influence France's Africa policy through cultural imperialism. Francophone sub-Saharan Africa today consists of 17 countries in which French is the main language of government. What is unique and characteristic about countries of Francophone

Africa is their common heritage, the common imprint of France upon this immense region—the French language, and its accompanying traditions of law, administration, and education. While French was spoken only at the elite and administrative levels during the nineteenth century as the colonial regime kept education at a minimum, at decolonisation the French language had come to be more widely spoken. Since independence, the masses in these countries have chosen to develop a broad cultural unity, "francophone African culture",[14] promoted by France through the prestigious International Organisation of Francophonie (OIF). This emerged from a fusion of French culture with African culture. African poets (such as Senghor and Aimé Césaire), African political figures (such as Houphouët-Boigny and Omar Bongo), and African philosophers (such as Cheikh Anta Diop) carried out this fusion in the pages of scholarly journals such as *Présence Africaine*, glossy magazines like *Jeune Afrique*, books published in Paris by Harmattan and Karthala, and Francophone audiovisual media like Radio France Internationale—what Mongo Beti called a "techno-structure of cooperation and francophonie".[15]

"How can the preponderant institutions of *la francophonie*, that is to say, of the French academies, French publications, French universities, and the great French publishing houses, all tied to the history of France and thus to the enslavement and oppression of blacks, forbid themselves from persecuting a black writer who defies them?"[16] Perhaps the greatest African critic of the assimilation project, Beti argued that French domination was perpetuated as much by cultural imperialism as it was by use of force. Cultural imperialism had colonised the minds of Francophone Africans. "The French university, through its technical assistants, cooperation workers, intimate counsellors to presidents and ministers, accommodates the monstrous censorship which, in front of the eyes of everybody, is killing all creative initiative by francophone Africans."[17] "Twenty years after independence, the most decisive diplomas are still handed out by French professors in French universities that are, not without reason, subordinate to French interests in Africa."[18] Beti excoriated editorialists in major newspapers who praised the soft authoritarian leaders in the former French colonies, the Goncourt Prize-winning writers who sold African misery in the supermarkets, the documentary filmmakers who produced lying dithyrambs. African writers were not spared in his critique. "The elite, in the largest sense of the term, in particular its *clercs*, has always been prompt in betraying its true mission for a little gold."[19]

## Cooperation *À la Française*

When President Charles de Gaulle granted French African colonies independence in 1960, he managed to successfully prevent them from automatically breaking the close links that had been forged with their former colonial metropole. He viewed granting of their independence as a price to be paid to maintain close cultural and economic ties, while avoiding the heavy costs of wars of independence. The Indochinese and Algerian wars had been bloody affairs. In an effort to maintain a degree of dominance while satisfying demands for independence, de Gaulle had originally proposed a form of autonomy and self-government within the context of a larger "Franco-African Community", a kind of French Commonwealth on the British model. His formula was accepted at first by assimilated *évolués*, who had the most to benefit from working within the existing system, and the most to lose from breaking out of it. But pressures across the African continent soon increased calls for full and complete political independence. When the most loyal African leader, Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire, refused to join de Gaulle's proposed community, the idea of the Francophone federation was allowed to die. Instead, an ingenious system of bilateral agreements between France and former African colonies was installed through a series of cooperation accords, covering trade, education, natural resources, currency, finance, security, defence, and so on.

When looking at this period of history in Francophone Africa, a troubling question remains. Why were the two large federations of French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa broken up into 13 small and hardly viable states? The weakness of the newly independent states of Francophone Africa appears in retrospect to have been a conscious effort by France to preserve its dominance. "Indeed, what better way to perpetuate close relations than to split the empire into many dependent ministates averaging 3 million souls each? Dealt with individually by France, these weak, financially strapped countries were likely to be less adventurous and to possess far less bargaining power than would two large, more financially secure federations."[20]

The cooperation accords were negotiated between Paris and individual African states upon their accession to independence. De Gaulle made them *quid pro quo* for further French aid. When Guinean leader Sekou Touré, for example, refused to sign them, all French assistance to Guinea was immediately terminated, and all French personnel were abruptly withdrawn. "Reports at the time said even things like telephone communication were dismantled and taken home to France",[21] a harsh reaction calculated as a deterrent to prevent further defections.

France signed eight secretive defence accords with Cameroon, the CAR, Comoros, Djibouti, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, and Togo. As a consequence of these accords, the presence of pre-positioned French troops was maintained in Djibouti (3000 troops), Gabon (600), Côte d'Ivoire (550), Senegal (1100), and Chad (700). But there are an additional 30 African countries that have signed defence accords of technical assistance, including Algeria, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, and Rwanda, as well as countries that were colonised by other European powers like Equatorial Guinea and Congo-Kinshasa, the legal substructure for the military superstructure of French military interventions.

The defence accords are taboo. One finds few best-selling books published about them by the Paris techno-structure of cooperation and francophonie.[22] The French word *coopération* supposes that parties engage in deliberating and elaborating on concrete projects together, that they agree without constraint, in an equitable exchange based on reciprocity, to form a genuine contract between partners.[23] But the specific terms agreed upon were made to measure by de Gaulle to serve the national interests of France. They were frequently invoked to remove anti-French leaders such as Jean-Bédel Bokassa in 1978, or to protect pro-French puppets such as Léon Mba in 1964. These accords stipulated that their implementation would be a reserved domain for heads of state. One might seriously discuss the constitutional problems created by such secret treaties, at least the bad effect they may have had upon African presidents, as well as French ones.

Implementing the cooperation accords in a way that would maintain French dominance was the function of Jacques Foccart, who came to be regarded by many in Africa, as well as in France, as General de Gaulle's alter ego in all things pertaining to France's Africa policy, the embodiment of a special personalised style of Francophone relations that remains the hallmark of that policy.[24] As presidential adviser on African affairs, Foccart prepared decision papers on issues involving Francophone Africa, and coordinated presidential briefings. He controlled visits to France by African heads of state and dignitaries, and to Africa by French presidents. He coordinated African policy among and between the various French ministries directly and indirectly involved, calling meetings with representatives of defence, cooperation, treasury, education, culture, development, environment, anything touched upon by the cooperation accords. He maintained agents in every capital of the former African empire.

From 1958 to 1974, Foccart was Chief Adviser on African policy for both de Gaulle and Georges Pompidou (French president from 1969 to

1974), securing French access to strategic raw materials (oil, uranium, and the like), offering preferential investment outlets for large French corporations, maintaining France as a global powerhouse with a network of allied countries supporting its votes in the UN, and deterring communist expansion by backing anti-communist autocrats. In 1974 when Valéry Giscard d'Estaing became president, instead of dismantling this old Gaullist network, he began a new era of military interventions, orchestrated by René Journiac, and later, Martin Kirch. The role of "*monsieur Afrique*" became institutionalised in an African *cellule* at the Elysée.[25] Between 1986 and 1992, Jean-Christophe Mitterrand, son of President François Mitterrand and a former journalist in Africa, held the position.[26] When Jacques Chirac came to power in 1995 he briefly brought Foccart back from retirement, before naming Michel Dupuch, and then Michel de Bonnecorse, to the position.[27] Nicolas Sarkozy named Bruno Joubert, then André Parant to fill the role.[28] Even President François Hollande, who had promised to break with the past, named Hélène le Gal to the position, and reluctantly continued the old tradition of having a personal adviser on African affairs with Jean-Yves le Drian, his Defence Minister, who led him on interventions in Mali and the CAR.[29]

Aid is one of the mechanisms of cooperation used by France to condition dependence. France has been and remains one of Francophone African states' principal creditors, using aid as both a carrot and a stick in its dealings with its former colonial states. France is the world's fourth biggest development aid donor in terms of budget, contributing almost €10 billion annually. Sub-Saharan Africa is the primary beneficiary of France's aid, receiving 41%.[30] Yet aid-in-kind provided by France has bred dependency by providing essential goods and services without providing the know-how needed to produce such goods. The financial aid provided in the form of grants, loans, direct investments, and project/programme aid has also fostered dependence. Much of it is "tied aid", which requires African recipients to spend it on purchasing French supplies and services. When aid comes in the form of loans, it creates a debt burden that turns debtors into veritable client states of the Paris Club, as well as into subjects of foreign austerity measures of the Washington Consensus.[31] An alphabet soup of aid agencies garbles one's understanding. Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique (CCCE) was the former official agency through which the governments channelled, banked, and administered aid to Francophone Africa from 1958 to 1997. The CCCE had succeeded the Caisse Centrale de la France d'Outre-Mer (CCFOM) of the Fourth Republic, which had administered the aid of the Fonds d'Investissements pour le Développement

Economique et Social (FIDES). The CCCE handled grants from the Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération (FAC) and also carried out credit operations on its own account. Today its functions are performed by the Agence Française de Développement (AFD). Add to this the missions of educational cooperation, cultural cooperation, scientific cooperation; in addition, in practical terms, thousands of French nationals occupy posts throughout the former empire. By 2004, for instance, in just the Côte d'Ivoire, there were 60,000 *coopérants*, many of them teachers—"little pawns on the Cold War chessboard of Franco-Ivoirian friendship".[32]

For many decades, the policies of cooperation were coordinated through one powerful Ministry of Cooperation, created by General de Gaulle in 1959 with a vocation for promoting development "in the field"—that is, in the former African colonies. By 1962 this ministry was sending soldiers to complete their military service as *coopérants* abroad. It handled technical assistance and military aid in the former colonies. In 1964 it counted 154 cooperation agents. By 1996 it had 637 people working in its central administration on the rue Monsieur in Paris, as well as 366 in its overseas missions.[33] In its orbit was Caisse Française de Développement (CFD), another aid agency that intervened through providing loans and subsidies for so-called "productive" investment projects. The cooperation ministry was an independent institution. The cooperation minister held a seat on the cabinet. But since it was a symbol of the Gaullist legacy, when the socialists came to power in 1981 it was rebaptised as the Ministry of Cooperation and Development. Again, when the left returned to power in 1997, it was renamed the Ministry of Cooperation and Francophonie and reduced to the status of a junior ministry, eventually integrated into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1999 as the Direction Générale de la Coopération Internationale et du Développement (DGCID). Today, the Minister of Foreign Affairs is responsible for its vestigial remnants of cooperation. Under Emmanuel Macron this is counselor for Africa, Franck Paris, who is by all accounts the new *monsieur Afrique*.

## Evaluating *La Zone Franc*

Monetary policy has been another instrument of French domination in its former empire during and after the Cold War. The franc of the Communauté Financière Africaine (CFA), called the "céfa", was established by France in the aftermath of the Second World War as a currency for its African colonies—the acronym *CFA* originally stood for "Colonies Françaises

Africaines" but was changed to "Communauté Financière Africaine" after independence—tied to the French franc. In West Africa the céfa is issued by the Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest for the eight members of Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest-Africaine (Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo), and in Central Africa by the Banque des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale for the six member states of the Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, the CAR). The broad principles governing the functioning of this monetary system were contained in the cooperation accords signed with France upon accession to independence in 1960. Stability of the CFA franc has been insured by Banque de France, which guaranteed convertibility of the CFA franc into French francs and is represented on the board of directors of the two sub-regional central banks just mentioned.

Prior to January 1999, the CFA franc was pegged to the French franc. France alone determined the exchange rate between the two. In 1948 the exchange rate was fixed at 1 CFA franc being equal to 0.02 French francs (50 CFA francs equalled 1 French franc). In the devaluation of 12 January 1994, Paris changed the exchange to 100 CFA francs per French franc. To have some idea of the significance of this devaluation, in 1990 one United States (US) dollar could buy 272 céfas. By 1994, it could buy 555 céfas. When the French franc disappeared at the end of the century, the Banque de France continued to guarantee the CFA franc as an independent currency. But there was no French franc to which it could be pegged. Since 1 January 1999 it has been pegged to the euro at a rate of 656 céfas.

The franc zone has been seen by its advocates as a potential model for the promotion of macro-economic stability in African countries where purely domestic agencies of restraint are often absent and where purely external agencies of restraint, like donor conditionality, have shown their limitations.[34] Despite its exceptional longevity, the CFA franc by no means enjoys unanimous support among African economists and intellectuals. Its critics condemn the absence of monetary sovereignty. France holds a *de facto* veto on the boards of the two central banks within the CFA franc zone. The CFA franc also encourages massive capital outflows. Critics point out that membership in the franc zone is synonymous with poverty and unemployment, as evidenced by the fact that 11 of its 15 member states are classified as least-developed countries.[35]

Foreign exchange of franc zone countries is held in Paris in an operations account of the French Treasury. Both convertibility of their CFA francs to the euro, and access to their foreign exchange, is conducted through the operations account linking the central banks to the French Treasury (as Laurent Gbagbo would bitterly learn when he could not access any of Côte d'Ivoire's reserves after defying Paris). Through the French Treasury's holding of their monetary reserves, France was long able to discourage and limit purchases by member states from non-franc zone countries, and require them to prepare annual programmes of imports from countries outside the zone, which were formally submitted to France for approval. Although later this formal submission was dropped in favour of informal discussions held in Paris, a former American ambassador in Libreville noted that "the arrangement is made to sound informal, but it is operated in a highly restrictive manner".[36] Maximum amounts were set on automobiles, radios, refrigerators, and air-conditioners coming from outside the franc zone, while minimum amounts were set for the same imports from France. Exports to the USA were twice as large as imports, because France provided fewer dollars than it would have if these countries had been managing their own currencies.[37]

The value of the CFA franc had been widely criticised as being too high, which many economists believe favours the urban elite of the African countries, who can buy imported manufactured goods cheaply at the expense of farmers, who cannot easily export agricultural products. Even if the devaluation of 1994 was an attempt to reduce these imbalances, France's unilateral move halved ordinary people's savings overnight, and generated political criticisms that the CFA franc was an instrument of French neocolonialism, taking monetary policy out of the hands of the government and leaving decisions affecting the economy entirely in the hands of the Banque de France, not the African people.[38] Is the céfa too strong or too weak? Disputes about the optimal exchange rate can be misleading. The true value of the CFA franc is not economic. It is political. For the member states of the franc zone have no national monetary policy of their own. The making of monetary policy for these countries remains with France. "For all intents and purposes, there is no such thing as an independent Gabonese monetary policy",[39] noted one scholar; "there is only a French monetary policy for Gabon".[40]

## Corruption of *Les Affaires Africaines*

The importance of Africa to France's foreign policy is greater than it is with other major world powers. France is the only member of the UN Security Council to have an explicitly "African policy". As the former editor-in-chief of *West Africa* magazine, Kaye Whiteman, once told me, by way of comparison: “Britain does not have any ‘African policy’, per se. It has a Commonwealth policy for Africa.”[41] But ever since General de Gaulle gave his speech promising a “certain kind of independence” at the Brazzaville Conference in 1944, French presidents have prioritised their country’s Africa policy. When a new French president comes into office, for instance, it is customary for him to travel to the former African colonies, where he is celebrated like nowhere else, welcomed by the head of state, ululated by dancing lines of women chanting his praises, made to feel special, important—a process Antoine Glaser has coined the “marabouting” of French presidents.[42]

Georges Pompidou had never been much of an “Africanist” before he travelled as president to Côte d’Ivoire, Gabon, and Cameroon. Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, however, was an avid hunter, shooting big game on official state visits to Central Africa under Emperor Jean-Bédel Bokassa. François Mitterrand, for his part, had already voyaged to Africa in the 1950s during the Fourth Republic when he was Minister of Overseas (*outre-mer*). Jacques Chirac, an aficionado of African art, relished his voyages to Côte d’Ivoire and Gabon, two traditional destinations that all of his predecessors had visited when they came to office. Nicolas Sarkozy was unable to visit Côte d’Ivoire because of the civil war, but he did not miss out on his voyage to Gabon, where he was flattered by the elderly Omar Bongo, assured of his greatness and of the grandeur of France. François Hollande had never been to Africa before 2013, when he flew to Mali after launching his military intervention. There he was lavishly praised by the interim government for having come to their rescue. President Emmanuel Macron, for his first overseas trip in 2017, also went to Mali, assuring its rulers that France would not abandon them, and receiving their gratitude. It is hard for a declining power not to listen to these sirens.

Of course France, a former colonial power in Africa, had inherited its historical legacy. Africa still provides diplomatic resources that France would not otherwise enjoy, justifying its permanent veto-wielding seat on the UN Security Council and preserving its great power status in the international system. The largest community of French speakers in the world lives in Africa. From a cultural standpoint, this is important to the radiance of French culture. A substantial population of around 2,300,000 Francophone African immigrants lives in France, and some 23,500 French live in Francophone Africa. The African continent possesses 10% of the planet’s oil reserves. Its mineral riches are equally considerable. It holds more than 80% of the world’s platinum and chrome, and more than 60%

of its manganese and cobalt, precious for mobile telephone chips. Africa is the last bastion of the French in the mining sector—the uranium of Niger, which is strategic for the sales of Areva nuclear power plants and French nuclear weapons[43]; and is the last reserved domain of the French oilmen in the deep waters of the Gulf of Guinea.[44]

Yet France is no longer the principal partner of Africa. It is only Africa's fifth largest exporter, behind China, India, the USA, and Germany. Certainly, those French who live in Africa are often considered like locals, even complaining about Asian newcomers. But French businesses have declined from 16% to 10% of all foreign enterprises on the continent, while Chinese businesses have increased from 4% to 14%.[45] Therefore, the economic importance of Africa should be understood as being less about its importance to France as a whole than about its importance to a small lobby of influential French profiteers.

"African affairs" (in French the word *affaire* means both a business affair and a scandal) are a dirty, violent, scandalous genre in the literature. Scholars of corruption in France and Francophone Africa owe much to the critical journalism of the satirical *Canard Enchaîné*, the conservative *Le Figaro*, the centre-left *Le Monde*, and the progressive *Libération*. Yet the facts tend to be sporadic, anecdotal, episodic, and rarely longitudinal. The most infamous case of criminalisation of the state was the "Affaire Elf" of the 1990s, involving the French state oil company Elf Aquitaine, the Elysée Palace, and the presidencies of Gabon, Congo, and Cameroon.[46] Clearly, African oil money has had a corrupting effect on the French and their business partners in Europe. It has also had an effect on the Africans involved, not so much corrupting them as providing large amounts of money to pre-existing corrupt power circles. Oil money has been processed by kleptocratic rulers to build state capacity, to construct power bases on clan-based distribution systems, and to reinforce their personal hold on power—all within the larger context of French domination. Since the 1990s, a specialised scandal press has exposed institutionalised grand corruption at every level with the Dossiers Noirs series of Agir-Survie concentrating on France's sub-Saharan sphere of influence where corrupt persons and practices are illustrated.[47] Besides the Elf Affair, other dossiers include nuclear contamination by Areva in Niger and Gabon, support for dictatorship in Togo and Cameroon, corruption in the oil business in Chad and Nigeria, pillage of forests, illegal arms sales, and neocolonial interventions—a litany of minutely documented accusations entreating French public opinion to change government policy towards the former empire.

François-Xavier Verschave, the late president of the French non-governmental organisation Survie, denounced France's Africa policy under the concept of *La "Françafrique"*, which was the title of his most celebrated Dossier Noir, *La Françafrique: Le Plus Long Scandale de la République*.[48] The term had already been used for the first time in a positive sense in 1955 by Côte d'Ivoire's former president, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, who advocated maintaining a close relationship with France. Verschave turned the expression on its head, defining it as "the secret criminality in the upper echelons of French politics and economy, where a kind of underground Republic is hidden from view".[49]

For Verschave, French African affairs—*La Françafrique*—were the longest scandal of the republic. Over the course of four decades, millions of euros were misappropriated from debt, aid, oil, and cocoa, or drained through French importing monopolies. These corruptly stolen funds were used to finance neo-Gaullist political-business networks, to pay shareholders dividends, and to provide funding for mercenary operations of the French secret services. As Verschave notes:

> And so began forty years of pillage, support for dictatorships, dirty tricks and secret wars—from Biafra to the two Congos. Rwanda, the Comoros, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Chad, Togo and others will bear the scars for many years to come. Gorged, burnt-out dictators, up to their eyeballs in debt, could no longer promise development, and so they brandished their final weapon, the ethnic scapegoat.[50]

The thrust of his critique was premised on the assumption of a France that was too strong. In a sense, the critics who have invoked *La Françafrique* have also perversely been its eulogisers. For the idea that France is strong enough to dominate its former African empire presupposes that it still has enough strength to dominate. In a way, the accusers agree with the perpetrators. The late Omar Bongo, for instance, Gabon's former president, famously declared in an interview with the French press that "Gabon without France is like a car with no driver. France without Gabon is like a car with no fuel."[51] This surely exaggerated the economic importance of African oil to France, which like other developed economies depended on the Middle East more than on Africa. François Mitterrand declared in 1957 when he was the French minister of interior: "Without Africa, France will have no history in the twenty-first century."[52] This is surely the hyperbole that the poetics of politics allows a statesman, not a historical fact.

Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud once claimed that "Africa was the only continent where France could still change the course of history with a few hundred men."[53] Jacques Godfrain, another former foreign minister, boasted: "A little country [France], with a small amount of strength, can move a planet because [of our] relations with 15 or 20 African countries."[54] Here he was expressing an idea that is current, but it is his emphasis placed on *strength* to which I want to draw your attention. For in many ways France is no longer strong enough, and with a few hundred men is no longer able to change the course of history.

## Neocolonial Over-stretch

The irony of the 2013 intervention in Mali was that President Hollande had never wanted this war. His position had been unvarying since his 2012 campaign promise that once he was president he would not intervene with French troops on Malian soil. He wanted to mark a clean break with *La Françafrique* and not be taxed with straying into neocolonialism. The real solution in his eyes was above all diplomatic, not military. This was a matter of mobilising African armies under the aegis of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the European Union (EU), and the UN. It was a matter of reconstructing the Malian army and helping it reconquer what jihadists had taken after a military coup had toppled the regime in Bamako. The military option had been studied during the last days of President Nicolas Sarkozy in 2012, and had been rejected. Not a single French soldier would serve on the ground during the election year. Sarkozy had been busy running his presidential campaign when Tuareg rebels in the north were joined by Al Qaida au Maghreb Islamique (AQMI) and Ansar Al Dine, combining their forces to declare the short-lived independent state of Azawad.

During the autumn months of 2012, Hollande buzzed like a pollinating bee from one international meeting to another, discussing the possibility of bilateral and multilateral operations, trying to achieve through diplomacy this mission impossible. From his first days in office he had obtained, on paper, the deployment of an ECOWAS mission, and instruction of Mali's army by EU trainers, as well as support from the UN. In May 2013, he brought the Malian dossier before NATO. In September 2012, he staged a conference on the Mali crisis on the margins of the UN General Assembly meeting in New York. That same day, Defence Minister Jean-Yves Drian met with European leaders in Cyprus to mobilise them in a roundtable meeting. But he noticed the consternation of his European homologues, who wondered what this was all about, *really*. What did they have to do with Francophone Africa? What were the *real* interests of France? Disenchantment and inaction had also set in on the part of the Africans. One defence ministry official, speaking anonymously, told a journalist: "We understood very quickly that ECOWAS was incapable of doing anything whatsoever, that they did not have a kopeck, and that we were completely alone."[55]

But the situation north of the Niger River was degrading rapidly, which pushed Hollande to call upon his defence ministry, at that time preoccupied with the withdrawal of all French forces from Afghanistan. This retreat had been his hallmark military policy of the 2012 presidential campaign—a total withdrawal of French troops by end of the year. Paradoxically, as the presidential candidate, Hollande had promised a complete military disengagement but, once elected president, he decided to embark upon what was surely the most important mobilisation of French troops in half a century.

Jean-Yves le Drian, barely installed at the ministry of defence, was seduced by the scenario of direct military intervention. He presented his hawkish ideas at the very first defence council, on 31 May 2012, rejecting Sarkozy's strategy of confrontation that had privileged an indirect approach with the lowest possible visibility of French military presence. This strategy, le Drian said, had not achieved its objectives. The north of Mali has become a sanctuary for AQMI and its allies which threatened the entire sub-region and potentially the French national territory. He warned the president not to let AQMI establish a terrorist sanctuary beyond all control, like what Al Qaida had done in the Afghan tribal zones of Pakistan.

Hollande was obsessed with speed, ordering his military adviser, General Benoît Puga, and his commander of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Edouard Guillaud, to advance rapidly and quickly recapture visible symbols of victory, Gao and Timbuktu. These goals were accomplished on 25 and 28 January with parachute drops of the twenty-first century RIMa—the first such operation since the 1978 battle of Kolwezi to liberate European hostages in the Katanga province of the Congo. Hollande flew to Mali on 2 February 2013 to celebrate the "liberation" of Timbuktu and to harvest the first fruits of his military triumph. This was his first trip to sub-Saharan Africa, and landing on the tarmac in Bamako he uncharacteristically declared with sweating emotion: "I have just come to live the most important day of my political life."[56] After his speech (reminiscent of

US president George W. Bush's 2003 victory speech after the capture of Baghdad), the war in Mali entered into a new, less romantic phase. French troop numbers had increased since January from 550 to 3500 and then to an apogee of 5200 soldiers.

"The president was very clear," said one ministry official, "that the objective was not only the reconquest of Timbuktu and Gao."[57] Operation Serval started experiencing mission creep. Now it was about eliminating high-value targets—that is, assassinating jihadist leaders. Hollande ordered Rafale and Mirage jets to drop bombs on Adrar while the French army conducted a deadly "clean-up" operation in the rocks and caves of the Ifoghas Mountains. Dozens of jihadists, including several high-value targets, were "neutralised", and numerous hidden logistical caches were discovered, with tons of weapons, and hundreds of litres of gasoline. The mountain combats were also deadly for French and Chadian soldiers, the largest part of the 6300 African soldiers deployed. By April the bulk of this military clean-up mission could be considered accomplished. Mali's territorial integrity had been restored. The jihadists had not been totally destroyed, but they had lost more than 400 fighters. And they had been dispersed. To provide Serval with a semblance of legitimate authority, elections were hastily orchestrated by France and won by Ibrahim Boubacar Keïta in August 2013. It was "mission accomplished". The French army was satisfied. After its long indecisive military engagement in Afghanistan, its battlefield successes were now followed by presidential elections.

Unlike Libya, where the fall of Muammar Qaddafi had been followed by degeneration into chaos, the Mali mission was touted as a success. Rand Corporation even published a special report highlighting how it could serve as a lesson for American expeditionary forces in similar conflicts: "France fielded a relatively small force put together using small, scalable combined arms task organized units as basic building blocks and conducted a campaign that emphasized speed and maneuver over force protection. The French force, moreover, is for all intents and purposes regionally aligned, and it demonstrated the benefits that could accrue through its apparently effective operations among and with local and regional actors."[58]

France officially ended Operation Serval on 15 July 2014, replacing it with a broader regional counter-terrorism effort, Operation Barkhane, whose headquarters were in Chad, but whose focus remained on northern Mali. The total cost of Operation Serval was €650 million. To pay for this extra expense, le Drian obtained an increase in the defence ministry budget.

"We are going to break apart those bastards as much as possible," he announced, leaving no one in his entourage with any doubt of his intentions. The order of the day was eradication. For the first time in decades, French soldiers in Africa were receiving orders to kill and to give no quarter, the equivalent of "search and destroy" orders given to American soldiers after the September 2001 World Trade Centre bombing. When evaluating the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) we might reflect on how this UN peacekeeping mission, meant to create and consolidate peace in Mali through Operation Barkhane, employed methods better described as "dirty war".[59]

In addition to its military interventions in Mali and the CAR, France was the first European country to join the American-led coalition striking the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In 2015 it launched Operation Sentinelle, with 10,000 troops patrolling the streets in France. In 2016, during his last year in office, Hollande raised defence spending by €3.8 billion and expanded ground forces from 66,000 to 77,000. "Our technical capacity is very good," says General Vincent Desportes, a critic of Sentinelle, "[b]ut clearly France is in no position to commit to any further adventure."[60]

What General Desportes is talking about is known in military jargon as "over-stretch". The question that is being asked by some military strategists in Paris is precisely whether or not France is over-stretched. Over three decades, France has cut its military budgets from 3% of gross domestic product (GDP) in 1982 to 1.4% in 2015[61]; professionalised its armed forces by eliminating its mandatory military service; and reduced its troops from 350,000 in 1984 to 120,000 in 2015. In 1977 its armed forces had 210 regiments, compared to only 79 by 2015. "For decades, in defiance of the reality of this world and its threats, the state has left our armies to degrade to the point that they are henceforth incapable of meeting the requirements of security."[62] The contradiction between the diminishing size and budget of French military forces and their over-extension is the main concern that seems to have escaped notice. General Desportes blames French politicians for playing budget games with their toy soldiers. "Unable to seat the grandeur of France upon its economic power, military interventions are used to make it believe that the Grande nation continues to play an essential role in the affairs of the world."[63] Never have French armies been employed so much while going through such a rapid pauperisation and degradation of their capacities.

In *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, Yale political scientist Paul Kennedy argued that ascendancy of a great power over the long term is correlated strongly with its resources and economic durability, and that military over-stretch and relative decline are the consistent threat facing powers whose ambitions and security requirements are greater than their resource base can provide. French peacekeeping missions—unexpected, surprising, daring, and very expensive in terms of finances and material—may perhaps maintain France's image as a great power in the world system, and preserve its reputation as still able to project power on the African continent. But over-extension may result in French armed forces being unable to accomplish not just the goals of peacekeeping missions in Africa: protecting civilians, defeating terrorists, preventing genocide. Over-stretch might also leave France in a position so reduced that it will not be able to defend itself. In this sense, one could say that France has been both too strong and too weak in its dealings with Africa both during and after the Cold War.[64]

## Notes

1. Christopher Griffon, "French Military Interventions in Africa", paper presented at 48th annual meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, 28 February 2007. *See also* Bruno Charbonneau, *France and the New Imperialism: Security Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: Routledge, 2016), tab. 4.2, p. 66.
2. "France's position on peacekeeping and peace support operations [is] fairly clear. Participation in such operations remain[s] a possibility, but only where that participation correspond[s] to French national interests." Rachel E. Utley, "A Means to Wider Ends? France, Germany, and Peacekeeping", in Rachel E. Utley (ed.), *Major Powers and Peacekeeping: Perspectives, Priorities, and the Challenges of Military Intervention* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 76.
3. Speaking of the Rwandan genocide: "While the idea that states will seek to prevent and punish genocide is a noble one, the reality is that states are reluctant to take strong preventative measures … out of deference to the norm of state sovereignty." Debra L. DeLaet, *The Global Struggle for Human Rights: Universal Principles in World Politics*, 2nd edition (Stamford: Cenage Learning, 2015), p. 97.
4. Speaking of EUFOR/Chad: "Most of the military planning was done in Paris … French special forces … helped the Déby government in its military efforts to defend the capital. This was clear evidence to other EUFOR governments, if any were needed, that they were auxiliaries of Gallic

foreign policy." Adekeye Adebajo, "The EU's Security Role in Africa", in Annita Montoute and Kudrat Virk (eds), *The ACP Group and the EU Development Partnership: Beyond the North-South Debate* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 224.

5. "France's active participation in UN peacekeeping operations since the end of the Cold War reflects its view that the United Nations is an important asset to French foreign policy … France views its participation in UN peacekeeping operations, in particular, both as a justification for its permanent seat and as almost an obligation in its quest to assert its influence on the world stage." Pia Christina Wood, "France", in David S. Sorenson and Pia Christina Wood (eds), *The Politics of Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era* (Abingdon: Cass, 2005), pp. 70–1. "In the French engagement in Rwanda one finds most of the essential ingredients of the Franco-African cuisine: irresponsibility of the Elysée, absence of control of the secret services, excessive weight of the military-African lobby, diversion of public aid, corruption, affairism, trafficking, support for clannish and ethnic dictators, the Fashoda syndrome, francophone obsession, among others." François-Xavier Verschave, *Noir Silence: Qui Arrêtera la Françafrique?* (Paris: Les Arènes, 2000), p. 178.
6. On "affordable influence" *see* Alexander Mattelaer and Esther Marijnen, "EU Peacekeeping in Africa: Towards an Indirect Approach", in Marco Wyss and Thierry Tardy (eds), *Peacekeeping in Africa: The Evolving Security Architecture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 54–72.
7. "The most virulent critics," write Bruno Charbonneau and Tony Chafer, "theorise the ways in which colonial conditions of the past, as well as North-South inequalities, linger on into present international peace intervention practices." Charbonneau and Chafer, *Peace Operations in the Francophone World: Global Governance Meets Post-Colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 8. For instance, Stephen Smith's ironic critique: "France pretends to be interested in Africa but is really only contemplating itself in the mirror of 'its' Africa—francophone Africa if not, *stricto sensu*, its former colonies—to plunge the depths of its soul: 'Tell me, am I the most beautiful or the most terrible? Am I still a great power, or only a medium one?'" Smith, *Voyage en Postcolonie: Le Nouveau Monde Franco-Africain* (Paris: Grasset, 2010), p. 38.
8. Critics have emphasised how international peace practices and interventions are often founded upon and reproduce lingering cultural hierarchies of race, class, and gender, and the difference from pre-colonial African ideas of security. "The concept and essence of security in pre-colonial Africa was holistic in nature, interlinking the political, economic, ecological, socio-cultural, and, perhaps most significant, religious-spiritual sphere of social life." Jamila Jennifer Abubakar, Kenneth Omeje, and Habu Galadima, *Conflict of Securities: Reflections on State and Human Security in*

*Africa* (London: Adonis and Abbey, 2010), p. 11. For an anthropological perspective on peacekeeping *see* Robert A. Rubinstein, *Peacekeeping Under Fire: Culture and Intervention* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

9. "France is aware of what is expected of us. Because of that proximity—a proximity that is simultaneously geographic, sentimental, cultural, linguistic and economic—we have a particular responsibility [to Africa]." François Hollande's speech at the Elysée Summit for Peace and Security in Africa, 6 December 2013, http://www.voltairenet.org/article181473.html
10. Emblematic of this genre is Antoine Glaser and Stephen Smith, *Comment la France a Perdu l'Afrique* (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 2005). In a more recent work, Glaser has developed this theme. "Contrary to conventional wisdom, the submission of Africa to postcolonial France is far from corresponding to reality … Far from being puppets or yes-men, African presidents have learned how to manoeuvre and instrumentalise their 'masters' in Paris." Antoine Glaser and Smith, *AfricaFrance*: *Quand les Dirigeants Africains Deviennent les Maîtres du Jeu* (Paris: Fayard, 2014), p. 12.
11. "For decades, despite the reality of the world and its threats," laments General Vincent Desportes of the numerous interventions embarked upon by President François Hollande, "the state has left our armies degraded to the point that they are no longer capable of facing up to the exigencies of security." Vincent Desportes, *La Dernière Bataille de France* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015), p. 11.
12. Two deputies in the National Assembly, Noël Mamère and Jean-Luc Mélenchon, placed into doubt the legality of the French intervention in Mali. Delphine Roucaute, "Mali: L'Opération 'Serval' Est-Elle Légale?", *Le Monde*, 14 January 2012. "From a legal perspective, the French justified their intervention [in Mali] in virtue of UN resolution 2085 and Article 51 of the UN Charter (the principle of legitimate defense). This is ambiguous since the UN allowed the deployment of an *African* force in Mali." Isaline Bergamaschi, "French Military Intervention in Mali: Inevitable, Consensual, Yet Insufficient", *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2(2) (2013), https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.bb
13. Glaser and Smith, *Comment la France a Perdu l'Afrique*), p. 9.
14. Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa: 1880–1985* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1988), p. 3.
15. Mongo Beti, *Le Rebelle*, vol. II (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p. 21.
16. Beti, *Le Rebelle*, vol. I (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p 102.
17. Beti, *Le Rebelle*, vol. I, 2007, p. 201.
18. Beti, *Le Rebelle,* vol. I, 2007, p. 203.
19. Beti, *Le Rebelle*, vol. II, 2007, p. 44. The reference to "clercs" is to Julian Benda's 1927 essay *La Trahison des Clercs* (The Treason of the Intellectuals).
20. Francis Terry McNamara, *France in Black Africa* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1989), p. 77.

21. McNamara, *France in Black Africa*, 1989, p. 80, *reported by* Thomas Hodgkin and Ruth Schacter, *French Speaking West Africa in Transition* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 1960), p. 402.
22. This has not prevented publications by Francophone authors from other countries. *See* André Dumoulin, *La France Militaire et l'Afrique: Coopération et Interventions—Un État des Lieux* (Brussels: GRIP, 1997).
23. Grégoire Biyogo, *Déconstruire les Accords de Coopération Franco-Africains* (Paris: Harmattan, 2011).
24. The primary source about Foccart's policies is a series of interviews published in the form of quasi-memoir, *Foccart Parle: Entretiens avec Philippe Gaillard*, two vols. (Paris: Fayard-Jeune Afrique, 1995–97). Recent scholarship has critically addressed these memoirs as self-serving documents, sometimes distorting the truth. *See* Jean-Pierre Bat, *Le Syndrome Foccart: La Politique Française en Afrique, de 1959 à Nos Jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 2012). *See also* Frédéric Turpin, *Jacques Foccart: Dans l'Ombre du Pouvoir* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2015).
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48. François-Xavier Verschave, *La Françafrique: Le Plus Long Scandale de la République* (Paris: Stock, 1998).
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upper echelons of French politics and economy, where a kind of underground Republic is hidden from view." François-Xavier Verschave, "Defining Françafrique", 18 February 2006, http://survie.org/francafrique/article/defining-francafrique-by-francois
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CHAPTER 6

# To Brexit and Beyond: Africa and the United Kingdom

*Alex Vines*

It was over a decade ago that Tony Blair as British prime minister in 2006 wrote: "the world must judge us on Africa".[1] This moralistic statement followed on logically from his decision to make African development a key objective of Britain's presidency of the Group of Eight (G8) countries and the European Union (EU) in 2005, and was consistent with the tone of British policy towards Africa during the 13 years of Labour government.

In 2010 Tony Blair insisted:

> Africa has been at the top of my foreign policy for the last ten years. From the very beginning I wanted to forge a new partnership with African leaders and countries. I really believe that Africa is the next big opportunity for investors, it would not only be good for business but to transform the lives of Africans.[2]

Tony Blair's 2010 interview reflected a wider shift in United Kingdom (UK) thinking about Africa, moving away from policy that is driven by guilt over colonialism, migration worries and charity, or purely fears of terrorism. This trend has continued under the Conservatives, who have focused on enlightened self-interest and a greater trade emphasis in UK-Africa relations.

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_6

This chapter begins by setting out some of the drivers behind the UK's Africa policy. It then examines the evolution of UK Africa policy under recent Labour governments, focusing specifically on two distinct but closely overlapping periods: the first phase of 1997–2005, when increasing levels of priority were attached to Africa culminating in the anti-climax that was the Commission for Africa; and the second phase of 2005–10, when cutbacks began to set in both for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and to a lesser extent for the Department for International Development (DFID). From these two phases, the chapter examines the new phase under the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and majority Conservative government of 2010–16. Finally, the chapter assesses the post-Brexit era and what will be the UK's strategy towards Africa after Brexit.

## Interests and Values

Africa has been important in maintaining the UK's claim to be a global player. The UK has certainly been able to draw on its sphere of influence in Africa to help shore up its increasingly contested claim to a permanent seat on the United Nations (UN) Security Council, not to mention to enhance its status in Europe up to Brexit. The UK has also, at times, seen Africa as a continent on which it can take the lead internationally, as the examination of the Commission for Africa later in this chapter demonstrates. For the UK, Africa is a place where it can demonstrate its military might and its unrivalled capacity to promote international development through its DFID. The fight against Ebola in Sierra Leone was but one way of demonstrating this military might and capacity.

The UK also has tangible strategic and economic interests in Africa. The most obvious areas are immigration, crime, and counter-terrorism—particularly in relation to those countries from which the UK already has large immigrant (and until recently emigrant) populations, such as in Nigeria, Somalia, and Zimbabwe. In 2008, Home Office figures showed 7165 applicants for British citizenship from Somalia; 5710 from Zimbabwe; 5265 from South Africa; 4530 from Nigeria; and 3135 from Ghana. This compares, in 2009, with 5540 asylum applicants from Zimbabwe; 1360 from Eritrea; and 920 from Somalia. African inmates in British prisons are also significant in number: 963 from Nigeria, 463 from Somalia, 209 from Zimbabwe, and 154 from Ghana in 2008. These figures show that Africans from across the continent still find Britain an attractive country in which to live. Despite emotive reports about crime, Africans represent a tiny proportion of 10,000 jailed foreign nationals in 2016. Europe accounted for the greatest proportion of all foreign nationals within the prison population (51%), those from Africa (19%) and Asia (16%) contributed the second and third largest proportion respectively. In 2016 Somali's were 3.4% of this total, followed by Nigerians at 3.3%.[3] Zimbabwe in 2009 was one of the largest sources of asylum applicants to the UK but, almost a decade later, the prime source is from Eritrea.

The African diaspora in the UK plays an increasingly important role in framing UK Africa policy, but also in remittance flows (see Fig. 6.1). The World Bank's 2016 *Migration and Remittances Factbook* ranked the UK as the world's tenth-largest remittance-sending country and Nigeria is the UK's second-largest recipient of remittances after India. The fragmentary official data available suggest that total remittances into sub-Saharan Africa were around $9 billion in 2006. While this represented barely 5% of global remittances, it is significant to African economies. The Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Remittance Survey found that Black British Africans had the highest propensity to remit of any migrant population in the UK.

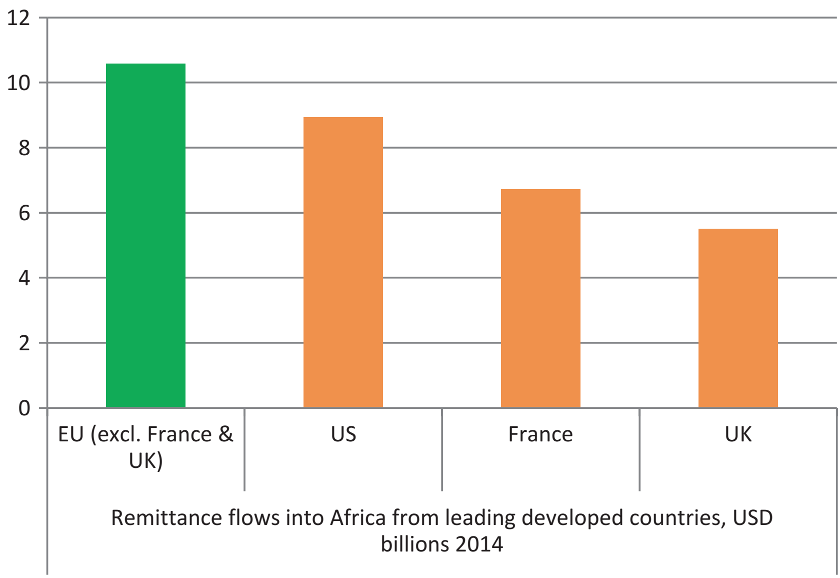


**Fig. 6.1** UK remittance flows into Africa from leading developed countries, 2014 ($ billions)
Source: Adapted from World Bank and own data

The UK's 2001 census found that sub-Saharan Africans constituted Britain's fastest-growing minority group during the 1990s, with 486,000 respondents recording their ethnicity as Black African, outnumbering Britain's Caribbean population. Yet illegal migration and related under-reporting suggest that this figure is a significant under-estimate. Many new British citizens are of African origin.

The African diaspora has helped focus parts of the UK economy. The UK is a world leader in fintech and innovative technologies and has cleverly married British expertise and financing with African ingenuity and understanding of local markets. UK fintech start-ups have done well in East Africa over the past decade, followed by M-Pesa, M-Kopa, and Azuri technologies.

As regards economic interests, these are meaningful but by no means vital. Figures from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) show UK total exports to sub-Saharan Africa valued at $11.6 billion in 2008 (up from $9.7 billion in 2007), and total imports to the UK from sub-Saharan Africa at $15.1 billion in 2008 (up from $13.7 billion in 2007).[4] Arguably, only South Africa plays a significant commercial role in this trade relationship, as it was the UK's top export market in Africa in 2009 (and the UK's twenty-fifth-largest overseas market) with sales (in finished goods only) totalling £2.1 billion; the UK is also the largest single investor in South Africa.[5] Nigeria is the UK's second-largest trading partner in Africa and its thirty-third-largest overseas market for goods. UK exports of goods to Nigeria were worth £1.2 billion in 2009, and total exports of services were worth £1.3 billion in 2008.

Moving forward to 2014, Africa accounted for 4.3% of the UK's trade deficit in 2014, down from 5.1% in 2004. The UK's overall trade balance with Africa was in deficit in all periods between 2004 and 2008, before briefly turning into surplus between 2009 and 2011, due to an increase in UK exports and a fall in imports. The UK's trade balance with Africa returned to a deficit in 2012 following an increase in imports. Figure 6.2 shows the UK's share of Africa's bilateral trade in 2016.

The majority of the UK's trade with Africa is in goods, which accounted for 68% of total trade[1] between the two regions in 2014, with the remainder accounted for by services. South Africa remains the UK's largest export and import market in Africa. The UK ran a trade in goods and services deficit with South Africa in all periods between 2004 and 2010, which averaged £1.2 billion. However, following an increase in UK service exports in 2011, the UK began recording a trade surplus, which stood at £0.6 billion in 2014.

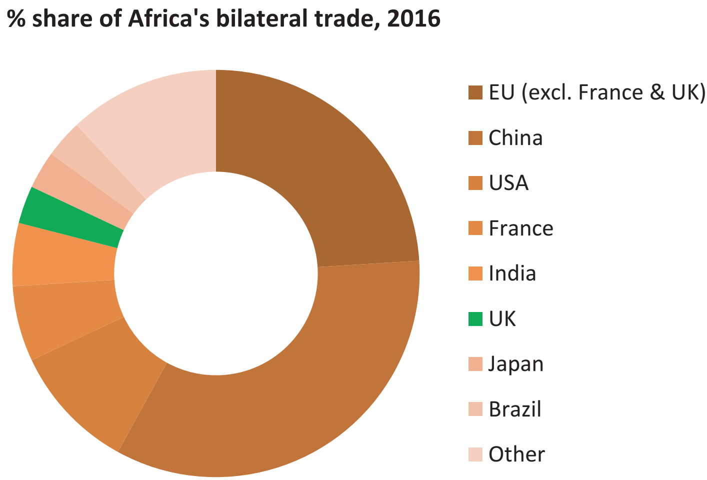


**Fig. 6.2** UK's share of Africa's bilateral trade, 2016 (percentages)
Sources: Adapted from African Investment Report 2015, Intracen

In 2014, the value of the UK's outward foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa was £42.5 billion.[6] As Fig. 6.3 shows, the amount the UK invested in Africa more than doubled between 2005 and 2014 from £20.8 billion to £42.5 billion. South Africa was the largest recipient of UK FDI in Africa, accounting for 29.8% of total UK FDI in the continent in 2014. In terms of industry, mining and quarrying and financial services were the main industrial groupings in receipt of UK FDI, accounting for 54.4% and 34.3% of total UK FDI into Africa in 2014, respectively. The UK was sub-Saharan Africa's sixth-largest trading partner with total flows of $20.8 billion in 2016. FDI from the UK to Africa was $2.4 billion in 2016 according to a report by accounting firm EY. EY noted that post Brexit there was already a measurable decline in UK FDI to Africa[7]:

> The UK, which has led Western European investment in Africa since 2010, saw its share of FDI projects ease from 10 [%] in 2015 to 6.1 [%] in 2016. The more notable decline was in FDI jobs, down by a significant 81.4 [%]. The Brexit vote at the end of June 2016 and the resulting uncertainty seem to have had an immediate impact on UK investment into Africa. Governments across the continent will need to redefine their trade and investment relations with a post-Brexit UK.

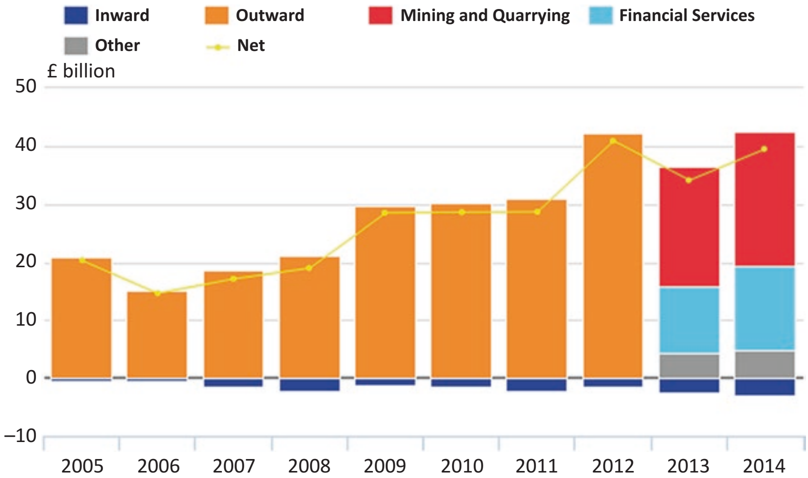


**Fig. 6.3** UK FDI positions with Africa, 2005–14 (£ billions)
Source: UK Office for National Statistics, 2016

The importance of London as a source of FDI is increasingly understood by African policymakers, and since 2014 a number of African governments (Burundi, Guinea, Togo, and Mauritania) have opened or reopened diplomatic missions in London, aimed partly at trying to attract funding (and diversify away from France).

Aid rather than trade was the prime focus of British efforts in Africa during the Labour government, but this has radically changed since May 2010, with the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government insisting that trade needs to be prioritised, a situation that the FDI figures echo. Although the outright expression of UK mercantilist interests in Africa remained something of a taboo there was, towards the end of Labour's term of office, a growing readiness to make the UK's strategic interests more explicit.

It would be wrong, however, to overstate the extent to which relative power and strategic interests were driving UK Africa policy. A good example of this point might be the case of Zimbabwe where ideological and domestic pressures interact. From a purely strategic point of view, what happens in Zimbabwe is of limited interest to the UK, yet domestic pressure forces engagement. Ironically, this engagement has rarely been thoughtful or strategic, lacking as it does the framework of a broader awareness of interests and opportunities among many of Zimbabwe's neighbours.[8]

The UK's interests in Africa under Labour from 2004 were upgraded by policymakers for the first time since the end of decolonisation, keen as Labour was to emphasise the moral dimension of the UK's approach and to engage younger voters. This approach was facilitated by the downgrading of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the upgrading of the DFID, with a near exclusive focus on development and poverty reduction. Labour politicians and government officials underscored the symbolic role that Africa policy has come to play in the UK's self-perceptions as a "moral" power willing to do good; these politicians and officials were able to do so since they were operating in an arena where there was limited party political or media dissent.[9]

When Gordon Brown announced his resignation as prime minister following the May 2010 elections, the UK media speculated that Brown, like Tony Blair, could atone for his time in office by "doing charity work in Africa". This has proven correct, as Brown's first public appearance following his election defeat was at the African Union (AU) summit in Uganda, campaigning for several charitable causes. Indeed, surprisingly given Britain's finances, all the main political parties in the 2010 elections defended ring-fenced international development from future cuts, and maintaining the UK's commitment to provide 0.7% of national income for international development). This promise was upheld by the coalition of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat government and enshrined into law in March 2015. Given the depth of public spending cuts in other areas, this commitment to development assistance and the new government's signalling that poverty reduction would remain core to the DFID was remarkable. Although debated in 2017 through the media, this commitment survived and all the main parties recommitted to the 0.7% commitment in the run-up to the June 2017 elections.

An inevitable consequence of this stress on the value-driven nature of UK Africa policy was that Britain, under Labour, found it harder probably than any other country to identify or admit to selfish strategic interests. Indeed, this lack of a proactive approach to strategic opportunities in Africa has meant that the UK has been the least active among the major powers in building and securing political alliances and business engagements. Scandals during the Labour years in government surrounding some of those business engagements, such as around defence company BAE's deals of defence equipment and radar in South Africa and Tanzania, have further tarnished the reputation of UK business engagements with African states. It was an irony somewhat in keeping with UK tradition that other countries benefited from the stability and growth towards which UK development agencies (and the UK taxpayer) have made a significant contribution. China successfully increased its commercial efforts in Sierra Leone, thanks to British post-conflict stabilisation investments.

In a similar vein, the UK's employment of African health professionals in the National Health Service (NHS) has generated particular concern and publicity about Britain's African engagement. A survey suggests that almost a quarter of new overseas-trained physicians recruited into the NHS came from sub-Saharan Africa. In 2014, the fifth- and sixth-largest contributors of staff to the NHS were Nigeria and then Zimbabwe; South African doctors were 2.1% of NHS staff followed by Nigeria (1.6%).[10] In 2002 the government drew up a voluntary code to prevent poaching of nurses from Africa by the NHS.[11] This reluctance to pursue hard-nosed strategic and commercial interests in Africa was also no doubt at least partly a consequence of a growing appreciation on the part of policymakers of the changing nature of domestic political and, indeed, electoral constituencies. Over 80% of Africans live in Greater London, with four significant concentrations in four of London's poorest boroughs: Southwark, Newham, Lambeth, and Hackney. A second significant characteristic is the diversity of Britain's African population, which no longer comprises Anglophone West Africans; rather there is significant Francophone African settlement in addition to large inflows from the Horn of Africa, and expansion of the long-established Somali population.[12] It is not just in London that African communities prosper in Britain; there are concentrations of Angolans in Coventry and Manchester, and a large Somali community in Cardiff, for example.

Just as the profile of Britain's African community has become diverse, so is the manner in which African migrants organise. An Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) study in 2007 showed that official Nigerian migrants were the second most successful immigrant group in Britain (by salary). South Africans, Ghanaians, and Zimbabweans did well too, earning significantly above the British average.[13] Three British members of parliament (MPs) elected in the 2010 elections are of African origin, which was helpful as a number of other MPs needed the African vote to maintain their seats. This makes understanding African issues more important, not only for British foreign policy but also in Britain's domestic politics. Africa will become increasingly important because significant communities of British of African origin care about the continent and lobby for attention. For example, with the devolved government, the Welsh Assembly has been developing its own aid projects in Lesotho and Somaliland and the Scottish parliament in Malawi.[14]

## The Rise of Africa Policy Under New Labour, 1997–2005

For much of the 1990s, Britain was largely uninterested in Africa, except as a destination for aid and managing postcolonial legacy disputes. This was to change.[15] During the Labour government's first term, Blair authorised British troop support for UN and regional peacekeeping efforts in Sierra Leone in May 2000.[16] Blair started to promote Africa's causes at international gatherings, starting with the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001.[17] By the beginning of Labour's second term, in 2001, a discernible UK policy on Africa was emerging.[18] At the Labour Party conference of September 2001, Blair announced that Africa was a "scar on the conscience of the world" that would become "deeper and angrier" unless something was done to heal it. Blair announced that Africa would be a policy priority for his new government, although this agenda was sidelined by the war on Iraq for much of 2004.[19] Although officials in the prime minister's office were not surprised, Blair's speech on Africa caught the Africa specialists in the FCO off-guard. Blair reaffirmed his commitment towards Africa in February 2006 while in South Africa:

> I think Africa is probably the great moral cause of our time, because of the numbers of people who die, millions of people who die unnecessarily through conflict, famine, or disease. I think in today's world, in an interdependent world it makes no sense for us to leave the continent of Africa in the situation of being the only continent anywhere in the world over the past few decades that has gone backwards. And there is such vitality, and energy, and intelligence here, and it is a tragedy that it is not mobilised and used in the way that it should be. So I think we have a huge moral obligation in countries like mine, but also in the end I think [it is] in our self-interest to act.[20]

The British general public supported the government's focus on Africa according to a 2005 survey by Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs—an independent London-based think-tank) of people's views in Britain.[21] Climate change was also ranked highly, together with concerns over migration. However, the real focus of UK Africa policy from 2001 was on reducing poverty through economic development, motivated by a mixture of moral imperative and a sense that Africa's problems could threaten Western interests.[22] This approach was consistent with the first of the "three key motifs" of British foreign policy since 1997, identified in a House of Commons report as being "the pursuit of an activist philosophy of interventionism; maintaining a strong alliance with the

US and a commitment to placing Britain at the heart of Europe".[23] With the exception of the UK's operations in Sierra Leone, most of British engagements in Africa were more symbolic than physical. The UK's main contribution to Africa under Labour was that of an aid donor rather than a trading nation or investor in peace and security.

The increasing importance of Africa policy under Labour in these years is most clearly reflected in the emergence and growth of the Department for International Development. The establishment in 1997 of this separate, cabinet-level ministerial department, under the control of the outspoken Clare Short, signalled a powerful and not entirely unwelcome shift in Africa given past FCO priorities there.[24] During Labour's 13 years in government, international development became an area in which Britain punched well above its weight, as aid spending tripled in real terms and the DFID enjoyed the reputation of a progressive, innovative, and effective donor. It helped Britain have a strong voice in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), in the G8, and in international institutions. This was in stark contrast to the position in the mid-1980s, when aid was used to support UK commercial interests.

By 2001 the DFID had a larger budget than the Foreign Commonwealth Office and much more influenced. Unlike the FCO, DFID under the Labour government had the relative ministerial stability of Clare Short, Baroness Amos, Hilary Benn, and Douglas Alexander. However, the shift went too far, downplaying the role of traditional diplomacy and politics and exaggerating the humanitarian and development agenda in Africa, an agenda with which politicians were more comfortable as it emphasised the role of aid and de-emphasised the need to understand politics, history, and context. Although DFID did try to develop its own political analysis during much of that decade through its Drivers of Change work, this was downgraded following a turf war between Douglas Alexander and the foreign secretary, David Miliband. In many ways, in 1997 DFID took on the role of a ministry for sub-Saharan Africa.[25] The DFID's bilateral and regional programmes in sub-Saharan Africa increased from £300 million in 1997–98 to £1.5 billion in 2008–09. Nearly 90% went to priority countries, of which only two are not Commonwealth (the Democratic Republic of Congo [DRC] and Ethiopia; Rwanda and Mozambique are Commonwealth but not former British colonies). By 2005 DFID was channelling direct budget support to 17 African countries, which raised questions about whether these governments were committed to good governance and poverty reduction. Some of the most effective DFID aid programmes have involved broad-based interventions in support of national strategies such as construction of primary schools in Tanzania and supporting a food security strategy in Malawi.

## The Commission for Africa: The Anti-Climax of Labour's Africa Policy

It was in 2005 that the single most visible action of Labour on Africa was effected, namely the hosting of its Commission for Africa for its presidency of the G8. The establishment, process, and publication of the Commission's report spoke as much about Britain and its own politics and perceptions of Africa as it did about Africa itself. The then prime minister Blair was convinced by celebrities, including Irish pop star campaigner Bob Geldof at the Evian summit, that he should create a commission to reassess the causes of African poverty. The Commission for Africa was established by Blair in February 2004.[26]

The aim of the commission was to take a fresh look at Africa's past and its present as well as assess the international role in its development path. The UK was well poised and, using the time wisely, seized the political and symbolic opportunity presented to the country in 2005 with the UK chairship of both the G8 and EU. That year also marked the holding of a summit to review implementation of the MDGs and also the twentieth anniversary of Live Aid, as well as the twenty-fifth anniversary of the publication of the seminal Brandt Commission report *North-South*.[27]

The Commission for Africa, and by extension the UK government, developed a reputation for being loftily out of touch, an image not helped when a key figure in the commission reportedly claimed at a dinner for senior international diplomats that 2005 would be the year when "Africa was discovered on the international agenda".[28] By implication this discounted recent initiatives by the Canadian, French, and US governments. Such thinking was reflected again in Blair's February 2006 interview in South Africa, where he claimed that "I think the G-8 last year was the first time Africa has come centre stage for the G-8 Summit."[29]

The launch of the report took place at the British Museum in March 2005, and was dominated by the prime minister, the chancellor, and Bob Geldof. Choosing a British charity event such as Comic Relief's Red Nose Day to launch the Commission for Africa report did not assist relationship-building with sceptical G8 partners and Africans complaining of British arrogance. The 400-page report, *Our Common Interest*, was a cogent summary of existing ideas on the requirements to boost growth and good governance across Africa.[30] The launch event was carefully managed. However, it was striking that although probably the most substantive efforts at consultation were by business, there was no reference to the importance of business in Africa at the launch. This emphasised the vision at the time of Blair, Brown, and Geldof that this was a charitable exercise. The emphasis was not on what Africa could do for itself but rather what the West could do for Africa.

The blunders surrounding the Commission for Africa were widely noted, and the House of Commons' International Development Committee, in its December 2004 submission to the Commission for Africa, emphasised the need for policy coherence. The commission itself dissolved at the end of September 2005. The report's recommendations were declared by Tony Blair to have been incorporated into UK foreign policy, but many of the key recommendations failed to have an impact. The UK's presidency of the EU from July to December 2005 did not see much progress, although a new EU Strategy for Africa was agreed by the European Council on 15 December 2005.

A follow-up report, *Still Our Common Interest*, marking the Commission for Africa's fifth anniversary, was launched at the British Museum in September 2010 by Myles Wickstead and the former head of the commission's secretariat.[31] This time, the importance of private sector engagement in Africa was emphasised by all the key speakers, a dramatic contrast to the original launch and a sign of how much the debate had shifted in five years.

## A Degree of Retrenchment: UK Africa Policy, 2005–10

In the Labour government's third term, the focus towards Africa seemed to wane, with Labour rushing through in nine weeks the arrangements for a state visit in March 2010 by South African president Jacob Zuma to Britain, in order to host him prior to the May elections. Then foreign minister Jack Straw, in a keynote speech in Abuja on 14 February 2006, underlined that development, governance, conflict, terrorism, migration, crime and drugs, energy security, environment, Islam, and China were the key pillars of UK engagement towards Africa.[32] Straw's successor, David Miliband, insisted: "By no stretch of the imagination is it possible to argue that the UK's influence in Africa is lower today than it was ten years ago. In fact, it is massively enhanced."[33] Miliband in practice, however, showed little interest in Africa except for Kenya's post-election crisis in December 2007, the DRC, and Zimbabwe. Gordon Brown as prime minister maintained an aid focus, even during the 2010 election campaign.

Despite an outward appearance of unchallenged continuity, British policy towards Africa was coming under closer scrutiny. The need for cost-cutting to compensate for the high costs of British engagement in Iraq, and the review of security of British diplomatic and aid missions abroad, had been recognised and were about to impact the capacity to deliver on Africa. During 2005 significant Whitehall restructuring was under way and, while Africa was officially a government priority, there were dramatic contradictions behind this rhetoric. Government departments working on Africa entered 2005 being downsized. The FCO was downsized by 20% in personnel, and diplomatic missions in Lesotho, Swaziland, and Madagascar were closed by the end of 2005 (the Mali mission had already closed in 2003, providing funds for a British diplomat to be stationed in Monrovia but housed at the US embassy). A number of DFID offices in Africa were also closed in 2005, such as in Botswana. A number of other embassies were downsized too, with positions merged or downgraded, including the closure of the Consulate General in Douala.

Africa at the FCO under Labour has not enjoyed the stability of leadership. By the 2010 elections, eight ministers under Labour had overseen Africa policy but had found no time to develop proper ministerial expertise.[34] The appointment of Chris Mullin in 2003 might have been an afterthought given that his appointment was made in a late and rushed manner. After Lord Malloch-Brown resigned in 2009, there was a gap of over six months before Baroness Kinnock took over. It was telling that at a Downing Street meeting on Africa in 2004, the prime minister introduced his Africa team to a high-profile gathering but forgot to mention his FCO minister—the one minister in government tasked specifically with covering Africa.

Under Labour, the FCO became no longer assigned to house expertise but rather tasked with implementing policy. Since May 2010 this had been changing. Lord Malloch-Brown, following his resignation as minister, observed that

> the real crisis for the Foreign Office is whether it will be allowed to lead in its embassies and Whitehall, or will it be reduced to landlord and events organiser for other parts of government. Abroad, diplomats are usually outnumbered by trade, immigration and development officials with their own priorities. In Whitehall, impatient prime ministers often elbow the Foreign Office aside to run foreign policy. Whether from sofa or bunker, prime ministers have over-ruled the Foreign Office to play to the news cycle.[35]

The result was that British capacity to develop a more subtle and differentiated understanding of Africa was further eroded. Academic bodies, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and think-tanks will increasingly try to fill some of the gaps, but there still needs to be an effective capacity inside government structures to assess quality and commission and encourage innovative work. Increasingly, the UK's country policies are decided by the diplomatic missions on the ground, except where there are strategic interests such as energy security or a domestic angle, such as in Zimbabwe or Somalia (which both had dedicated FCO housed units).

The closure of high commissions in Lesotho and Swaziland in 2005 did not result in much comment, and represent a break of British emotion with its colonial past. The prime minister of Swaziland, A.T. Dlamini, complained that the timing was poor, as Swaziland was in a complicated transition. Swaziland and Lesotho are now diplomatically covered by the British High Commission in South Africa Madagascar raises even greater questions about policy coherence. Following its change of government, Madagascar was in a democratic transition that ended in a crisis in 2009. Britain had to redeploy a diplomat to be stationed in Antananarivo for over a year until May 2010. An embassy was finally reopened in 2012. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that the drive for personnel and expertise cuts inside the DFID was equal to that of the FCO. The DFID also suffered such cuts, and a number of its offices were downsized and positions merged, although unlike the FCO, a number of DFID programmes were expanded. Countries such as Nigeria, due to their population size, were seen as strategic.

Like the FCO, in the DFID small programmes were vulnerable. DFID almost closed its Angola and Gambia offices during 2005; the decision on Angola was postponed until early 2009 following robust lobbying by the All Party Parliamentary Group on Angola. The Gambia closed office in early 2010 and the Lesotho office in late 2010.[36] The DFID's overall budget under Labour did not suffer, but cuts in personnel resulted in increased outsourcing to consultancy firms, think-tanks, and NGOs, thus resulting in weaker project analysis and appraisal. The emphasis became increasingly on spending to reach targets, and this made small DFID programmes such as in Angola and Lesotho increasingly unattractive for the department's senior managers because of their high administrative costs.

## Interests More Than Values: The Coalition Government, 2010–15

Given the acute British budget trade balance in 2010, the Conservative Party-led coalition sought to prioritise trade and investment opportunities in Africa for British businesses. Some 20 FCO prosperity officers were appointed to complement 14 existing UK trade and investment offices on the continent. High-level “prosperity partnerships” with Angola, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Mozambique, and Tanzania were launched, though in practice this resulted in little material difference and by 2017 they had been quietly dropped. The government also established prime ministerial trade envoys for Angola and Nigeria, and for South Africa. These have been expanded and 2017 covered trade envoys for 15 African countries, including Algeria, the DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda.

Since 2012 the UK government has reopened embassies in Madagascar, Liberia, and Somalia, and opened a new embassy in South Sudan. These, with the exception of Madagascar, were security and aid responses. The governments of the UK and Somalia also co-hosted two international summits on Somalia in London in 2012 and 2013 to encourage increased international engagement on Somalia. A further summit on Somalia was held in May 2017.

David Cameron visited Africa only once as prime minister, on a two-day visit in July 2011 to South Africa and Nigeria. It was an important political statement that Cameron did not cancel his trip to South Africa as the then Foreign Secretary William Hague, cancelled his visit to South Africa in early 2011 because of the Arab Spring. An additional cancellation by Cameron would have seriously damaged bilateral relations, which had recently improved following the ninth bi-annual UK-South Africa Bilateral Forum in London in June 2011 despite disagreements over Libya strategy. This Africa visit was meant to symbolise the shift to a more trade-focused approach by Britain in Africa, but also that London was reinvesting in its diplomatic network on the continent.

A second Cameron trip to Africa had been planned for 2016, to Nigeria, Kenya, and Somalia, but due to the Brexit referendum was postponed; after the referendum a shortened Kenya and Somalia trip was cancelled. Originally, David Cameron had also planned to make Africa a legacy priority of his final years in government, including the unveiling of a new UK strategic vision for partnership. Brexit ended this ambition.[37]

As foreign secretary, William Hague visited Mogadishu in 2012 to highlight the UK's engagement with Somalia, visited South Africa in 2013, and received more African leaders and ministers than had his Labour predecessors. His successor as foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, rarely focused on Africa. In August 2015, Hammond caused a stir by claiming that the UK's "number one priority" was to find a way to make it easier to send would-be asylum seekers back where they came from, and adding that Europe could not "absorb millions of migrants from Africa". His visits to Tripoli, Mogadishu, and Nairobi in 2015 and 2016 all focused on migration and counter-terrorism.

There are a number of lasting legacies of the Coalition government besides the rebooting of trade promotion and the rebuilding of the UK diplomatic network in Africa. The first was the UK's support of the Libyan intervention in 2011. Like Tony Blair's legacy on Iraq, this legacy will haunt David Cameron. The planning, execution, and narrative around this intervention showed a low level of awareness among UK policymakers of the broader African context. The use of UN Security Council Resolution 1973 to authorise the use of force to protect civilians in Libya—but which was in reality was used as a justification for North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) military support of the rebels—has not been forgotten.[38]

A second legacy was the UK's much-deepened engagement on Somalia. Possibly partly to compensate for an unsatisfactory Libyan outcome, David Cameron prioritised Somalia policy, greatly strengthening UK engagement, including the reopening of a British embassy in Mogadishu in 2013. He saw this as key for his legacy, though his planned trip to Mogadishu in July 2016 did not occur as he was replaced as UK prime minister sooner than expected by Theresa May.

Tied to Somalia is the UK's decision in 2015 to double its UN peacekeeping contribution through deployments to Somalia as well as South Sudan. The UK hosted an international Defence Ministerial conference in September 2016, co-hosted with Rwanda and Ethiopia, to build military capabilities and champion peacekeeping reform. Until 2016, the UK was the fifth-highest provider of assessed contributions for UN peacekeeping. In 2016 its position dropped to sixth.

Britain's military is also engaged with capacity-building. There is the British Peace Support Team (BPST EA) in Kenya; the International Military Advisory and Training Team (IMATT) in Sierra Leone; and up to 2017, the British Peace Support Team (BPST) in South Africa. There is also *ad hoc* peacekeeping training in other countries such, as the British Military Advisory Training Team (BMATT) in Gambia.

Kenya remains strategic for Britain for a number of reasons but particularly for the leasing of training facilities for the British military, through the British Army Training Unit Kenya (BATUK). This is a permanent training support unit based mainly in Nanyuki and providing logistical support to visiting UK units. Under an agreement with the Kenyan government, renewed in 2016, six infantry battalions per year carried out six-week exercises in Kenya. There are also three Royal Engineer Squadron exercises that carry out civil engineering projects, and two medical company group deployments that provide primary healthcare care assistance to the civilian community. These military engagements are framed by the 2015 Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR), which spells out a vision of a "secure and prosperous United Kingdom, with global reach and influence".[39]

## Learning from the Past

In terms of UK Africa policy, the Labour governments left an important legacy that the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition and its successor Conservative government built upon. Labour left behind the DFID and the start of a process to define UK strategic interests in Africa. The DFID is undoubtedly Labour's main legacy that impacts Africa, and the coalition government's commitment to maintain it as a separate cabinet-level-led ministry was welcomed by the wider donor community. Britain's finances in 2010 provided an opportunity for clearer thinking and less waste. In September 2010, the UK foreign secretary, William Hague, admitted to the Foreign Affairs Committee that "the reduction and withdrawal of this country's diplomatic presence—something that we know has taken place in large parts of Africa—is a mistake". As noted in this chapter, although there has been some rebuilding of the UK diplomatic network in Africa, Britain should strengthen its posts in Africa, and not become reliant on small posts with few British staff. Plans to merge DFID and FCO offices have worked in some countries but not others. A clear definition of interests, and how to burden-share with allies and partners, is also needed. Fewer diplomats and aid workers means the need for clearer strategic objectives.[40]

Clearly the DFID still needs to be listened to, but the FCO in particular needs a stronger voice in Africa policy than it enjoyed under Labour. The FCO needs to understand more about international development, and the DFID more about business and politics. Counter-terrorism efforts in Africa also need to draw on aid and political analysis. Indeed, the UK's

National Security Council should avoid looking at Africa as just a threat and rather also as an opportunity to benefit from the continent's potential in terms of trade growth, energy diversification, and frontier markets.[41]

Britain is a leading power on international development and its commitment to devote 0.7% of national income to such development will allow it to maintain a strong voice in multilateral aid efforts such as meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as well as in the areas of global health in general, including the effects of climate change.

An important legacy from the Labour government was the establishment of the Africa Conflict Prevention Pool in 2001, comprising the FCO, DFID, and Ministry of Defence. In 2008, the Africa and Global Conflict Prevention Pools were merged into a single Conflict Prevention Pool. This development was symbolic of Africa losing some of the status it achieved during the Blair government. In 2009, emergency cuts worsened because of a poor exchange rate for the UK sterling swept away some goodwill built up through Britain's investment in this field. In 2015, a Conflict, Stability, and Security Fund (CSSF) under the direction of the National Security Council took over management of these funds.

Many of the gravest national security threats originate not in strong states, but in states marked by poverty, fragility, and weakness as found in parts of Africa. The Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition's efforts to build on this and create a new stabilisation and reconstruction force are therefore relevant to Africa (and especially Afghanistan). Aligning aid with security brought new challenges, such as integrating poverty reduction and security within a framework for defence. With the creation of the National Security Council, regional analysis, including of Africa, has featured less.

On 23 June 2016 the UK voted to leave the EU. This has implications globally, including for Africa. There was some short-term impact, particularly on currencies that were already volatile, such as the South African Rand.

UK officials have begun to review Britain's international partnerships, including in Africa. Although South Africa, Kenya, and Nigeria are likely to become even more important in UK foreign policy because of trade, other African countries are likely to suffer given Britain's limited resources and capacity. The UK will be preoccupied with negotiating its exit from the EU, and this will result in de-prioritisation of Africa. The senior cabinet appointments in 2016 of British prime minister, Theresa May, in trade, defence, international development, and foreign affairs did not have a track record on Africa. Even the junior minister for Africa, Tobias Ellwood, had a Middle East rather than an Africa pedigree and African diplomats in London felt he neglected sub-Saharan Africa in preference for the Middle East and North Africa. Following the UK elections in June 2017, Ellwood was replaced by Rory Stewart, as a joint FCO and DFID junior minister with area responsibility for Africa. Like Ellwood, Stewart lacked Africa background, but appointing him jointly responsible for Africa at DFID and FCO will encourage policy coherence—and is also an experiment in how to bring the FCO and DFID closer. It also though signals that with a hung parliament following the 2017 elections—UK trade ambitions for Africa had to be scaled back. With less than 5% of Britain's trade deficit tied to Africa, the continent is not likely to be near the top of the UK government's current preoccupations.

There also is a danger that, without strong advocates at the senior level in the May administration, resources and thinking on Africa will be further hollowed as Europe and parts of Asia, the Middle East, and the USA and Canada are prioritised (see Hamdy and Thabet in this volume). There were some Africa surprises during the 2016–17 government of Theresa May. She committed to holding the May 2017 Somalia conference in London and her Chancellor Phillip Hammond visited South Africa in late 2016. More surprising was that her foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, visited Ethiopia, Gambia, Kenya, Liberia, Uganda, Somalia, and Nigeria in 2017. Liam Fox, the Secretary of State for International Trade visited South Africa and Mozambique in September 2017—the most visits in Africa by a senior UK government official in many years.

Overall though, political interest in Africa has measurably declined. The party manifestos of both Labour and the Conservatives for the 2017 elections hardly specify Africa: the Conservatives, dropped their reference to Zimbabwe (in their previous manifesto) but do recommit to 0.7% of national income for international development but allow for changing the rules of definition on how that money is allocated.

Still, Brexit could provide the UK with opportunities regarding Africa. Liberated from the EU's Economic Partnership (EPA) constraints, the UK with little extra effort could open up its markets to African trade. For simplicity, UK officials are looking for future agreements that closely resemble the EPAs but while this might work with South Africa (UK is a major importer of South African wine and fruit), it is unlikely to be so straightforward in countries like Nigeria and Tanzania that are unhappy with the EPAs and want advocate greater import protectionism to enhance their industrialisation ambitions. EPAs may be a good place to start negotiations but are not templates in themselves.

In an environment of declining risk appetite by banks towards Africa, post Brexit, the UK could also seek to increase its financial services and FDI in Africa. It could also continue to boost its trade facilitation efforts, aid for trade and project finance. This requires strategic thought by UK government agencies and partnership with the private sector and NGOs and think-tanks. Even though the UK is leaving the EU, through the EU, its membership of the G7/8 and G20 and the Commonwealth, it could still feed into international thinking about Africa's future. Success remains moving the discourse away from just a Europe focus on migration to one on innovation, opportunity, and partnership.

In September 2017 the British government pledged in a position paper to continue to support EU military operations and sanctions after Brexit. The paper also calls for the exchange of classified information to support foreign policy, the reciprocal exchange of foreign policy experts and military personnel, and the shared provision of consular services in third countries where either the EU or the UK lack resources. Boris Johnson for example agreed to a UK diplomat in 2017 being stationed out of the European External Action Service office in Ndjamena, Chad. The Sahel is likely to become an increasingly important region for EU-UK diplomatic and security cooperation. There is no explicit suggestion in the position paper that some of the UK aid budget would be distributed through the EU, but in the context of negotiations on a new EU development budget after 2020 this is likely. At present, the UK contributes 15% of the EU overseas aid budget, and the paper calls for continued UK collaboration and alignment in development policy and programming. The UK contributes to several EU military programmes, including those countering migration from Libya and piracy off Somalia.

The biggest single impediment to improving bilateral relations with African states remain visas and with the Conservatives in their 2017 party manifesto committed to significantly reducing migration to the UK—deep thinking will need to be made on this. When President Kenyatta of Kenya called on Theresa May at No.10 Downing Street (office of the prime minister), a key agenda item for him was that the British issued visas in Nairobi (currently they are issued in South Africa). In 2017 only two sub-Saharan African countries are visa free for the UK—Namibia and Botswana.

## Conclusion

The rise of the UK's Africa policy arguably was aid-focused and culminated in the anti-climax of the Commission for Africa, with the third term of the Labour government seeing a degree of retrenchment in Africa policy.

The Conservative-led coalition government that followed, and its Conservative successor, pursued a more clearly business promotion strategy, with Nigeria, Kenya, and Somalia becoming strategic priorities for the UK.

Africa represents a means by which the UK can enhance its international ranking and a source of strategic and economic interests that are important, though not vital. It has further been argued that these interests have not disappeared but rather were masked by the approach taken by Labour ministers and government officials, which was to conceive of Africa as essentially a development/humanitarian problem (as well as a migration problem). This in turn led these ministers and officials to shape policy in a way that gave prominence to the DFID, which marginalised the FCO and prevented Britain from owning up to the fact that it has strategic interests in Africa—or at the very least made owning up to this fact a taboo subject. The shaping of policy reflected the readiness of UK politicians to respond to British NGOs, the media, and public opinion on Africa. Under the Conservatives there was a more openly mercantilist policy; according to then Africa minister James Duddridge: "[it] is in our enlightened national interest to promote prosperity and security on the Africa continent. We need our partners to be stable, prosperous and secure."[42] Post Brexit, the key question will be whether the UK has the human and financial resources to really engage comprehensively with Africa, or will choose a small number of strategic partners and greatly deepen its engagement with only them. Without the EU, burden-sharing is less available, although the UN, the Commonwealth, G7 and G20, and NATO offer some scope for multilateralism. What is sure is that UK Africa policy will in the future have an even more explicit emphasis on UK commercial and security strategic interests.

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CHAPTER 7

# Africa and Portugal

*Clara Carvalho*

## Introduction[1]

This chapter focuses on Africa and Portugal's relations in the past few decades and illuminates the historical roots as well as the constraints of this relationship. In defining their relationship, the chapter address the Cold War period and its aftermath; the African dimension of Portuguese foreign policy; and the role of cooperation policies of the Community of Portuguese-Language Countries (CPLP) in the new economic diplomacy, with the CPLP seen as an effective forum for implementing economic and development and the main driver of Africa and Portugal's relations among countries.

Portugal's relationship with Africa is viewed as important to the country and is thus one of the pillars of Portugal's foreign policy. After 1975, when the country accomplished a quick decolonisation process on the aftermath of the anti-colonial wars and the 1974 revolution, Portugal was forced to redesign its foreign policy, owing to the decolonisation drive in Africa and Europe's integration-led processes. Thus, Portugal's foreign policy articulates three geopolitical axes: Europe's integration and the formation of the European Economic Commission (EEC) in 1986; the country's integration in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the role of the

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_7

organisation after the ending of the Warsaw Pact in 1991 following the dissolution of the Soviet Union; and the creation of the CPLP organisation.[2] The discussion takes in account the particular role of the Portuguese-speaking African Countries (hereafter PALOP) in the CPLP.

Portuguese foreign policy in Africa has since 1974 been based on bilateral agreements, almost exclusively directed to PALOP, marked by three aspects: aid and cooperation; trade and economy; and political mediation. Portugal is currently seen as the main interlocutor in PALOP, followed by Angola and Mozambique. These three countries thus serve as the main facilitators and intermediaries for countries (such as Morocco and Turkey) seeking to strengthen their engagement and relations with Africa. However, the CPLP is viewed as an awkward regional forum, since it is represented by Angola and Brazil as the major emerging powers, but not its principal drivers.

## *Cold War Relations with PALOP Countries*

The Cold War—the confrontation between the two superpowers, the United States (USA) and the Soviet Union—had a significant effect on most of Africa's countries, forcing them to choose their alliances. Lusophone African countries played a special role within this theatre of operations. Portugal was the last European country to conduct an effective colonial administrative policy in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, which gave rise to the intra- and inter-state wars that were endured by Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique between 1961 and 1974. Portugal's precipitous departure from its colonies was brought about by the April 1974 Portuguese military coup in Lisbon, which ended Portugal's 48-year dictatorship and prompted the country's exit from Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Angola and Mozambique, the main Southern African countries, turned then into the stage of the most violent proxy wars fought in sub-Saharan Africa.

The United States had a dubious position towards the nationalist movements, as they signed an agreement with Portugal regarding its utilisation of a security military base in Azores in 1944. This agreement was later instrumental in opening an avenue for a subsequent policy in support of anti-colonialist and nationalist movements in Angola particularly, which was implemented by the John F. Kennedy administration in the USA. This policy further found expression as the US position within the United Nations (UN), and their vote to deal with the violent reaction of Portuguese authorities to the first nationalist clash that occurred in Luanda's civil prison in February 1961 after its citizens invaded the prison to free political prisoners, and later the government reaction to the UPA (Union of the People of Angola) attack on farmers in the Congo province in March the same year. This move by the USA led to the first diplomatic tensions between Washington and Lisbon.[3] The USA also supported some of the main leaders of the nationalist movements, particularly Eduardo Mondlane from Mozambique, a protégé of the Swiss mission who held a PhD from Northwestern University and worked in the UN. However, the USA soon turned to other concerns and privileged the maintenance of political and commercial relations with Portugal over supporting anti-colonial movements. These interests included the maintenance of the Azores base that proved to be strategic during past Cold War episodes, such as the Berlin and Cuban crises, and the Yom Kippur War between Egypt and Israel in the 1950s, and the Vietnam War of the 1960s, all of which "outweighed concerns with African developments and the rhetoric of anti-colonialism that emerged in the late 1950s and the early 1960s".[4] In commercial terms, the USA was one of Angola's largest oil-trading partners in the early 1970s: private US businesses in Luanda included Texaco and Mobil during the period of Portuguese administration. Those businesses continued after the independence, despite the political opposition of the USA to the USSR and its allies, namely Cuba, that supported the ruling party, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).[5] Other countries involved in Angola's oil trade after independence followed the same neutrality policy: these were the United Kingdom's (UK) British Petroleum; Germany's Diminex; and Brazil's Petrobras.[6] Before its independence, Angola churned out 278,000 barrels of oil per day amounting to a total of $2.5 million. The USA had a $600 million investment in Angola in its Chevron oil company between 1975 and 1985.

The nationalist wars fought in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique were a perfect stage for negotiating the generous support of the Soviet Union and its allies. Besides the strong support given to nationalist movements by the Eastern bloc countries before the independences of Lusophone African countries, their intervention was particularly relevant in Mozambique and Angola which immediately plunged into civil war after the Portuguese administration exited. Both civil wars were fuelled by the Cold War superpowers and their proxy wars, which exacerbated violence and intra- and inter-state wars. Although the USA and Soviet Russia did not get directly involved in supporting these movements, they aided the proxy wars. In Angola, for example, the Soviets were supporting the MPLA, while the USA supported the National Union for the Total

Independence of Angola (UNITA) by aiding South Africa in its fight against the MPLA. After independence, the revolutionary parties that have been appointed as the new governments of these two countries engaged in devastating wars powered by South Africa. For Mozambique, the war was with both South Africa and Rhodesia. In Angola, confrontations between the MPLA, UNITA, and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA); and in Mozambique, confrontations between the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), spiralled into civil war. These movements engaged in tacit partnerships with their allies, particularly South Africa with its US allegiance. Cuba gained the support of the Soviet Union,[7] and the Cuban army's military support and intervention were decisive in levering MPLA forces against both UNITA and the South African army, which invaded Angola in 1975 and 1976.

The end of the Cold War brought long-sought relief for both countries. Mozambique accepted the mediation of the Community of Sant'Egidio, an Italian organisation, which culminated a peace agreement between the governmental forces of FRELIMO and the rebel army, RENAMO signed in 1992 after the intervention of UN forces. In Angola, the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in 1987–88, where the MPLA army supported by the Cuban forces confronted the UNITA and the South African armies, was decisive to decide the fate of civil war. Cuba retired from Angola only two years after that conflict, and a peace agreement was signed between MPLA and UNITA in 1991. However, soon afterwards, civil war erupted again and continued unabated for nine years, ending with the death of UNITA's leader, Jonas Savimbi, in February 2002.[8]

Patrick Chabal, editor of the first comprehensive work dedicated to postcolonial Lusophone Africa,[9] identifies the historical similarities among the five Portuguese-speaking African countries derived from a common colonial experience, nationalist struggles, and later the decolonisation period. In continental countries that rose to power after experiencing an armed struggle, there are similarities among the victory movements, such as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) (party of revolutionary African hero Amilcar Cabral) in Guinea-Bissau, the MPLA in Angola, and FRELIMO in Mozambique having emerged from the shared experiences of fighting a common enemy and seeking international support. The anti-colonial struggle was played out at different levels, including creating a sense of national unity that involved the mobilisation of rural populations and motivating them to fight alongside the otherwise socially differentiated leaders of these movements. This mobilisation implied maintaining an armed struggle that aligned with the objectives of the political movement, and managing the internal organisation of these movements while engaging in international diplomacy. Diplomatic advances were the only way of gaining support from other countries, and from both the Western and Eastern blocs, as well as recognition from the UN.

Owing to the common historical origins of Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique, political similarities were quite apparent. In these three countries, decolonisation occurred because of protracted conflicts, with similar structural consequences. The mass movements of populations due to the authoritarian nature of the governments, and uncontrolled spread of weapons, were quite common. The political issues of all three countries were similar: rebel movements entwined with politics. In each of these three countries, the ruling party established itself as the centralising element, seeking to control the state apparatus as well as the national economy. In these three countries, the state systematically furthered its implementation of violent measures to gain control over the opposition and force it to submit to government rule.

Observations made by Chabal underscore the alleged peculiarities of the construction of the independent state in the PALOP countries as another example of how the postcolonial state in Africa tended to become patrimonial and centralist at a violent, repressive, and politically fragile time. In this sense, the three continental Lusophone countries—Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique—are not distinguishable from other neighbouring states.[10] This reflection launched a debate on the similarities of the five Lusophone African countries as independent states, indicating the main identities and geostrategic factors that would prevail until the end of the twentieth century. Chabal highlights the geostrategic differences between the two states of Southern Africa, the common characteristics of Guinea-Bissau and the neighbouring countries that integrated the region once known as Senegambia, and the two creole archipelagos that are close to other social constructions derived from plantation economies and colonial slavery.[11]

### *PALOP Countries in the Post-Cold War Period*

At the end of the Cold War, African countries entered a new era of confrontation and internal scrutiny by the West. The structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) imposed on most African countries in return for assistance from the international financial institutions—the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (see Jinadu in this volume)—gave very little choice to these countries regarding which aspects of the SAPs to accept or reject. African governments were obliged to succumb to economic liberalisation and introduce multiparty election systems. African countries no longer had the protection afforded to them by external superpowers in securing potential allies in the international fora, and were subjected to neopatrimonialism and clientelism as well as being obliged to comply with the demands of international institutions, even if those demands were not applied in a systematic way.[12] Such tendencies resulted in disastrous human rights atrocities, with the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives in Angola and Mozambique.

Another known failure and consequence of the SAPs programme was the liberalisation of the international market and African countries signing of trade agreements linked to the new technologies of the West in the absence of its own industrialisation programmes amid the exportation of raw materials, which resulted in the rapid decay of most African economies. Illegal trade in most African countries also grew rapidly among the populations, who tried to avoid the adherence to tariff settings in trade that the liberalisation of the market brought to the fore. The results of illegal trade further eroded Africa's economies, since goods could be acquired illegally in almost all the continent's economies. These factors affected almost every PALOP country, Guinea-Bissau being the most obvious example, drowning as it did in a process of state decay, and immersed in illegal traffic of first arms and then drugs.[13] Of the five PALOP countries, only Angola, thanks to the petroleum revenues, could avoid intervention by the IMF and to be subject to a structural adjustment programme. More than four decades of independence, and two and a half decades since the end of the Cold War, the political situation in the five PALOP countries became quite differentiated. Angola is trying to affirm its status as a regional power; Mozambique is seeking for the dividends of newly discovered offshore gas; Guinea-Bissau is struggling with problems of legitimacy in a state sunk in political instability and military patronage, always postponing the reform of the security sector; while the two archipelagos—São Tomé and Príncipe and particularly Cape Verde, have maintained their posture and consolidated state structures into multiparty systems.

The twenty-first century presented different challenges for African countries, especially those from the PALOP group. With the end of colonialism and apartheid, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), created in 1963 and later transformed into the African Union (AU) in 2002, was geared towards enhancing diplomatic relations to improve economic cooperation for the African continent. A new paradigm of cooperation and intervention emerged, as the European Union was no longer the sole main partner with African countries. Newly emerging powers such as China, with its appetite for fuel commodities for its manufacturing industries, formed new partnerships with African states. As Maurizio Carbone recognises, China's interest in Africa has certainly been driven by economic interests, with the aim of securing raw materials, gaining access to energy sources, and finding a market for its manufactured goods. This interest, moreover, has had an important political dimension. By presenting itself as "the largest developing country in the world not only has China been able to project an identity of being a post-colonial actor, closer to the needs of developing countries, but it has also actively sought to gain African support for an alternative development model".[14] In line with the logic of its foreign policy, China has pursued a strategy of non-interference in human rights and democratic governance. This has meant a rejection of any type of conditionality.

China's role as a non-interfering development partner in Africa's politics also has presented an opportunity for African countries with a commodity surplus to settle their international debt with the IMF, and improve their poor infrastructure of roads, railways, and ports. Angola emerged as an initial main African partner to China, which became an essential associate in Angola's post-conflict reconstruction programme during the 1990s.[15] Today, China is the number one commercial partner of Angola in oil exports and in infrastructure development as both a funder and a supplier of manpower. China has established a presence in the other PALOP countries as well, especially Mozambique as an importer of Maputo's timber, agricultural, and fisheries products, while exporting manufactured goods and machinery. The Chinese government has positioned itself in Mozambique by providing aid relief and building infrastructure, particularly roads.[16]

A new paradigm of cooperation and intervention has emerged, as the European Union (EU) is no longer the sole main partner of African countries.[17] This turn on diplomatic and commercial relations was announced by the return of the Europe-Africa summits, particularly the one held in Lisbon in 2007, where the presence of Robert Mugabe obliged to a diplomatic compromise with the UK delegation. Above all, it is expressed in the new expression adopted in most Africa-Europe *fora* of "Trade not Aid". Both continents are seeking for a new paradigm on their relations, one where the Cold War or its aftermaths have long passed behind.[18] The time is to engage in trade agreements and migration issues.

### *The African Dimension of Portuguese Foreign Policy*

To understand the particularities of Portugal's relations with African countries, it is important to bear in mind its history, and its small dimension both as an economic partner and as a political actor. Africa has been a major driver of Portugal's foreign policy for a long time, even if the relations with African countries have long been based on Portugal's colonial past and its aftermath. Portuguese external policy was redesigned after 1974, the year that marks both the end of the dictatorial regime and the colonial policy supported by it. The new external policy was thereafter designed according to two founding premises, decolonisation and European integration, and articulated into three geopolitical axes. First, the European axis became a priority following the integration of Portugal in the EU in 1986. Second, the Atlantic axis subsumed in the participation of the country in NATO, of which is a founding member, making the latter a permanent major player in Portuguese international policy. The last one is the so called the "Lusophone axis", covering the design of the former colonial empire to include the Lusophone African countries and Brazil. This third axis finds its best expression in the diplomatic integration of Portugal into the CPLP, the community of the Portuguese-speaking countries.[19] The African dimension of Portuguese foreign policy drives from a broader aspiration to become a favourite mediator between the EU and Africa. Portugal has also signed important trade agreements with some Mediterranean countries, particularly Algeria, a major gas supplier to the country, and Morocco; with Nigeria, a petrol supplier, and with South Africa, where a large Portuguese community lives. However, the most important intervenient in Portuguese foreign policy are the members of the PALOP group. Building up a new relation after a troubled colonial past was a major challenge that, from the Portuguese side, was constructed around the cooperation policy and the political and trade relations within the CPLP.

### *Evolution of Portuguese Cooperation Policy*

Portuguese cooperation policy was focused, since its early beginnings in 1976, in the PALOP countries and in East Timor, all former colonies. The cooperation strategy was not obvious from the early stages and can be divided in four main phases.[20] The first phase, from 1976 to 1990, represents a period of loose interest in cooperation and launching the earlier efforts to engage in a cooperation relationship with the former Portuguese African colonies. The main milestone was the entry of Portugal into the European Community in 1986, which led to a turnover in the government interest in cooperation policy. The accession of Portugal to the EU in the late 1980s obliged the country to rethink its relations with Africa and, particularly, with the PALOP countries, and allowed the country to enrol in a more visible position in the international arena.

The second phase, from 1991 to 2002, marked the country's entry into the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) from OECD as a donor. It was the strengthening of Portugal's economy in the 1980s and 1990s that allowed the country to integrate into the DAC in 1991.[21] After that, Portugal's relations with African countries took a turning point, and expressed both economic and political interests. Portugal's first document of the strategic direction of cooperation policy was designed when the Fund for Economic Cooperation was created in 1994, followed by the formation of the Portuguese Agency for Development Assistance in 1999. Being a small country, with a total gross domestic product (GDP) of $199 billion and a total population of 10,000,000 in 2015,[22] Portugal had to engage in soft-power strategies, expressed both through the cooperation policies and engagement in a new regional organisation—the DAC—as well as the CPLP.

The third phase, 2003–11, represents the consolidation of Portuguese cooperation and is distinguished by the creation of a strategic vision for the sector in 2005 and the consolidation of the Portuguese Institute for Development Cooperation (IPAD), which sets criteria and indicators in accord with OECD-DAC parameters for effective aid in line with the priorities defined by the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The fourth phase, from 2012 to the present, marks a period of recession and lesser investment in cooperation and development aid, due to the implementation of an adjustment programme in Portugal that entails major financial cuts in government expenditure.[23]

Portuguese cooperation and aid policies, focused in Lusophone African countries and East Timor, allowed the country, otherwise a small donor, to have a greater impact in recipient countries. The different cooperation programmes have also favoured a sectoral approach, with training provided in education, health, justice, finances, and security and defence. These programmes involve a multitude of actors, such as ministries and public institutions, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), parliament, courts, municipalities, universities, representatives of churches, foundations, business associations, and migrant associations.[24] Cooperation agreements favour bilateral agreements with recipient countries. It is noticeable that Cape Verde and Mozambique received over 60% of Portuguese bilateral official development assistance (ODA) between 2010 and 2014, and were the main recipients for aid cooperation.[25]

Ever since the 1980s, the country's role has been thought of as a facilitator in Europe-Africa relations, in an extended form. The Portuguese government has on several occasions promoted this international exposure in its participation, such as at two Europe-Africa summits during the Portuguese presidency of the EU, in 2000 in Cairo, and in 2007 in Lisbon.[26] However, the financial crisis endured in the country since 2011 led to a major turnover in cooperation policies and a new policy in development aid opted for an integration with different partnerships and with other donors. The cooperation policy is changing to delegated cooperation projects, taking advantage of past experiences over a lengthy period and of the linguistic and institutional similarities between the Lusophone countries. Portugal's cooperation projects tend to be more participatory and integrated, and reunite different partnerships, following the European model of cooperation. As already noted by Patrícia Magalhães Ferreira, Fernanda Faria, and Fernando Jorge Cardoso, the focus expressed in the political and diplomatic role that Portugal plays in Africa, and particularly in the politics of PALOP's least developed countries (LDCs) and small-island developing states (SIDS),[27] recognises the important modalities of fragile states; respect for security and development; and submission to the rule of law and governance. Cooperation policies have been an important soft-power instrument for a small country such as Portugal, with the ambition to play a role in Europe-Africa relations, and are consistently designed according to human rights principles.[28]

However, the cooperation sector has been one of the most affected by the financial crisis that Portugal endures since the beginning of this decade. From 2010 to 2014, Portuguese public development aid dropped from 0.29% of the Gross National Income (GNI) to 0.19% of the GNI. In absolute terms the effect is even worse: from €490 million to €324 million in the same period. The internal composition of development aid funding is also changing. The lion's share was allocated to "tied aid"—aid in the form of conditional loans obliging to the acquisition of donor-country goods and services—representing between 65% and 75% of bilateral aid from Portugal over the period 2010–14.[29] The main receiving countries of the tied aid during this period were Cape Verde and Mozambique.

In privileging tied aid, Portugal is following the model the OECD and the international community would ultimately take. This turnover meant, for every OECD country, the abandonment of direct aid support while leveraging foreign development investment, through the funding of infrastructure projects, food security, and basic social support such as health and education. Foreign direct investment (FDI) has become the new norm for donors, with funding linked to development projects, and accounts for over 40% of all external financing in developing and emerging economies, largely surpassing development aid.[30] Funding sources are becoming more complex in developing countries, including in Lusophone Africa. In most African countries, emigrant remittances have largely surpassed ODA funding, including international investment and internal resources. Portugal's cooperation continues to play its role as the country's main soft-power instrument, adapted to its different partners owing to its diminishing funding.

### *The CPLP: Building a Community*

The Community of Portuguese-Language Countries was launched in Lisbon, on 17 July 1996. At its formation, the CPLP included the countries of Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, and São Tomé and Príncipe. These were later joined by East Timor in 2002 and Equatorial Guinea in 2014. The official presentation of the organisation boasted displays of memorabilia with endless rows of statesmen, including the heads of state of all country members along with the Portuguese president and prime minister centred as representatives of the host country. The memory of that day is present in the portrait of the statesman taken on the rooftop of the Centro Cultural de Belém, a major congress building erected in the 1980s. The building embodies the renewal of Portuguese identity as a modern state integrated into the EU after overcoming a long-term dictatorial regime and a colonial war that ensued against nationalist movements led in three African countries—Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau—and a revolutionary and pro-Soviet period between 1974 and 1975. The scenario surrounding the portrait of the CPLP statesmen is the impressive Jeronimo Monastery, symbol of the Portuguese expansion of the sixteenth century, and the Empire Square, designed for the Universal Exhibition of 1940 to accentuate the colonial domination. These three historical moments of Portugal are expressive of the constraints that underpinned the creation of the CPLP. The first constraint was Europe's early expansion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, based on trade and slavery. Followed soon after, was the colonial domination of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and subsequently the emergence of a new political and economic order that welcomed supranational organisations. The countries that subscribed to the new organisation—the CPLP—could attest and lay claim to their victimhood of these different historical periods. The launching of the CPLP was, above all, a diplomatic success and the symbol of a new pattern in international relations between the former colonisers and the colonised, as well as between Portugal and Brazil as the major economies in the CPLP and its main drivers.

The creation of CPLP in 1996 represented an opportunity for Angola-Portugal relations in the form of a long-term project (also including Brazil), but faced several constraints, mainly from Angola. Angola-Portugal relations have a long history of political and economic interests mixed with a history of colonial malaise. In 1975, almost half a million people holding a Portuguese passport abandoned Angola, to escape Angola's civil war after having their life there. Other nationalities, such as Brazilians, white South Africans, and Americans also left the country, though today the descendants of the abandoned countries aim to have a stake and a role in Angolan economic development. For a long period, the Portuguese socialist and communist parties were also fighting for their influence within the Angolan government. The public support that some sectors of the Portuguese society gave to UNITA was seen with suspicion by the ruling MPLA government.[31] Particularly, the long-term encouragement of UNITA by Mario Soares' family, the founder of the socialist party, remains unforgotten by the MPLA.[32] As a result, major state visits by Portugal have been sparse since the civil war began in the 1980s, with such visits not resuming until in the 1990s, when the social-democratic government took the forefront in helping to negotiate the Bicesse peace agreement, which was immediately broken by UNITA leaders after the 1992 elections gave a clear victory to the MPLA. Also, the CPLP agreement was only signed after Soares stepped down as Portugal's president in 1996.

The CPLP received its backing from the Commonwealth and the Organisation de la Francophonie (OIF). However, there are significant differences between these three organisations emanating from their historical settings, particularly driving from the smaller economy represented by Portugal, when compared with the role of France in the OIF and the UK in the Commonwealth. The CPLP was designed as an organisation based on parity, in which every member had the same prerogatives.

The major players in the CPLP are Brazil, Portugal, and Angola, in this order. From this point of view, Portuguese foreign policy, driving from a more limited economic partner, is inhibited from yielding to paternalistic temptations over the former colonies—an attitude that seems to run through the practices of other former colonisers. However, CPLP is also a looser organisation that is still struggling to find its role (Fig. 7.1).

For almost two decades, the CPLP, which is headquartered in Lisbon, has acted mostly as a diplomatic forum. Its relevance is mostly felt in Portugal, as it embodies the country's aspirations to re-centre its economic and diplomatic axis and have a more prominent voice within the EU in

The Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) is the privileged multilateral forum for deepening mutual friendship and cooperation among its members. Created on July 17, 1996, the CPLP enjoys legal personality and is endowed with financial autonomy. The Organization's general objectives are:

. Political-diplomatic coordination among its member states, in particular to strengthen its presence on the international scene;

. Cooperation in all fields, including education, health, science and technology, defense, agriculture, public administration, communications, justice, public safety, culture, sport and media;

. The materialization of projects of promotion and diffusion of the Portuguese language.

The CPLP is governed by the following principles:

. Sovereign equality of the member states;

. Non-interference in the internal affairs of each state;

. Respect for national identity;

. Reciprocity of treatment;

. Primate of peace, democracy, rule of law, human rights and social justice;

. Respect for territorial integrity;

. Promotion of development;

. Promotion of mutually advantageous cooperation.

**Fig. 7.1** Objectives of the Community of Portuguese-Language Countries
Source: Adapted from CPLP objectives (https://www.cplp.org/id-2763.aspx, accessed 28 May 2017)

relation to Southern countries. Portuguese foreign policy was subsumed within the group of Portuguese-speaking countries, foreseeing the development of a strategic triangle among Portugal, Angola, and Brazil allowing the intersection of three continents and two sides of the Atlantic, yet also involving the EU. From its beginnings, the CPLP was a strategic move in Portuguese diplomacy. Today, Portugal is a facilitator of contacts with the Portuguese-speaking African countries, engaged in triangulation to strengthen its actions in Africa, for instance with Morocco and Turkey.[33]

Since 2012 the CPLP has become the perfect framework for launching a more proactive economic policy. CPLP countries are integrated into seven economic regional areas distributed over four continents (Fig. 7.2). The Portuguese government has engaged in various actions aiming to promote external investment and partnerships within the CPLP, therefore enhancing a new role for the organisation. The relationship between


**Fig. 7.2** CPLP members' integration in regional organisations
Source: Author adapted from AIP, Portugal: Regional Economic Markets and the Relation between the Community of Portuguese-Language Countries (CPLP) (AIP—Associação Industrial Portuguesa). Confederação Empresarial. *Portugal—Mercados Económicos Regionais e o Relacionamento entre os Países da CPLP* (Lisboa: AIP, 2014)

Portugal and Lusophone African countries is increasingly based on economic interests and inserted into the larger framework of the CPLP. To understand this relationship, it is useful to look at recent CPLP data before approaching each African case study.

It is estimated that the Portuguese-speaking world has about 258,000,000 inhabitants and integrates different economic regions comprising about 1.8 billion people. Trade agreements within the CPLP also contribute to other regional organisations, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) (Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Angola and Mozambique) (see Fig. 7.2).

The total economic value of the CPLP in 2012 was 3.67% of the world's GDP, and 2.1% of the world trade ($379 billion).[34] Most relevant, CPLP countries have access to 13.53% of the world drinkable water,[35] and seven of its nine members are exploiting hydrocarbon deposits. However, CPLP represents a community with deep structural imbalances. São Tomé and Príncipe, East Timor, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau represented in 2012 only 1.37% of the community's population and 0.17% of its GDP. In 2012, Mozambique, despite representing only 0.56% of the community GDP, held almost 10% of the community's population, second only to Brazil, which represented 77% of the total population of the CPLP.[36]

Intra-CPLP trade can be fundamentally enhanced by three engines: Brazil, Angola, and Portugal. Brazil is the country with greater relevance in the community, as Angola is for the PALOP group, exporting oil as its single largest product. Portugal, on the other hand, is the country that stands out as having more exports within the CPLP. A closer look at each of the CPLP individual member states will highlight their main differences.

## Portugal

The regional weight of the CPLP members influenced the right-wing Portuguese government of Passos Coelho (2011–15) to institute a policy of "economic Lusophony"—that is, investing in CPLP countries and facilitating investment from those countries.[37] The policy sought to improve the Portuguese economy during a period of structural adjustment through investing in alternative markets other than the EU, which represented by far the major import and export destination of the country, and thereby leverage Portugal's role as mediator between the EU and other regional organisations such as the Southern Common Market (MERCOSUL), SADC, ECCAS, and ECOWAS. Portugal's strategy was a continuation of its foreign affairs policy of privileging CPLP countries while promoting external investment and boosting the economic sector. The investments helped increase trade between Portugal and other members of the CPLP before 2011. In 2008, the CPLP provided 2.77% of the total value of the products imported by Portugal, a figure that rose to 5.55% in 2012.[38]

The four major trading partners of Portugal and destinations of Portuguese exports remained constant between 2008 and 2012: Spain, Germany, France, and Angola. The relative weight of Angola, France, and Germany has been constant in Portuguese exports, but Spain has been consistently losing relief while China and Brazil are growing. Portuguese exports to CPLP states Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, and Mozambique present the most relevant figures. This period witnessed a change in Portugal's trade partners within the CPLP, as Angola overtook Brazil, from a representation of only 0.65% of total imports from Portugal in 2008 to 3.11% in 2012. In turn, Brazil represented 2.38% of Portuguese imports in 2012, an increase from 2.06% in 2008.[39] During the same period, and mainly enhanced by the Angolan market, the volume of domestic exports to CPLP countries increased from 8.52% in 2008 to 9.84% in 2012.[40]

Rising petrol prices, together with the discovery of offshore gas in Mozambique and exploitable offshore petrol in São Tomé and Eastern Timor, as well as blossoming Brazilian oil exploitation, led the Portuguese Prime Minister Pedro Passos Coelho in 2014 to enthusiastically declare that the CPLP could become an "economic and energetic Lusophone space".[41] This statement proved to be both precocious and erroneous. Global oil prices have fallen sharply since 2014, which has led to significant revenue shortfalls in many energy-exporting nations. Angola and Brazil have since plunged into an economic and political crisis that is also reflective of Portuguese trade with both countries. The imports from oil-producers' African countries have been decreasing since 2014, reflecting the price fluctuation in the market. The exception is Equatorial Guinea that entered the CPLP group in 2014 (see Table 7.1).

## Angola

Angola has an economy strongly based on oil reserves estimated in 2011 at 10.5 million barrels per day. The government had led some efforts to diversify the economy and avoid the so call "Dutch disease", but oil

**Table 7.1** Imports to Portugal of assets and services from Africa, 2011–15 (€ millions)

| | *2011* | *2012* | *2013* | *2014* | *2015* | *Percentage change, 2011–15* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Africa | 4849 | 5935 | 6530 | 4913 | 4044 | –2.5 |
| Angola | 1301 | 1925 | 2750 | 1798 | 1337 | 7.6 |
| Algeria | 929 | 1041 | 822 | 910 | 716 | –4.9 |
| Equatorial Guinea | 107 | 339 | 189 | 142 | 221 | 51.1 |
| Morocco | 165 | 187 | 179 | 188 | 211 | 6.5 |
| South Africa | 135 | 115 | 147 | 149 | 152 | 4.0 |
| Nigeria | 1533 | 896 | 640 | 530 | 105 | –41.9 |
| Mozambique | 79 | 75 | 125 | 95 | 90 | 8.0 |
| Egypt | 97 | 146 | 99 | 90 | 90 | 2.3 |
| Cape Verde | 75 | 72 | 87 | 79 | 72 | –0.3 |
| Tunisia | 33 | 73 | 39 | 33 | 50 | 27.6 |
| São Tomé and Príncipe | 4 | 7 | 9 | 16 | 15 | 41.5 |
| Guinea-Bissau | 6 | 9 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8.3 |

Source: Banco de Portugal

Notes: Average annual growth rate for the period 2011–15

exports have been and consistently remain the main driver of Angola's foreign policy. The country now stands as the first African oil producer, competing with Nigeria, and the fourth largest diamond producer, although the latter only contributes 0.9% of its total GDP. The country has invested deeply in infrastructure, funded through bilateral agreements with China and implemented with both Chinese and Portuguese companies leading the construction sector. The Angolan economic boom since the end of the country's civil war has attracted a high level of foreign investment, with Angola becoming the main target of Portuguese companies and professionals affected by the domestic crisis since 2008. The decline in oil prices has plunged the country into a major economic crisis, though some efforts are being made to make the economy less dependent on oil revenues.[42]

## Mozambique

Mozambique as a CPLP member country is also part of the SADC region, with which the country mainly trades. The country has a strong coal-mining potential based on natural gas and hydroelectricity. Other productive sectors include agriculture, fisheries, tourism, and industry—particularly cement—and furniture, as well as the food and beverage industries. Mozambique is one of the main recipients of international financial assistance in Africa, especially from the World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) Initiative. The country intends to start negotiating the terms of its debt as soon as its gas reserves become exploitable.

## Guinea-Bissau

Guinea-Bissau has been characterised by high and recurrent political instability since its 1998 coup. As mentioned, this small country in West Africa was systematically involved with illicit traffic (first weapons, then drugs) feeding different factions within the army.[43] The separation of the security forces as well as the army and the government have been the major factors contributing to the political instability the country suffered in the past decades. The country has a fragile economy, dependent on agriculture, which accounted for 45% of GDP in 2012[44] and increased to a total of 83.7% of total exports in 2015, almost exclusively represented by cashew nuts.[45] Despite the considerable economic potential of the country in mineral resources, exploitation of these minerals is still limited. This has led Guinea-Bissau to rely heavily on international aid.

## Cape Verde

Cape Verde is the most politically stable of the PALOP countries, a situation that has benefited foreign investment in the archipelago. Its economy is oriented to the service sector, including activities such as trade, transport, communications, hotels, accommodation, banking, and public services, which account for about 72% of GDP as of 2012, and a GDP of $1.9 billion.[46] Agriculture and fisheries account for about 10% of GDP in the same period. In the past decade, tourism has emerged as a strategic activity of Cape Verde. With a population of roughly half a million living in the archipelago, and more than a million as emigrants in Europe and the USA, Cape Verde has developed a double economy. One of the main drivers of Cape Verde's economy is migrant remittances, that account grew steadily just below 10% of the GDP in the period 2013–15, which have helped to finance the current account deficit.[47]

## São Tomé and Príncipe

São Tomé and Príncipe comprises a tiny archipelago home to roughly 190,000 people. The country's export base consists mainly of cocoa and tourism. Tourism has been most responsible for the country's improvements in infrastructures and services in the past decade. The expected exploitation of offshore oil will certainly change the potential of this country.

* * *

As these country portraits show, the CPLP as an economic space comprises unequal partners. This is evident in the asset trade balance between Portugal and CPLP countries, with Angola standing out as the main Portuguese partner within this community. Angola is also the CPLP country that holds the major share of Portuguese imports, mainly in oil, surpassing Brazil in 2012. However, Angola's share has fallen since 2014 due to continued decreases in oil prices. Even if the CPLP is not the "energy space" dreamed of in 2014, it is certainly the major oil provider of its members.

## Conclusion

The new centrality of Africa in Portuguese foreign policy is marked by three milestones: (1) Portuguese accession to the EU in 1986, which obliged the country to redefine its external relations and rethink its role as a mediator with African countries; (2) its entrance into the OECD's Development Assistance Committee in the early 1990s; and (3) the creation of the CPLP in 1996. Although some of these events are coincident with, and have been influenced by, the end of Cold War, the end of the civil wars in both Angola and Mozambique, together with political stabilisation and economic recovery in Portugal since the 1980s, have been the main factors influencing the new dynamism in the relations among the Lusophone countries. As a weak driving economy, Portugal has often been eclipsed by the interests of Brazil in Africa, particularly during the administration of Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva. But the importance of PALOP for the Portuguese economy has led Portugal to give to constant attention to the PALOP countries. Cautious diplomatic action, and constant awareness of misinterpretations in international relations, particularly in relation to Angola, have allowed the continuity of a relationship that is now embedded in trade agreements with Portugal's major partners: Angola, Mozambique, and Cape Verde. Portuguese influence within the CPLP will continue to be effective if the country is able to keep the Lusophone African countries targeted within the EU. This implies a clear double policy, of aid support for more fragile economies such as Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe, while investing in a "trade not aid" strategy with Angola, Mozambique, and Cape Verde.

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PART II

# Bilateral Relations: Non-Traditional Powers

CHAPTER 8

# Africa and Italy's Relations After the Cold War

*Bernardo Venturi*

This chapter provides an in-depth discussion of Italy's political relations with the African continent, largely focusing on the progress, challenges, and prospects of this relationship, and Italy's strategic and diplomatic choices since the end of the Cold War. The chapter also considers Italy's trade and development contributions in Africa through multilateral fora, focusing mainly on the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU), as well as on the development cooperation promoted by Rome in sub-Saharan Africa.

Given Italy's geographical position, the country could be viewed as the main point for convergence between Europe and Africa. Italy's capital city—Rome—is strategically positioned at the centre of the Mediterranean Sea, which could potentially enhance European-African relations. But this geographical advantage has had no real bearing on Rome's relations with Africa, and its relations have instead been limited. Italy's minimalist approach towards Africa to a large extent owes to its awkward engagement with, and disengagement from, the continent when it was forced out of its colonialist engagements with countries including Libya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. Rome lost its colonial control over those territories after the Second World War and only since the 1990s began trying to make amends and re-enter Africa in a partnership based mainly on trade and security-related issues.

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_8

During the decolonisation period, Italy started to establish new regular relations in sub-Saharan Africa, but without investing in a wide diplomatic network, in significant development cooperation, or in systematic support in trade. Italy was deeply involved in the European integration, and in strengthening relations in the Mediterranean region (the Middle East and North Africa [MENA]), without considering the Maghreb region as a continuity of engagements with sub-Saharan Africa.[1] Although Italy's engagement with the continent changed over the decades (1930–90), Africa was never a priority for Rome. Interestingly, the past few years have shown a growing Italian interest towards the African continent. In March 2017, the Italian minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation stated that "Africa is a priority for Italy",[2] at least in reference to development cooperation. This statement made under the direction of Italian president Paolo Gentiloni (since 2016) indicated that Italy's Africa foreign policy was grounded in developmental cooperation as a continuation of the previous government's approach towards Africa, under former Italian president Matteo Renzi (2014–16).

Although both Renzi and Gentiloni have paid lip service to political support for Africa, their development efforts have not outlined the continent as a priority compared to Italy's foreign policy towards the EU for example. However, Italy has been a financial burden to the EU recently, and its fears of being booted out of its European safety net have provided an opportunity for Africa and Italy to foster better relations. Italy's status as a high-income country has diminished over the years, with its total gross domestic product (GDP) the same in 2015 as in 2005, at $1.8 trillion, despite an increase in the interim to as high as $2.3 trillion in 2008, for a total population of 61,000,000 people as of 2015.[3] Long a burden to the EU, Italy has lost 25% of its industrial production since the start of the 2008 financial crisis, with youth unemployment at 20% in 2015.[4]

## Political and Diplomatic Relations: Emerging Interest in Sub-Saharan Africa

Italy was forced out of Africa by the United Nations when it signed the Treaty of Peace in 1947, and in November 1949 the UN General Assembly passed a resolution declaring Libya's independence from Italy, with Libya becoming an independent state in January 1952. In 1970, former Libyan president Muammar Qaddafi expelled the remaining 20,000 Italians from Libya.[5] Italy's foregoing of its colonial past triggered simultaneous political prospects but also misunderstandings, as well as lost opportunities for both Northern Africa and the Horn of Africa.[6] Italy's colonial past was interwoven with much brutality and thus is reminiscent of Italy's expulsion from Libya of the Ottoman empire, which had controlled Libya since 1551. Italy's gaining entry to Libya in the 1930s began with a stronghold of the Roman government that almost immediately began implementing racist practices of class division, as seen with the building of prison camps under a fascist Roman regime where thousands of Libyan people died. Italy's positioning was also focused on the Horn of Africa and there Rome controlled Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia.

The brutality of Rome had caused much division within these countries in the Horn. Italy's National Fascist Party (PNF) demonstrated the country's stronghold over its colonies and the most violent crimes were committed with impunity during the 1930s, when about 50,000 "prisoners" died in Libya. The country was important to Italy and thus the capture of Libya as Rome's "fourth shore" allowed the Italians an expanded trade route area and was seen as a major victory by Italy. Another major factor of guarding over colonial spaces was the fact that Rome could not so easily foresee losing its territories to Germany and France. According to Melvin Page and Penny Sonneberg, Italy's former leader Benito Mussolini, who took power over Italy in October 1922, was the main cause for the endless persecutions of ordinary people within its colonies under the watch of Mussolini's two generals—Pietro Badoglio and Rodolfo Graziani (the latter nicknamed "the Butcher"). The two generals were well-known for their acts of brutality against the ordinary citizens of Libya who did not fit into the Italian classist system. Such acts were conducted within a strategised racist framework and "carried out [under] a ruthless plan, putting 80,000 Libyans in concentration camps, blocking and poisoning wells, building a network of garrisons in troubled areas, bombing villages with mustard gas, killing and confiscating hundreds of thousands of sheep and camels, and constructing a 200-mile barbed wire fence between Libya and Egypt to prevent rebel border crossings".[7] The killings ended only with the capture and execution of the aged rebel leader Umar al-Mukhtar.

On its part, Ethiopia demanded compensation from Italy for the latter's brutality during its colonial years of the 1930s—a total of $25 million in compensation from Rome for the atrocities committed, which ceased only in the lead-up to the signing of the Treaty of Addis Ababa on 5 March 1956, in which Italy agreed to pay $16.3 million to the Ethiopian government.[8] With Italy's signing of the Atlantic Pact in April 1949, which later resulted in the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the country placed its sights on Europe and gave its commitment to the European integration agenda. With Europe uniting, Italy's priorities for Africa somewhat dwindled; during the late 1950s, Europe became Italy's main priority, and thus the latter strengthened its engagement with Europe and with its diaspora community in Latin America, to preserve its transatlantic partnership and good offices in the Mediterranean region.

The 1990s represented a transitional period for Italy, from the so-called First Republic to the Second Republic. Consequently, between 1990 and 1992—due to corruption scandals tied to the bankruptcy of Italy's public finances—Italy discovered that it had neither a foreign policy nor the means to invent a new one.[9] In these years, Mozambique represented the only country for an active and successful Italian foreign policy in sub-Saharan Africa. In Somalia, Italy withdrew from the UN mission in Somalia in 1994, the only country where Rome was contributing through a military mission. However, it had some military failures, for instance the Italian contingent was not able to disarm the clans in its assigned areas, creating asymmetries with the American troops that had to engage also in the Italian sector.

In the Ethiopian-Eritrean relations, Rome was active in assisting with the hosting of the negotiation process, but maintained the role of a "neutral observer", without being able to play a leading role in mediating. In addition, Italy gave unconditional support to the Ethiopian government, a political choice that created a cleavage with the Eritrean government that is still present. Similarly, Rome offered its good offices in the Ethiopian-Eritrean border dispute and to Egypt and Ethiopia for their altercation over the latter's construction of a dam on the Blue Nile. But Italy's efforts to secure an important mediatory role all came to naught.[10]

The second half of the 1990s showed an initially slow increase of Italian interest in sub-Saharan Africa, with different phases linked by the alternation between centre-left and centre-right governments. In between, Foreign Minister Susanna Agnelli—as part of the technocratic government lead by Lamberto Dini (1995–96)—maintained the Italian focus in the Horn of Africa and in Mozambique, without time and strength to open new relations. The centre-right governments of Silvio Berlusconi (1994–95, 2001–06, and 2008–11) changed for the first time some traditional priorities of Italian foreign policy, for instance showing a negative attitude towards the European integrationists.[11] Regarding Africa, Italy's main political priority was a closer relationship with Libya. The North African country was relevant because of migration fluxes to Italy, mainly hailing from sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, in 2008, Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi and Berlusconi signed a cooperation treaty on some issues of mutual interest: Italian compensation related to the colonial period, and Libyan measures to block irregular migration towards Europe and to boost investments in Italian companies. In June 2009, Qaddafi made his first visit to Rome and, one month later, took part in the Group of Eight (G8) summit in L'Aquila while he was also chairman of the African Union (AU).[12]

Among the results of the 2009 G8 summit, the Aquila Food Security Initiative (AFSI) was launched, increasing Italy's aid budget to $50 billion by 2010, half of which was designated to go to African countries. Curiously, Italy decided to increase its budget also in order to avoid criticisms from the countries' non-governmental organisations (NGOs).[13] In the early 2000s, Italy was also involved in the peace process in Sudan as an observer, along with Norway, the United Kingdom (UK), and the United States (USA). Alfredo Mantica, former under-secretary at Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, considered Rome "one of the main supporters of the peace process".[14]

When Romano Prodi (centre-left) became prime minister of Italy for the second time (2006–08), after a short mandate ten years before, he focused on trying to restore the traditional political priorities of the past. Prodi always paid special attention to Africa and had held several bilateral meetings during his previous mandate. Notably, in May 2006, during his first speech at the Italian Senate, he presented Africa as a priority, in particular for development cooperation.[15] Strongly Europeanist, Prodi worked also to promote the Africa-EU summit in March 1999.[16]

After the end of the world's bipolarisation, economic constraints and the "clean hands" scandal related to corruption in the political system that involved the main political parties—also combined to the typical short duration of governments—limited any successful attempts made by Rome of new strategic choices for at least 15 years. A more organised strategy for African engagement has therefore been implemented only since 2013. Even though Italy is Africa's seventh most significant trading partner, the overall impression is that Italy has been late in realising the mutual benefits that could have ensued from a more robust partnership with the continent earlier.[17]

A new phase in Italy's Africa engagement opened with the government led by Prime Minister Enrico Letta (2013–14), and was further enlarged by the subsequent government of Prime Minister Matteo Renzi (2014–16), which has continued under Paolo Gentiloni since. Whether this period could be considered a "new phase" is rooted in the fact that Italy's government administrations from 2013 to 2016 and since have been remarkably different from previous governments under which partial commitment followed rhetoric with some visible action. Previous efforts and appeals to re-engage with Africa were seldom met with any follow-through on the part of Rome.[18] In fact, a series of initiatives relaunched the political role of Italy, its development cooperation, and Italian engagement in Africa's emerging markets. Matteo Renzi was not just the first Italian prime minister to travel sub-Saharan Africa while in office; he also concluded three political missions: in Central-Southern Africa (Angola, Mozambique, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC]), in East Africa (Ethiopia and Kenya), and in West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal). In addition, in March 2016, Italian president Sergio Mattarella visited Cameroon and Ethiopia.

It was also during Renzi's government administration that Italy participated in several international fora dealing with issues of relevance to Africa at the highest level. For instance, at the 2015 UN Conference on Financing for Development, which took place in Addis Ababa, Sweden and Italy were the only two donor countries represented at the head-of-state level.[19] While this international posturing could also be seen as an attempt by Italy to create opportunities and in line with its campaigning for a non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council, it could also be considered a push for Rome's interests in Africa.

One clear indication of this leap forward in the Africa-Italy relations came in 2013, when Italy ordained Emma Bonino as its minister of foreign affairs. Bonino was also instrumental in planning the country's first Italy-Africa ministerial conference in May 2016, which was attended by top-ranking institutional officials. The debate was organised around the issue of African "ownership" from the perspective of economic and environmental sustainability and Italy's intentions of offering further proof of its renewed commitment, in an effort to lay the foundation for an equal and sustainable partnership with Africa.[20] All these actions reflect Italy's commitment to reinvigorating its relationship with sub-Saharan African institutions.[21] A key turning point will be how issues of African ownership and equal partnership will be implemented. It is imperative that Italy follow through with clear political commitment if the full potential of the Africa-Italy partnership is to be realised.[22]

Italian foreign policy has recently been dominated by migration narratives heavily affecting bilateral relations and development cooperation with Africa (see van der Veen in this volume). For instance, the call for proposals open to civil society organisations published in spring 2017 indicates migration as the first thematic priority of Italy's foreign policy.[23] When in March 2017 the Italian minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, Angelino Alfano, declared Africa a priority,[24] he mentioned the continent mainly in reference to migration and related issues. In addition, he declared that Italy's development cooperation budget had been increased, but only against a small increase of a larger part of this fund dedicated to limiting migration fluxes.[25] Migration is indeed presented as an "emergency" at the EU level, but regular and irregular migration from Africa is also not a new issue for Italy. The fluxes from sub-Saharan Africa to the peninsula have constantly increased since the 1990s, but without an unforecastable change in trends and numbers. For example, in 1990 the presidential meeting that took place between Senegalese and Italian delegations to discuss on how to stop irregular migration towards Italy attests to the importance of curbing migration coming from Libya.[26]

## Italy's Diplomatic Network and Priorities

This partial political commitment is significantly represented by the limited diplomatic network developed by Rome in sub-Saharan Africa. Italy has 20 embassies in the region (see Fig. 8.1), a far smaller presence than that of the main European countries (France has 44 embassies, Germany 39, the UK 33) or of other powers (Brazil has 32 embassies, China 42, India 26, Turkey 30). In this framework, the Italian Embassies are based in the major countries and many of them is also accredited to smaller neighbour countries (from one to five).

Particularly weak is the presence of Italian cultural institutes, with just three in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa (see Fig. 8.2). In comparison, nine Italian cultural institutes are present in the Middle East and North Africa region, and 12 in Asia and Oceania.[27]

In terms of geographic priorities in sub-Saharan Africa, Italy has focused on the Horn of Africa. Beyond the Horn, some former Portuguese colonies, mainly Angola and Mozambique, have received diversified attention. Italy's cooperation with Angola was already present during the Cold War, with Italian civil society organisations seeking to support the liberation struggles in the country, but these mediation attempts came to naught.[28]


**Fig. 8.1** Italian embassies in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2017
Source: http://www.esteri.it/mae/it/ministero/laretediplomatica

Differently in Mozambique, Italy played an important role in ending the civil war between the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO) with the peace agreement signed in Rome in 1992. This agreement was supported by the active role of the Italian Sant'Egidio Community and with direct involvement of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Italy continues, including through its civil society organisations, to play an important role as mediator in the 2010s.[29] Egyptian scholar-diplomat Boutros Boutros-Ghali, as UN Secretary-General, defined this agreement with the expression the "Italian method", followed by a massive commitment for development cooperation from Rome. From this privileged position, Italy established economic relations with both Mozambique and Angola, especially in the extractive sector.[30]

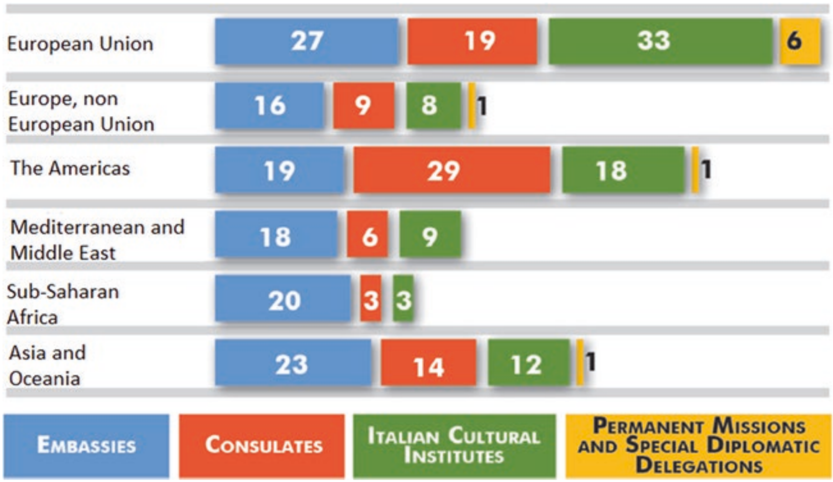


**Fig. 8.2** Italian diplomatic network abroad, 2016
Source: Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, *Statistical Yearbook 2016*, http://www.esteri.it/mae/resource/doc/2016/07/annuario_statistico_2016_uso_web.pdf

Western Africa is an area of less concern for political cooperation for Italy, with limited space of action due to the historical malignant French hegemonic role in Africa. A pushing factor supporting more Italian cooperation with this region has come from development, starting with foreign affairs minister Andrea Riccardi under the government of Mario Monti (2011–13). A similar limited political cooperation has also characterised Italy's relations with the Sahel area, but with a growing interest since the 2010s, especially in multilateral frameworks, due to the growing tensions related to global terrorism, and drug and human trafficking.[31]

In Southern Africa, beyond Italy's commitment in Mozambique, Rome has extended its relations with South Africa as a strategic partner. Diplomatic relations between Italy and South Africa, date as far back as 1929, with a large Italian community still residing in the country.[32] Since 2014, a South Africa-Italy summit takes place on an annual basis, with the business sector particularly active at these meetings.[33] In addition to the summits, since 2000 Italian development cooperation had realised several programmes in various sectors, in particular the health sector, with bilateral initiatives promoted by the non-governmental sector in South Africa.[34]

## The Multilateral Framework

Italy's foreign policy has been almost constantly committed to alignment at the multilateral level. After the Cold War, Italy's only significant participation in an international mission in sub-Saharan Africa was Operation Restore Hope, from 1992 to 1995 in Somalia under a UN hat.[35] Beyond that mission, the Italian approach had always been based on some common principles: the multilateral framework, the prominence of negotiations, the protection of civil populations, and the use of force as a last and least option.[36]

Italy is the eighth largest contributor to the UN's budget (2016–18),[37] sending just over 1000 total troops and police to current UN missions,[38] but the majority are part of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNFIL), with just a few of Italy's troops deployed in Africa. Italy is also among the main contributors to EU conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and in particular is among the main contributors to the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions. For instance, for civilian personnel, currently Italy contributes 5.7% of all seconded staff, ranking fourth as a contributing country and thirteenth for contracted staff (out of 455 staff members contracted from EU member states).[39] Italy's contribution to missions in Africa has grown recently, with the country currently contributing to the EU Civilian Capacity Building Mission (EUCAP Nestor) in Somalia as well as Kenya (six experts); EUCAP Sahel in Nigeria (four experts); the EU Border Assistance Mission in Libya (EUBAM Libya) (one expert); and EUCAP Sahel in Mali (four experts) (see Khadiagala in this volume).[40]

Italy also contributes to the Frontex European Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR) mechanism in the Mediterranean Sea. As already mentioned, Italy is a "frontline" state in Europe and has been particularly active within the EU and international fora on migration, for instance at the Valletta Summit on Migration (2015). Under jointly drawn plans by the Italians and European partners, the EU seeks enhanced security at African borders and the right to repatriate migrants without the right to stay in Europe in larger numbers. Italy has also contributed some prominent experts and diplomats to international organisations in Africa. Aldo Ajello, after contributing to the Mozambique peace agreement, was EU Special Envoy to the Great Lakes Region (1996–2006). Roberto Ridolfi was president of the EU Delegation in Uganda (2010–13), Romano Prodi was Special UN Envoy for the Sahel (2012–14), and Emma Bonino co-chaired the Intergovernmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) Partners Forum for Somalia (2013). Italy is also known to be supportive of the activities of the AU, in particular through the EU. Romano Prodi, through his mandate as president of the EU Commission in 1999, presented the idea of an African Peace Facility[41] during an AU meeting in July 2003. Prodi also chaired the AU-EU Human Rights Committee in 2008.

During the transition to a more globalised world order, Italy was not able to play a reliant, nor a relevant role on the African continent, mainly due to internal political and institutional limitations. Accordingly, new ideas and visions in Italy-Africa relations were episodic. Since 2014, however, a more strategic approach appears to be in place at the political level, which has also marked the policymaking of development cooperation.

## Italy as a Development Actor in Africa

Development cooperation is an essential part of Italian foreign policy and plays an important role in Africa-Italy relations. However, the resources allocated by Italy have been rather limited. Additionally, the efficiency of the cooperation has experienced several constraints. In 2014, a comprehensive reform of the Italian development cooperation system (Law 125/2014) changed many aspects, from governance to stakeholder participation, from transparency to the role of the private sector. Remarkably, the reform also established the Italian Agency for Development Cooperation, which closely cooperates with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation and guarantees the full effectiveness of the overall action of the Italian development system.[42] This reform was decided upon after more than 20 years of debate and political proposals directed to change the previous system (Law 49/87), which had become extensively obsolete after the end of the Cold War.

In fact, the cooperation system was completely disorganised, and between 1987 and 1994 Italy financed 117 countries without defining geographic or thematic priorities.[43] In addition, in the early 1990s, Italian development cooperation was blocked by the previous mentioned political scandals. This lack of organisation could be also considered as a long-term effect of Italy's low profile in foreign policy during the Cold War. Development cooperation was organised without any geographic selectivity, and most decisions on aid were delegated to the Catholic Church or to leftist and Catholic NGOs.[44] Through this practice, also called "partitioning", the parties and relevant stakeholders (but not the political institutions) decided without any coordination the direction that development cooperation should take, while also favouring corruption as a side effect. For example, only Italy's Christian Democratic Party negotiated with Ethiopia, the Socialist Party with Somalia, and the Communist Party with some Marxist regimes of Africa—Angola, Mozambique, and Tanzania.[45]

Under the government of Azeglio Ciampi (1993–94), the Italian foreign affairs minister, Beniamino Adreatta, proposed clear rules in accordance with international standards and a limited number of beneficiary countries. However, in 1996 Italian development cooperation reached its lowest level after internal reports on its inefficiency. Since 1997, Prime Minister Romano Prodi and Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini have invested more economic resources, but the geographic priorities in Africa remain mainly the same. In the second half of the 1990s, Mozambique was the country that received the most funding ($369 million), followed by Ethiopia in second place ($296 million), and Eritrea in eighth place ($112 million). Some other African countries (Congo, Uganda, and Madagascar) received extraordinary funds for emergency situations. Overall though, despite this fragmented framework, sub-Saharan Africa remained a priority for Italian development cooperation.

In 2000, Italy joined the international initiative to support the heavily indebted poor countries through debt relief and low-interest loans to cancel or to reduce external debt repayments to sustainable levels. Italy contributed significantly, cancelling debts in sub-Saharan Africa totalling €3.6 billion between 2001 and 2012.[46] Broadly speaking, in defining initiatives and countries in which to stage interventions, Italian development cooperation has generally considered guidelines and agreements subscribed to in the broader international context, such as the EU framework. The 2000 Cotonou Agreement on the partnership with developing countries, signed by the EU and African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) group of states, defined the guidelines that EU member states must follow in realising their cooperation initiatives.[47]

In quantitative terms, from 1990 to 2016, Italy's official development assistance (ODA) varied from a minimum of 0.11% (1997) to a maximum of 0.31% (1990) of gross national income (GNI), as shown in Fig. 8.3. Significantly, from 2012 to 2016 Italy's annual contribution increased from 0.14% to 0.26%. Sub-Saharan Africa received approximately 40% of Italy's ODA in 2015 (see Fig. 8.4 for allocations to all of Africa). The current distribution confirms the historical trend of East Africa receiving

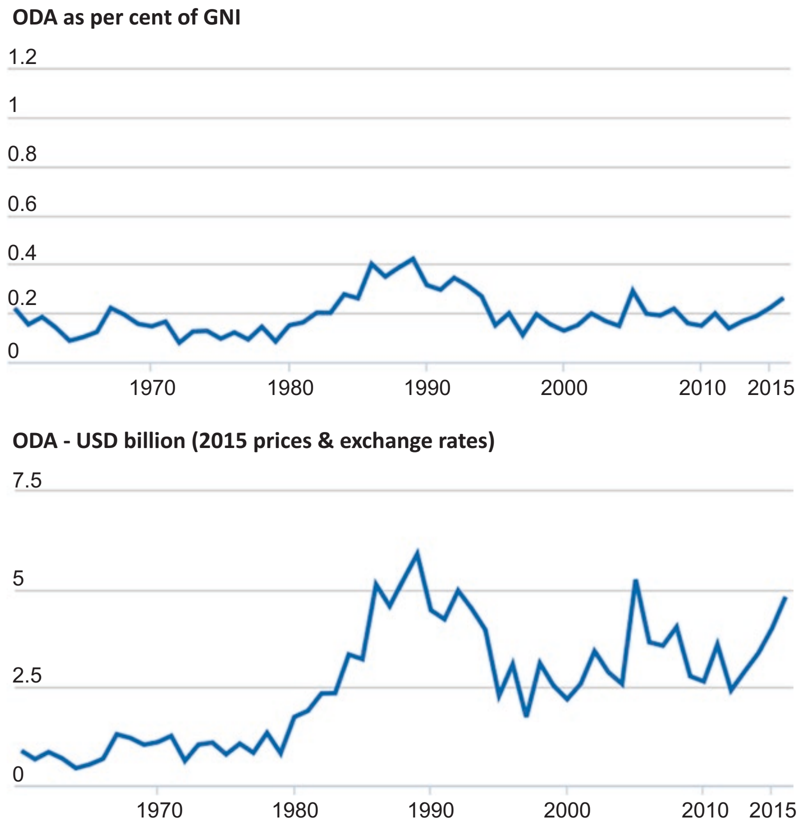


**Fig. 8.3** Italy's official development assistance, 1970–2015
Source: http://www.oecd.org/development/development-aid-rises-again-in-2016-but-flows-to-poorest-countries-dip.htm

more aid than all the other regions, except for Burkina Faso and Senegal in West Africa. Interestingly, Mozambique is the only African country where Italian cooperation contributes to the budget support mechanism through regular reports analysed and discussed by the donors.[48]

Since 2014, Italy's interest in Africa has been implemented mainly through development cooperation. The reform of Italy's international cooperation has been a key step to create a coherent and efficient system in line with the standards of the EU and the Organisation for Economic

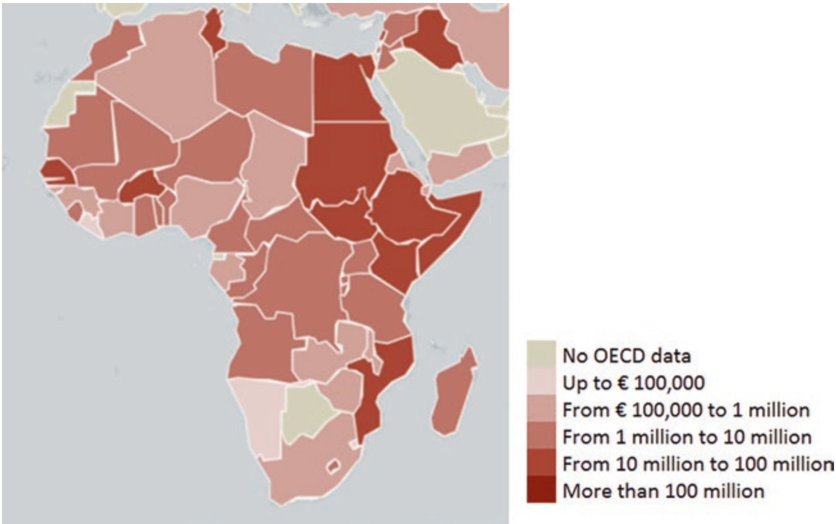


**Fig. 8.4** Italy's bilateral and multilateral official development assistance, 2015
Source: Adapted from http://openaid.agenziacooperazione.gov.it/en/

Cooperation and Development (OECD). Among the changes introduced by the reform, the establishment of the Italian Agency for Cooperation and Development remains one of the main innovations. The agency has been in operation since January 2016, and has innovated to enhance transparency and project management, among other things. The agency also runs a network of 20 field offices for managing operations and initiatives in partner countries worldwide, seven of them in sub-Saharan Africa: Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Senegal, Somalia, and Sudan.[49]

Currently, a key role—especially regarding Africa—is played by Mario Giro, Italian deputy foreign minister of international cooperation.[50] Giro—a member of the Sant'Egidio Community—has contributed prominently to cooperation with the African continent. In February 2017, for instance, through the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he organised a three-day visit to Cameroon alongside several related activities, from development cooperation to the business sector. He also attended the "Italian Economic Promotion Days", an initiative put in place for the Salon Promote, the major event in Central Africa promoting business partnerships. Giro attended the inauguration of this event as the only representative of a foreign government.[51] Cameroon was not a priority for Italy in the past, but Italian president Sergio Mattarella's long visit in 2016, together with the approach led by Giro, may help improve such bilateral relations. The reform of international cooperation also foresees a close collaboration between the profit and non-profit sectors for development, an innovation that may open new opportunities in Africa-Italy relations.

## Trade Relations

During the past three decades, trade between Italy and Africa has fluctuated and absent of a clear and long-term strategy. Rome availed itself of some opportunities as it could, mainly for big companies, but without creating an effective "system" and a regular support to Italian companies. However, the Italian Trade Agency (ITA),[52] created in 2011, and the aforementioned Development Cooperation Agency, have supported a more systematic approach to relations with the African continent, now also supporting small and medium firms. These new institutions, combined with a strong need to operate in new markets and to support economic growth, can potentially create new opportunities, even though current import-export relations are very limited. Notably, Italy's share of total merchandise trade (export or import) with sub-Saharan Africa was 1.35% in 2015 (see Fig. 8.5).

| Partner Name | Export (US$ Thousand) | Export Partner Share (%) |
|---|---|---|
| World | 456,988,720.34 | 100.00 |
| Europe & Central Asia | 298,718,278.04 | 65.37 |
| North America | 43,968,210.55 | 9.62 |
| East Asia & Pacific | 41,806,479.65 | 9.15 |
| Middle East & North Africa | 39,064,856.61 | 8.55 |
| Latin America & Caribbean | 15,027,829.63 | 3.29 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 6,147,173.26 | 1.35 |
| South Asia | 4,984,843.81 | 1.09 |

**Fig. 8.5** Italy's export partner share, 2015
Source: http://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/ITA/Year/2015/TradeFlow/Export/Partner/by-region. "The responsibility of the data are of the author and do not necessarily represent the opinion of the WTO" (Author)

It should be clarified that Italy's trade quotas are quite similar to those of other European countries. For example, Germany's share of total merchandise trade with sub-Saharan Africa is 1.21%, and France engages 2.7% of its total merchandise with sub-Saharan Africa.[53] However, according to some analysts, Italy could do better to exploit its geographic proximity.[54] Significantly, in 1985 Italy's exports to sub-Saharan Africa constituted 4% of its global exports, but ten years later the figure was 2%.[55] This trend was part of the global tendency to marginalise the African continent during that period.

Italy, like other European countries, mainly imports raw materials from Africa (chiefly from Angola, Mozambique, and Nigeria) and exports to the continent typical "made in Italy" products of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). The privileged region for foreign direct investment (FDI) is West Africa, but the main trading-partner countries are Nigeria and South Africa.[56] For African states, the benefits of enhanced cooperation with Italy could be tangible. The general decline in FDI has been taking place in a context in which low commodity prices have adversely affected several African economies, which in the aggregate might be headed towards a 17-year low in GDP growth. Though not a game-changer, Italy can be a source of increased FDI for the continent.[57]

One leading Italian company operating in Africa is the energy group Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), relevant because it has not neglected sub-Saharan Africa, at least some areas. In recent years, the company also made oil and gas discoveries in Ghana and the DRC and developed healthy government-to-government relations with these countries that are yielding concrete benefits. The Italian government is a major shareholder in ENI, and ENI too has long had a revolving door between its business and government.[58]

From large to small size enterprises, Africa-Italy trade relations pass through small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) (representing the largest part of enterprises active in Italy and employing 81% of the total national workforce).[59] Italian companies may impart to African entrepreneurs business know-how and relevant technologies and adaptability in ever-changing markets trying to "pair up" small nascent firms in African countries with corresponding SMMEs active in the same sectors.[60] Furthermore, "sustainability" could work as a key concept. Italy has relevant skills, ranging from agriculture to energy that can potentially, through collaboration with African partners, help them gravitate towards a sustainable development path, as envisaged in the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In order to reap dividends from the

Italian-African relationships, African partners cannot be passive recipients of aid or hope through mere happenstance to attract notice from investors. They can, though, engage with Italian authorities and businesses regularly with pragmatism and creativity.

## Conclusion

Why would African countries choose Italy as a privileged partner? Some scholars refer to "quality vs. quantity", in particular in the economic competitions with China and India.[61] However, this consideration seems to be based on an Italian self-perception. The future of economic relations between Africa and Italy will likely pass through a "system" supported by bilateral and multilateral relations. Rome will take advantage by treating Africa as a region meriting attention, and as an equal partner. Together, these circumstances reveal a strong willingness on the part of Italy to strengthen the bilateral relationship between the economies of Africa and Italy.

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CHAPTER 9

# Brazil-Africa Relations: From Boom to Bust?

*Adriana Erthal Abdenur*

In May 2017, Brazil's Federal Police announced that it was launching the forty-first phase of the Lava Jato (Car Wash) anti-corruption drive that has rocked Brazilian politics since 2014. The initiative would begin to investigate the complex financial practices of Brazilian state-affiliated oil giant Petrobras in Benin, especially its acquisition of rights to explore oil.[1] In an ominous sign, the Federal Police called the Operation Poço Fundo (Dry Well) and was widely interpreted as a harbinger of future investigations into Brazil's corporate presence in Africa, and more broadly of a dramatic bust in Brazil-Africa relations.

It is still unclear whether the operation is a sign of a true bust in Brazil-Africa ties, but it does underscore the questioning and opaqueness of some of this interaction. In addition, it highlights the decrease in Brazil-Africa ties over the past five years. The veritable boom in Brazil-Africa ties that began in the mid-2000s has decelerated, and in some areas there is growing evidence of outright retraction. What, then, explains this loss of momentum, and will the surge be followed by a bust? Drawing on official documents and statistics, this chapter analyses both the intensification of Brazil-Africa relations in the new millennium and their slowdown since 2014. I argue that the domestic-level economic and political factors of Brazil are the primary issues driving this deceleration, but that the surge period also contained the seeds of its own waning, due to over-reach and inadequate

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_9

planning. Moreover, the relatively low levels of institutionalisation in Brazil's South-South cooperation have also made its recent overtures to African countries particularly vulnerable to economic downturns, political turmoil, and contestation. Rebooting the surge would require not only considerable political will and strategic vision, but also a more favourable economic context.

The chapter first offers an overview of the recent literature on rising powers around the African continent, as well as a summary of the "surge" in Brazilian cooperation ties with African countries. It then looks at the Brazilian political and economic crisis and its impact on economic, political, and other ties to African states. The chapter concludes by examining some of the implications of these findings for Brazil-Africa ties in the coming years.

## Brazil and Africa's Historical Ties

Ties between Brazil and Africa have deep historical roots dating back to the colonial era, especially owing to the transatlantic trade and the forced migration of enslaved Africans, but these linkages have waxed and waned across the decades since African states achieved independence from colonial powers. In the post-Cold War period, some Brazilian stakeholders—including the Brazilian government and parts of the private sector and organised civil society—have made concerted efforts to deepen ties with Africa. President Fernando Henrique Cardoso focused on the Lusophone states, both bilaterally and through the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), and on deepening ties with post-Apartheid South Africa. Under the Workers' Party (PT)-led government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003–10), Brazilian foreign policy promoted South-South cooperation, including with African countries, as one of the top priorities for Brazil's engagement abroad. This approach entailed not only building on initiatives undertaken by earlier governments, but also diversifying initiatives, both thematically and geographically. Efforts to deepen Brazil-Africa links along economic, political, cultural, and military lines were accompanied by an official discourse of solidarity that underscored the concepts of horizontality and kinship. The deep imprint of Africans on Brazilian culture, society, and politics was acknowledged and promoted as part of the national identity. At the same time, African countries became more visible in Brazilian official discourse and policy discussions, as well as a more common topic in Brazilian education and research.

Starting in the early 2000s, through a combination of development cooperation, new political alignments, and military deals, Brazil's presence in Africa grew around the continent. Trade and investments, although generally imbalanced in favour of Brazil, expanded from a low starting base. Brazilian newspapers reported breathlessly that, from 2002 to 2012, these trade flows had grown by 416%.[2] Diplomats and politicians spoke of the African continent as a space of hope offering a host of opportunities to Brazilian businesses, which seemed to be following in the footsteps of Chinese corporations or even, in some cases, competing directly with them for African markets.[3]

The Brazilian government also broadened its technical development cooperation agreements, especially in areas like public education, health, and tropical agriculture, promoting Brazil as a hotbed of innovation in inclusive social policy.[4] Brazil positioned itself as an alternative to Northern aid, as a cooperation partner that had also been colonised and whose development experiences seemed much more compatible with those faced by African states. Defence cooperation with African partners also spread, not only with other Lusophone states but also with non-Portuguese-language countries such as Namibia, whose navy Brazil has helped to build up since the mid-1990s.[5] New defence policy guidelines, which had long prioritised the country's terrestrial borders, elevated the South Atlantic to the same level of priority, making links to African littoral states more strategic than ever.

In recent years, however, economic recession in Brazil and a drop in some commodity prices have placed new constraints on cooperation budgets. In addition, some of the major Brazil-based multinational corporations that had led investments in Africa have been caught up in a major anti-corruption drive, analysed below. There have also been some wind shifts on the political front. A change in Brazilian government has brought new priorities, and the political elites currently in power openly prioritise trade and investment with other regions—especially the advanced economies (United States of America [USA] and Western Europe) and China.[6] A new wave of contestation and opposition to South-South cooperation as a priority of Brazil's international engagement has deeply affected Brazil-Africa ties. Yet the deceleration—in some areas, an outright retraction—is only in part a result of intertwined political and economic crises in Brazil. Another important factor is the still somewhat weak institutionalisation of Brazilian South-South cooperation and the lack of adequate strategic thinking, which made earlier efforts particularly vulnerable to economic downturns and political contestation, as witnessed in the current scenario.

Two caveats are in order here. "Brazil", in this chapter, is used as a shorthand for "Brazil's foreign engagement", which encompasses not only foreign policy narrowly writ, but also cooperation by ministries other than the Ministry of Foreign Relations and transregional initiatives by non-governmental actors. In addition, the term "Africa" is used since there is a Brazilian policy for the continent as a whole that is prescribed in its foreign policy. This broad continental perspective is therefore reflected in the existence of two divisions of Brazil's Ministry of External Relations devoted to Africa. Conceptualisation of the political policy thinking in Brazil is also prevalent and has a strong regional character. In practice, however, Brazil's approach varies across the continent, as do the local reactions to is varying roles in Africa.

## Rising Powers and the "Age of Choice" in African Development

In the post-Cold War period, and especially after the turn of the millennium, countries that are often referred to within the international relations literature as "rising powers": are states that have considerable regional clout and that aspire to global power status. Countries that demand a more representative global governance system have attempted to become more proactive abroad, both within and beyond their immediate vicinities, including in Africa. With the emergence of new poles of economic growth in the global South, these states either expanded their pre-existing South-South development cooperation with African countries, or launched new initiatives on the continent. In general, these South-South cooperation providers claim that their efforts are more compatible with, or attuned to, the development demands of African states, because their own trajectories are (according to this discourse) more similar than those of the advanced economies. In addition, these rising powers frequently promote the idea that their development initiatives are unburdened by the legacies of colonialism that are sometimes associated with mainstream donors and multilateral aid. Although the cooperation norms, practices, and institutional arrangements among these rising powers vary widely, their official discourses tend to make claims of greater horizontality, mutual benefit, and solidarity with African partners.[7]

In turn, the availability of a broader gamut of development partners has contributed towards an "Age of Choice" in Africa, in which some countries not only have at their disposal a wider range of cooperation alternatives, but are also better able to leverage these options in order to negotiate smarter development deals.[8] Some states, such as those with significant oil reserves or other coveted resources, or those and/or more robust political institutions, are more able to negotiate than others. The diversification of external development actors, including through the increased presence of rising powers, has altered the politics of development in parts of the continent, including those in which Brazil has been especially active, such as Angola and Mozambique.

The concrete impact of this trend is uncertain, but recent research has noted that South-South cooperation does have some notable divergences when compared to aid, although less than the claims made by the official discourses. First, South-South cooperation providers generally do not impose political conditionalities on their initiatives, since their efforts are—according to the providers—more demand-driven.[9] Second, South-South cooperation also lacks the vast "aid complex" that characterises Northern and most multilateral assistance, in which non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and consultants deemed "development experts" constitute a highly bureaucratised, yet often poorly rooted, middleman layer in the design and delivery of aid.

Finally, and for better or for worse, South-South cooperation has been far less documented and is seldom subjected to monitoring and evaluation as compared with much of Northern aid. This means that there are recognised gaps of accountability that are somewhat specific to South-South cooperation. Although Northern practices of aid monitoring and evaluation are far from neutral or effective, there have been efforts, whether by donors, individual organisations, or multilateral institutions like the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), to promote the establishment of benchmarks, indices, and other elements meant to keep track of and make more transparent the flows of aid. South-South cooperation has generally been characterised by scant attention to (and even reluctance to adopt) monitoring and evaluation, at least along the lines of OECD-defined development aid.

A related characteristic is that, despite a growing body of literature on South-South cooperation, it has been far less studied than Northern aid, so that the impacts of specific programmes, projects, and initiatives are often unknown to both policymakers and researchers. This gap remains in part because much of South-South cooperation takes place, geographically and politically, in spaces that are further (and sometimes, far more recent) from the main centres of development thinking and research, while global South scholars have only recently begun to grapple with the empirics of South-South development cooperation. Simply put, there are still major areas of South-South cooperation, including Brazilian initiatives in Africa.

## Brazil's South-South Cooperation with Africa

### *The Lula Years: Renewed Focus on South-South Cooperation*

Since the Cold War, Brazil has offered development cooperation to African states through both economics cooperation, especially trade and investments in infrastructure, and technical cooperation. In the mid-2000s, the Brazilian government led efforts to deepen and diversify these ties, building on previous initiatives, which had oscillated considerably during previous decades. On the investment front, major Brazilian companies, including construction conglomerates like Odebrecht, were encouraged to invest in African countries, sometimes with financial backing from the Brazilian National Development Bank (BNDES). This was part of a broadly developmentalist orientation in support of Brazil's "national champions", through which public financing was channelled towards large Brazil-based transnational corporations that were deemed capable of attaining the scale needed to undertake major projects abroad. Petrobras, the state-affiliated oil company, also expanded its presence in Africa beyond Angola and Nigeria, reaching Tanzania, Libya, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, and Senegal during the Lula years. While Petrobras is not a newcomer to Africa—it had been a strong competitor in oil production in Angola since 1985[10]—the company sought new strategies, for instance forming a joint venture with the Brazilian bank BTG Pactual to explore Nigeria's Egina field, among others.[11]

There was also a surge in investments by the Brazil-based mining transnational giant Vale, which at one point had operations in nine African countries: Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Gabon, Guinea, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, and Zambia. Vale, like other Brazilian companies in Africa, prided itself in its extensive hiring of locals, in a bid to differentiate itself from other external actors, including Chinese companies. In Mozambique, for instance, where it ran large coal-mining operations, Vale claimed that 90% of its workers were locally hired.[12] In addition, these major corporations often opened the door for smaller ones to operate in African countries. A number of medium-sized and even small Brazilian companies often provided services to the larger corporations in the construction and mining sectors.

With respect to technical cooperation, the Brazilian government reinforced the role and portfolio of the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (Agência Brasileira de Cooperação [ABC]), which is a division of Brazil's Ministry of External Relations tasked with coordinating partnerships between Brazilian government agencies and government-affiliated organisations—the implementing agencies—and partners abroad. Although Brazilian technical cooperation is promoted as attending to specific demands voiced by African governments, its expansion has taken place within a context of deepening political ties that, in effect, have served to create further demands for Brazilian cooperation among African partners. For example, Brazil opened 17 new embassies and other diplomatic representations around the continent. In some cases, these were reopened missions that had previously been shut. Such gestures were sometimes reciprocated through the opening of new African embassies in Brasília, which also led to new channels for requesting cooperation with Brazil.[13]

Official discussions among officials led to projects that ranged in scope from prospective "missions" to African countries by Brazilian social policy experts, to seminars organised for African officials and specialists in Brazil, to a few large on-site projects involving major investments and infrastructure. This last category included the triangular cooperation initiative ProSavana, carried out in partnership with the Mozambican government and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in Mozambique starting in 2009. While the vast majority of efforts were responses to very specific demands for knowledge exchange, there were also "structuring projects" intended to build up key institutions in the partner country, leading to broader changes within that sector, typically health or agriculture. The Brazilian implementing agencies leading such efforts—for example the public health research and teaching institution—the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (FIOCRUZ) and the government-affiliated agricultural research company—the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (EMBRAPA)—made available specialists with domestic experience and knowledgeable in implementing cooperation initiatives in Africa.

The channels for formal dialogue multiplied—in a largely parallel fashion—alongside those established by civil society entities, including religious movements. For instance, Brazilian evangelical churches set up branches in African countries, and Brazilian cultural production companies in television and music sought new markets around the continent. There was also a very limited expansion of the role played by Brazilian NGOs working in Africa, which took place primarily through their participation in official technical cooperation projects. In some instances, Brazilian community-based civil society organisations (CSOs) also took a lead in organising and mobilising the World Social Forum, first hosted in Porte Alegre in 2001 before being held in Africa in 2006 (Mali) and 2007 (Kenya). In a few instances, Brazilian-organised civil society groups also built bridges with their African counterparts to carry out advocacy campaigns, with a view to raising concerns over the Brazil-led development cooperation projects in Africa, namely ProSavana. These initiatives were orchestrated by civil society to raise awareness of the impacts of ProSavana's implementation of creating a mega-agricultural corridor in the savannah region of Mozambique—the Nacala Corridor—inspired by Brazil's experience in transforming its *cerrado* into an export-oriented agri-business zone. The project came under fire from civil society, both in Mozambique and abroad (primarily from Brazilian NGOs), which alleged that ProSavana involved the displacement of small farmers and that it was generally detrimental to social well-being and even for the country's food security.[14]

Although Brazil's efforts with Africa were undertaken primarily through bilateral means and under cooperation agreements signed between Brazilian and African governments, there were also initiatives channelled through multilateral platforms in the global arena. These initiatives can be understood as part of broader efforts to enhance Brazil's own role at the United Nations (UN), especially within the context of peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions. For instance, Brazil played a leading mediation and advocacy role in Guinea-Bissau through its Country-Specific Configuration within the UN Peacebuilding Commission. Brazil also intensified its role in UN peacekeeping, primarily by assuming the leadership of the UN Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) but also by contributing staff to operations in Africa. For example, General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz served as force commander of the UN Stabilisation Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) in eastern Congo from May 2013 to December 2015. Brazil also collaborated with African partners on issues pertaining to UN reform, although the two sides developed somewhat divergent views about Security Council reform during the debates of the latter half of the 2000s.

On the socioeconomic and political fronts, Brazil has also relied on looser transregional fora such as the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) coalition and the IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa)

Dialogue Forum. Within the BRIC coalition (when South Africa was not yet a member), the Brazilian government supported the entrance of South Africa, which expanded the initial grouping. Brazil has since been more progressive in its backing of initiatives focusing on Africa in more specific initiatives related to sustainable development that began emerging during the 2013 BRICS summit, held in Durban, South Africa, as documented in the summit briefing—the eThekwini Declaration—issued at the end of the meeting.[15]

Through the IBSA Dialogue Forum, Brazil carried out multi- and trilateral cooperation initiatives in African peacebuilding and governance, although the forum lost ground relative to the BRICS, and the driving component of the initiative ended up in military cooperation developed through trilateral naval exercises (known as IBSAMAR) held primarily off the coast of South Africa.

The Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP)—which began as a loose cultural arrangement but has taken on more security- and development-related attributes[16]—also became more strategic in Brazil-Africa ties (see Carvalho in this volume). Likewise, the Africa-South America (ASA) Forum served as yet another platform for discussing current as well as potential areas of collaboration and deepening political ties at several levels of government, as well as across private sector entities on both sides of the Atlantic. Finally, Brazil partnered with African states, especially with Angola, in an attempt to revitalise the South Atlantic Peace of Zone and Cooperation (ZOPACAS), a loose transregional arrangement dating back to the last years of the Cold War.[17] Brazil also increased its humanitarian relevance in Africa, primarily through donations of financial resources and grains to UN agencies tasked with distribution of emergency materials. The creation of a division within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dedicated to humanitarian cooperation and a burgeoning portfolio of donations, including dozens of African countries, was accompanied at the UN by a more proactive stance by Brazilian diplomats in global debates about humanitarian assistance.[18]

Brazil's deepening ties with Africa during the post-Cold War period were not just apparent in African countries or within multilateral institutions; Africa also became more visible in Brazil. Several public policies were implemented with the intention of boosting public awareness of Brazil's ties to Africa.[19] The Brazilian government made the teaching of African history and culture a mandatory part of its school curricula. It also launched Unilab—the Universidade da Integração Internacional da

Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira—a university dedicated to the topic of Brazil-Africa ties, and research programs were created around Luso-African topics. These initiatives can be viewed as part of broader efforts to highlight issues of racial inequality and the strengthening of the African components of Brazilian identity, which historically have been de-emphasised or devalued in mainstream Brazilian historiography and identity-building, especially in favour of European elements. Lula's unprecedented number of official visits to African states was accompanied by widespread media coverage, by both Brazilian and international outlets.

### *Loss of Momentum*

Although Lula's successor, Dilma Rousseff (2011–16), also ran for the presidency on a Workers' Party-led platform, her government's foreign policy showed some discontinuities with respect to those of the Lula administration. These shifts were particularly apparent in terms of the extent to which foreign policy was given priority among the government's broader gamut of initiatives. There were ministerial changes in quick succession at Itamaraty, as the Ministry of External Relations is known, and Rousseff made far fewer trips abroad than her predecessors, including to Africa. In comparison to Lula's public speeches, hers were peppered with far fewer references to foreign policy.

There were, nevertheless, some efforts to prevent Brazil-Africa ties from losing total momentum. Foreign Minister Mauro Vieira insisted that cooperation with African states was part of a state policy rather than a government initiative, and he made official visits to several African states, including Ghana, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Morocco, and Tunisia. At the same time, other forces emerged that partially counteracted the slowdown in Brazil's role as a development partner, notably coalitions cutting across technical cooperation, financial cooperation, and trade.[20] Despite these efforts, in practice the Africa agenda began losing visibility in policy debates in Brazil. Given Brazil's strong tradition of presidentialism, Rousseff's relative lack of interest in foreign policy beyond a few choice topics, especially trade and economic cooperation, had a noticeable impact on the country's engagement abroad.[21] Yet other factors were also at play in this retraction, especially of the effects of economic deceleration (not only in Brazil but also in China, with broader impact on commodities exported) and political turbulence in Brazil that quickly snowballed into a lasting crisis. This situation prompted Rousseff and her government to focus more narrowly on domestic issues rather than on Brazil's engagement abroad.

Yet the dynamics behind the surge during the Lula years can also help to explain the later reduction of Brazil's presence in African countries. Some argue that the country was punching above its weight and that expansion of its presence abroad (including the number of diplomats and embassies) was carried out without proper institutional planning. This enthusiastic expansion carried out under Lula led to an over-stretched, under-strategised portfolio of South-South cooperation whose scope ultimately proved unsustainable within a context of tight budget restrictions and growing political uncertainties.

Concurrently, some debates about global governance reform, especially that concerning structural and procedural change at the UN Security Council, had lost momentum after the perceived window of opportunity for reform narrowed beginning in the 2010s. All these factors help explain a loss of momentum that may have decreased the incentives for Brazil's assertive pursuit of South-South ties, including with African states. The relative lack of attention paid to foreign policy during this period—beyond issues of trade and investment—dovetailed with an economic deceleration that affected Brazil's resources for initiatives abroad, even beyond the shrinking ministerial budget. From a peak of 7.5% gross domestic product (GDP) growth in 2010, Brazil experienced total growth below 1% in 2015, resulting in the country officially entering a recession mode.

Although South-South cooperation was still promoted by the official government discourse, budget cuts began affecting the implementation of individual technical cooperation projects. Between 2012 and 2014 alone, the resources allocated to official South-South cooperation as measured in reports released by Brazil's Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), a government think-tank, on cooperation for international development (known as COBRADI), decreased from $36.9 million to $27 million. In addition, the budgetary restrictions had an impact on the functioning of Brazilian embassies, including some in Africa. Reports of Brazilian diplomatic representations in African countries being unable to pay electricity bills began circulating in the mainstream media.

Some Brazilian transnationals began cutting back on their Africa presence, most notably Vale, which as recently as 2012 had announced it had been setting aside $7.7 billion to invest in Africa.[22] Yet, with the drop in prices of iron ore, its main commodity, Vale began scaling back its mining and infrastructure operations in African countries. This retraction in investment was mirrored by commercial flows. Brazilian total exports to African countries, which had peaked at $12.2 billion in 2011, shrank to $9.7 billion in 2014—a far steeper drop than that of the retraction in overall Brazilian exports (12%).[23]

Brazilian humanitarian assistance to Africa also decreased, with contributions to African states dropping from $65.2 million in 2012 to $11.9 million in 2014.[24] During the same period, starting in the second half of 2015, the controversial Lava Jato ("Car Wash") anti-corruption campaign began affecting of the major Brazil-based transnational companies that did business in Africa. This campaign also affected major political parties in Brazil, including the Workers' Party and its main opposition party, the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), as well as the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) and other, smaller parties. In the midst of this domestic turbulence, cooperation with African partners fell by the wayside.

### *Retraction Under Way*

The ensuing political turmoil led to a presidential impeachment process that culminated the removal from office of Rousseff, on 31 August 2016. Dilma's former vice-president, Michel Temer, assumed the presidency role. Workers' Party supporters called the impeachment process a "soft coup" and considered the Temer government illegitimate. The defenders of government change, on other hand, argued that economic mismanagement and "creative budgeting" by the Rousseff administration in particular had justified her removal from the presidential office.[25] They also argued that the Workers' Party had greatly scaled up corruption, especially at the intersection of government and big business through the "national champions" policy that had benefitted giants like Odebrecht and the meat processing company JBS.

Amid this scenario of growing political polarisation, Temer appointed politician José Serra, a politician and previous presidential candidate, as chancellor. Serra is affiliated with the PSDB, which as the PT's main opposition party and which had, on past occasions, ferociously attached the PT's emphasis on South-South cooperation, including Lula's efforts to foster relations with autocratic regimes on the African continent.[26] In his inaugural speech, Serra openly spoke of mistakes and exaggerations committed by the previous governments and identified relations with the advanced economies as being Brazil's top foreign policy priority. The new minister specifically criticised previous governments for having placed excessive weight on South-South relations.[27] He further announced that, in order to revive Brazil's economy, the government would privilege the signing of commercial deals and pursuit of investment opportunities rather than "ideologically driven" relations with like-minded states in the global South. Institutional changes to the Ministry of External Relations structure included the disbanding of the General Coordination for International Actions Against Hunger (CGFOME) and the redistribution of its portfolio to the ABC and other divisions of the ministry.

Despite the fiery anti-South-South rhetoric, Serra made some overtures to other developing countries, including African ones, for instance making an official visit to Cape Verde shortly after his inauguration.[28] Moreover, and contrary to some expectations, the Temer government did not withdraw Brazil from the BRICS bloc, which is sometimes viewed as emblematic of Brazil's South-South orientation during the Workers' Party-led years. In May 2016, as the impeachment crisis deepened, Brazilian ambassadors who had been newly appointed to posts in Africa affirmed at the Senate International Relations Committee that Brazil would keep its commitments to the continent despite the crisis scenario back home.[29] Indeed, the initial attempts made by Serra to deflate South-South cooperation may be partially counter-balanced by the entrenched commitment on the part of many career diplomats. This pro-Africa momentum has continued after Serra submitted his resignation and former Senator Aloysio Nunes, also affiliated with the PSDB, became chancellor, in May 2017. In his inaugural speech, Nunes not only underscored the continued importance of BRICS and IBSA, but also promoted Brazil as an innovative alternative to "assistencialist compassion", in a thinly veiled reference to donor aid. Nunes announced that he intended to visit African states within a few months after being inaugurated.[30]

However, several factors beyond political turbulence on the domestic front have combined and creating new challenges for Brazil-Africa relations. The first factor concerns the unfavourable economic scenario for some of the largest Brazilian transnational corporations, especially those relying on a single commodity such as oil or coal. These companies, including Petrobras and Vale, have continued to feel the effects of global price drops, which have greatly reduced their capacity to expand abroad. The drop in the price of oil, for instance, not only affected Petrobras' overall operations but also rendered exploration in some African oil fields as economically not cost effective. The falling price of coal led Vale to reach an agreement with Mitsui to sell off $770 million in its African assets, especially two investments in Mozambique: the Moatize coal mine and Nacala Logistics Corridor (NLC).[31] Other Brazil-based transnational companies also rushed to sell their African assets. The telecommunications company Oi cast Africa as the "solution" to its crisis problems, signing deals to sell off some of its African and Asian assets—especially in Angola—in order to pay its mounting corporate debt.[32]

The second factor has to do with tensions created by Brazilian investments in Africa, especially large-scale undertakings. Even before the economic hardships set off by commodity price drops, some Brazilian companies faced intensified turmoil and contestation of their projects that cast doubt on their permanence in those countries. In Mozambique, Vale—which had already closed most of its prospection offices, as part of an overarching restructuring effort—suspended the transportation of coal along the Sena railway line in 2016 after a group of armed men attacked the company's locomotives.[33] Brazilian companies were also accused of removing local populations and generating pockets of poverty, especially around mining and infrastructure projects.[34] Mozambican researchers have spoken of Brazilian cooperation as being particularly disappointing in terms of its lack of transparency.[35] Occasionally, Brazil was grouped together with other South-South cooperation actors, especially China and more broadly the BRICS, in accusations of neocolonialism.[36]

The third factor entails the new budget cuts and their direct effects on technical cooperation projects abroad, including in Africa. In 2010, ABC had 253 projects in Africa. By 2014, there were only 161 initiatives under way. The budget for South-South cooperation in Africa fell by 25% between 2012 and 2013, leading to the suspension or interruption of several projects. Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), a prominent university and think-tank with strong links to the private sector, saw its Africa portfolio reduced from sixty to two in just three years.[37] A soil laboratory that EMBRAPA had planned for the ProSavana project was interrupted due to the lack of resources. In some countries, Brazil tried to renegotiate the burden of costs with national governments, but many projects were either not implemented or were discontinued, even when resources had already been invested. Insofar as technical cooperation serves as a venue for multiple government institutions, as well as some non-government entities, to interact with African partners, this channel was left severely weakened, with repercussions for broader relations with African states and societies.

The fourth factor has to do with Operation Lava Jato and its investigations of the corporate practices of large companies that had become closely intertwined with the Brazilian government, especially via BNDES financing and the intricate social networks of politicians and business leaders. The anti-corruption drive has jailed several top executives, including the heads of Odebrecht. Some have negotiated plea bargains that have brought to light extensive corruption practices, whether related to personal enrichment, company advantages, or campaign financing. Rating agencies have downgraded the company, generating uncertainty for investors amid already-falling revenues.[38] Operation Lava Jato has also generated questions and investigations by African investigative journalists about these companies' practices around the continent.[39]

All of these factors contribute to severe difficulties in maintaining the political momentum, economic viability, and social relations that underpin Brazil-Africa relations. At the same time, lack of adequate planning in the Lula period may reflect a degree of over-reach on the part of Brazilian cooperation actors, who ended up spreading themselves too thin rather than concentrating on strategic initiatives with the most important partners in Africa. Brazil's historic bid for a permanent seat at the UN Security Council, which reached a frenzied peak during this earlier period as Brazilian leaders perceived a window of opportunity for global governance change, helped to fuel a cooperation diversification drive in Africa that, in the end, contained the seeds of its own waning. With the additional factors specified above, it is hardly surprising that the boom in Brazil-Africa ties was followed by a notable bust.

## Conclusion

After a remarkable surge in Brazil-Africa relations during the Lula administration, there has been an equally noteworthy retraction, at first incremental but more recently manifested as a sharp drop across all areas of its foreign policy for Africa. This reversal can be partly attributed to changes in government and instability in Brazil, but there are also contextual factors such as the drop in commodity prices and growing competition from other external actors operating in Africa, including other South-South cooperation providers or donor countries that have worked to re-establish a strong presence in the continent.

One notable effect of this waxing and waning of the Brazil-Africa relationship is that Brazil generated high expectations among African stakeholders on the way up, and consequentially some of those hopes were dashed when these ties lost momentum. Brazil may thus have to deal with an image problem among its African interlocutors—one that has less to do with the idea of Brazil as a neocolonial power concerned with extracting resources or land-grabbing than with the inability to make good on promises made during the time of boom. Such perceptions will have to be juxtaposed against the claims that Brazilian actors have made regarding the effectiveness of their approach and the realism of the impact. Even if some of the initiatives had a positive impact, their lack of sustainability—including in terms of continuity—potentially leads to negative unintended consequences.

It remains to be seen whether this retraction is a short-term dynamic or a more lasting phenomenon. The history of Brazil's engagement with Africa, including its foreign policy for the continent, shows that the pendulum may yet swing towards Africa again in the future. More than ever, Brazilians identify with their African roots, rather than more narrowly with their European ancestry. Brazilian institutions that have accumulated a track record of cooperation with African counterparts are unlikely to forget this agenda even within the context of weakened political will and scarce resources. In some areas, such as defence cooperation, ties have remained relatively isolated from the turmoil reshaping Brazil's presence in Africa. However, this cultural glue and accumulated learning by individual institutions will not suffice in improving the quality of Brazil-Africa ties; that would also depend on a more strategic approach by Brazilian state and non-state actors.

In coming years, regardless of the political wind shifts in Brazil, the country's Africa engagement will likely take on a more selective approach, possibly prioritising ties with Lusophone states and with major economies like South Africa and Nigeria. Such a scenario would mean that—save for occasional engagement via the UN and other multilateral platforms with broader agendas—smaller African economies are far less likely than in the previous decade to experience ambitious Brazilian overtures in the near future. In addition, the relatively low levels of institutionalisation reflected in the ease with which initiatives are rethought or abandoned altogether suggest that another surge in ties between Brazil and Africa would take not only an increase in the availability of financial resources, but also considerable leadership and political will on both sides of the South Atlantic.

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CHAPTER 10

# A Renewed Partnership? Contemporary Latin America-Africa Engagement

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In recent years, the growing and renewed involvement of China, India, and Brazil on the African continent has attracted considerable attention from academia and policymakers.[1] While this involvement has had a significant impact in the African continent, it is important to note that other countries have also directed their foreign policy strategies towards expanding and deepening their relations with African states. In reality, economic and commercial interests as well as the political and diplomatic support from African nations have attracted a varied group of states, including but not limited to Malaysia, Turkey, and the Republic of Korea, as well as Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) nations such as Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico, and Venezuela. African states have also reciprocated this interest, identifying in LAC countries potential partners for the development of their foreign policy strategies. In order to account for the growing mutual interest in expanding relations, the focus of this chapter is on how LAC countries, including those other than Brazil, have expanded their relations with the African continent. While it is not possible to account for the way in which all LAC countries have developed relations with African states, the chapter will concentrate on some of the key initiatives in recent years as well as on the key actors from both regions.

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_10

The chapter begins with discussions centred on the diplomatic and commercial interaction between LAC countries and African states, and demonstrates how these relations have evolved from the Cold War period to contemporary times. The chapter then includes a discussion on the multilateral and interregional engagement, concentrating on initiatives such as the Africa-South America Summit (ASA) and presenting the potential challenges associated with these initiatives. The discussion on bilateral and multilateral engagement is followed by a specific section on South-South technical cooperation and a specific section on LAC-Africa cooperation in international security, including humanitarian assistance and United Nations (UN) peace missions. The chapter then assesses the domestic and international agendas in contemporary LAC-Africa relations before concluding and providing recommendations.

## Latin America-Africa Diplomatic and Commercial Engagement

Historically, relations between Latin American countries and African countries developed during the Cold War period, when most African countries achieved their political independence, starting with Ghana in 1957[2] and concluding with Namibia in 1990, South Africa in 1994, and South Sudan in 2011. Some Latin American countries have been at the forefront of providing recognition to newly independent African countries, especially because they were interested in increasing the bargaining power of developing countries in the Cold War context, particularly within organisations such as the UN. For example, Brazil was the first country to recognise Angola's independence from Portugal in 1975.[3] In addition to bilateral relations, initiatives such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), in which Cuba, Colombia, and Argentina (until 1991) played a key role, served to strengthen the cooperation between countries of the two regions around common goals.[4] It is no coincidence that under former president Hugo Chávez's mandate (1999–2013), Venezuela attempted to resurrect the role of the NAM and often called for solidarity between Latin America and Africa.

The existence of bilateral relations during the Cold War period was evidenced by presidential visits of Latin American heads of state to the African countries dating back to the middle 1970s and early 1980s, which played an important part in the strengthening of relations and providing visibility to the efforts of increasing relations. For example, President Luis Echeverría's visit to Senegal in 1975 was the first visit of a Mexican head of state to Africa. Similarly, President João Figueiredo's 1983 visit was the first visit of a Brazilian head of state to Africa. These visits have been used by Latin American countries as references and sources of motivation for the revival of relations in the contemporary period. Former Argentine president Cristina Kirchner visited Angola in 2012, as a follow-up to the first visit by Argentina of former president Carlos Saul Menem to sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa in 1995.[5] The emphasis to "reviving" relations is therefore not by accident, since many Latin American countries adopted foreign policy decisions in the post-Cold War period that have distanced them from African states, resulting in reducing the number of opportunities for interaction with African counterparts. Argentina exited the NAM in 1991, and Mexico exited the Group of 77 states (G77) in 1994 after becoming a member of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).[6] The major reasons for Latin American countries to "reduce" their relations with Africa in the immediate post-Cold War period could be attributed to the economic crisis that affected Latin American countries, particular after the Asian Financial Crisis, the deepening of regional integration within Latin America and the adoption of structural adjustment policies (as recommended by the Bretton Woods Institutions), which limited resources available for South-South cooperation as well for the expansion of diplomatic relations.

The contemporary efforts on the part of LAC countries to relaunch relations with African states also include specific timing associated with deepening relations with Africa as part of a strategy to diversify relations and increase contacts with countries of the global South for economic and political benefits. This is particularly the case with the inauguration of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela (1999), Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva in Brazil (2003), and Nestor Kirchner in Argentina (2003). While the Brazil-Africa interaction is discussed in further detail elsewhere in this volume (see Abdenur in this volume), it is important to highlight some of the factors associated with these strategies in the cases of Argentina and Venezuela.

In the case of Argentina, the governments of Nestor Kirchner (2003–07) and Cristina Kirchner (2007–15) deliberately engaged in concerted efforts to signal that their country wanted to increase relations with the African continent. For example, embassies were opened in Angola (2005), Ethiopia (2012), and Mozambique (2013).[7] These initiatives expanded Argentina's diplomatic presence on the continent, which had been initially limited to Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Tunisia, and South Africa, with an overwhelming prioritisation of North Africa, which represented the focus of Argentina's commercial interests on the continent. The decision to open new embassies in Africa was a clear signal from the two Kirchner administrations to distance themselves from previous administrations, which had closed Argentina's diplomatic missions in Ethiopia (1991), Cotê d'Ivoire (1991), Gabon (1992), Zaire (1992), and Zimbabwe and Senegal (2002). The opening of embassies in Angola and Mozambique indicated an intention to strengthen relations with two of the fastest-growing African economies, signalling the economic and commercial incentives of reaching out to Africa and of increasing Argentina's diplomatic presence in sub-Saharan Africa.

During Chávez's presidential mandate, Venezuela built relations with Burkina Faso (2003); Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Mauritius, Mozambique, Niger, Somalia, and Sudan (2005); Cape Verde, Djibouti, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic (CAR), São Tomé and Príncipe, and Swaziland (2006); Botswana, Malawi, and Mauritania (2007); and Burundi and Madagascar (2008). Under Chávez's leadership, Venezuela's diplomatic presence in Africa was extended from the initial eight embassies—Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Namibia, and South Africa—to Angola, Benin, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Mali, Mozambique, the DRC, Senegal, and Sudan.[8] By expanding the number of embassies, Venezuela was able to develop a more diversified approach towards relations with the continent. Nonetheless, it is important to note that despite the active political leadership of Chávez in pushing for the expansion of relations, it was not necessarily possible for African countries to reciprocate at the same level. No African head of state visited Venezuela between 1995 (when the Namibian president Sam Nujoma visited Caracas) and 2007, a period that covers the first eight years of the Chávez government.[9]

While political leadership was important in the cases of Argentina and Venezuela, all Latin American countries that expanded bilateral relations with African countries decided on this strategy as part of an effort to diversify partnerships and avoid dependency of a single partner, such as the United States (USA) or Europe. This is the case of countries such as Bolivia, Mexico, and Ecuador. Nonetheless, there was a clear desire on the part of the Bolivian government to diversify relations, including building relations with countries sharing similar ideological and political perceptions about the world order. Relations between Bolivia and Libya are illustrative of this dynamic. The Andean country established diplomatic relations with Libya only in August 2008, a decision that coincided with the opening of a Bolivian resident embassy in Tripoli and a visit by Bolivian president Evo Morales in the same month. In addition to a shared worldview between Morales and the Libyan president Muammar Qaddafi that criticised US foreign policy, Bolivia's decision was influenced by an interest in obtaining Libyan financial and investment resources in the Bolivian energy sector.[10] Nonetheless, Bolivia is still heavily under-represented on the African continent, with embassies in Egypt and Libya only.

Mexico's strategy of increasing relations with the African continent included the development of a specific plan (the Strategy for Approaching Africa) implemented by the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the leadership of President Felipe Calderón (from December 2006 to November 2012).[11] While it is important to stress that there is a political effort by the Mexican government to increase relations, these Mexican initiatives tend to oscillate between an interest in engaging with African countries and one of prioritising other regions (such as Europe and Latin America). In the case of Mexico, Hilda Varela Barraza argues that Africa was mentioned in the foreign policy section of the country's national development plan for 1995–2000 but was absent from the same section in Mexico's national development plan for 2001–06.[12] This inconsistency illustrates how the importance of developing relations with Africa is not yet fully enshrined in Mexico's foreign policy agenda.

Ecuador is another Latin American country that has signalled interest in investing in the expansion of relations with African countries. In 2014, the Ecuadorian government announced the opening of embassies in Algeria, Angola, and Nigeria in 2014 and in Ethiopia and Kenya in 2015. This interest is part of a new foreign policy strategy, initiated in 2007, in which Ecuador decided to "turn towards our brothers, in Latin America, Africa and Asia".[13] As part of this effort, the country decided to close embassies in Belgium, Portugal, and the Netherlands, indicating a decision to prioritise the country's presence in the global South. As of 2017, Ecuador had established embassies in Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nigeria, with the embassy in Kenya still pending.

For some Latin American countries, expanding relations with African countries served as an opportunity to revive past active relations with Africa. For instance, the policies implemented under Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez echoed Venezuelan foreign policy initiatives in previous decades, such as the opening of embassies and presidential visits to Africa during the governments of Presidents Rafael Caldera (1969–74) and Carlos Andrés Perez (1974–79), when high oil prices allowed for Venezuela to engage in active diplomatic activity. Venezuela's status as a founding member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) since September 1960 also created opportunities for Caracas to make contact with OPEC's African members. Some of these contacts were revived under Chávez, especially in order to negotiate a common position regarding oil prices. In the case of Colombia, the period between 1995 and 1998, when the country served as president of the NAM, represented the most active period of relations with African nations. Ernesto Samper, Colombia's president from 1994 to 1998, visited Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Kenya, and South Africa in 1997, marking the first visit by a Colombian head of state to the African continent.[14]

More recently, African countries have also made efforts to increase their diplomatic presence in the LAC countries. The DRC and Gabon opened their embassies in Cuba in 2016.[15] The diplomatic efforts on the part of African nations have also included commercial considerations. South Africa's Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) organised an outward trade and investment mission to Peru in 2014, with a view to setting up joint partnerships between the Peruvian and South African embassies and also to promote South Africa's investment potential.[16]

## Facilitating Africa-LAC Engagements

In analysing recent diplomatic relations between Latin America and Africa states, it is equally important to consider some unexpected relations that have emerged. For example, Mexico and Uganda occupied non-permanent seats at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) between 2009 and 2010. The Mexican president was a guest at the 15th ordinary session of the African Union (AU) General Assembly, held in Uganda in 2010, and the two countries have set a bilateral consultation mechanism.[17] The Mexico-Uganda cooperation was unexpected, since Uganda does not have resident embassies in Latin America and the Caribbean, and the only LAC country to have a resident embassy in Kampala is Trinidad and Tobago. Regionally, East Africa is the African sub-region with the lowest level of interactions with Latin American countries, with both exchange of visits and number of embassies being very limited. Nonetheless, the bilateral relations between Mexico and Uganda signal that there is a potential for expanding interactions.

A key feature of recent diplomatic and political interactions between Africa and the LAC countries is the reliance on individual presidential diplomacy and political leadership. As previously alluded to, Chávez's period in office placed Venezuela-Africa relations at unprecedented levels due to his heavy involvement in diplomatic relations, particularly regarding the global South. Chávez was the first Venezuelan president to visit Algeria, Benin, Libya, Mali, and South Africa. Chávez's visit to West Africa in 2006, which included Benin, Mali, and Gambia, was of strategic importance because of Venezuela's interest at the time to run for an elected non-permanent seat at the UN Security Council. Presidential diplomacy on the part of Latin American presidents also reveals a commercially minded agenda. In the case of Argentina, former president Cristina Kirchner travelled to North Africa in 2008, including visits to Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt, with a particular focus on expanding commercial relations. President Kirchner's 2012 visit to Angola also included strong trade considerations.

Another feature of LAC-Africa relations is how certain political leaders continued to play a role in promoting relations even after leaving office. In this regard, the best illustrative example is the case of former Brazilian president Lula da Silva (2003–10), who continued to play an important role in Brazil-Africa relations after leaving office on 1 January 2011, including visiting African countries and meeting with Brazilian ambassadors and African leaders. Lula's successor, President Dilma Rousseff (2011–16), appointed Lula as representative of the Brazilian government at the opening of the 17th session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union, held in Malabo (Equatorial Guinea) in June 2011.[18] In the same year, but in a non-official capacity, Lula visited Senegal (for the ninth World Social Forum) in Guinea and met with the respective presidents. In 2014, Lula visited Angola and Nigeria. He also attended the World Economic Forum on Africa (Abuja) and met with the presidents of Angola, Nigeria, and Benin as well as with the executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) as part of the visits.[19] When African leaders visited Brazil between 2011 and 2016, in addition to meeting with Rousseff and with ministerial authorities, they scheduled meetings with Lula as part of their official agenda in the country. Lula's active post-presidential diplomacy in Africa was seen as an asset for Brazilian diplomacy and Brazilian companies due to the former president's high popularity with African countries.

Besides the trade component, the expansion of diplomatic interaction between the LAC countries and African states is valued because it offers an opportunity for countries in both regions to seek support for specific issues in their foreign policy agendas. For Cuba, African diplomatic support at the United Nations is fundamental to denouncing the US-imposed embargo against Cuba at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). The UNGA has condemned the impact of the embargo every year since 1992, and the African bloc has voted in favour of the condemnation many times. Since 2010, the AU alone has approved a total of seven resolutions criticising the USA embargo against Cuba.[20]

Another LAC country that has gained specific political benefits from an increase in relations with African states is Argentina. Deputy Foreign Minister Eduardo Zuain visited Senegal, Djibouti, and Tanzania in 2015, holding discussions on South-South technical cooperation as well as the recent wave of Senegalese immigration to Argentina.[21] In Tanzania, Argentine and local officials discussed the possibility of expanding cooperation and celebrated an exchange agreement between diplomatic academics. In Djibouti, a country with no resident Latin American embassy with the exception of Cuba, Argentine officials discussed the possibility of strengthening bilateral relations. For Argentina, these visits represented key opportunities to strengthen international diplomatic support. During the visits to Senegal, Tanzania, and Djibouti, local African officials stated their support for Argentina's position regarding the Malvinas/Falklands and the issue of vulture funds.[22]

Argentina is not the only Latin American and Caribbean country interested in African support for its positions regarding international disputes over territorial claims. Guyana has been involved in a territorial dispute with Venezuela since the 1960s and has sought support from African countries. During the 2015 UNGA, the president of Guyana met with the presidents of Tanzania and Kenya as well as with the vice president of Angola to seek their support regarding the dispute with Venezuela.[23] While Venezuela-Africa relations were particularly strong when Chávez was in office (1999–2013), it remains to be seen if the recent political and economic crisis in Venezuela under President Nicolás Maduro will have a direct impact on Venezuela-Africa relations that leads to greater support on the part of African states regarding Guyana. The fact that Guyana and certain African countries are members of the Commonwealth can also influence the position of African states, signalling future greater support for Guyana's position.

In the case of African states, Morocco is the most illustrative example of engagement with Latin American countries to advance a specific foreign policy goal. Latin American countries have been the target of a diplomatic offensive on the part of the Moroccan government to reduce the diplomatic influence of the Polisario Front in Latin America. The Polisario Front formed the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in 1976 after the 1975 Tripartite Madrid Agreement, signed by Spain, Morocco, and Mauritania divided Western Sahara, while securing the economic interests of Spain in trade commodities of phosphates and fisheries. Western Sahara has ever since the 1970s been fighting for a referendum of self-determination for the Western Sahara territory that was forcefully occupied by Morocco.[24] Morocco's efforts are a direct response to efforts by representatives of the Polisario Front who wish to promote their claims and seek diplomatic and political support from countries within the region. LAC support for the Polisario Front should not be underestimated, since outside Africa, the largest number of countries that recognise the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic are located in Latin America and the Caribbean, including Bolivia, Cuba, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Recent support for the SADR has even extended beyond its traditional allies in the LAC region. In 2010 the Saharawi representative in Nicaragua participated in a meeting of the Central American Parliament (PARLACEN), and in 2014 the Brazilian House of Representatives (*Câmara dos Deputados*) requested the Brazilian government to recognise the Sahrawi Republic and criticised human rights violations by Morocco.[25] Additional examples of support for the Polisario Front in the LAC include a meeting in January 2017 between the then president of the Sahrawi National Council and the president of Nicaragua. Nonetheless, it is important to note that there is no consensus in the LAC region regarding the issue, since many countries have shifted their positions. Brazil, which does not have diplomatic relations with the Sahrawi Republic, adopts a more cautious approach, asking for the peaceful and negotiated resolution of the situation in Western Sahara.

While the Polisario Front has achieved some diplomatic victories in the region, Morocco has recently been able to increase its diplomatic support among Latin American countries. Paraguay broke diplomatic relations with the Saharawi Republic in January 2014, and Paraguay's decision was quickly reciprocated by Morocco's efforts in deepening relations.[26] In 2015, Morocco signalled an interest in opening a resident embassy in Paraguay, and in 2016, Morocco's foreign minister visited Paraguay to consolidate the bilateral relationship and reinforce the interest in opening a resident embassy.[27]

Panama is another example of how particular LAC countries have alternated diplomatic recognition between Morocco and the Sahrawi Republic. In November 2013, Panama suspended diplomatic relations with the Sahrawi Republic; the country later opened an embassy in Morocco in April 2014.[28] Nonetheless, in December 2014, the Panamanian foreign minister met with the minister of foreign affairs of the Sahrawi Republic, following which Panama decided to re-establish relations with the Sahrawi Republic in January 2016.[29] It is likely that losing diplomatic support from Panama would have been significant for the SADR, especially at the symbolic level. In 1978, Panama was the first LAC country to recognise the Sahrawi Republic, and in 1979 it was the first country to formally establish diplomatic relations with the Sahrawi Republic. The first SADR embassy in the Americas was opened in Panama in 1980.[30]

Mutual diplomatic and political support is also sought due to the representativeness and political weight that Latin American and African countries have, particularly within settings such as the UN. African countries represent 55 of the 193 votes of the UN General Assembly, which clearly draws attention on the part of LAC countries. While Latin American countries are far outweighed by African states in the UN General Assembly, their presence in the Security Council is of interest to African states. For example, Brazil has served for 20 years as a non-permanent member in the UNSC since 1945, and has used its different mandates in the Council to support African governments such as those of Angola and Mozambique. Argentina and Colombia have served respectively 18 and 14 years in the Security Council as non-permanent members since 1945, which gives them a say when issues related to the African continent are discussed on the agenda of the Security Council. African countries are equally interested in gaining support from LAC countries regarding their electoral campaigns for non-permanent seats in the UNSC. For example, when Ecuador's foreign minister visited Angola in 2015, the Angolan foreign minister thanked his Ecuadorian counterpart for the support given to Angola's campaign for a non-permanent seat in the 2015–16 period.[31] In addition to support related to the UNGA and the UNSC, it is common for African and Latin American countries to exchange support for their candidates to different positions in the UN system and international organisations.

## Challenges in Maintaining Africa-LAC Relationships

While this analysis indicates the growing interest in expanding relations, it is equally important to stress that for some Latin American countries, especially those in Central America, the financial cost of opening embassies on the African continent is still a significant consideration that has prevented them from deepening their engagement with the African continent. According to the Costa Rican press, in late 2015 the foreign minister of Costa Rica addressed Costa Rican legislators signalling an interest in opening embassies in Africa, but reiterated the country's lack of financial resources to do so.[32] At the time, the minister indicated that the country should open an embassy in Ethiopia because of the country's strategic location as the host of the AU. Nonetheless, as of 2017, Costa Rica had no embassies on the African continent.[33] Although there is an interest in deepening relations, particularly regarding the attractiveness of certain African countries and their economic growth, relations are sometimes difficult to maintain, even for larger Latin American countries. According to an official publication from the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs (SRE), Mexico opened an embassy in Angola in September 2008 but had to close the embassy in November 2009 due to financial restrictions. Mexican relations with Angola returned to being handled via the Mexican embassy in South Africa.[34]

Limitations regarding diplomatic representation are also an issue on the part of African states, challenging the deepening of relations. In the case of South Africa, while the country has missions in six South American states (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela), it is not present in smaller South American economies such as Suriname, Guyana, and Paraguay, nor in Colombia. South Africa's diplomatic presence in the Caribbean region is equally limited, with embassies in Cuba, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago but no embassies in Central America, where relations are handled via the South African embassy in Mexico. In light of economic restrictions, other African states have often chosen to maintain an embassy in Brazil and in Cuba to cover their relations with LAC. This is the case of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Mali, and Zimbabwe. Some countries have been able to maintain embassies only in Brazil, as is the case with Burundi, Cameroon, Gabon, Senegal, and Mauritania. Other countries have not been able to maintain a single embassy in a Latin American or Caribbean country, such as the CAR, Eritrea, Liberia, Lesotho, Niger, Rwanda, South Sudan, Swaziland, and Uganda.

An additional challenge in increasing and deepening relations between Latin American and African countries is the small number of direct communication links via air travel between the two regions, despite the relative geographical proximity of some of the sub-regions, such as the Brazilian northeast and West Africa. While direct links are still a limitation, there have been efforts to address those issues, from both large and small countries. In 2016, Jamaica attempted to set up an open skies agreement with South Africa and Kenya in order to facilitate air travel.[35] As of 2017, Brazil is the LAC country with the largest number of direct connections to the African continent, with direct flights to Angola, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Morocco, and South Africa. None of these flights are operated by Brazilian companies, which could signal that these companies do not identify African markets as a priority. Cuba has one direct flight connection to Angola, but this, like in the case of Brazil, is operated by the Angolan national airline (TAAG).

## Coordination at the Multilateral and Interregional Levels

When looking at contemporary LAC-Africa interactions, it is important to account for how these countries have developed relations involving their multilateral and regional institutions. Efforts indicating forms of engagement date back to the Cold War period. For example, Argentina became a member of the African Development Fund (ADF) in 1979 and of the African Development Bank (AfDB) in 1985.[36] Brazil became a member of the ADF and AfDB in 1982.

Because of the cultural proximity and the diplomatic, political, and military support since the Cold War period, including in its opposition against the apartheid regime, Cuba became an observer at the AU's 2000 summit, held in Lomé (Togo), when the AU's Constitutive Act was adopted. More recent developments also signal closer cooperation. For example, when the chair of the AU Commission, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, visited Cuba in 2015, she announced that the AU and Cuba were establishing a memorandum of understanding (MoU) to promote cooperation. According to the AU: "The main objective of the MoU is to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation in the areas of education and skills training particularly in the areas of health, women empowerment, arts and culture as well as on critical international issues."[37]

## Africa-LAC Institutional Engagements

Other LAC countries have expanded their relations with African institutions, especially as these institutions have evolved and increased their mandates regarding key areas such as peace, security, and economic cooperation. Brazil became an observer at the African Union in 2005,[38] and Mexico was granted permanent observer status at the AU the same year.[39] In the case of Venezuela, President Hugo Chávez travelled to Gambia in 2006 to attend the African Union meetings of heads of state in Banjul, becoming the first non-African head of state to attend an AU summit.[40] President Chávez was also the guest of honour at the AU's extraordinary summit held in Tripoli (Libya) in August 2009.[41] Under the two Kirchner administrations, Argentina became an observer at the AU in 2009, and at the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 2010.[42] Mexico became an observer state at ECOWAS in 2009.[43] Venezuela became an observer state in ECOWAS in 2010,[44] and Ecuador became an observer at the AU in 2011.[45] The importance given by Brazil to the AU is illustrated by the signing of a 2007 framework agreement with the AU in order to develop technical cooperation initiatives.[46] Under President Lula, Brazil attended a strategic summit with ECOWAS held in Cape Verde in July 2010.[47]

In the case of Haiti, the Caribbean nation became an observer state of the African Union in 2012, and there was speculation in the media about the possibility of Haiti joining the AU as a full member due to its historical and cultural roots with the African continent.[48] Nonetheless, in 2016, AU officials reiterated that Haiti would not be admitted as a full member since, according to Article 29(1) of the AU's Constitutive Act, only African states could be admitted as members of the AU.[49] Although Jamaica does not have a resident embassy in Ethiopia and maintains high commissions only in Nigeria and South Africa, the Jamaican government named its first representative to the AU in 2013.[50]

African states have expressed an interest in engaging with regional institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean. Several African countries have permanent observer status with the Organisation of American States (OAS), including Algeria, Angola, Benin, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Morocco, and Nigeria. Of all the African states, Botswana and South Africa are the only ones with diplomatic accreditation to the Community of Caribbean States (CARICOM).[51] Regarding African participation in LAC institutions, Morocco is the African nation that has made the most explicit efforts to obtain greater participation at the observer level. Morocco became an observer with the Central American Integration System (SICA) in 2014 and with the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States in 2015. Morocco is again in a unique position, as it also seeks accreditation to advance its goals, particularly regarding the situation in Western Sahara. The Moroccan decision to request status within SICA was likely more due to a strategy of gaining diplomatic and political support from the countries in the region than for actual commercial considerations.

SICA has eight member states (Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and the Dominican Republic), and at different times, many of these countries have changed their position regarding granting diplomatic recognition to the Sahrawi Republic. Belize recognises the SADR; Nicaragua's relations with the SADR were frozen in 2000 and reinstated in 2007; El Salvador established relations with the SADR in 1989, cancelled in 1997, and reinstated them in 2009. Honduras established relations with the SADR in 2013. Morocco's participation as an observer state within SICA is likely to influence SICA member states towards greater support for Morocco.

Relations between LAC and African institutions have also expanded from an interregional economic perspective. For example, the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) and the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) signed a framework agreement towards the creation of a free trade area in December 2000. The preferential trade agreement was signed in December 2008 in Salvador (Brazil) and in April 2009 in Maseru, but it entered into force only in April 2016, after all parties ratified the agreement.[52] Mercosur and Egypt initiated a discussion about a possible free trade agreement in late 2003, following which a free trade agreement between the two was signed in August 2010. The agreement with Egypt most likely included a geopolitical component, since Mercosur had signed a similar agreement with Israel in 2007.[53] Signing an agreement with Egypt was an indication that Mercosur countries were not taking seriously their commercial relations with Israel.

Interregional relations have advanced particularly with South America, and because of Brazilian leadership and interest in the process. The two most important mechanisms in which African and South American countries have interacted recently are the Summit of South American-Arab Countries (ASPA) and the ASA, both created under Brazil's influence. According to former Brazilian foreign minister Celso Amorim (2003–10), Brazil's initial idea was to create a Brazil-Africa summit, but

Brazilian diplomats realised that it was equally important to promote the integration of South American states with African countries via the South American-Arab States Summit as well as the Africa-South America Summit.[54] ASPA was created in May 2005 and the mechanism includes 22 Arab states, 10 of which are located on the African continent: Algeria, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, and Tunisia. So far, there have been three summits: in Brasília (2005), Doha (2009), and Lima (2012).[55]

In the case of ASA, the idea of creating the mechanism originated in a meeting in Brasília between Brazilian president Lula and Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo in September 2005.[56] So far, South American and African countries have participated in three different bi-regional summits: The first summit took place in Nigeria in 2006, the second in Venezuela in 2009, and the third in Equatorial Guinea in 2013. The third summit was initially going to take place in Libya in 2011 but was rescheduled due to the civil war in the country. The fourth summit earmarked in Ecuador in 2017.

While the occurrence of different high-level meetings within ASA signals the intention to promote relations, the mechanism still faces some limitations. During a seminar held in Brasília in March 2015, Brazil's deputy foreign minister, Ambassador Sérgio Danese, summarised ASA's future potential and the existing work in progress: "ASA must be more than an intergovernmental project and must motivate the intensification of interpersonal contacts in four dimensions: business, academia, culture and sports. We need the engagement of these sectors."[57] While there is still work in progress in deepening the bilateral relationship, ASA has served as an opportunity for South American countries to establish relations with African countries. For example, in 2015, when Ecuador was serving as president of ASA, a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs visited Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, and Mozambique, reinforcing bilateral relations with Zimbabwe, which were established in the same year. In a similar visit in 2015, Ecuador's foreign minister visited Angola and invited the Angolan president to attend the ASA in Quito.[58]

## Multilateral Regional Engagements

Initiatives such as ASA and ASPA are valued by participating states from the two regions because of their potential in maximising diplomatic and political backing to certain specific foreign policy goals held by participating states, as discussed earlier. For example, during ASA in September 2009 in Venezuela, representatives of the participating African and South American countries condemned the removal of President Manuel Zelaya in Honduras. The condemnation was influenced by several LAC countries such as Brazil and Venezuela. Nonetheless, the main issues for which African and LAC states have sought support from their counterparts is regarding disputes related to sovereignty and territories. The most illustrative example has been the case of Argentina and its claims regarding the Falklands/Malvinas Islands. The 2009 statement of the second ASA addressed the issue in the following way:

> *We urge* the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Argentine Republic to resume negotiations in order to find, as a matter of urgency, a fair, peaceful and lasting solution to the dispute concerning sovereignty over the Falklands/Malvinas Islands and South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands and surrounding maritime spaces, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and other pertinent regional and international organizations.[59]

While the 2009 statement adopted a more "neutral" position, the 2013 statement that emerged out of the third ASA in Equatorial Guinea indicated a position of explicit support for Argentina:

> We recognize the legitimate rights of the Argentine Republic in the sovereignty dispute over the Malvinas Islands, South Georgias and South Sandwich Islands, and the surrounding maritime areas and urge the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to resume negotiations with the Argentine Republic in order to find, as soon as possible, a fair, peaceful and definitive solution to the dispute.[60]

The 2013 statement also indicated support for the Republic of Mauritius's claims regarding the Chagos Archipelago and the claims by the Union of Comoros regarding the island of Mayotte. In both cases, the indication of support on the part of the ASA states criticised the positions of the United Kingdom and France regarding these two territories.

In addition to the limitations discussed earlier, it is important to note that the existence of ASA does not mean that incidents have been ruled out. When Venezuela hosted the 2009 ASA in Isla Margarita, the Venezuelan government invited representatives of the Polisario Front, and the decision was met with protest by the Moroccan delegation. The government of Morocco decided later in the same year to close its embassy in Venezuela.[61] At the time, the Brazilian press reported that the Venezuelan decision to invite the Polisario representative did not have the support of the Brazilian government, which identified Morocco as an important African partner.[62]

Another form of coordination between African and Latin American countries involves the Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic (ZOPACAS), which includes 21 member states from the African continent and Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay from the Latin American side. The initiative was initially established in 1986 under Brazil's leadership and was dormant for a large period until it was revived after a ministerial meeting in Luanda in 2007 and another meeting in Montevideo in 2013, where for the first time since the 1980s ministers of defence of the member states were also invited to participate (see Carvalho in this volume).

One final element to consider when looking at interregional relations between African and LAC countries is that such relations are part of a wide range of strategic partnerships. The partnerships recently created by African states with South America, Turkey (Africa-Turkey Partnership), and India (India-Africa Forum Summit) also complement earlier partnerships established with China, European countries, the United States, and Japan (Tokyo International Conference on African Development). While the existence of these partnerships allows for a larger engagement between African states and states located elsewhere, these partnerships can also generate conflicting diplomatic, political, and commercial agendas, as countries and regions sometimes present overlapping agendas where their political, diplomatic, and commercial interests on the African continent are concerned. Even the excessive number of summits and meetings with strategic partners could create challenges to the AU Commission. The Brazilian embassy in Addis Ababa, for example, recognised that if ASA had not been rescheduled from 2008 to 2009, it could have generated a logistical over-burden in the AU.[63]

## Africa-Latin America South-South Technical Cooperation

African and Latin American countries have been at the forefront of supporting the development of South-South cooperation, particularly by way of encouraging the involvement of the UN in providing political and financial support to these initiatives. In 1978, the government of Argentina and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) hosted the United Nations Conference on Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries, an event that launched the emblematic Buenos Aires Action Plan (BAAP), a key document in supporting the development of technical cooperation among developing countries.

Cuba has been a pioneer of providing assistance to African countries, particularly in areas such as health and education. Cuba has trained thousands of African students in its universities and teaching schools and has offered doctors to several African countries. The first team of Cuban doctors arrived in Algeria in 1963, shortly after the country's independence, but Cuba's medical internationalism and health diplomacy have extended to a large number of partner countries on the continent. Cuban support was strategic for the development of medical schools in countries such as Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, and Gambia in the 1970s and 1980s.[64]

In the 1990s, Argentina created the Argentine Horizontal Cooperation Fund (FOAR). While FOAR's projects have been developed mostly in LAC countries, there were a number of projects developed on the African continent during the period 2000–08 in Algeria, Angola, Egypt, Morocco, Mozambique, and Tunisia.[65] More recently, FOAR was expanded to Cameroon, Cotê d'Ivoire, and Nambia. Another specific area on which Argentina cooperates with African states is human rights.[66] The South American country has shared with African partners its experience in addressing past human rights violations committed by state agents during its time of military dictatorship. Argentina's Forensic Anthropology Team (EEAF) is providing capacitation to African countries in efforts to document and investigate cases associated with massive human rights violations.[67] According to Argentina's press, the EEAF has already worked with 14 African countries, beginning with assisting in the investigation of violations in 1994 during former Ethiopian president Mengistu Haile Mariam's rule, and also including cooperation with the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur, the Libyan International Red Cross/Crescent Committee, and the Extraordinary African Chambers in investigating crimes committed by the regime of Hissène Habré in Chad. In 2012, the EEAF helped in the creation of Africa's Human Rights and Forensic Science School in South Africa.[68]

More recent examples include the development of cooperation in specific thematic areas. For example, Mozambique, an African country rich in mineral and gas resources, is interested in expanding relations with Chile due to the South American country's long experience in developing a legal framework to address the exploitation of mineral resources.[69] Mexico is another example of an LAC country that has a very specific niche in which it provides South-South technical cooperation: electoral assistance. Mexico's National Electoral Institute has provided assistance and interacted with representatives of the East Horn of Africa Election Observers Network (E-HORN) and the West Africa Electoral Observers Network (WAEON).

Another recent example of an innovative South-South cooperation mechanism is the IBSA Fund, named after the IBSA Forum (comprising India, Brazil, and South Africa), created in 2003. The fund's full name is the IBSA Facility for the Alleviation of Poverty and Hunger, and it is managed by the UNDP's Special Unit for South-South Cooperation. The fund has so far provided resources for technical cooperation projects in areas such as health and agriculture. The fund allocates projects in countries of the global South that are of interest to India, Brazil, and South Africa; and within the LAC countries and Africa, the fund has supported initiatives in Burundi, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Haiti.[70]

## Latin America-Africa Cooperation on Security and Humanitarian Issues

Cooperation in favour of the maintenance of international peace and security is another important dimension of relations between Latin American and African states. Latin American countries have historically engaged in UN missions in Africa. Some of the most significant contributions during the Cold War and immediate post-Cold War period include Argentina and Brazil contributing military personnel to the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC), which lasted from 1960 to 1964. A Brazilian general served as chief observer of the first United Nations Verification Mission in Angola (UNAVEM I) from 1988 to 1991; and a Brazilian general served as force commander of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) between February 1993 and February 1994. Both Argentina and Brazil contributed military personnel to UNAVEM I;[71] Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia contributed to UNAVEM II[72] (May 1991–February 1995); and Brazil and Uruguay sent troops to UNAVEM III[73] (February 1995–June 1997). Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay contributed troops to ONUMOZ (January 1993–December 1994).[74]

In recent years, other LAC countries have extended their contribution to UN missions in Africa. For example, in 2005 the government of Guatemala authorised the deployment of a special force contingent of the Guatemalan army to the UN Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO). The mission was not without risks, as the Guatemalan army suffered casualties during the mission.[75] Examples of more recent contributions, or manifestations of the intention to contribute, are the result of pledges by Latin American leaders to expand their contribution to the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), especially in a scenario in which they will be reducing their participation in the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) after the mission's possible transformation into a political mission in 2018. The heads of state of Chile, Colombia, Peru, and Uruguay participated in the Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping in September 2015 and pledged to increase their contribution to UN peace operations.[76]

Peru is another LAC country that has recently expanded its contributions to UN missions in Africa. In January 2016, Peru deployed troops from its army, navy, and air force to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in the CAR (MINUSCA).[77] According to reports from the Peruvian press at the time of the deployment, Peru was initiating a 10-year troop contribution commitment to MINUSCA, in which troops would be replaced after a 12-month period. The Peruvian troops, mostly from the engineering company of the armed forces, are responsible for supporting the aerodrome infrastructure in the CAR.

Chile, which is currently reducing its presence in MINUSTAH, has planned to gradually expand its participation in UN missions in Africa. In 2014, after a request for contributions from the UN, the Chilean government sent representatives to the DPKO in order to consider which UN missions in Africa it could deploy troops to. According to Jorge Riquelme Rivera, in 2015 the Chilean government signed an agreement with the UN in which it indicated that it would engage in UN missions by initially sending officers to mission headquarters in 2016, sending engineers and helicopters by 2017, and sending a civil-military medical unit by 2018.[78] In March 2016, four officers of the Chilean army were sent to serve at the headquarters of the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA).[79] El Salvador is another Latin American country that has committed troops to UN efforts in Mali: as of 2015, El Salvador had deployed troops and helicopters from its air force to MINUSMA.[80]

Uruguay, a significant contributor to MONUSCO since the early 2000s, has brought back its troops from MINUSTAH in April 2017[81] and is considering whether it should deploy troops to MINUSCA.[82] The Uruguayan parliament wants to evaluate whether MINUSCA is in line with some of the principles that guide Uruguay's foreign policy, including non-interference and the promotion of peaceful solutions to conflicts. Uruguay had previously rejected a UN invitation to deploy an elite contingent to MINUSCA in 2015 because it did not have a sufficient number of troops to be deployed.[83]

Mexico, the largest Latin American financial contributor to UN peacekeeping, is another LAC country that has recently expressed an interest in returning to UN peacekeeping in general, including to missions in Africa.[84] The decision was a follow-up of the commitment made by the president of Mexico at the Leaders' Summit on Peacekeeping. In 2015, the Mexican government announced the deployment of eight military observers, to three UN missions: the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), MINUSTAH, and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL).[85] In 2016, during a visit to Mexico by the UN Under-Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations, Hervé Ladsous, the UN official signalled that Mexican authorities indicated an interest in contributing to the UN's mission in the DRC—MONUSCO.[86]

While it is important to discuss here the contributions that Latin American countries have provided to UN peacekeeping missions on the African continent, it is also important to acknowledge how African countries have contributed to the only UN peacekeeping mission located in the LAC region: MINUSTAH. Since 2004, when MINUSTAH was established, African countries, particularly Francophone African countries, have deployed police officers to the mission. As of February 2017, the African police contingents to MINUSTAH were: Burkina Faso (46 personnel), Cameroon (22), Chad (4), Djibouti (5), Egypt (1), Ethiopia (8), Ghana (10), Guinea (4), Madagascar (34), Mali (38), Niger (84), Nigeria (3), Rwanda (178), Togo (30), and Tunisia (10). MINUSTAH, a UN mission with strong Latin American troop-contributing participation, provides an opportunity for interaction between military and police forces from LAC and African states.[87]

## African Countries' Contribution to LAC Peacekeeping Missions

In addition to contributing to UN missions, another important area of Latin America-Africa engagement is via the provision of humanitarian assistance, of which Cuba has been the most consistent contributor. As previously indicated, Cuba provided medical training to African students and sent Cuban doctors to medical missions to a diversified number of African countries, from Guinea-Bissau to Djibouti. More recently, Cuba played an important role in providing medical assistance to West African countries affected by the Ebola outbreak of 2014. Cuba was one of the first countries to respond to the World Health Organization's (WHO) call for collaboration, and Cuban doctors stayed in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea from October 2014 to April 2015.[88] Alongside Cuba, other Latin American countries expressed solidarity towards West Africa at the time of the Ebola crisis. In partnership with the WHO, Mexico sent a team of health professionals to Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea in a joint delegation with Cuban health professionals. LAC countries have provided assistance beyond the health sector. For example, Argentina's White Helmets Commission, affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sent a group to the border between Tunisia and Libya to provide assistance to refugees in UN camps between March and April 2011.[89]

Humanitarian assistance was also a component of the support provided by African countries to Haiti. In addition to their role as police contributors to MINUSTAH, it is important to recognise the role that African countries played in offering assistance to Haiti in the aftermath of the January 2010 earthquake, which brought devastating consequences to the Caribbean nation. After the earthquake, the president of Senegal offered free land in Senegal for Haitian citizens who wished to settle in the country.[90] African countries offered financial assistance to Haiti within the context of the various international donor conferences organised after the earthquake. According to the UN, the African countries that made pledges of financial support to Haiti included Gambia ($1 million), Mauritius ($1 million), and Mali ($204,000), while the DRC ($2.5 million) and Burkina Faso ($200,000) made separate contributions to the UNDP.[91] African solidarity with LAC countries is not limited to the situation in Haiti, since after Chile's February 2010 earthquake, South Africa donated $73,000 to the South American country.[92] More recently, in early 2016, Morocco offered $1 million to assist Paraguayan states affected by floods along the Paraguay River.[93]

When considering the broader maintenance of international peace and security, it is equally important to take into account how Latin American countries have responded to issues associated with sovereignty and military intervention in Africa. Events in Libya in 2011 signalled the different positions taken by Latin American countries regarding how the international community should respond to the situation that led to the overthrow of the Qaddafi regime in 2011. When conflict erupted between the Libyan government and opposition forces, the Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega also offered his support to the Libyan government. President Chávez of Venezuela criticised military action against Libya and offered to mediate there.[94] Other countries adopted stronger positions, signalling a condemnation of the Libyan regime, especially as human rights violations emerged. Peru on its part broke diplomatic relations with Libya in February 2011.

Different positions were also identified when the situation in Libya was addressed at the UN. At that time, when the UN Security Council was considering military action in Libya, Colombia and Brazil were serving in non-permanent seats at the Council. Colombia voted in favour of Resolution 1973, which authorised military action, while Brazil abstained.[95] Other Latin American countries levelled criticism against the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). The president of Ecuador mentioned that Resolution 1973 did not authorise NATO's bombing of Libya.[96] Similarly, the OAS, with Nicaragua criticised NATO's actions in Libya.[97] Differences between Latin American countries were also evident regarding the scenario after the overthrow of Qaddafi. Some Latin American countries were quick to recognise the country's National Transitional Council (NTC) as the legitimate representative of the Libyan people, including Panama (June 2011) and Colombia (August 2011), while others recognised the NTC only later, such as Chile and Costa Rica (September 2011). But when the UN voted to accredit the NTC to represent Libya in the General Assembly, supporters included Latin American countries Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and Peru. Even during the UN voting, there was no consensus on the part of LAC countries such as Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, and Venezuela, which all voted against the recognition of the NTC in the UNGA session, while representatives of the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Uruguay abstained when the UNGA voted on recognising the NTC.

Another important international security issue that requires further cooperation between LAC and African states is transatlantic drug trafficking. According to a report by the United Nations Office Against Drugs and Crime (UNODC): "Sometime around 2004, Colombian groups began experimenting with routing their cocaine shipments through West Africa. From 2005 to 2008, there was a dramatic series of very large cocaine seizures in or near West Africa. Between 2006 and 2008, West Africa represented 11 percent of the departure locations of identified drug-trafficking shipments by sea from South America to Europe."[98] While there is a growing awareness of the problem on the part of authorities in LAC and Africa states, and the flow of drug-trafficking shipments has been reduced since 2008, UNODC has highlighted that the problem still deserves attention:

> From 2005 to 2011, only 20 seizures of cocaine have been made from containers travelling from Latin America via Africa to Europe, including six seizures in 2008, two in 2009 and two in 2010. The volumes have been impressive, though: some 2.5 tons in all, a significant share of the seizures was made in West Africa during this period.[99]

It is not only via official government channels that Latin America has contributed in cooperating with African countries regarding security issues. For example, from 2007 to 2010, the Brazilian non-governmental organisation (NGO) Viva Rio shared its experience in promoting gun control in Rio de Janeiro with Mozambique, including identification of how firearms enter Mozambique, and assisted in the creation of a gun registry. Viva Rio's interaction with the government of Mozambique was made possible via UNDP, which donated $200,000 for the development of the project.[100] While this was an isolated initiative, it illustrates the potential of how lessons learned from context-specific situations in LAC countries can contribute to how African stakeholders could make decisions on certain policy orientations.

## The Domestic/International Agenda in Latin America-Africa Relations

It would not be possible to provide an account of contemporary Latin America-Africa relations without making reference to the domestic/international cultural and historical ties uniting the two regions, particularly the crucial influence that Africans brought as slaves to the Americas contributed to the formation of LAC states. In a speech given in Nairobi during the first visit by a Colombian president to Africa, Ernesto Samper mentioned that it was "unbelievable that in spite of the 6 million Colombians of African descent that no Colombian president had ever visited Africa".[101] In the case of Brazil, in 2005, former president Lula visited Senegal; while visiting Goreé Island, Lula acknowledged Brazil's moral debt towards Africa and apologised for the use of Africans as slaves in Brazil.[102] In Argentina, the government had made an effort in 2011 to celebrate a "Year of African Descent" and to acknowledge the contribution of soldiers of African descent in the country's war of national liberation in the 1800s.[103] In 2015, when the deputy foreign minister of Argentina visited Senegal, the diplomat visited Goreé Island and acknowledged the contribution of Afro-descendants to Argentina's national identity.[104] In Ecuador, where Afro-descendants compose 7% of the population, President Rafael Correa committed to improving the living conditions of the country's Afro-descendant population as part of Ecuador's commitment to the UN International Decade for People of African Descent for the period 2015–24.[105]

Domestic/international connections also served to reinforce contemporary diplomatic relations. At the time of Chilean president Michelle Bachelet's 2014 visit to Mozambique, it was recalled that Mozambique hosted Chilean citizens at the time of Pinochet's regime in Chile. Influenced by this previous connection, as of 2014, Mozambique had a total of 100 Chileans living in the country.[106] Many Chileans and Brazilians who were exiled from their countries during the Cold War period worked in development cooperation in Mozambique at the time of Mozambique's socialist government between 1975 and 1990.

Symbolic issues associated with twentieth-century Latin America-Africa relations have also influenced contemporary relations between the two regions. For example, Mexico was one of the few countries to condemn the 1935 Italian invasion of Ethiopia at the League of Nations, and Ethiopian authorities still remember this gesture of solidarity (see Venturi in this volume). In 1985, when a major earthquake struck Mexico City, Ethiopia was one of the countries that provided financial assistance to Mexico.[107] Likewise, Mexico was a historical supporter of the anti-apartheid movement, having presented, together with France, the first UNGA resolution that condemned racial segregation in South Africa, as early as 1946. Mexico hosted a 1991 visit by Nelson Mandela, at the time when he was released from jail. As part of its support to the African National Congress (ANC), Mexico established diplomatic relations with South Africa only in December 1993, after Mandela was a free man.[108]

Similarly, in addressing the domestic/international dimension of Latin American-Africa relations, it is important to account for how the experience of African countries can be useful for LAC countries in addressing issues associated with their political history. For example, Rwanda and South Africa can offer lessons as to how Latin American countries can respond to issues associated with reconciliation and past human rights violations. In 2005, Colombian authorities invited Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu, and in 2007 they also invited Nobel Peace Prize winner Frederik de Klerk, to share their experiences of the process of ending apartheid. In 2006, the Colombian foreign minister visited South Africa and indicated a desire to learn how South Africa had addressed issues associated with reparations.[109] The consolidation of the 2017 peace process in Colombia, including the establishment of a UN political mission in the country (the UN Mission in Colombia), can benefit from lessons derived from similar experiences that have taken place in the African continent, including examples of disarmament, integration of guerrilla forces, and development of political missions.[110]

## Conclusion: Moving Beyond State-to-State Interactions

As relations between Latin America and Africa have deepened and gained new strength in the post-Cold War period, one aspect of this relationship that clearly needs further improvement is the interaction between civil society organisations from the two regions. The vast majority of existing connections between countries located in the two regions is still conducted via official government-to-government channels, which generate certain limitations as to which items are included on the agendas and which actors are invited to participate in the discussions. While there have been some recent civil society-sponsored initiatives, such as the Brazilian human rights NGO Conectas's hosting of representatives from African human rights NGOs, and Chilean civil society's organising of an Africa Week in Chile in 2010, much more civil society engagement must be orchestrated between the regions.

In addition to the importance of exploring further engagements by civil society between LAC countries and Africa, two areas hold potential for the furtherance of LAC-Africa engagement. First, within the South American context, the region's experience in promoting infrastructure integration, particularly via the Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure of South America (IIRSA), launched in 2000, can provide important lessons to African countries in regional infrastructure development to specifically enhance the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), launched by the AU in 2010.[111] The second area of potential for increased LAC-Africa cooperation is regarding the recent outbreaks of tropical diseases such Zika and Chikungunya that have spread over LAC countries. These diseases also affect African states (the first Zika cases were detected in Angola in 2016),[112] which generates the potential for joint technological and scientific collaboration as well as joint diplomatic and political cooperation in responding to these often neglected diseases in spaces such as the WHO's efforts to combat them.

Efforts such as the ASA Summit have illustrated that there is potential for expanding and deepening diplomatic relations between Latin American and African states, especially in developing new channels and looking into innovative areas in which countries can cooperate. As discussed here, Latin America-Africa interactions have indeed moved beyond the narratives that only contemplate the role of key players such as Brazil and Cuba, South Africa, or Nigeria. In addition, since both Latin America and Africa have, although in different ways, been affected by China's growing international presence, there is a potential for collaboration in sharing ways to develop their respective relations with China.[113] These elements indicate that in spite of the challenges and limitations, LAC and Africa's states have identified each other's diversity and complementarities as potential allies at the political, diplomatic, and commercial levels.

## Notes

1. Emma Mawdsley and Gerard McCann (eds), *India and Africa: Changing Geographies of Power and Development* (Cape Town: Pambazuka, 2011); Marcus Power, Giles Mohan, and May Tan-Mullins, *China's Resource Diplomacy in Africa: Powering Development?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Padraig Carmody, *The Rise of the BRICS in Africa: The Geopolitics of South-South Relations* (London: Zed, 2013); Ian Taylor, *Africa Rising? BRICS-Diversifying Dependency* (Woodbridge: Currey, 2014).
2. *See* J. Isawa Elaigwu and Ali A. Mazrui, "Nation-Building and Changing Political Structures", in Ali A. Mazrui and C. Wondji (eds), *General History of Africa VIII: Africa Since 1935* (Paris: United Nations

Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 1993), p. 458.

3. See: “Angola”, Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/pt-BR/ficha-pais/4817-republica-de-angola
4. Brazil has been only an observer at the Non-Aligned Movement, never having played a role in the NAM at the same level as some of the other Latin American countries like Argentina, Cuba, and Venezuela.
5. Carla Morasso, “South-South Cooperation Between Argentina and Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Agriculture”, *Revista NEIBA UERJ* 2 (2013), pp. 15–24, http://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/index.php/neiba/article/view/8377
6. Mauricio de Maria y Campos, “Mexico and the South of the African Continent: A Six Year Perspective”, *Foro Internacional* 48(1–2) (2008), pp. 448–86, http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=59916819017
7. A detailed account of Argentina’s diplomatic relations with African countries is available in the Africa section of the oficial website of Argentina’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, http://www.cancilleria.gov.ar/es/africa
8. María Florencia Giacchi “Hugo Chávez’s Foreign Policy Towards Africa 2004–2010”, *Humania del Sur* 7(12) (2012), pp. 41–60.
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CHAPTER 11

# Africa and India: Riding the Tail of the Tiger?

*Kudrat Virk*

This chapter focuses on Africa's relations with India, the "other" emerging Asian power, which has thus far escaped the close scrutiny, if not criticism, that the much larger, and expanding, Chinese footprint on the continent has attracted. The competitive dynamic between New Delhi and Beijing is an important fulcrum of India's international relations in Africa. Not surprisingly, this has contributed to a tendency, by and large, to assess India's presence on the continent either in a comparative framework with China or within the context of its membership of the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). This chapter, though, is primarily concerned with the dynamics of the bilateral relationship between Africa and India. It provides a panoramic view of the contemporary partnership with a view to teasing out the drivers of India's engagement with Africa, and generating a conversation on both the challenges and the opportunities that this engagement poses for the continent's decision-makers.

India's rise and quest for greater power, influence, and status in the world are relatively recent phenomena, and part of a broader narrative of change within the global South.[1] There has been a concomitant resurgence of Indian interest in Africa and vice versa, which has helped position the country as an important new trade and development partner for the continent. That said, while India may be a "non-traditional power", it is

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_11

not a complete newcomer to the continent, nor devoid of historical influence. As Indian prime minister Narendra Modi noted, with trademark rhetorical flourish, at the 2015 India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS): “This [partnership between India and Africa] is not a new journey, nor a new beginning. But, this is a new promise of a great future for an ancient relationship.”[2] The chapter is, to a large extent, an exploration of the nature and extent of that promise. It begins with a brief history of Africa-India relations, followed by an in-depth analysis of present-day economic ties. Next the chapter focuses on peace and security cooperation between India and Africa, before offering some concluding reflections.

## Historical Background

The ties that bind contemporary India and Africa stretch far back into the pre-colonial era, when maritime flows across the Indian Ocean connected the sub-continent to Southern and East Africa’s shores. The advent of colonialism disrupted this Indian Ocean economy. But, as Constantino Xavier notes, Portuguese and then British rule also accelerated migratory flows, with thousands of Africans brought to serve as military slaves in India’s Deccan region by the end of the nineteenth century, while Indian indentured labourers were shipped to Africa to work on plantations and railway construction projects (they were followed by a smaller number of fare-paying “passenger” Indians).[3] Today, several African countries—especially South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, and Mauritius—are home to a large and distinct Indian diaspora that owes its origins to these colonial trade networks, and which has since grown with a new and more recent wave of Indian migration. Similarly, as more and more Africans are making their way to India in pursuit of education and employment opportunities, this has provided impetus for a nascent discussion in India on the country’s forgotten African history and drawn attention to older Indian communities of African origin such as the Siddis.[4]

Closer to the present day, the India-Africa relationship in the modern era has been forged in a shared struggle against racism, discrimination, and colonialism. The 1955 Bandung Conference, the first gathering of newly independent Asian and African states amid the antagonism of the Cold War, still remains a powerful symbol of solidarity and, for many, an inspiration in the global South’s continuing quest for a more just and equitable world order. India’s own freedom movement, in particular with Gandhi—an iconic figure revered for his philosophy of non-violent resistance—at its epicentre, had a significant influence on anti-colonial struggles on the continent, particularly in South Africa, where he spent his formative years. This "cross-cutting role … helped to develop and sustain Indian nationalists' attention to the issue of racial discrimination in South Africa, laying the foundations for Afro-Asian solidarity against apartheid; and to inspire activists struggling in South Africa itself".[5] Indian nationalists were the first to place a complaint against the South African government's racial policies on the agenda of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 1946—a year before India gained its own independence—in a remarkable act of protest, in Vijay Gupta's words, "by a British colony against a British dominion".[6] This initially addressed only the treatment of Indians, but quickly broadened to include apartheid, when it was formally instituted in 1948. Post-independent India remained untiring in its anti-apartheid activism and its support for national liberation movements in Africa. This was motivated by both a normative commitment to Third World solidarity, particularly under India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and an intention to make the country's presence felt in the world.

In subsequent years, as decolonisation progressed in the 1950s and 1960s, India relinquished this leadership role to the Africa Group at the UN. Its presence and sway on the continent also declined for various reasons, including its unwillingness and capacity to support armed liberation struggles, or "influence military conditions on the ground" in Africa against the backdrop of the Cold War.[7] By the time that the Cold War ended by 1990, India's gaze had further turned inwards, as it faced simultaneous political and economic crises at home. The decade that followed was a difficult period of transition for the country, as it was forced to embark on a sweeping programme of economic liberalisation amid a fracturing of domestic politics and, at the same time, to adjust to the sudden loss of the Soviet Union—a long-standing trade partner and cheap arms supplier, not to forget a vital strategic ally, particularly in India's territorial dispute over Kashmir with Pakistan. Indeed, managing its relationship with the United States (USA) became the main preoccupation of India's foreign policy, as New Delhi came under enormous and sustained pressure from Washington on a variety of sensitive issues ranging from intellectual property rights to human rights violations in Indian-held Kashmir and the country's nuclear capabilities. As a result, "relations with Africa … fell even further back among New Delhi's priority areas", while the continent as well "remained engulfed in a series of shaky post-conflict democratic transitions". It was only at the turn of the twenty-first century, when India's economic circumstances changed, that Africa regained attention on the country's "strategic radar".[8]

## Economic and Commercial Relations

Since 2000, India's history of Afro-Asian solidarity has allowed it to create an appealing narrative of South-South cooperation and solidarity to frame its resurgent interest in Africa. The rhetoric is, to some extent, genuine. Both India and Africa have a shared interest in combating global inequalities and injustice. This is reflected, for example, in their shared quest for UN Security Council reform, though they may differ on its modalities.[9] More hard-headed strategic and economic imperatives, however, lie at the heart of India's current efforts to rebuild its partnership with Africa. In order to achieve its aspirations for greater status and influence in the global order, India needs to sustain the economic growth momentum that it has gained since undertaking liberalisation in the 1990s. This economic growth has formed the basis of its inclusion in elite power groupings such as the Group of 20 (G20) countries and the BRICS bloc. The Indian economy quadrupled in size from $476.6 billion to $2.1 trillion between 2000 and 2015, with annual growth of about 7% on average.[10] By 2050, it is expected to be the third largest economy in the world, after China and the USA, and according to the Economist Intelligence Unit, "richer than the next five (Indonesia, Germany, Japan, Brazil, and the UK [United Kingdom]) put together".[11] This actual and potential trajectory, notwithstanding the obstacles that it faces, has fuelled New Delhi's ambitions and confidence in the global arena, not to forget others' expectations of India as a strategically valuable player. As importantly, continued growth is vital to meeting the development needs of the country's estimated 1.3 billion population, about one-fifth of whom live on less than $1.90 a day.[12] Beyond the hype about India as a rising star, its foremost challenge is domestic. This involves reducing extreme poverty and providing basic goods and services (for example, clean water and electricity) to all, while responding to the consumption demands of an expanding middle class and managing the potential of the country's youth bulge. More than a quarter of India's population is aged 10–24,[13] with youth unemployment estimated to stand at 9.6% in 2016.[14]

Domestic challenges have created a large and growing Indian need for resources,[15] trade, and investment opportunities. This need has spurred a resurgence of interest in Africa that has coincided with, and contributed to, the continent's own growth spurt since the turn of the twenty-first century. Sub-Saharan Africa's collective gross domestic product (GDP) rose from $367.7 billion in 2000 to $1.6 trillion in 2015, which is roughly equal to Canada's and only just less than Brazil's.[16] According to research from the McKinsey Global Institute, Africa's economic take-off benefited from the commodities boom of the 2000s generated by surging demand from China and, to a lesser extent, India. It also owed in large part to internal structural changes such as improved governance, better economic management, and declining conflict on the continent.[17] The surge further pre-dates the commodities boom. As Liam Halligan notes: "Between 1995 and 2005, seventeen sub-Saharan African countries … grew by 5.5 per cent on average—without the benefit of sharp rises in commodity prices."[18] Although this growth was unevenly spread across the continent and has since decelerated, dipping down from 4.6% in 2014 to 3% in 2015,[19] it has exhibited staying power. Africa remains one of the world's fastest-growing regions, behind only Asia, with an expanding consumer market, young workforce, and untapped revenue and investment potential.

### *The Strategic and Economic Importance of Africa*

For New Delhi, the attractiveness of Africa is to some extent obvious. It is, in the main, tied to India's enormous appetite for, and corresponding need for securing access to, fuel minerals such as coal, oil, natural gas, and uranium. India was the world's third largest energy consumer in 2013.[20] It is expected by 2040 to account for about one quarter of the projected rise in global energy demand—more than any other country.[21] It is also increasingly reliant on imports to meet these energy demands. In 2015–16, for example, an estimated 84.6% of crude oil consumed was imported.[22] India's import dependence for key raw materials—from minerals such as cobalt and coltan to precious metals like gold—is similarly high, with crude oil, petroleum products, base metals, ores, and minerals together constituting about one third of its total import basket in 2015–16.[23] Africa, on the other hand, is energy- and resource-rich. It holds 10% of the world's oil reserves, 40% of the world's gold, and 80–90% of the world's chromium and platinum-group metals, as well as sizeable deposits of cobalt, diamonds, and phosphates. In 2015, Africa was India's second largest source of crude oil imports (19%), after the Middle East (58%).[24] Meanwhile, major natural gas discoveries off East Africa's seaboard have transformed the sub-region into "one of the world's most active oil and gas exploration areas"[25] and further increased its salience for India, as a potential means to diversify the country's energy import dependency. Beyond energy, food security and commercial opportunities have been key economic drivers of India's expanding engagement with Africa. As Xavier notes, "Indian policy-makers … increasingly recognise the strategic importance of Africa's rising economies and emerging middle classes to stimulate the comparative advantage of its export-intensive sectors", including pharmaceuticals, industrial fuels, machinery, and vehicles.[26]

### *Trade and Investment on the Rise*

Amid the revival in their fortunes, economic relations between Africa and India have thus burgeoned over the past decade. Total trade has grown very rapidly, rising from a low base of $9.6 billion in 2004–05 to $71.5 billion in 2014–15, though it declined to $56.6 billion in 2015–16 as part of an overall dip in the value of Indian trade (see Fig. 11.1).[27] This trade is overshadowed by Africa-China trade—$220 billion in 2015[28]—but is still sizeable. Over the past decade India has become one of Africa's major trade partners; and, in 2014, it overtook the USA to become the continent's

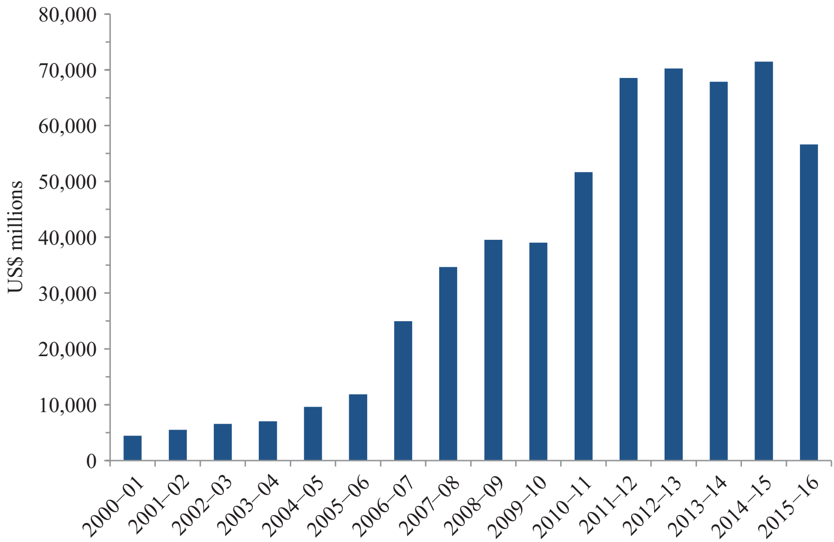


**Fig. 11.1** India-Africa trade, 2001–16
Source: India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce, Export Import Data Bank, Version 7.1—TRADESTAT, http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp (accessed 24 July 2015)

third largest trade partner, after the European Union (EU) and China.[29] The major African importers from India in 2015–16 included, in order of the value of goods imported, South Africa, Kenya, Egypt, Nigeria, and Tanzania (see Table 11.1). The largest African exporters to India in the same year were Nigeria, South Africa, Ghana, Angola, and Egypt (see Table 11.2). Of particular note is the fact that mineral fuels—specifically oil—constituted almost all of India's $9.9 billion imports from Nigeria. The importance of energy in India's trade with Africa is further reflected in its shifting regional geography.[30] In 2004–05, Southern Africa was the largest exporter of goods to India, accounting for 57% of the total from the continent, with West Africa a distant second at 21%. About a decade on, by 2015–16, the two regions had switched positions: Southern Africa's share had declined to 32%, while West Africa's share had risen to 53%, with oil-rich Nigeria, in particular, moving up from the ranks to take pole position among Africa's exporters to India.[31]

Similarly, foreign direct investment (FDI) flows between Africa and India have grown over the past decade and a half, though the data are patchy and also—as made available publicly by the Indian government—"rather sketchy".[32] In 2014, the last year for which data were available at the time of writing from sources such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Industry (UNCTAD) and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), India was one of the top ten investor economies in Africa,

**Table 11.1** India's top ten export partners in Africa in 2015–16

| *Market* | *Value (US$ millions)* | *Percentage of India's total exports to Africa* | *Percentage of India's total exports* |
|---|---|---|---|
| South Africa | 3,589 | 14 | 1 |
| Kenya | 3,026 | 12 | 1 |
| Egypt | 2,338 | 9 | 1 |
| Nigeria | 2,222 | 9 | 1 |
| Tanzania | 1,655 | 7 | 1 |
| Mozambique | 1,242 | 5 | <1 |
| Mauritius | 856 | 3 | <1 |
| Ethiopia | 794 | 3 | <1 |
| Algeria | 788 | 3 | <1 |
| Sudan | 782 | 3 | <1 |

Source: India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce, Export Import Data Bank, Version 7.1—TRADESTAT, http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp (accessed 20 August 2016)

**Table 11.2** India's top ten import partners in Africa in 2015–16

| *Exporter* | *Value (US$ millions)* | *Percentage of India's total imports from Africa* | *Percentage of India's total imports* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nigeria | 9,949 | 31 | 3 |
| South Africa | 5,948 | 19 | 2 |
| Ghana | 2,981 | 9 | 1 |
| Angola | 2,767 | 9 | 1 |
| Egypt | 1,221 | 4 | <1 |
| Morocco | 1,078 | 3 | <1 |
| Côte d'Ivoire | 572 | 2 | <1 |
| Cameroon | 558 | 2 | <1 |
| Botswana | 542 | 2 | <1 |
| Zambia | 475 | 2 | <1 |

Source: India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce, Export Import Data Bank, Version 7.1—TRADESTAT, http://commerce.nic.in/eidb/default.asp (accessed 20 August 2016)

with $15 billion of total FDI stock, modestly up from $12 billion in 2009. In terms of relative importance, the continent accounted for 17% of India's total outward FDI stock of $88 billion,[33] though these Indian investments were dwarfed by those of the USA and Europe, which have remained the main sources of FDI on the continent. African investments in India, meanwhile, were estimated at $65 billion and constituted 26% of the country's inward FDI stock of $249.3 billion in 2013.[34] These data, however, present a somewhat distorted picture of the extent of investment flows between Africa and India, due to the role played by Mauritius as an offshore financial centre. Between 2000 and 2015, this small Indian Ocean Island country accounted for the lion's share of FDI inflows into India,[35] but at least some of the money is thought not to have been from Mauritius itself, but to have comprised funds channelled by foreign companies or "round-tripped" by Indian entities to escape taxation.[36] After Mauritius, South Africa has the most significant FDI footprint in India, with an estimated $152 million in investments as of 2012.[37] The expanding South African corporate presence in India includes SABMiller (breweries); Old Mutual (insurance); FirstRand (banking); Adcock Ingram (pharmaceuticals); and Airports Company South Africa, among others.

### *Issues and Challenges*

While India's economic engagement with Africa has grown rapidly, accompanied by the rhetoric of mutual benefit, there are a number of issues to consider. The first is relative importance. Between 2005–06 and 2015–16, Africa's share in India's total imports rose from 3% to 8%, while its share in India's total exports rose from 7% to 10%.[38] This upswing reflects a broader change in the pattern of India's trade from North to South, with similar increases recorded by Asia and Latin America amid a notable decline in flows to and from Europe (as a whole). However, Africa's shares of India's trade are still fairly low. Albeit starting from a higher base, Asia's share of India's total exports, for instance, reached 49% and imports 58% by 2015–16.[39] (See Figs. 11.2 and 11.3.) Furthermore, India is a more important trade partner for individual African countries than vice versa. The example of Nigeria is illustrative. The West African economic giant is India's largest African trade partner, but had a mere 1.9% share in its total trade and ranked 15th overall in 2015–16.[40] In contrast, India was Nigeria's third largest trade partner, after the EU and China, and accounted for 10.5% of its world trade in 2015.[41]

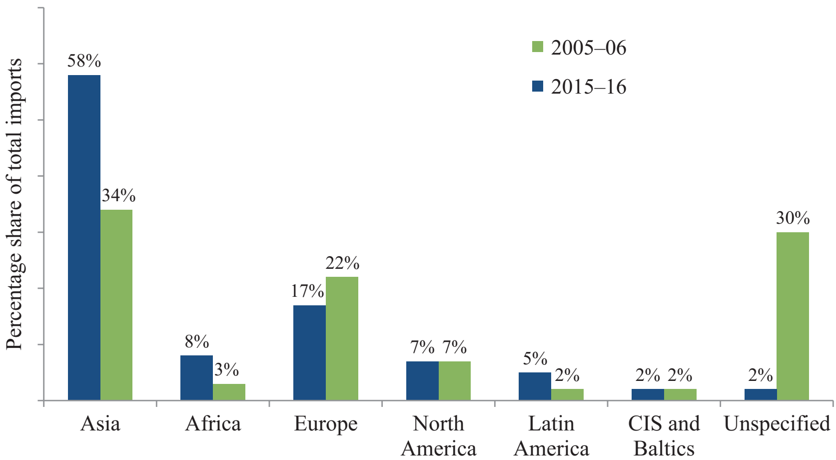


**Fig. 11.2** Regional shares of India's imports, 2005–06 and 2015–16
Source: India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce, System on Foreign Trade Performance Analysis, Version 3, http://commerce.gov.in/FTPA.aspx (accessed 1 May 2017)

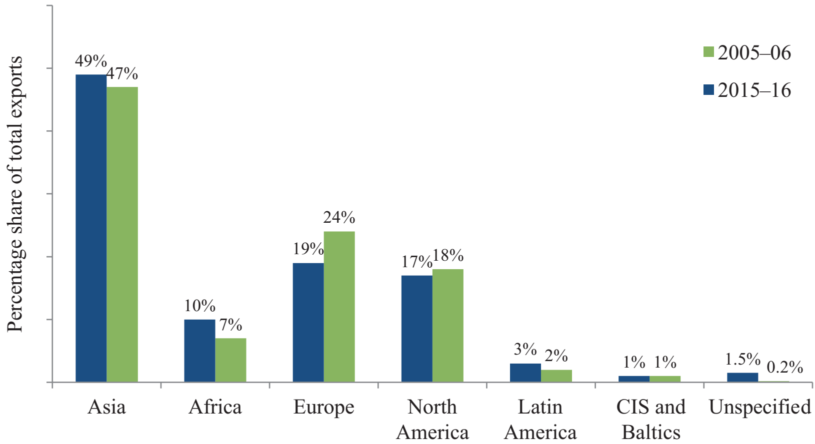


**Fig. 11.3** Regional shares of India's exports, 2005–06 and 2015–16
Source: India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Department of Commerce, System on Foreign Trade Performance Analysis, Version 3, http://commerce.gov.in/FTPA.aspx (accessed 1 May 2017)

The second issue relates to the nature of Africa-India trade. This has been primarily driven by the export of raw materials from Africa and the import of manufactured or value-added products to the continent. The continent's leading exports to India in 2014, constituting 82% of the total, were crude oil, gold, coal, diamonds, coconuts, and nuts; while its top five imports from India were petroleum products, rice, pharmaceutical products, motor vehicles, and frozen meat.[42] This is broadly similar to sub-Saharan Africa's trade with China—its single largest bilateral trade partner—with raw materials accounting for about 88% of exports from the region in the same year.[43] Altogether, these patterns of trade have contributed to anxiety in several quarters about a new "scramble for Africa's resources" that risks replicating European exploitation of the continent under colonial rule, and which does not align with Africa's own vision of socioeconomic transformation through industrial development. The concern extends to Africa's most sophisticated and industrialised economy, South Africa—India's second largest trade partner on the continent—which has repeatedly raised the matter in various fora, including the BRICS bloc (see Bond in this volume).

Yet, India's economic relations with Africa have many facets and are not so easily reduced to a simplistic narrative of exploitation. As many analysts have noted, the country's current foray into the continent—unlike that of China—has been spearheaded by the private sector, facilitated by the Indian government's Focus Africa programme (since 2002); business associations including the CII and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI); and various platforms such as the CII-Exim Bank Africa Conclave (since 2005) and the India-Africa Forum Summits (since 2008).[44] Large multinational conglomerates, such as Vedanta Resources, Jindal Steel and Power, and ArcelorMittal, are active players—alongside state-owned companies such the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) Videsh—in Africa's extractive industries. But corporate India's footprint on the continent extends well beyond these industries to the information and communications, manufacturing, and pharmaceutical sectors. Several companies, such as Tata and Ranbaxy, have had a presence in Africa since the 1970s, well before the current resurgence of interest in the continent, while others—for example, Bharti Airtel, now the second biggest telecom operator in Africa[45]—are newer entrants. These Indian firms are a visible presence in Southern and East Africa, in particular, and have "helped to diversify African exports to a degree".[46] According to Harry Broadman, Indian firms "are [also] less vertically integrated [than their Chinese counterparts in Africa], prefer to procure supplies locally or from international markets (rather than Indian suppliers), engage in far more sales to private African entities, and encourage the local integration of their workers".[47]

### *Development Aid*

Beyond pure trade and commerce, India is an "emerging" provider of development assistance. It is difficult, though, to estimate the extent of Indian aid to Africa. This is due, in part, to its nature and, in part, to the way in which its disbursal has been managed. The Indian Development Partnership Administration was established in 2012, but it has thus far fallen short of its original ambition to develop a coordinated approach to development cooperation, and has been seen primarily as an implementation agency.[48] As in the case of China, Indian aid, trade, development finance, and FDI are bound up in package deals that are hard to disentangle and lack transparency.[49] For example, the Export-Import (Exim) Bank of India has extended lines of credit to Africa for various projects, including rural electrification (for example, in Ghana and Mali) and poverty alleviation (such as in Senegal), aimed at promoting socioeconomic development in the recipient countries.[50] However, these loans typically require importing at least 75% of goods and services for the project from India.[51] Though informed by a fair measure of genuine commitment, Indian aid, in the final analysis, "is not"—as Ian Taylor writes—"an expression of philanthropy and, like all other countries, New Delhi leverages its development assistance to promote specific political objectives".[52]

India has actively sought to emphasise capacity development as a core component of its outreach to Africa, which has helped, to some extent, in both counteracting the negative imagery of exploitation and distinguishing the country from China. During an official visit to the continent in July 2016, Modi, for example, identified India as a partner in the building of African capacities and institutions for the achievement of development objectives at all his four stops (Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, and Kenya). The rhetoric is not meaningless. The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme—the country's flagship capacity-building programme—dates back to 1964, and in 2013–14, 40% of training slots under it were allocated to Africa.[53] Since 2008, in particular, when the first India-Africa Forum Summit was held, education and skills development have been the focus of several Indian initiatives. Though progress has been slow, India is in the process of setting up vocational and specialised training institutes across the continent. New Delhi has, furthermore, progressively increased scholarships for Africans to study in India. In 2015, at the third India-Africa Forum Summit, it committed to extending 50,000 such scholarships over the next 5 years.[54] Meanwhile, the Pan-African e-Network Project—formally launched in 2009 after an initial pilot phase—aims to connect medical and education centres in India with counterparts in 53 African countries.

That said, the pattern of Africa-India trade is a decidedly negative aspect of the relationship, and an unsustainable basis for the long-term and mutually beneficial partnership to which both sides claim to aspire. Furthermore, India's commercial presence has not been without controversy, but has escaped greater negative attention due, in part, to the large shadow cast by China. In Sudan, for example, Chinese companies and projects have often been in the spotlight, with Beijing drawing a fair amount of international criticism for its willingness to turn a blind eye to human rights violations by Khartoum for its own gains. However, India's ONGC Videsh is heavily invested in Sudan as well. In 2003, it bought a 25% stake, worth $750 million, in the Greater Nile Oil production and pipeline project after Canadian company Talisman was forced to pull out due to pressure from human rights groups.[55] Moreover, Pádraig Carmody has argued that "there is one area in particular where Indian engagement in Africa is arguably 'out in front' of China's—land".[56] In Ethiopia, in particular, India is the largest investor in agricultural land, but Indian firms have acquired large tracts of lands in various countries including Kenya, Mozambique, and Tanzania in East Africa; Ghana and Senegal in West Africa; and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in Central Africa.[57] These agro-investments by India, as well as China and others, have attracted a variety of criticism for, among other things, their potentially deleterious impact on food security through the diversion of scare resources for biofuel production, as well as their negative impact on the environment through the promotion of mono-agricultures and on local populations through land dispossession and displacement.[58]

India, like other external actors, is in Africa for the pursuit of its own national interests. But the nature and impact of this engagement on the continent is, to a large extent, also dependent on African countries' ability and willingness to use the opportunities that it brings, while managing the challenges. The rise of new powers in the global South, including not only the BRICS countries but also other emerging economies such as Turkey and South Korea, has "introduced new competitive dynamics into Africa's international relations".[59] The continent could usefully leverage these dynamics to reduce its dependence on traditional powers such as the EU, as well as its vulnerability to exploitation by any single power, old or new. Here it is worth bearing in mind that rhetoric and reputation are important. India has been keen to try to distinguish itself from China—its main rival in Africa—to avoid attracting similar criticism as its footprint on the continent grows and New Delhi moves out of Beijing's slipstream.[60] It is not entirely accidental that the first India-Africa Forum Summit was held in 2008, two years after the launch of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) (see Haifang Liu in this volume), or that New Delhi has encouraged technical assistance and capacity-building as priority areas in the India-Africa partnership. The onus for its own development ultimately lies with Africa. In trade, for example, India can assist the continent in broadening its export base through technology transfers and knowledge-sharing, but African countries need to claim their own agency, both individually and collectively, and strengthen efforts to add value to their primary commodities; diversify their economies; and increase the export competitiveness of their manufactured products.

## Peace and Security Cooperation

Africa's growing importance to India's economic development, as well as geographic proximity, have also created a push for greater peace and security cooperation between the two partners. This section focuses on two aspects of the India-Africa security relationship: maritime security in the Indian Ocean Rim, and India's peacekeeping role on the continent.

### *Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean Rim*

With much of Africa-India trade seaborne, the Indian Ocean's shipping routes are of immense strategic and economic importance to both partners.[61] With major gas discoveries off Africa's east coast, and as cargo volumes (including oil from Nigeria) continue to grow, these sea-lanes connecting the continent with India are likely to gain yet greater significance. Mozambique, for example, is seen as a key source for India to diversify its dependence on liquefied natural gas imports. Southern and East African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, and Malawi have also become important as a means to increase India's food security, particularly with regard to pulses: the main source of proteins for a majority of Indians.[62] But the emergence of piracy off the Horn of Africa has underscored security concerns in the maritime region, which lacks the regional architecture to address such threats. In recent years, the Indian Ocean has also become an arena of strategic competition between India and China, as both vie to expand their influence in the region through build-ups in their naval presence and investments in maritime infrastructure. For example, Chinese investments in port development in littoral countries—including Kenya, Tanzania, Mauritius, and Mozambique—have tended to rouse India's suspicions of a "string of pearls" strategy to encircle it.[63]

Under the Modi government, the Indian Ocean region is a foreign policy priority for New Delhi. The country's maritime security strategy includes the East African coastal region—from the Gulf of Aden down to the Mozambique Channel—as well as the Cape of Good Hope and its littoral, as areas of primary interest. Since coming to power in 2014, Modi, as part of his globe-trotting foreign policy, has taken two trips to Africa.[64] The first visit was to Mauritius and Seychelles in March 2015 and formed part of a three-country Indian Ocean tour that also included Sri Lanka. The second visit was in July 2016 and included stops in South Africa, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Kenya: four Indian Ocean Rim countries on Africa's eastern seaboard. This second sojourn, in particular, was as much a part of India's strengthening diplomacy in the Indian Ocean littoral as it was an exercise in public diplomacy to boost the country's ties with key African trade partners. Maritime and defence and security cooperation formed part of the bilateral conversation at all four stops. The South African and Indian navies have engaged in annual talks since 2003 and undertaken several joint naval exercises off the African coast. Since 2009, the two navies have also participated in regular trilateral exercises under the banner of the IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) Forum. The Indian navy patrols in Mozambique's territorial waters under a 2012 security cooperation agreement, and is trying, as was evident during Modi's July 2016 visit, to build similar ties with Kenya and Tanzania. There is a formal strategic partnership between India and Mauritius, "with further economic, diplomatic, and security-defence cooperation including provision of military supplies by India and its patrolling of Mauritius' EEZ [exclusive economic zone]".[65] However, there has been an *ad hoc* quality to these engagements, and security cooperation between Africa and India in the Indian Ocean Rim lacks a proper (joint) strategic framework, despite the region's economic and strategic importance to both partners.

At the multilateral level, the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation—rechristened the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) in 2013—was intended to promote economic cooperation, but has for the most part been a neglected and uninspired forum, due mainly to a lack of leadership. Alongside India, IORA's 21-strong membership includes eight African countries,[66] including South Africa, which has sub-Saharan Africa's most capable and effective navy. Under India's recent chair (2011–13), the association identified six priority areas: maritime safety and security; trade and investment facilitation; fisheries management; disaster risk management; academic, science, and technology; and tourism and cultural exchanges. South Africa will take over the IORA chair from Indonesia at the end of 2017. For now, though, the organisation remains, as David Scott notes, "weak, in terms of innate strength, economic impact, and importance for India".[67] Similarly, the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium has remained an obscure forum for technical, navy-to-navy cooperation.[68]

### *India's Peacekeeping Role in Africa*

Participation in UN peacekeeping missions provides the most visible demonstration of Indian engagement with peace and security issues in Africa.[69] Six Asian countries—Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal, China, and

Indonesia—provided about a third of all UN peacekeepers in 2016.[70] Even among its peers, though, India somewhat stands out: it has the longest record—and one of the most consistent—as a troop contributor to UN operations in Africa.[71] Prior to 1989, there were only two UN peacekeeping operations deployed on the continent: the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) in Egypt and the UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC). India made major contributions to both. In the Congo, in particular, over 12,200 Indian troops served as blue helmets over four years (1960–64), staying the course in a challenging environment despite significant losses.[72] A legacy of Nehruvian liberal internationalism and Afro-Asian solidarity against colonialism, this engagement has continued, with its need reinforced by India's growing interests in Africa. In March 2017, 79% of the more than 7,600 Indian peacekeepers were deployed to five UN missions on the continent: Western Sahara, the DRC, Abyei (Sudan), South Sudan, and Liberia.[73]

With the growth in India's economic presence on the continent, conflict in Africa poses a risk to the safety of Indian investments and migrants. For example, about 15,000 Indians had to be evacuated from Libya in the wake of violence in 2011.[74] Other threats include those posed by Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria and maritime piracy off the Horn of Africa. New Delhi also has specific stakes in several African countries that currently host UN peacekeeping operations, in particular, the DRC and South Sudan, where it has significant investments in the oil industry. Indian troops have been deployed to the UN peacekeeping operation in the Congo since 2003, while there were about 2,400 Indian soldiers serving in the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) in March 2017.[75] Furthermore, though China has attracted much of the controversy, India's engagement in Africa, as discussed earlier, is not free of criticism. Its contributions to UN peacekeeping have helped India maintain its standing on the continent, and remain a key plank of its bid to strengthen relations with Africa as a whole. Its peacekeeping profile is also a major component of New Delhi's bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, for which African support is critical.

However, India's peacekeeping role in Africa faces a number of challenges. The first is Chinese competition for access and influence on the continent. China belongs to a cohort of newcomers to peacekeeping, but has rapidly risen to the top ranks of UN troop-contributing countries, with over 2,600 blue helmets deployed in 2016, up from fewer than 100 in 2,000.[76] The vast majority of these Chinese peacekeepers are serving in Africa, in particular, the DRC, Darfur, Mali, Liberia, South Sudan, and Western Sahara. Most were medical, engineering, and support personnel until 2015, when Beijing deployed its first combat battalion to a UN peacekeeping mission—UNMISS. Later in the same year, at the UN General Assembly, Chinese president Xi Jinping pledged to create an 8,000-strong peacekeeping standby force. This shift in China's approach to peacekeeping, much of which is concentrated in Africa, poses a potential challenge to India. New Delhi's manpower contributions to peacekeeping operations have been key to distinguishing its engagement with the continent from that of Beijing.

The second challenge relates to the changing nature of peacekeeping. Over the past two decades, UN peacekeeping operations have grown in ambition and complexity to involve a range of activities from supporting the organisation of elections to restoring the rule of law. Since 1999, several missions (for example, the UN Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the DRC [MONUSCO]) have had express mandates to protect civilians from imminent violence. The mandates of African operations (such as the African Union Mission in Somalia [AMISOM]) have gone further than those of the UN. According to Richard Gowan, "African officials frequently argue that UN missions are too cautious and unwilling to use force. Both inside and outside the UN, African governments are likely to push for more robust and ambitious peace operations in future."[77] Notably, in 2013, the UN Security Council, in an unprecedented move, established a 3,000-strong Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) under the umbrella of MONUSCO. Manned by soldiers from South Africa, Tanzania, and Malawi, the intervention brigade was mandated to carry out offensive operations against March 23 (M23) rebels in the eastern DRC. India, meanwhile, has pressed the case against abandoning the traditional principles of local consent, neutrality, and non-use of force except in self-defence in UN peacekeeping. The resultant tension between the country's understanding of peacekeeping and the demands placed by ambitious UN mandates has created problems on the ground. In the DRC, for example, Indian troops have faced criticism for not doing enough to protect civilians.[78]

The third challenge for India is that Africa is building its own peacekeeping capacity. African deployments to UN peacekeeping operations have increased substantially. The top ten UN troop-contributing countries at the end of 2016 included Ethiopia—ranked first, ahead of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh—Rwanda, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Egypt.[79] Furthermore, Africa's regional organisations have undertaken their own peace operations. The African Union (AU) has deployed peacekeepers, since 2004, to Burundi, Sudan, and Somalia, while the Economic Community of West

African States (ECOWAS) has launched military interventions in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Mali.[80] In the aftermath of the UN's failure to act to prevent the 1994 Rwandan genocide, Africa has sought to develop a continental peace and security architecture that includes an African Standby Force (ASF) with rapid deployment capability to address conflicts in its own backyard. However, the ASF was not yet fully operational at the time of writing, and African peace operations continued to face serious capacity gaps in areas ranging from personnel to logistics and transport, and rely heavily on external sources of finance. India has supported these African initiatives primarily through monetary contributions and the provision of training. It is, however, one of a handful of troop-contributing countries with the capacity to deploy specialised assets such as combat helicopters, field hospitals, and engineering units to UN operations. An important question relates to whether it is willing to provide similar support for the ASF and African-run operations.

## Conclusion

India's approach to its relations with Africa, notwithstanding the seeming structure imposed by its variety of instruments for engaging with the continent, has been messy and uncoordinated. This is not surprising, given that India's rise in the international arena and re-engagement with Africa are relatively recent phenomena. New Delhi is still grappling with the opportunities and challenges that this poses, both at home and beyond. That India should invest greater resources in developing its partnership with Africa would be only too easy to suggest, but the problem is how to do so. Amid the hype, it is worth remembering that India is, for the moment, an *emerging* power, with over-stretched diplomatic resources. As Dhruva Jaishankar notes, New Delhi has 27 diplomatic missions in sub-Saharan Africa. But, though Southern and East Africa are reasonably well-covered with 18 missions, there are only nine missions covering 25 countries in West Africa. In Jaishankar's words, "Relatively speaking … [this means that] in all these areas, India's diplomatic corps is focused more on commercial relations than on strategic or consular matters."[81]

In this context, it is worth reflecting, in conclusion, on the role of the Indian diaspora in Africa as an actor. During his July 2016 visit to Africa, at each stop, Modi courted the local Indian community. The underlying logic of India's engagement with these diaspora communities in Africa, as elsewhere, seems to be "to facilitate the involvement of the diaspora in India's development while making it possible for the Indian government to be more receptive to their needs".[82] However, the African Indian diaspora is a complex actor and, as Sanusha Naidu notes, "at least in Southern Africa … not a homogenous bloc as New Delhi assumes", but rather riven with class cleavages. India also neglected its diaspora after independence, particularly in Africa, for example, "when racial tensions played themselves out in Uganda".[83] In several cases, diaspora communities—especially older communities—share more in common with their adopted countries than they do with India, notwithstanding their embrace of its culture.

Finally, what of the Indian African diaspora? Modi's same whistle-stop tour in July 2016 featured a strong emphasis on the historical, cultural, and emotional ties that bind contemporary India to Africa. This was particularly evident in South Africa, where he expressed his penchant for symbolism by retracing Gandhi's fateful train journey from Durban to Pietermaritzburg. But all of this stands in contrast to recent incidents of violence against African students and migrants in India that, in the eyes of many, have exposed the latent racism and prejudice in parts of Indian society. If the relationship with Africa is seriously "beyond strategic concerns",[84] then India needs to invest as much effort in pushing for better understanding of Africa in India as in promoting India in Africa.

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CHAPTER 12

# Africa-Japan Relations in the Post-Cold War Era

*Scarlett Cornelissen and Yoichi Mine*

Japan's role in sub-Saharan Africa has altered significantly in scope and substance over the past quarter-century. This has been shaped by a number of factors: a changing and highly variable geopolitical context in the post-Cold War era; related shifts in orientation by Japan's policymaking elite; and in more recent years changed economic outlooks in Africa driven in part by a commodity export boom and increased Chinese involvement, which have sparked new Japanese interest in Africa's political economy. In the period since the end of the Cold War, diplomatic, aid, and economic relations between Japan and Africa have not only become more extensive and diversified, but have also gained a strategic character decidedly different from the previous era. In this chapter, we trace these changes and discuss how they have played out in bilateral and multilateral ways and have affected policy dynamics on the African continent.

We seek to highlight several themes in this discussion. First, relations between Japan and Africa are long-standing. Far from having an imperial or colonial basis as in the case of the European powers, Japanese authorities

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_12

have on occasion sought to use Japan's status as a founder Bandung state strategically in diplomatic dealings with Africa. Second, while the relationship in the early post-Cold War years has been largely framed in donor-recipient terms, it has become more broad-based over time. This had much to do with the expansion and growing significance of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) process, initiated by Japan in 1993. Third, although engagements between Japan and Africa in the realms of diplomacy and economics are important, there are also societal-level links that have had significant implications for the relationship.

The chapter first discusses the Cold War era, then outlines the later set of relations between Japan and wider Africa. The chapter provides assessment of how and why post-Cold War relations have been changing, especially within the framework of Japan's rise as an aid power on the African continent and through the Asian power's steering of the TICAD process. The last part of the chapter discusses new trends in the relationship arising in the past decade.

## Contextualising Africa-Japan Relations: Political and Diplomatic Dynamics in the Cold War Era

Most analysts of Japan-Africa relations in the Cold War period emphasise the geographical and other kinds of distances between the two.[1] A commonly held view is that, lacking a colonial past with the continent, Japan has had little political interest in Africa and that the continent was generally of little economic consequence for Japan. This view overlooks a lengthy history of engagement that includes Japan's establishment of consular relations with the Union of South Africa in 1910, periods of intense exports such as in the early 1930s when Japan emerged as a major player in the East and Central African textile markets,[2] and, in the post-independence era, as an element of Japan's Bandung status, the progressive development of formal diplomatic ties with an increasing number of newly independent African states.

Japan's aid relationship with Africa dates back to 1966, when it provided a series of "development loans" to Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria. Japan's African aid commenced 12 years after Japan inaugurated its first ever official development assistance (ODA) programme in the form of war reparations to Southeast Asian states, starting with an aid package to Burma in 1954. The development loans that were provided to the East African states were on a small scale for machinery and establishing a cashew nut-processing facility.

These aspects notwithstanding, a prevailing theme in Japan's relations with Africa in the Cold War period, is the bifurcated nature of the diplomacy the Asian state pursued with the continent at the time. Jun Morikawa's depiction of the distinctions in Japan's "white Africa" and "black Africa" policies remains influential.[3] According to this, Japanese authorities applied two different diplomatic strategies, the first aimed at maintaining strong, if politically complicated relations with the minority-led apartheid regime in South Africa; the second to counter criticism by South Africa's opponents on the African continent by the development of primarily aid relations with other African states.

In terms of ties with apartheid South Africa, these centred on trade and were driven by major Japanese corporate interests in strategic minerals and metals such as platinum, iron ore, and copper, among others. Throughout the 1960s to 1980s South Africa was a principal source of platinum for Japan, a metal used in various industrial sectors in Japan and elsewhere. This trade relationship drew much international criticism and created diplomatic embarrassment for the Japanese government at various stages. In January 1961, amid growing trade ties, the South African government made Japanese nationals exempt from the application of racial segregation and allowed them to use whites-only facilities. At the time Japanese anti-apartheid movements initiated by charismatic figures like Kanjiro Noma and Akira Kusuhara[4] capitalised on the general sentiment of Japanese people who considered the "honorary white" status morally objectionable and insulting.[5]

As the foreign policies of Japanese social democrats and communists were clearly against apartheid and sympathetic to Africa's decolonisation, the propensity of the government to promote business with apartheid South Africa was counteracted to some extent by checks exercised by progressive-minded parliamentarians in the Japanese Diet.[6] Japan's sanctions against apartheid included a ban on direct investments, the first and earliest to be imposed by a developed country when it was introduced in 1968. Even so, with some major Japanese corporations finding ways to circumvent this ban through, inter alia, licensing agreements,[7] by the mid-1980s Japan emerged as South Africa's top trade partner after western-imposed sanctions became more wide-ranging. Under international and domestic anti-apartheid advocacy pressure, the Japanese government severed diplomatic relations with South Africa, although it maintained consular relations (formal diplomatic ties—in the form of a full-scale mission in South Africa—were re-established in 1991).[8]

These political factors, as well as changing foreign policy conditions, shaped Japan's orientation to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War era. One of the main features was the progressive cultivation of aid ties. Japan's development assistance programme to sub-Saharan Africa steadily grew in size and diversified throughout the 1960s to late 1980s. In 1969, for instance, sub-Saharan Africa drew around 1% of Japan's total ODA disbursements.[9] In the 1970s, and against the backdrop of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries' (OPEC) oil crises, Japan's aid ties with the Middle East and oil-producing North African states started expanding. Japan's aid relationship with sub-Saharan Africa also expanded, resulting in a growth in disbursements to the region. In 1974 the Japanese foreign minister Toshio Kimura visited Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zaire and announced a doubling in Japan's ODA to Africa. By the end of the 1970s, sub-Saharan Africa drew close to 10% of Japan's total bilateral ODA assistance. In the mid-1980s, and by the extended influence of the World Bank's "basic human needs" approach, Japan started to provide more aid assistance for food and agriculture to sub-Saharan Africa. By the end of the 1980s, Japan was one of the principal donors to the World Bank's "Special Program of Assistance" for Africa.[10]

## The Early Post-Cold War Years: Japan's Emergence as Aid Power

These patterns of growing bilateral and multilateral assistance offered to Africa meant that by the time the Cold War came to an end, Japan had a significant aid presence on the continent. By 1989, Japan was the top net donor among the member states of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development-Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC), with bilateral disbursements to Africa exceeding $1 billion and Africa's economies drawing up to 15% of total Japanese ODA. Japan ranked first among its OECD-DAC peers over a consecutive period from 1991 to 1997, and consequently became the leading donor for several African states. For example, in 1995 Japan was the top bilateral donor to Kenya, Ghana, the Gambia, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, and Zambia.[11]

The philosophy that underpinned Japanese aid to Africa was one which the Asian state followed elsewhere (such as Southeast Asia) and was based on Japan's own postwar development experience. This philosophy sought to promote aid recipients' ownership and sense of "self-help" in order to encourage autonomous development.[12] The specific brand of Japanese aid modality[13]—centred as it was on the provision of loans and infrastructure development rather than grants—was long the subject of criticism from other DAC members. In later years, after periods of reform to Japan's ODA policies discussed below, the notion of promoting "self-help" strongly featured in the Japanese government's engagements with African counterparts and it became, along with the idea of encouraging "ownership", a central feature of Japan's bilateral and multilateral African ODA.

The end of the Cold War marked a series of fundamental shifts in Japan's overall aid policy and programmes, motivated by factors both external and internal. These shifts, in turn, had a substantive impact on Japan's aid and diplomatic relations with the African continent. In 1992, for instance, Japan adopted its first ever ODA charter. The charter contained the following principles: to provide assistance to states that display or follow acceptable levels of economic and political liberalisation and do not have excessive military outputs; to focus ODA on environmental conservation in development projects; and not to support military or conflict campaigns.[14] Implementation of the ODA charter's principles saw Japan's aid to Africa in some instances take on a more political character. For example, Japan suspended ODA to the Gambia because of a coup d'état in 1994, as well as to Nigeria following the government's execution of environmental campaigner Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight fellow Ogoni human rights activists in November 1995. In the former Zaire, aid was suspended following the outbreak of civil war in 1997 and resumed after the creation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).[15]

## The Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD)

The most important event, as far as Japan's relations with Africa during the 1990s were concerned, was the initiation of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development in 1993. The first TICAD conference brought together African ministers and heads of states; donor representatives from the OECD-DAC and the European Economic Community

(ECC)—today's European Union (EU); officials from international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF); and members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (today's African Union [AU]). It was a multilateral initiative and the Japanese government was one among a number of institutional co-organisers that included the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The multilateral nature of TICAD is one of its distinguishing features and has remained through the various iterations of the TICAD process. TICAD's launch was also distinctive in that it bucked the trend of aid fatigue and Afro-pessimism reigning in the international donor community at the time.

The Tokyo Declaration was adopted as an outcome of the first TICAD conference. The declaration detailed six goals for African development: the commitment by African states to economic and political reform; international support for women's issues (gender empowerment) and the combating of HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation; promotion of and cooperation towards regional integration; taking necessary steps to ameliorate the impact of natural and other disasters, with the commitment of donors' provision of emergency relief; enhanced private sector activity to support job creation and to boost economic growth; and finally, the promotion of South-South cooperation and applying Asia's successful development experiences to Africa.

These very broad goals reflected the diversity of stakeholder opinion represented at the first TICAD gathering. Some of the elements of development thinking prevailing at the time prioritised specific things such as intervention to combat Africa's growing HIV and environmental challenges. A noteworthy aspect is the objective to enhance South-South cooperation as one means to transmit knowledge from Asia to Africa. The Japanese government was an advocate of "adapting Asian [development] models to the African setting".[16] The aim of making Asian development experiences relevant for Africa was present in Japan's official aid discourse in multilateral contexts such as TICAD, but also started to underpin Japan's approach to its bilateral ODA to the region, in particular through technical cooperation schemes.

At the second TICAD conference of 1998, the Tokyo Action Plan listed three main areas to focus efforts towards African development: social development and poverty reduction; economic development; and general foundations required for development. Under each of these focus areas, specific goals, targets, and commitments by African governments and donors were set. For social development, these included objectives around improved education; basic reproductive and sexual health; maternal and infant well-being; as well as measures to reduce poverty and improve access to jobs and income. Economic development goals included commitments by African governments to create macro-economic, regulatory, and industrial environments conducive for private sector activities, and undertakings by donor governments to enhance market access for African goods. The plan also highlighted ways of improving African agricultural productivity as well as means of complying with international debt rescheduling processes. The last area centred on what were deemed appropriate foundations for development. It included commitments by African counterparts to more efficient and democratic governance, transparent and competitive electoral processes, and the development of better political and institutional means for conflict prevention and post-conflict development. The Tokyo Action Plan committed donor states to support these measures through various financial and institutional mechanisms.[17]

Under the framework of the second TICAD conference, the Japanese government pledged to provide grant assistance amounting to ¥90 billion for Africa's education, health, medical, and water sectors over a five-year period. This resonated to some extent with the contents of Japan's first medium-term policy for ODA, introduced in 1999. The policy highlighted priority issues and sectors for assistance that included poverty alleviation, social and infrastructure development, human resource development, and debt relief. Prior to the second TICAD conference, Japan's Africa aid programme was largely framed in accordance with Japan's medium-term ODA policy and the country's commitments to the least-developed countries (LDCs) and heavily indebted poor countries' (HIPCs) framework.[18]

When looking at tendencies in Japan's net ODA over the periods of the first two TICAD conferences, disbursements to sub-Saharan Africa as a share of Japan's total ODA remained stable at just above or below 10%. There was an increase in the grant component of Japan's ODA to the region and a notable decrease in the extension of yen loans from the end of the 1990s into the early 2000s. This reflected the degree to which much of Japan's actual Africa ODA disbursements became shaped by debt relief or rescheduling commitments.

One of the programmes that started to pool more financial support under the TICAD umbrella was the New Rice for Africa (NERICA) initiative. NERICA was the result of a multinational scientific collaboration amalgamating Asian and African strands of rice to produce a higher yield and more variety. The Japanese government provided assistance for the development of the hybrid numerous years before the launch of TICAD, mainly through the country's technical cooperation scheme. NERICA became a flagship project that was to be more fully incorporated into the TICAD process in later years.

## Evolving Relations Since the End of the Cold War

The early post-Cold War period saw significant changes in Japan's role in Africa. It could be argued that the initiation of TICAD was a form of proactive diplomacy that not only reshaped Japan's relations with the African continent, but also was part of a larger foreign policy reorientation by Japan at the time.[19] Another example of such diplomatic proactivism is probably the Japanese government's sponsorship of the Commission on Human Security, under the co-chairmanship of Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, which published its final report in 2003.[20]

After the turn of the century, the TICAD process evolved into a new phase on both domestic and regional fronts. First, Africa-related Japanese non-governmental organisations (NGOs) started to engage in the TICAD process. On the occasion of the third TICAD conference, Japanese activists and Africanist scholars organised an advocacy network that was then transformed into the TICAD Civil Society Forum, which was instrumental in fostering collaboration with their governments.[21] Second, the TICAD process inspired other Asian countries like China, South Korea, and India to organise their own series of summit fora with African states. Through the experiments of these Asian states, it has become a norm to organise major Afro-Asian summits in the two regions by rotation. Now, TICAD has become a part of the regional process of Afro-Asian dialogue.

One of the things worth noting regarding Africa-Japan relations is the Japanese government's extension of an invitation in 2000 to three African leaders to attend the Group of Eight (G8) states' summit hosted in Okinawa and Kyushu. Invitations were given to the South African, Senegalese, and Nigerian presidents to outline to G8 leaders their emerging visions for Africa's recovery. At the time, each of the presidents was involved in various initiatives to boost African development. Former South African president Thabo Mbeki and former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo, for instance, promoted the African Renaissance, while Senegal's Abdoulaye Wade advocated his own programme known as the Omega

Plan. The overlapping programmes eventually culminated the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Japan's invitation to the three African leaders later became institutionalised in the G8 group as the Outreach Initiative, which saw the heads of state from South Africa, Mexico, Brazil, India, and China (the so-called Group of Five [G5] states) join G8 summits.

Reflecting the stronger emphasis on the promotion of human security in Japan's foreign policy, among other things, Japan's amended ODA charter of 2003 identified things such as support for developing countries' self-help efforts and the promotion of human security as basic policies of Japan's ODA. The charter also named priority issues for Japan's aid intervention, including poverty reduction, sustainable growth, and peacebuilding. In accordance with this, the third TICAD conference highlighted new areas of focus, including the aforementioned advancement of human security. Recurrent themes related to the promotion of South-South cooperation between Asian and African states and the transfer of know-how from the former to the latter. Furthermore, NEPAD was initially formulated in 2001 and adopted in 2002 by the African Union as a comprehensive plan for the continent's economic recovery, and marked an important focal point for support by donors and the wider international community.

## The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth TICAD Conferences

In the aftermath of the third TICAD conference, the Japanese government expressed a stronger commitment to supporting African development as a major element of its development cooperation and as part of its international citizenship.[22] The government sought to concretise principles concerning self-help, ownership, and the promotion of South-South cooperation by financing Africa-Asia business fora, and by developing synergies between the NEPAD and TICAD processes, particularly in the areas of private sector support and infrastructure development. In 2005, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi announced a doubling in Japan's ODA to Africa, targeting to disburse $1.8 billion over the next three years.

To some extent these actions on the part of Japan signified a stronger link between the TICAD process and Japan's ODA programme to sub-Saharan Africa. But this was principally the result of a redeployment of long-standing aid practices in the language of the TICAD process, rather than a change in practice per se. The modalities remained the same, shaped by Japan's aid policy and commitments to multilateral initiatives such as the HIPCs' scheme. The application of the modalities was repackaged to be more aligned with TICAD's stated objectives, although in practice there was no substantive change in the actual basis of disbursements.

A large portion of Japanese disbursements to the region comprised debt relief under Japan's commitment to the enhanced HIPCs' initiative. In 2006, for example, while Japan's total bilateral ODA disbursement to Africa was valued around $2.6 billion, close to 80% of this was in the form of debt relief, and net disbursement totalling $518 million.[23] This was the outcome of disparate processes: the conclusion of bilateral yen loan agreements several years before, and Japan's contributions to the HIPC donor scheme. This, however, occurred in the context of a cyclical downturn in the size of Japan's ODA budget. It should be noted that Japan maintained a consistent grant aid programme to sub-Saharan Africa that, even though its levels of disbursement may have fluctuated on a yearly basis, has remained a significant feature of Japanese development assistance.

The fourth TICAD conference, held in 2008, came on the back of attempts to improve the efficiency of Japanese aid. The merger of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the overseas economic cooperation section of the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) into a "New JICA" was the outcome. JICA's then president, Madame Ogata, pushed strongly for an African-centred agenda for Japan's international role. The fourth TICAD conference was distinguished from the three prior conferences in that it established a concrete follow-up mechanism in the form of a secretariat within Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to monitor the implementation of TICAD targets.

There was also a stronger focus on boosting private investment by African, Japanese, and other corporations. This reflected, in part, the changing economic landscape of sub-Saharan Africa, with many of the region's states having displayed strong growth in the preceding years. Studies by the Japan External Trade Organisation (JETRO) at the time suggested increased interest in sub-Saharan Africa's business opportunities by Japanese corporations, particularly in the natural resources sector.[24] Studies also further noted that the dynamics in the private sector spilled over into discussions at the fourth TICAD conference. Such discussions considered how more corporate involvement could be encouraged in support of TICAD's economic growth objectives. Regional infrastructure development became a big focus of JICA projects.[25]

At the fifth TICAD conference, held in Yokohama in 2013, Japan announced a five-year aid package of $32 billion to Africa to be utilised by 2018.[26] The package had an ODA component valued at $14 billion, while the rest of the package consisted of yen loans and other official flows such as trade and investment insurances. The Japanese government also announced a plan to support human resource development through enhanced technical cooperation. This included the establishment of TICAD human resource centres focused on business and industry in ten locations across Africa. The other component of the package included the provision of study opportunities and internships to 1000 Africans to be trained at corporations and enrolment in master's degrees in Japan. This was known as the Africa Business Education (ABE) Initiative for the Youth. The purpose of the TICAD centres was to enhance managerial and industry know-how through the promotion of Japanese management practices (*kaizen*). A target was set to train 30,000 persons by 2018.[27]

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to three African states in January 2014—Côte d'Ivoire, Mozambique, and Ethiopia—was only the third ever visit by a Japanese incumbent to the continent. At the African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa, Abe outlined Japan's Africa policy and pronounced that "the continent … carries the hopes of the world through the latent potential of its resources and its dynamic economic growth".[28] In his speech, Abe indicated that Japan's Africa policy is built on two axes: supporting youth and supporting women.

The sixth TICAD conference was the first to take place in Africa. It was held in Nairobi on 27–28 August 2016 and was attended by more than 11,000 participants. The conference adopted the Nairobi Declaration that stated that TICAD's priorities stood on three pillars: first, promoting structural economic transformation through economic diversification and industrialisation, with an emphasis on building quality infrastructure; second, promoting resilient health systems to improve quality of life in the African continent; third, achieving social stability and peacebuilding, and containing terrorism and violent extremism. The Japanese government pledged to invest $30 billion as part of a major public-private partnership framework.

While collaboration with business has been incorporated into the TICAD process for a long period, the sixth TICAD has generated momentum for private sector development. Abe was accompanied by a business mission with leaders from 77 organisations, mostly Japanese business groups and firms, and dozens of Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) have been signed. TICAD conferences would be organised every three years thereafter.[29] The conference outcome was in line with Japan's new Development Cooperation Charter adopted in February 2015. The Charter emphasises "joint efforts of the public and the private sector" through the TICAD process to realise "further development for both Japan and Africa". The charter also takes note of the significance of regional integration as well as the necessity of peacebuilding in light of human security.[30]

Overall, TICAD 6 was marked by the degree to which the non-governmental sector became more closely engaged in the TICAD process. In place of the defunct Civil Society Forum, a new coalition of about 30 NGOs, Japan Citizen's Network for TICAD (Afri-Can) was organised in partnership with civil society organisations in Africa. Their purpose was to give a platform to non-governmental voices for the sixth TICAD conference as well as the seventh, in 2019. Academic collaboration was also accelerated. The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) organised TICAD-related events through its Nairobi research station.

## Appraising Japan-Africa Relations and Development Cooperation

When taking stock of Japan's relationship with the African continent over the past quarter-century, the following aspects seem most important. First, the centrality of aid in the relationship is highly visible. Various factors have shaped the aid dynamic. These include shifts in Japan's foreign economic and diplomatic interests. The impact of changing economic conditions in Japan saw Tokyo's ODA budget at first billow and later decline which concomitantly affected ODA volumes to Africa. Changing norms in international development discourse and praxis also played a role, leading to change in emphasis in Japan's ODA, progressively shifting to aspects such as basic human needs, gender and development, sustainable growth, poverty reduction, and later human security and peacebuilding.

Second, what has been consistent and noteworthy in Japan's approach to African development has been the emphasis on self-help and ownership as the two guiding principles underpinning Japan's overarching aid framework. Japan has successfully infused these principles into its Africa ODA over the years and in fact has utilised its aid involvement with the region to profile its unique aid philosophy. As discussed, this was achieved by framing major initiatives such as TICAD as an enterprise to enhance Africa's own development efforts. The adoption of similar principles by Africa's political leadership and the African Union since the early 2000s has enabled the Japanese government to use TICAD as a discursive and dissemination platform for its distinctive development cooperation approach.

Third, when looking at the patterns of Japanese ODA disbursements to sub-Saharan Africa, the following can be highlighted: the structure of modalities has remained broadly consistent over the decades. While Japan applies the same principles to aid-giving, the approach and method it follows in sub-Saharan Africa are quite discrete from those it utilises in other parts of the world. This is reflective of the aid context within the sub-Saharan African region, which has encouraged donor responsiveness towards specific development areas and has seen the steering of funding that prioritises social sectors.

The fourth important aspect is the manner by which TICAD has become the centrepiece of Japan's involvement with Africa and the degree to which the TICAD process has been affected by and in turn shaped, Japan's wider aid diplomacy. Indeed, the TICAD process can be singled out as a game changer in the arena of international development assistance. It has become a model for engagement between Africa and many of the continent's emerging donors, such as China, South Korea, India, and Brazil. There are visible similarities between TICAD and newer development fora such as the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (since 2000), the Korea-Africa Forum (since 2006), as well as the India-Africa Forum Summit (since 2008). Policy dialogue initiatives of Africa's traditional donors, such as the Joint EU-Africa Strategy (JAES), follow many similar patterns set by the TICAD process. From this viewpoint, TICAD has been a major achievement for Japan in a diplomatic sense.

An assessment based on the last two TICAD conferences points to the fact that Japan's aid engagement with Africa will place continued emphasis on social development objectives, framed within the language of human security. Japanese aid priority sectors in Africa are currently education, water, sanitation, and health, while new emphasis will be put on drawing more investments into Africa, including from Japanese corporations. At the same time, schemes to support infrastructure development and agricultural advancement as the two main pillars towards economic growth will continue. This configuration of assistance, straddling various social and economic sectors and underpinned by visions to enhance self-help and human security initiatives, makes Japan a highly distinctive donor in the African setting. Flagship projects such as the Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment and Promotion (SHEP) and the Coalition for African Rice Development (CARD), as well as the "One Stop Border Post" and "Comprehensive Corridor Development" programmes, lend visibility to Japanese involvement in the region.

In terms of important future issues, it is useful to conclude with a reflection on the current state and potential direction of human security in Japan's aid ties with Africa. The introduction of the human security concept brought an important dimension to Japan's engagement with Africa, as it gave focus to continued humanitarian and structural challenges besetting the continent. Japan's operationalisation of human security is centred on the "freedom from want" dimension as evident in the areas where ODA disbursements have actually been concentrated. This is not to say that there have not been efforts to give force to the "freedom from fear" dimensions of human security. Indeed, the Japanese government has consistently highlighted peace and stability as important factors for African development, and has sought to provide support for post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding on the continent. The third element of human security, "freedom to live in dignity", is to recognise people's agency in the process of development as freedom, strongly resonating with the notion of "ownership".

Japan's contribution in the area of human security is mostly channelled through multilateral entities and specialised implementing agencies. This reflects the limited engagement that Japan traditionally had with African security matters compared to the security role played by other major powers such as Britain and France on the continent. Factors specific to Japan's political economy and history have also meant that the country has had neither the incentive nor the recourse to become more involved on the ground in peace promotion initiatives. However, Japan's peace promotion approach is slowly changing against increased commitments by the Japanese government to fund and in some ways actively contribute to peacekeeping operations and peacebuilding training centres on the African continent.

## Conclusion

After 2016, TICAD will be organised in Africa and in Japan by rotation, and one may look back at TICAD six as a watershed event in the history of Africa-Japan relations. In recent years, Japan's policy towards Africa has come to be formulated increasingly as a countervailing measure against China's growing presence in Africa. It is not very difficult to discern Japan's motivation to protect its national and business interests in Africa in the same manner as other states do. The White Paper on international economy and trade released by the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry in 2016 boldly advocated that Japan's relatively small enterprises should be encouraged to expand their exports to Africa's markets in partnership with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as well as with India.[31]

On the other hand, however, Japan's aid policy towards Africa is still largely framed in terms of the promotion of global public goods as a legacy of the transformation of Japan's aid regime before and after the end of the Cold War. The position of Japan in global geopolitics as the first Asian country that crossed the boundary between the "South" and the "North" may enable the Asian state to present agendas that can make a positive impact on relationships between Africa and its external actors. TICAD and human security may be some of the good examples.

## Notes

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4. For a discussion of the Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee *see* K. Makino, "The Anti-Apartheid movement in Japan: An overview", *Institute of Developing Economies*, Discussion Paper no. 440.
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6. Makino, 2016.
7. *See also* C. Rogerson, "Japan's hidden involvement in South African manufacturing", *Geo Journal* 30(1) (1993), pp. 99–107; E.G. Mukonoweshuro, "Japanese commercial interest in South Africa", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 21 (1991), pp. 42–53.
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9. *See discussion by* I. Inukai, "Why aid and why not? Japan and sub-Saharan Africa", in B. Koppel and R. Orr (eds), *Japan's Foreign Aid—Power and Policy in a New Era* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).
10. *See overview in* S. Cornelissen, "Japan's Official Development Assistance to sub-Saharan Africa: Patterns, dynamics and lessons", in H. Kato, J. Page, and Y. Shimomura (eds), *Japan's Development Assistance: Foreign Aid and the Post-2015 Agenda* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2016).
11. Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan's Official Development Assistance, Annual Report (1996).
12. *See* M. Hanabusa, "A Japanese perspective on aid and development", in S. Islam (ed.), *Yen for Development: Japanese Foreign Aid and the Politics of Burden-Sharing* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1996).
13. In application, these principles had seen Japan provide development assistance to recipient states on a request-only basis. Such assistance is offered at the initial stage after which recipients are expected to take full responsibility of the development process. As financial independence is pursued from the beginning, a majority of Japan's aid has taken the form of loans to construct profitable industrial infrastructure. As a side effect of this aid modality, humanitarian grant aid tended to be downplayed and implemented as tied aid. This aid modality took shape in the 1960s and 1970s and was carried into the 1980s when Japan faced harsh criticism from other DAC countries for the "selfish" nature of its aid. Japan was considered to be preoccupied with the interest of Japanese firms by using aid to promote trade. The respect for national ownership was also often construed as being too conciliatory to authoritarian governments.
14. Article 9 of the Japanese constitution strictly limits Japan's military power to the minimum that is required for self-defence, and a majority of the Japanese public are against any change of the pacifist spirit of Article 9. However, public opinion is generally favourable to a greater role for Japan's Self-Defence Forces in UN peacekeeping missions as long as operations do not involve casualties. Japanese troops (mainly engineering units) have been dispatched to Mozambique (1993–95), the DRC (1994), and South Sudan (2012–present) as part of UN operations.

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30. Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Cabinet decision on the Development Cooperation Charter", 10 February 2015, http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000067701.pdf
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CHAPTER 13

# Africa and the Nordics

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The Nordic countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland) are often seen by outsiders as a united group, owing to their close cultural and historical ties, the similarities in their social-democratic economic systems—sometimes described as "the Nordic model"—and their "middle-power" foreign policy approaches. The similarities in foreign policy outlook and aims are perhaps the most obvious when looking at the Nordic countries' Africa policies, and their economic and political relationships with African partners.

This chapter suggests that Nordic cooperation and common approaches to the African continent were more obvious, and arguably also less complex and multidimensional, in the Cold War period than today. It debates whether it is nevertheless valid to continue to view Nordic Africa policies through a "Nordic-style" middle-power lens. A key question this chapter seeks to address is whether the Nordic countries have established ties to African countries that are less fraught and unequal than is often the case in North-South relations, or whether Nordic Africa policies are increasingly driven by a more market-orientated and (mutual) interests-focused strategy.

The chapter begins by discussing what the concepts of "middle power" and "Nordic model" entail, and justifies the choice of focusing on three of the five Nordic countries: Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. It observes the Cold War period, when a common stance against apartheid, white minority

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_13

rule, and colonialism in Southern Africa brought the Africa policies of these three countries closely together. It then outlines the three states' current Africa strategies and how they diverge from the solidarity approach of the past. There has been a significant shift in Nordic foreign policies towards African countries since the end of the Cold War, and particularly in the past decade. Currently, the emphasis is on building relationships with African states based on mutual economic, political, and security interests and benefits, more than on a sense of solidarity and global justice—although the latter ideals have not completely disappeared. Beneath this discourse of mutuality lies a stronger emphasis on the perceived political, economic, and security interests of the Nordic countries and their business communities.

From the point of view of economic development, it is trade and investment, not aid that is presented as the future of Nordic-Africa relations. However, economic interests are not the only ones driving the Nordic countries' Africa approach. Over the past decade, political and security interests, particularly the desire to curb migration flows to Europe and to combat international terrorism, have been strong drivers of Nordic Africa policies. While described by Nordic politicians and aid officials as mutually beneficial, the migration control agenda is not predicated on considerations of interest alignments with African partner states. Instead it flows from strong domestic political pressures within the Nordic countries: Growing concerns among electorates over immigration numbers and the threat of international terrorism, and the resurgence of far-right political parties. It can also be argued that, although there are numerous instances of informal consultation and commonalities of interest, as well as some co-investment by Nordic investment funds, there is not much concrete and institutional Nordic cooperation on African issues.

## The Myths and Realities of Nordic Unity

The Nordic region in northern Europe, consisting of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Iceland, is often presented as a paragon for the rest of the international community. The Nordic countries are among the richest nations in the world.[1] They are at the same time among the world's most equal societies, where wealth and opportunity are spread widely among their populations. These countries continually rank at the top of the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In the 2015 index, Norway ranked first, Denmark fourth, Sweden fourteenth, Iceland sixteenth, and Finland twenty-fourth.[2] Apart from a dramatic few years for Iceland after its banking system collapsed in 2008, the Nordic countries weathered the global financial crisis of 2008–09 better than most rich countries.[3]

The Nordic countries are also among the world's more peaceful countries, in terms of communal cohesion and harmony both within their borders, and in their relationships with other states and the international community. Sharing a long common history (some of which entailed colonial ties between Denmark and Sweden on the one hand, and their weaker neighbours on the other), the Nordic region is closely integrated: culturally, linguistically (especially in the case of the three Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), economically, and politically. The Nordic governments introduced a passport union as early as 1954, decades before the European Union (EU) signed its own Schengen Agreement in 1985.[4]

At the same time, Nordic unity should not be overstated. During the Second World War of 1939–45, Sweden was neutral; Finland fought on the side of Germany against the Soviet Union; Norway and Denmark were occupied by Germany (having tried to remain neutral); while Iceland was under friendly Allied occupation. After the war, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland joined the United States (USA)-led North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), while Sweden and Finland remained neutral. When the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 removed the Cold War's icy constraints on Swedish and particularly Finnish foreign policy, the two countries quickly joined Denmark as members of the EU in 1995.[5] Norway and Iceland, not spurred by the same urge to reorient westwards, declined membership in the EU and opted instead for a thick web of political and economic ties with Brussels, including membership in the Schengen Agreement.

Despite such differences, the Nordic countries are routinely viewed as a united group by the outside world. It is commonplace to talk about a "Nordic model" of social democracy characterised by a combination of capitalism, welfare, and social inclusion.[6] Some would also argue that there is a particular Nordic approach to foreign policy—perhaps not so strong as to be described as a "model", but significant nevertheless. The traits deemed to characterise this foreign policy approach are an activist but consensus-seeking multilateralism; a strong ethical dimension reflecting the urge to spread the ideals of the "Nordic model" of equality, redistribution, and peaceful resolution of conflicts to the rest of the world; support for the United Nations (UN) and its agencies; and generous aid and assistance to the developing world.

There is also a presumed lack of geostrategic calculations in the aid policies of Nordic countries. Camelia Minoiu and Sanjay Reddy have argued that Nordic aid is mostly driven by developmental aims, and not by considerations of national interest.[7] Scott Gates and Anke Hoeffler have similarly suggested that "Nordic aid allocation seems remarkably free from self-interest and, indeed, more orientated towards their stated objectives of poverty alleviation, the promotion of democracy and human rights. Norway and Sweden serve as leaders in these regards."[8] Finally, the Nordic countries' standing in international society ranks above what a proponent of the realist school in international relations would expect from studying the size of their small populations, middle-sized economies, and unthreatening armed forces. All in all, then, the Nordic region is a bastion of middle-power attributes. As described by Jack Spence, the Nordic countries are

> economically well-developed and democratic states in political structure and process, the governments of which aspire to a role in international politics. Such states seek to use their standing as good citizens to influence outcomes in areas such as the protection and assertion of human rights; peacekeeping; mediation …; the promotion of good governance in the Third World; relief of debt; and support for African development programmes such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).[9]

A further characteristic of middle powers is that they limit their foreign policy ambitions to certain niches within which they can play a particularly powerful role. In the case of the Nordic countries, Spence's categories are a fairly accurate description of the middle-power agendas of the Nordics: humanitarian and development assistance, good governance, human rights advocacy, and conflict resolution. However, Spencer misses a more recent but central dimension of Nordic middle-power politics: environmentalism and concerns over climate change. The geographical focus for this middle-power agenda has been the developing world, and in particular sub-Saharan Africa.

## The Scandinavian Core of Nordic-Africa Relations

This chapter focuses on the three Scandinavian countries—Sweden, Denmark, and Norway—rather than on the Nordic region as a whole.[10] The reason for this approach is simple: covering the relations of all five countries with Africa is too big a task for this short chapter. The choice of two Nordic EU members (Denmark and Sweden) and one non-member (Norway) allows discussion of how EU membership affects Nordic cooperation on Africa policies.

The three Scandinavian countries have a long history of cooperating on, and with, Africa. They also have strong reputations in Southern Africa due to their sustained contributions to the sub-region's anti-apartheid and liberation struggles, an engagement that started in the 1960s and lasted until the last bastions of white minority rule fell with Namibia's independence in 1990 and South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. The level and nature of official and unofficial aid and support from Nordic governments to Angolan, Mozambican, South African, and Zimbabwean liberation movements have been thoroughly documented.[11] If there is such a thing as a Nordic approach to Africa, it has been particularly pronounced within Scandinavia.

The Scandinavian countries have been particularly active in Africa. Sweden and Norway are almost always listed (along with Canada) as typical middle powers that have, through their activist and generous assistance policies, become influential players in North-South relations. Denmark has a slightly lower profile, but is also a strong international player in Africa. Finland is more of an emerging middle power, whose foreign policy has been released in recent decades from its delicate Cold War balancing act in the shadow of its Soviet neighbour. Its level of engagement with Africa is lower than that of the three Scandinavian countries. Iceland is too small to be a fully-fledged middle power. It has no ambassadorial-level representation left in sub-Saharan Africa since it closed its embassy in South Africa in 2009.

## Cold War Nordic-Africa Ties: The Struggle Against Apartheid and Colonialism

Are the Nordic countries sufficiently similar in their outlook and priorities to claim the existence of an identifiable *Nordic* approach to Africa? A brief examination of the history of the relations of Denmark, Sweden and Norway with Africa during the Cold War suggests that a relatively cohesive and recognisably Nordic approach did exist in this period. This section sets out the basis for this cohesion, while the following section discusses whether the current period is characterised by a similar unity of purpose and policy.

Starting in the early 1960s, a joint Nordic approach took shape against colonialism, apartheid, and white minority rule in Southern Africa.[12] Sweden took an early lead in these efforts and in 1969 became the "first—and for several years the only—industrialised Western country to extend direct official assistance to the Southern African liberation movements".[13] In stark contrast to British and US policies, Stockholm supplied 40% of all its official development assistance in Southern Africa directly to the sub-region's liberation movements. The movements benefiting from this aid were the African National Congress (ANC), the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).[14] In addition, Sweden provided large amounts of development assistance to anti-apartheid non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and movements within Namibia and South Africa in the 1980s.[15]

Norway soon followed Sweden's example, spurred on by pressure from its own influential non-governmental sector. Tore Linné Eriksen argues that "although the support given [by Norway] to the liberation movements in Namibia and South Africa in the main belong to the period after 1975, there is no other Western country—apart from Sweden—which had such close relations to the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa".[16] This economic support was offered indirectly through humanitarian aid to apartheid victims and refugees and, directly but gradually from 1973 onwards, to the liberation movements.[17] In the 1980s, Norwegian consuls-general in Cape Town had their own substantial "emergency funds", which were distributed clandestinely to pro-democracy groups in South Africa without too many financial questions being asked by Oslo.[18]

Denmark never contributed official aid directly to armed liberation movements. The country provided humanitarian aid to victims and refugees through the UN and NGOs, allowing Danish aid money to be distributed indirectly through the country's civil society groups to liberation movements in Southern Africa. Denmark was the first Western country to introduce full political and economic sanctions against South Africa, in 1986.[19]

It is easy to forget, almost three decades after the end of the Cold War, that the Nordic governments' engagement in the struggle against white minority rule in Southern Africa was remarkable. Southern Africa was one of the regions of the world where the Cold War was at its hottest. In this climate, the governments of the Scandinavian countries went against the Western grain and decided that the liberation struggles were a matter of fighting colonialism, racism, and human rights abuses, and not an issue of "communism versus the free world". This principled stand made the Nordic group unique among Western governments. These countries talked to, collaborated with, and financially supported armed liberation movements condemned by the United States and Britain as "Soviet-backed". In the case of the two NATO members, Norway and Denmark, this collaboration even extended to liberation movements engaged in armed struggle against their NATO ally, Portugal.[20]

While anti-apartheid movements became more and more vociferous in many Western countries, it was only in the Nordic region that this public sentiment gained government recognition and support from an early stage. This support still resonates among Africa's political elite, particularly in Southern Africa. For example, in 2009, on her arrival in Oslo, South Africa's then ambassador to Norway, Beryl Rose Sisulu, made the pertinent, and popular, point that she and her siblings had been supported by Norwegian money while her father, Walter Sisulu, had been incarcerated on Robben Island.[21] Although its impact on contemporary Nordic-Africa relations should not be overstated, the Nordic stance against white minority rule had a twofold effect. First, it strengthened Nordic diplomatic, political, and economic cooperation on Africa, confirming the Nordic region's sense of shared values and ideals. Second, it built ties of solidarity between elites in the Nordic and Southern African regions. But are these ties within the Nordic region and between the Scandinavian countries and Africa still as strong today as then, more than two decades after the end of apartheid?

## Post-Cold War Scandinavian Approaches to Africa

Although antecedents go back at least a decade, we can discern a shift in Nordic foreign and aid policy priorities towards Africa after the turn of the millennium. Between 2007 and 2008, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark all published major white papers—the first in many years—setting out their Africa strategies. Although there are many similarities in aims, and some concrete forms of cooperation, among these documents, there is less convergence and coordination between the Nordic countries than history would lead us to expect. One reason for this development is a change in foreign policy outlook in Stockholm, Oslo, and Copenhagen, with a stronger focus on national interests, a more strategic approach to aid policy, and a shift of focus from aid to trade and investment.

In 2013, “[f]oreign direct investment in the [Africa] region … hit a record $60 billion, five times its 2000 level”.[22] While the trend reversed in 2015, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, due in particular to falling commodity prices, the continent continues to be viewed as a promising but still risky investment market.[23] The Nordic countries, albeit far from Africa’s biggest investors, are contributing to this trend. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have all strengthened their investment funds for developing countries (IFU) through Norfund, Swedfund, and Danish IFU respectively. These provide investments and grants in high-risk destinations with the aim of supporting entrepreneurship, creating jobs, and furthering sustainable growth. Despite the rise of these funds, and strong rhetoric on the importance of trade and investment to further Africa’s development, the view of Africa from the perspective of Scandinavian capitals remains in many ways a traditional aid-focused one. This section takes a closer look at the current Africa strategies of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

### *Sweden: Partnerships, Mutual Interests*

Sweden’s foreign policy towards sub-Saharan Africa remains grounded in a development aid perspective, rather than in business interests, trade and investment, or indeed geopolitical considerations, even though its trade surplus with Africa far surpasses its aid spending on the continent. In 2015, Sweden spent about 4.9 billion Swedish krone (SEK) on development aid to Africa.[24] That same year, Sweden exported goods worth SEK 31.6 billion to Africa, while imports from Africa stood at 10.5 billion (an SEK 20 billion trade surplus, in other words).[25] Meanwhile, in the grey zone between the development aid and the business and finance worlds, Swedfund (the Swedish state’s development finance institution) had in 2015 a modest but growing investment portfolio of less than SEK 3.5 billion, 60% of it in Africa. After a decade of losses, there was a small profit in 2015 of SEK 2.8 million.[26]

Writing about Sweden’s policies towards and relationships with African countries and regional institutions is complicated by the fact that the politicians and civil servants who develop and execute Swedish Africa policies make a strong distinction between sub-Saharan Africa and North Africa. Different units within the Swedish government bureaucracy tend to develop separate policy strategies, set out in separate government white papers, for North and sub-Saharan Africa respectively. North Africa is usually grouped together with the Middle East as the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa) (see Hamdy and Thabet in this volume).[27]

Ambitions and goals towards the two regions differ more than ever after the events of the Arab Spring. While the main ambition towards sub-Saharan Africa is to alleviate extreme poverty and encourage sustainable development, with the latter understood in both socioeconomic and environmental terms,[28] the emphasis for MENA is on preventing, managing, and resolving violent conflict, and on delivering humanitarian aid. In the past couple years, from the point of view of Swedish foreign policy, the North African part of the MENA region has been overshadowed by the war and humanitarian emergency in Syria. In 2016, Sweden's aid budget towards the MENA region increased by over 42%, with almost all the increase earmarked for Syria and its neighbouring countries. Meanwhile, the proportion of Swedish aid money allocated to the sub-Saharan African region shrunk marginally by 0.1%. In reality, the reduction was higher, since sub-Saharan Africa is a significant beneficiary of Swedish "global support" programmes on themes such as democratisation, health, and education. The budget for global activities was slashed by up to 20% in 2016.[29]

The greatest shift from Stockholm's Cold War-era solidarity-led strategy towards Africa came in 2008, with a government communication to parliament titled "Sweden and [sub-Saharan] Africa: A Policy to Address Common Challenges and Opportunities". This was followed by two regional strategy papers, one for development cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa (2015)[30] and one for the MENA region (2016).[31] The two latter do not mark a significant shift in priorities from the 2008 publication, although some trends are noticeable. The differentiation between North and sub-Saharan Africa is even more pronounced, and the general tone is less optimistic. The 2016 paper emphasises African regional cooperation (some of the African Union (AU) member states are dealt with separately in the MENA paper) and indicates climate change and extreme poverty as the most urgent priorities.

On a close reading of the 2008 policy paper, three concepts stand out: "equal partnership", "holistic approach", and "national interests". The emphasis on partnerships involves two steps. First, intra-European partnerships: Sweden places its policy firmly within the EU's approach to Africa. The 2008 paper talks about "Sweden's and the EU's policies" in the same breath,[32] in order to underline the harmony between the two. This is also seen in Sweden's recent emphasis on investments in private sector development through Swedfund, the Swedish investment fund for developing countries. The annual report for 2015, for instance, described Swedfund's impact as magnified through EU cooperation: "Together with other European Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) we manage an investment portfolio of around €32.9 billion, distributed among over 4000 businesses. Collaborating with these European DFIs gives us a strong voice and means we can invest effectively with a sharp focus on fulfilling the global goals."[33]

The second step is that of forging a strong strategic partnership between the EU and Africa, one in which African and European countries are equal partners and where African countries assume ownership of, and provide more active contributions to, issues of their own development, peace, and security. Part of the partnership approach is to emphasise capacity-building within Africa, especially through Africa's own regional institutions—an echo of the "African solutions for Africa's problems" slogan of Thabo Mbeki, former South African president and driving force behind the creation of the AU.

Turning to the concept of a "holistic" or integrated approach, the 2008 paper spells out how key issues are related to each other in a complex and globalised world. The press release in March 2008 that announced Stockholm's new Africa policy made a point of providing quotations from ministers from three different ministries: international development cooperation, trade, and foreign affairs. Each minister approached the question of Africa's sustainable development from the particular perspective of his or her own ministry.[34] Both the press release and the policy paper emphasise that aid alone, although still seen as important, will do little to foster sustainable development in Africa, and that poverty alleviation, economic growth, climate change, human rights, and peace and security on the continent are all intertwined and must be addressed in a coherent and integrated manner. In addition, these African issues are also inextricably linked to Stockholm's foreign policy: "Sweden's development is closely interwoven with that of the rest of the world. Thus development, security, stability, democracy and human rights in Africa are also matters of concern for Sweden. Distance is of little significance when it comes to climate change, environmental threats, epidemics, international terrorism and war."[35]

This quotation brings us to another important concept in the Swedish policy paper: "national interests". This emphasis on Swedish interests is a departure from earlier development discourses on Africa, which tended to be exempt from the dictates of national interests. Instead, Africa policy was mostly the turf of the development ministry and the Swedish NGO community, and was allowed to be dominated by principled norms of equality and justice. The same shift towards "What is in it for us?" interests is evident, indeed more pronounced, in the discourses of the Danish and Norwegian governments.

It should be noted that the emphasis on national interests is not as hard-nosed as it may sound. First, the Swedish policy papers continue to refer to many development goals as goods in themselves, regardless of Stockholm's interests. This is particularly obvious in discussions of alleviating extreme poverty and helping African societies' most marginalised groups. When discussing the impact of globalisation, the paper states categorically that "the benefits of globalisation should be made available to more people".[36] The traditional Swedish emphasis on human rights and aiding the very poorest in society remains intact, in both the 2008 and the 2016 papers, the latter confirming that Swedish aid cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa should always take as its starting point the perspective of the poorest in society. Second, Stockholm's Africa strategy seeks out cooperation with African countries and organisations in areas in which they have common interests. For example, economic ties and efforts to improve African trade with the rest of the world can be good for African economies *and* Swedish commercial interests.[37] The combined strategy of aid and trade for mutual benefit has become a clearer trend with the rise in recent years of Swedfund.

To sum up, Sweden has moved some way towards self-interest on the foreign policy continuum from selfless solidarity to hard-nosed self-interest in its approaches towards Africa. This is perhaps more easily noticeable in omissions than in actions. In recent years, Sweden's focus has shifted away from Africa after an optimistic period around the launch of the 2008 white paper, when it was thought that aid could help boost a range of already positive trajectories on the African continent towards democratisation, economic growth, and conflict resolution. By 2016, the view on sub-Saharan Africa's development challenges was more sombre, while at the same time, Swedish foreign policy interests shifted elsewhere, towards the Middle East and Northern Africa. This is partly due to the challenges thrown up by the Arab Spring and its bloody aftermaths in many countries, not least in Syria. But it is even more a result of the domestic concern within Sweden due to high influxes of immigrants and asylum seekers, especially in 2015, and a fear of radicalisation and terrorism moving with the migrants to Sweden. It would take another chapter to discuss the validity of such fears, but it is clear that migration control and counter-terrorism have become driving forces in Sweden's Africa strategy—as they have for the whole of the EU.

The vast majority of the boat migrants who attempt the perilous journey across the Mediterranean to Italy set out from civil war-ravaged Libya, after a trek through a range of troubled states in West and Central Africa and the Horn of Africa. The conclusion of Swedish foreign policy officials is that an African continent marred by under-development, conflict, and frail and "failed" states has repercussions as far away as Sweden, manifested through problems such as migration control and the spread of international terrorism.

### *Norway: Climate, Capital, Conflict, and Migration*

Norway spent 5.4 billion Norwegian kroner (NKR) on development assistance to Africa in 2015.[38] In addition, Norfund, the Norwegian investment fund for developing countries, had by the end of 2014 invested NKR 6 billion of its portfolio in sub-Saharan Africa. Norfund has an explicit strategy of focusing on Africa, with over 80% of new investments made on the continent, mostly in East and Southern Africa.

As was the case with Sweden, an important staging post in the shift in the Norwegian government's strategy towards Africa came in 2008, when the Norwegian foreign office published its *Platform for an Integrated Africa Policy*. This document was part of a larger overhaul of Norwegian foreign and development policy goals, evidenced by a flurry of white papers, propositions, and reports published in 2008–09. Apart from the platform, most important for Oslo's relations with Africa are two white papers submitted to parliament in 2009, one on foreign policy, titled *Interests, Responsibility, and Possibilities*, and the other on development policy, titled *Climate, Conflict, and Capital*.[39] The title of the former provides a clue to Norway's increased emphasis on defining and pursuing its own national interests in its relations with other countries, including in the developing world. The title of the latter illustrates the central position that climate change and the exploitation of natural resources have in Norwegian development policy. In 2015, the foreign affairs ministry published a white paper titled "Working Together: Private Sector Development within Development Cooperation", underlining the diversification of Norway's aid strategy from traditional aid towards private sector investment.[40]

Norway's Africa platform of 2008 set out, in a similar vein to Sweden's Africa policy statement in the same year, an integrated and holistic approach to Africa, where foreign policy, trade, aid, climate, and development issues are dealt with as interlinked parts of a whole. Like their

Swedish colleagues, the authors of the Norwegian platform note that aid is only a small part of Oslo's relations with Africa. But Norway has moved further away than Sweden from a traditional focus on aid. Doubting the efficacy of aid in achieving developmental goals, the Norwegian foreign office's thinking revolves increasingly around "capital". This is shorthand for policies to strengthen foreign direct investment; improve Africa's terms of, and participation in, international trade; combat illegal capital flows; harness migrant remittances for development; and deal with Third World debt—an increasingly urgent issue for many African countries. Sub-Saharan Africa's external debt was just over $400 billion in 2014, up from $256 billion in 2009.[41]

The 2008 platform noted that trade and investment are worth far more than aid, both in monetary terms and in their potential for supporting sustainable development. Indeed, in 2008, the taxes paid by the Norwegian oil company Statoil to the government of Angola were worth more than twice the entire official Norwegian aid budget for sub-Saharan Africa that year.[42] Since 2008, considerable hope and aid money have been invested in Norfund, as an engine for promoting both sustainable development and Norwegian business interests. Norfund has a complex and to some extent conflicting set of priorities and practices. On the one hand, the aim is to invest in promising companies and projects that will engender profit for the fund. On the other hand, it is mandated to focus on risky (thus often loss-bearing) investments into under-developed and conflict-prone countries that would otherwise receive little or no inflow of capital to private enterprises. The primary objective of the fund is sustainable growth in Africa, which includes the aim of strengthening business communities *within* African countries, but the fund often provides low-risk financing for the ventures of Norwegian economic actors into Africa, including, for instance, well-established Norwegian energy companies. One of the explicit aims of Norfund is to improve tax collection by fostering more transparent, accountable business practices, but in the interest of protecting its investments, Norfund has channelled much of its own investment in sub-Saharan Africa through the tax haven of Mauritius.[43]

As an oil-exporting and resource-rich country, Norway has decided to link its expertise on resource management to its development assistance strategy. Thus, aid is geared towards areas where Oslo can help resource-rich African countries to avoid, or escape from, the "resource curse" and harness their resources to sustainable development. Norad's oil-for-development programme is an excellently conceived "capacity transfer" programme, but demanding and complex to execute; hence it has a relatively limited group of partners. The assistance is comprehensive, including political governance and oversight, security measures, negotiating skills with private oil companies, tackling corruption, collecting tax revenue, protecting the environment, and, last but not least, ensuring that oil and gas wealth benefits the population, not just the elite.[44] The programme, unlike Norfund, is explicitly not aimed at helping Norwegian companies, in order to ensure that Norway has no economic self-interest in how the programme is executed. In addition to the oil-for-development programme, Norway is gearing its aid towards the environmentally sustainable extraction of resources.[45] It offers its expertise, money, and technology to help African states manage their natural resources—not just oil and gas—in a more environmentally friendly manner, and to mitigate the potentially dramatic effects of global warming on the African continent.

The emphasis on resources is inescapably linked to the closer alignment of Norway's aid policies with its national interests—and indeed, especially in the case of Norfund, with the interests of its business community. It is no coincidence that Angola and Nigeria have become two of Norway's closest African cooperation partners, considering the vast investments by Norwegian energy companies in both countries. Norfund has been an important vehicle for Norwegian green energy companies to establish projects in Africa. Norfund recognises the common interests between Norway and Africa in dealing with climate change, and the expertise Norwegian companies can offer to African countries in their quest to cater to their growing energy needs without further aggravating the severe impact that climate change is expected to wreak on the African continent.

After capital and climate, the third C driving Norway's Africa strategy is "conflict". Norway's ambitions as a middle power are strongly linked to its self-perception as a peacebuilding expert and its role as mediator and facilitator for conflict resolution efforts around the world. Traditionally, this role has been understood as first and foremost a good in itself—pursuing the goal of reducing violent conflict wherever it may take place. Inasmuch as it could be understood as interest-driven, it would be to the extent that its peacebuilding activities would increase Norway's influence and prestige in international politics.

However, in the new millennium, the justifications given for supporting conflict prevention, management, and resolution activities have acquired a much broader resonance. While reducing violence and war is still a good in itself, to address violent conflict and its causes is now in addition seen as crucial both for traditional development aid goals in Africa and for Norway's own national security. Børge Brende, Norway's foreign minister, summed up the government thinking in an interview in August 2016. He pointed out that the foreign office would spend more resources on aiding a belt of vulnerable and conflict-ridden states from Mali in West Africa, through the Middle East and to Afghanistan in South Asia, in order that they do not become failed states and exacerbate the global refugee crisis. For him: "These are areas exposed to people smugglers, criminality, war and conflict. States that experience extreme poverty and need."[46]

Brende's list of concerns arising from this geographical belt is telling of Norway's priorities. First on the foreign minister's list—but probably rather low on the list of ordinary people living in Mali, Sudan, South Sudan, and other countries in the "belt of vulnerability"—are "people smugglers". Smugglers are those who assist the travels of African migrants and refugees across the Sahara and the Mediterranean Sea to the southern borders of the EU, often exploiting, extorting, and mistreating the migrants under way. Second is "criminality", a term also closely associated with people smuggling, which is done through illicit, clandestine, often transnational smuggling networks. Norway's priority in the "vulnerability belt"—in line with that of the European Union—is first and foremost to stop the flow of irregular migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean, after more than 1,200,000 asylum seekers arrived in the EU as boat migrants in 2015. The influx was seen as a security threat, due to the inability of the EU countries to control their borders, and the lack of proper registration of many of the new arrivals. In November 2015, at least two of the attackers who killed 130 people in restaurants and a concert venue in Paris had arrived on the "migrant trail" and made their way to France, probably on false Syrian passports.[47] In addition to the fear of terrorism, the sheer number of arrivals (albeit modest compared to global migration trends) raised concerns across Europe. Norway received, proportionally to its size, a relatively large number of asylum seekers: a record 30,000 new applications in 2015. As has become the case in many other European countries, immigration has become perhaps the biggest and most divisive domestic policy problem the country's politicians have to grapple with. As a result, development and humanitarian aid policy has been bent towards the goal of domestic migration control and, indeed, immigration reduction. National interest, then, impacts on current Norwegian aid policy in a manner not seen previously in history.

### *Denmark: Aid with an Increasingly Inward Focus*

In 2015, Denmark spent 2.7 billion Danish Kroner (DKK) on bilateral aid to Africa, of which almost 2.3 billion went to a handful of "priority countries". Its trade figures with the African continent are both low and skewed: In 2014, Denmark exported $1.8 billion (less than 2% of its total exports) worth of goods and services to African countries. In return, it imported goods and services worth $981 million from Africa, less than 1% of total imports in 2014.[48]

To a greater degree than Sweden and Norway, Denmark has gone through phases of waxing and waning interest in the African continent, with a period in the early 2000s when it scaled back its Africa aid. It struck some African partner states from its list of core aid recipients, and tied aid to its remaining partners to strong conditionalities regarding economic liberalisation, democratisation, and human rights. These conditionalities were accompanied by threats of removal of "programme country" (now "priority country") status if progress in these areas was not satisfactory.[49] This led to greater divergence between Denmark and its Scandinavian neighbours, which can go some way to explain the gradual reduction in concrete Nordic cooperation on their respective Africa policies.

With the publication of a new Africa strategy in a white paper in August 2007,[50] Copenhagen seemed to return to the Nordic fold. This strategy promised considerable increases in aid to Africa: about two-thirds of Denmark's bilateral aid budget was earmarked for the continent.[51] Copenhagen continues to target its bilateral aid at a small selection of "priority countries". Almost three-quarters ($607 million out of $847 million) of all Danish bilateral aid to Africa in 2009 went to only nine countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Mozambique, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.[52] Sub-Saharan Africa remains the most important recipient of Danish aid. Danida is currently going through another period of reducing its number of priority recipient countries, aiming to end up with 14 partners, of which 10 will be in sub-Saharan Africa.

A sign of the renewed importance placed on Africa was the creation in 2008 of the Africa Commission (not to be confused with former British prime minister Tony Blair's Commission for Africa of 2005). Denmark's commission was chaired by its prime minister, Lars Røkke Rasmussen, and consisted of eminent Danish, African, and international experts, politicians, and businesspeople. The commission launched its final report in June 2009. The document had relatively little to say about traditional aid.

Instead, the focus was on private-led growth, especially facilitating African entrepreneurship and small and medium-sized enterprises.[53] As we have seen, Oslo, and to a lesser extent Stockholm, have also come to emphasise the crucial role of the private sector for sustainable growth and poverty alleviation. In that sense, recent years may have seen less of a return to the Scandinavian fold of Denmark, and more of a coming around to Danish ideas by Norway and Sweden.

Another similarity between Denmark's current Africa strategy and those of Norway and Sweden is the move away from justifying development aid as simply a good in itself. In order to justify aid spending and allocations, Denmark emphasises the importance of Africa for the rest of the world in an age of globalisation, in which climate change, epidemics, sustainable extraction of natural resources, migration, and "radicalisation" would all have global consequences.[54] The 2007, 2012, and 2017 aid strategy documents return frequently to Denmark's self-interest in investing in aid. Introducing the 2017 whitepaper on Danish development aid, Danida asserts that it "will be driven by promoting Danish foreign policy and domestic policy interests at the same time".[55] The 2012 strategy paper linked the aim of creating a more just world to the harnessing of Danish opportunities and interests:

> Denmark's development cooperation is an investment—in peace and fewer refugees, in combating crime, degradation of our natural resources and climate change, and an investment in growth, employment and new opportunities in Denmark and in Europe. It is an investment in global influence. This we must acknowledge and stand by. It is, however, first and foremost an investment in a more just world. In the right to a better life.[56]

Like Sweden and Norway, Denmark wishes to see Africa fully integrated within and benefiting from globalisation, both economically and politically. Thus, many of the targets of the Danish strategy relate to strengthening African participation in international fora such as the UN Security Council and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (see Jinadu in this volume). As a route to such increased international participation, Denmark wishes to strengthen regional integration and cooperation within Africa through support for regional organisations such as the AU and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This is yet another interest shared with Norway and, particularly, Sweden.

Denmark does not see the intercontinental movement of people as a desirable aspect of globalisation, and gears its aid towards policies and partner countries that presumably will further the aim of reducing the number of African migrants heading to Europe.[57] In the past few years, and particularly since 2015, Swedish, Danish, and Norwegian Africa strategies have all become permeated with concerns about migration, an issue area that took on domestic political significance much earlier in Denmark than in its two Scandinavian neighbours. Copenhagen has had a marked anti-immigration dimension to its domestic politics since 2000. This is also reflected in its 2007 Africa strategy and its 2017 development aid whitepaper. Denmark aims to strengthen the administrative capacity of African migrant-sending countries to manage the movement of people; to achieve closer cooperation between African migrant-sending and European destination countries; and to reduce the consequences of "brain drain" on African countries. In line with EU thinking on the subject,[58] Denmark wishes to maintain a "marked effort in [refugee] regions of origin".[59] Containing African refugee flows within the continent, of course, would reduce the flow of asylum seekers to Europe.

Apart from the strong focus on migration, the most notable aim of Denmark's Africa strategy is to deal with climate change—to slow it as well as counteract its negative consequences. There are similarities here with Norway's priorities, but Denmark's ambitions, due partly to its role as host of the stalemated global climate negotiations in Copenhagen in December 2009, have been broader than Norway's focus on energy.

## The Nordic Approach to Africa: Converging over the Pursuit of National Interests?

To what extent do these largely unilaterally developed strategies—although certainly with some exchanges and cross-fertilisation of ideas[60]—translate into a common *Nordic* approach to Africa?

First, there are many points of convergence in the Scandinavian strategies, as all three countries want their aid policies to reflect their *comparative advantage*, a popular term in the development assistance community.[61] This is particularly pronounced for Norway, with its prioritisation of energy, natural resources, and climate change. Both Copenhagen and Oslo, which have been strong advocates of international climate cooperation, have placed environmental policies at the top of their Africa agendas, with Stockholm also taking a close interest in this topic. Thus comparative advantage and national interests converge in the case of the unprecedented emphasis on climate-related problems in the Africa strategies of all three Scandinavian countries, and ensure a degree of alignment and commonality of interest among them.

Another area of convergence is the focus on conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities. Norway has a particularly strong self-identification as a global peacemaker, but the Nordic countries have in common their belief in the benefits of exporting their consensual and peaceful sociopolitical models to the rest of the world. Thus, exporting the "Nordic model" as a way of promoting both peace and development in the global South is viewed as another comparative advantage shared by all five Nordic countries.

In addition to common features in their understanding of what constitutes the Nordic region's "comparative advantages" as donors, the Scandinavian countries also share the holistic assumption that issues of aid, trade, politics, and security in Africa are intrinsically linked, and must therefore be addressed in a concerted manner for sustainable peace and development to take root. One aspect of this belief is that the private sector and trade-related issues are given much higher prominence in the Africa strategies of these countries, pushing traditional aid topics down the list of priorities.

A second aspect of this holistic approach is the Scandinavian countries' aim to support Africa's own regional integration efforts. Much Scandinavian hope and resources have been invested in Africa's regional organisations, especially the AU, but also in sub-regional organisations such as SADC in Southern Africa. For Denmark and Sweden, there is a strong additional reason for supporting African regional institution-building and integration: both countries emphasise the centrality of the EU's role in their own Africa strategies, and Brussels needs the AU to be institutionally strong if the EU-Africa partnership is to become meaningful.

The clearest recent development, however, is the arrival of migration control as a key factor driving Nordic diplomacy towards and relations with African counterparts. Concern over mass migration across the Mediterranean Sea is reshaping the Africa strategies of Nordic countries and the EU in terms of both priority issue areas and priority countries. The focus has shifted to job creation and migration management measures in migrant-sending and transit countries in Africa, in order to disrupt the migration routes across the Sahara to Libya and Egypt, and onwards across the Mediterranean to Europe's southern borders. The focus on bolstering the economies and polities of weak and vulnerable states in the "vulnerability belt" described by Norwegian foreign minister Børge Brende will also become more pronounced, in an attempt to halt the rise in forced displacement globally, and the flow of asylum seekers to Europe specifically.

### *A Dearth in Institutional Ties*

Considering the strong commonality of interests, combined with the historical Nordic engagement in the anti-apartheid and anti-colonial struggles, there are surprisingly few formal institutional ties between the Nordic countries on African issues. Norway, Denmark, and Sweden have sometimes shared embassy complexes in some African countries, but diplomats question how much difference this physical proximity makes in terms of actual collaboration. This practice does at least make the informal exchange of information easy, and projects an image of Nordic unity and coherence.

The Nordic Development Fund (NDF), an attempt at strengthening institutional development aid cooperation between the Nordic countries, was so inactive that Nordic ministers almost closed it down in 2005. Instead, after four moribund years, the NDF was finally relaunched in May 2009 with a narrow mandate of funding "climate-related interventions in poor developing countries" to help these states tackle the impact of climate change.[62] In 2015, the NDF had invested €236 million in climate change-related projects in 17 states, the majority in Africa. It is nevertheless safe to say that the NDF is overshadowed by the national investment funds for developing countries, such as Norfund and Swedfund.

A relatively recent institution for Nordic cooperation with Africa is the Nordic-African Foreign Ministers Meeting, where foreign ministers from the Nordic countries meet annually with their counterparts from a selection of African countries. In 2016, 12 African foreign ministers, from Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Ghana, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, and South Africa, travelled to Norway for the annual gathering.[63] These meetings have been described by Nordic ministers as a "unique opportunity to engage in a dialogue on critical issues affecting not only our two regions, but the entire international community",[64] in an informal, open, and frank manner. The deliberations take place behind closed doors, and are hosted every other year by an African or Nordic country.

There was talk of abolishing this forum after a lack of high-level participation at the Benin meeting in 2006. But the process was resuscitated in 2007 by Norway, which managed to persuade most of the participating countries to send smaller but higher-level delegations to the Oslo meeting.[65] Since then, the level of participation, including of foreign ministers, has been good, but questions remain about whether the Nordic-Africa meetings have been able to live up to their aim of being more open and less confrontational than the atmosphere that has characterised EU-Africa meetings in Cairo (2000), Lisbon (2007), Tripoli (2010), and Valetta (2015). According to some Nordic diplomats present at the eighth meeting, hosted by Denmark in March 2009, things did not go according to their plan. Nordic ministers, who had tried to set an agenda dominated by climate change and preparations for the then-upcoming Durban II Racism Conference, were taken aback by the direction the dialogue took. The main topic of debate instead became the indictment of Sudan's president Omar al-Bashir by the Hague-based International Criminal Court (ICC), with venting of anger by African foreign ministers against an alleged Western-sponsored ICC bias against Africa (see Kuwali in this volume). The official agenda was thus not covered in an in-depth manner.[66]

This puts a question mark on the notion that the Nordic region, owing to its anti-colonial history, is somewhat immune from traditional African distrust of Western motivations that have often hampered the EU-Africa strategic partnership. The Nordic countries also have a number of agenda items that they wish to push with African countries, with migration and climate change being particularly high on this list. It is not clear that the Nordics are managing better than other European countries to pursue their agenda within the framework of a real partnership of equals with African countries. The growing emphasis in the past few years on investment and business ventures, on climate change mitigation, green energy, and job creation somehow reflects a new, more pragmatic, and collaborative attitude towards African partners. But the rather blatant prioritisation of measures aimed to reduce migration towards Europe puts the Nordic countries in the same box as the rest of the EU—an awkward and unbalanced bargaining relationship with African counterparts.

### *EU Membership: A Help or Hindrance for Nordic-Africa Relations?*

One reason for the low level of institutional cooperation between the Nordic countries on African issues is the membership of Sweden, Denmark, and Finland in the EU, a body to which Norway and Iceland do not belong. The Africa strategies of Sweden and Denmark embrace the idea of a common EU platform on Africa. While this may have hampered the construction of formal Nordic cooperation channels, it sometimes leads to informal consultation and divisions of labour between Sweden and Denmark on the one hand, and non-EU member Norway on the other.

The most obvious way in which this works is that Sweden and Denmark may function as Norway's ear into the EU's internal deliberations, and keep their Scandinavian neighbour informed about issues affecting its interests. But the benefits also flow the other way. Sometimes Oslo is able to make statements or act in cases in which Copenhagen or Stockholm are bound by joint EU positions. Norway's non-membership in the EU can thus been seen as a strength, not only for its own ability to form and pursue a distinct African agenda, but also in terms of the ability of the Nordic region as a whole to provide flexible responses to challenges on the African continent.

## Conclusion: Back to Geopolitics?

Camelia Minoiu and Sanjay Reddy have argued that the Nordic middle-power approach to aid provides better long-term growth in receiving countries than the geostrategic approaches of, for example, the United States.[67] The basis for this conclusion is that Nordic aid policies are remarkably free from narrowly self-interested motivations. This chapter has, to some degree, raised questions about this notion. It has also noted that the Africa strategies of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway have moved towards a stronger concern with national interests, even if these interests remain defined in quite generous and inclusive terms. The emphasis on "comparative advantage" can also be read in this light: it is in the interests of the Nordic countries to play to their strengths and construct an aid and cooperation agenda around services and technologies that their own industries and societies are best placed to provide and from which they can derive benefits. Future research will be necessary to gauge whether this shift towards interests will affect the successes of the Nordic model.

In conclusion, although Africa is relatively high on the foreign policy agendas of all three Scandinavian countries, the continent's concerns are not particularly high on the Nordic cooperation agenda. Nordic foreign ministers commissioned a report on Nordic cooperation on foreign and security policy, submitted by former Norwegian foreign minister Thorvald Stoltenberg in February 2009 that had little to say about Africa. In light of the increased assertiveness of Russia's foreign policy in the Arctic region, the document's main focus was on the geostrategic importance of the Nordic region itself, its oceans, and its resources.[68] The Stoltenberg report's focus on challenges within the Nordic region and its immediate neighbourhood is symptomatic of current thinking on Nordic cooperation among the region's governments.

A December 2006 policy paper published by the Maastricht-based European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) on EU-Africa relations had posed the question: "How can [a] fragmented Europe-Africa relationship be overcome to enter into a continent to continent relationship as desired by the African Union?"[69] This chapter has underlined the pertinence of this question. If even the five Nordic countries—with their shared history and culture, common political values, and strong, well-established regional links—are not investing the time and resources necessary to enable strong institutional cooperation on Africa, imagine how difficult this task will be for the 28 (soon to be 27) member states of the EU.

## Notes

1. All the Nordic countries had a GDP per capita of over US$40,000 per year in 2016, according to the CIA Factbook, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2004rank.html
2. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2015: Work for Human Development* (New York, 2015), p. 208.
3. *See for example The Economist*, "The Secret of Their Success: The Nordic Countries Are Probably the Best-Governed in the World", Special Report (2February2013),http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21570835-nordic-countries-are-probably-best-governed-world-secret-their
4. The Schengen Agreement was first signed in 1985, but did not take effect until 1995.
5. Denmark had been an EU member since 1973.
6. *See for example* Jon Kvist, Johan Fritzell, Bjørn Hvinden, and Olli Kangas (eds), *Changing Social Equality: The Nordic Welfare Model in the 21st Century* (Bristol: Polity, 2012).
7. Camelia Minoiu and Sanjay Reddy, *Development Aid and Economic Growth: A Positive Long-Run Relation*, Working Paper no. WP/09/118, International Monetary Fund Institute (May 2009), p. 11.
8. Scott Gates and Anke Hoeffler, *Global Aid Allocations: Are Nordic Donors Different?*, Working Paper no. 234 (Centre for the Study of African Economies, 2004), p. 16, http://www.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1234&context=csae

9. Jack Spence, "South Africa's Foreign Policy: Vision and Reality", in Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (ed.), *Apartheid Past, Renaissance Future: South Africa's Foreign Policy, 1994–2004* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2004), p. 42.
10. Scandinavia is a geographical term covering the North-European countries Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The Nordic region consists of Scandinavia plus Finland and Iceland. The three Scandinavian languages are closely related and have a common root in the Norse language of the Viking era.
11. Lina Soiri and Pekka Peltola, *Finland and National Liberation in Southern Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1999); Tore Linné Eriksen, *Norway and National Liberation in Southern Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2000); Tor Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa: Solidarity and Assistance, 1970–1994*, 2nd edition (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002); Christopher Munthe Morgenstierne, *Denmark and National Liberation in Southern Africa: A Flexible Response* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2003). This entire series can be downloaded from http://www.liberationafrica.se/publications
12. Tor Sellström, writing in Morgenstierne, *Denmark and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, p. 9.
13. Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, p. 34.
14. Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, pp. 34–8.
15. During the anti-apartheid struggle, the Swedish government distributed 1.6 billion Swedish Krone to a variety of anti-apartheid, democracy, cultural, and civil society organisations within South Africa, almost twice as much as it awarded to the ANC. *See* Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, pp. 38–9.
16. Eriksen, *Norway and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, p. 9.
17. Eriksen, *Norway and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, p. 71.
18. Eriksen, *Norway and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, pp. 175–7.
19. Morgenstierne, *Denmark and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, p. 13.
20. Morgenstierne, *Denmark and National Liberation in Southern Africa*, p. 13.
21. *See* Lars-Ludvig Røed, "Time to Repay", Aftenposten (2 May 2009).
22. Makhtar Diop, Yuan Li, Li Yong, and Ato Ahmed Shide, "Africa Still Poised to Become the Next Great Investment Destination", World Bank, 30 June 2015, http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/opinion/2015/06/30/africa-still-poised-to-become-the-next-great-investment-destination
23. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development notes that "FDI flows to Africa fell to $54 billion in 2015, a decrease of 7% over the previous year. An upturn in foreign direct investment into North Africa was

more than offset by decreasing flows into Sub-Saharan Africa, especially to West and Central Africa." UNCTAD, *World Investment Report 2016* (Geneva: United Nations Publications, 2016), p. x.

24. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, *Årsredovisning 2015* (2016), http://www.sida.se
25. National Board of Trade Sweden, *Swedish Export to Africa, Swedish Import from Africa. See* data sheet of the National Board of Trade, http://statistikblad.kommers.se/en/?code=1&period=201512&type=html
26. Swedfund, "Poverty Reduction Through Sustainable Business: Swedfund's Integrated Report 2015" (2015), p. 6.
27. *For instance* the introduction to Sweden's 2008 white paper on Sweden and Africa makes it clear that it "is concerned with policy on sub-Saharan Africa. The countries of North Africa, excluding Morocco, are of course members of the African Union, and extensive inter-regional cooperation takes place in this forum. However, North Africa's orientation towards the Arab world and the Mediterranean sets it apart from sub-Saharan Africa." Government of Sweden, "Sweden and Africa: A Policy to Address Common Challenges and Opportunities", Government Communication no. 2007/08:67 (6 March 2008), p. 5.
28. Government of Sweden, "Strategy for Sweden's Regional Development Cooperation with Sub-Saharan Africa 2016–21", *Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (22 June 2016), p. 6.
29. SIDA, "Deductions for In-Country Refugee Costs Lead to Redistribution of Swedish Foreign Aid", 23 February 2016, http://www.sida.se/English/press/current-topics-archive/2016/deductions-for-in-country-refugee-costs-lead-to-redistribution-of-swedish-foreign-aid
30. Government of Sweden, "Strategy for Sweden's Regional Development", 2016, p. 21.
31. Government of Sweden, "Strategy for Sweden's Regional Development Cooperation with the Middle East and North Africa" (2016), p. 20.
32. Government of Sweden, "Sweden and Africa: A Policy to Address Common Challenges and Opportunities", *Government Communication*, no. 2007/08:67 (6 March 2008), p. 20.
33. Swedfund, "Poverty Reduction Through Sustainable Business: Swedfund's Integrated Report" (2015), p. 4.
34. Government of Sweden, "A New Swedish Policy for Africa", Ministry of Foreign Affairs, press release (13 March 2008).
35. Government of Sweden, "Sweden and Africa", p. 21.
36. Government of Sweden, "Sweden and Africa", p. 21.
37. Government of Sweden, "Sweden and Africa", p. 21.
38. *See* statistics on Norway's assistance to Africa, https://www.norad.no/om-bistand/norsk-bistand-i-tall

39. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Climate, Conflict, and Capital: Norwegian Development Policy in a Changed Environment", White Paper, no. 13, 2008–2009 (13 February 2009); Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Interests, Responsibility, and Opportunities: Main Lines of Norwegian Foreign Policy", White Paper, no. 15, 2008–2009 (13 March 2009).
40. Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Working Together: Business Development as Part of Development Aid", White Paper, no. 35, 2014–2015 (19 June 2015).
41. *See* data from the World Bank's external debts database, http://datatopics.worldbank.org/debt/ids/region/SSA. Like the Scandinavian governments, the World Bank tends to deal with sub-Saharan and North Africa as separate regions.
42. Jan Speed, "Angola: More Than Just Business", *Bistandsaktuelt*, 23 December2009,http://www.bistandsaktuelt.no/Nyheter+og+reportasjer/Arkiv+nyheter+og+reportasjer/Angola+%E2%80%93+mer+enn+bare+business.150632.cms
43. *See* Sigurd Bjørnestad, "State Company Sends Norwegian Aid Money to Tax Haven", *Aftenposten*, 30 November 2014, http://www.aftenposten.no/okonomi/Statlig-selskap-sender-norske-bistandspenger-til-skatteparadis-73016b.html
44. Norad, "The Oil for Development Programme Annual Report 2015" (May 2016).
45. *See for example* Norad, "The Clean Energy Initiative: Results Report 2007–2015" (March 2017).
46. Tarjei Kramviken, "Scientists: The Government's Foreign Policy Is Vague", *Aftenposten*, 15 August 2016, http://www.aftenposten.no/verden/Forskere-Regjeringen-forer-diffus-utenrikspolitikk-602013b.html
47. For an account of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis and its impact, *see* Anne Hammerstad, "Refugees in Europe: A History of Migration, Displacement, and Integration", *Per Concordiam* 7(1) (22 April 2016), pp. 10–17.
48. *See* figures taken from http://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/dnk/#Trade_Balance
49. *See* Anne Hammerstad, "Donors, Democracy, and Sovereignty: The Politicisation of Aid and Its Impact on African-EU Relations", in Patricia Magalhães Ferreira (ed.), *The Challenges of Europe-Africa Relations: An Agenda of Priorities* (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos Internacionais, 2005), p. 78.
50. Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Making Progress in Africa: An Updated Analytical Overview* (Copenhagen: Africa Department, May 2007).
51. Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Africa on Its Way: priorities for Cooperation with Africa in the Period 2007–2011", background paper

(2007), p. 12. In 2009, 60% of Denmark's country-specific bilateral aid went to Africa. *See* Danida, "Denmark's Participation in International Development Cooperation 2009" (2010), p. 82.

52. Danida, "Denmark's Participation", 2010, p. 82.
53. Africa Commission, "Realising the Potential of Africa's Youth: Report of the Africa Commission May 2009" (June 2009), http://www.africacommission.um.dk
54. Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Africa on Its Way", p. 2.
55. Danida, "Denmark's Development Cooperation" (January 2017), p. 1.
56. *See* introduction to Government of Denmark, "The Right to a Better Life: Strategy for Denmark's Development Cooperation", June 2012, http://um.dk/en/danida-en/goals
57. The presumption that economic measures in African countries to increase sustainable growth, boost youth employment, and reduce poverty, or political measures to improve human rights and resolve violent conflict, will reduce migration flows to Europe, is not supported by the findings of migration researchers. But this is not the place to question the viability of current Danish—or indeed current EU—attempts at harnessing development aid to the agenda of immigration control. What is clear is that Denmark's domestic agenda to reduce influxes of refugees and migrants is deeply impacting its aid agenda.
58. Anne Hammerstad, "United Nations Refugee Agency and the Securitisation of Forced Migration", in Alexander Betts and Gil Loescher (eds), *Refugees in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 247.
59. Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Africa on Its Way", p. 8.
60. *For example* the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, not only played a research and policy development role for Sweden, but also brought together all the Nordic countries for common deliberations on their future Africa strategies.
61. *See for example* Rachel Scott, "Imagining More Effective Humanitarian Aid: A Donor Perspective", *OECD Development Co-operation*, Working Paper no. 18 (October 2014), p. 14.
62. Nordic Development Fund, "A New Focus for the Nordic Development Fund: Grant Financing for Climate Projects in the Poorest Countries", press release (19 May 2009).
63. *See* Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Foreign Minister Brende to Host Africa-Nordic Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Oslo on 26–27 May", *Press Release* (25 May 2016), https://www.regjeringen.no/en/aktuelt/host_africa/id2501663/

64. Jonas Gahr Støre, “Opening Statement at 6th Informal Nordic-African Foreign Ministers Meeting”, speech by the Norwegian foreign minister, Oslo (19–20 March 2007).
65. Information from off-the-record interviews with officials at Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2009.
66. Information from off-the-record interviews with officials at Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2009.
67. Minoiu and Reddy, *Development Aid and Economic Growth*.
68. Thorvald Stoltenberg, “Nordic Cooperation on Foreign and Security Policy”, report presented at an extraordinary Nordic Foreign Ministers Meeting in Oslo (9 February 2009).
69. European Centre for Development Policy Management, “Towards a Joint Africa-Europe Partnership Strategy”, Issue Paper II (December 2006), p. 23.

CHAPTER 14

# Africa, the Islamic World, and Europe

*Roel van der Veen*

The historic attack by Al Qaida on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001, and the subsequent United States (USA)-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, caused upheaval in the Islamic world, as well as in the West. The violence that erupted subsequent to the peaceful protests in Tunisia in 2010 and elsewhere (the Arab Spring) significantly added to the instability in the region. In many Arab countries, some kind of violent struggle is taking place—a struggle for a better life, dignity, democracy, an Islamic state, or stability.[1] There exists as yet no clear consensus on where this will lead, but observers agree that we must expect many more years of struggle, chaos, and uncertainty.

It is likely that outside actors, such as Europe, will become or remain involved in the ongoing struggle in the Arab and wider Islamic world. Indeed, the regions bordering on the Arab states—to the south sub-Saharan Africa and to the north of Europe—need to adapt to this new reality. The violence has spill-over effects in both directions, directly connected to transregional violence and migration. Both regions, Africa and Europe, will have to find solutions to such immediate effects, and must also attempt to solve problems by first addressing the root causes in the Arab world. On its part, the Arab world does not remain unaffected by the developments to its north. There is also an indirect effect: if Europe has to focus more on its immediate southern border (as part of its 'ring of

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_14

instability', as it has come to be called), it might have less attention and resources available for its "traditional" relations with Africa.

The questions this chapter considers are relatively new, and the analysis will be exploratory in nature more than anything else. It starts from the assumption that something huge is unfolding, with significant consequences for three entire regions of the world and for the relations between them. In a new book on the international relations of Africa, this topic deserves a place. First, what are the effects and consequences of the turmoil in the Arab and wider Islamic world for Africa and for Europe, both direct spill-over effects and long-term consequences? Given their own contexts and substantial challenges, how can Africa and Europe respond? How will all this, in the long run, affect the relations between these three major regions of the world? Will it be really different from the patterns that have dominated relations between these regions since the Cold War?

This chapter is concerned to unravel the Islamic uprisings and their consequences for relations between Africa, Europe, and the Islamic world and is divided into five sections. The first section speaks to the proposition that the international mental map of the African continent, at least in Europe, is changing. This analysis is connected to the second section, which addresses ideas about the importance of culture and emotion in international relations. The third section deals with real problems on the ground, the ones that determine people's lives and drive the new policies of states. This is followed, in the fourth section, by a presentation of how the regions are beginning to relate to each other in new ways. The fifth section presents policy recommendations that might improve the relations between the three regions in the long term. The chapter concludes with some reflections on how the main drivers of change are altering relationships and what can be done to foster peace and prosperity.

## Mapping the World

International policymaking to some extent depends on the mental map we have of the world. This interpretation is partly based on geographical ideas. In analysing the world, Robert Kaplan emphasised that "geography matters".[2]

After decolonisation and during the Cold War, in the mental mapping of the world as in international relations, for all practical purposes, a distinction was made between the Arab world—that is, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)—and sub-Saharan Africa. Europe was divided from the Arab world by the Mediterranean, and both remained separated from Africa by the Sahara dessert. This situation lasted until very recently and many observers will argue that it still exists. The foreign affairs ministries of European countries, including Russia, have separate departments for the MENA region and for sub-Saharan Africa. Government policy papers would focus on one of the regions, but never on both. A combination of MENA and sub-Saharan Africa just did not fit into the mental maps of Europeans, even though governments on the African continent began pan-African activities that led to the African Union (AU) covering the entire African continent. Such developments, however, were not impressive enough to change international mental maps.

The international mental map of the African continent is nevertheless starting to change, beginning in Europe, but for a very different reason, and with different consequences. When speaking of violence in Africa, European countries tend to stress "new" violence in the northern half of the continent, as violence that is connected to radical Islam and terrorism.

The focus has shifted conceptually from patronage-related issues to religious-inspired violence, and geographically from sub-Saharan Africa to the northern half of the continent.[3] For this new violence does not stop at the traditional mental border of the Sahara desert, but the desert itself, like the adjacent area of the Sahel, has become a new theatre of conflict. Similarly, Nigeria, Cameroon, the Central African Republic (CAR), Kenya, and other countries are confronted with religion-inspired violence. The new line is drawn where the influence of radical Islam dies out, for the first time dividing the continent more or less in half, between a Northern and a Southern Africa (see Fig. 14.1).

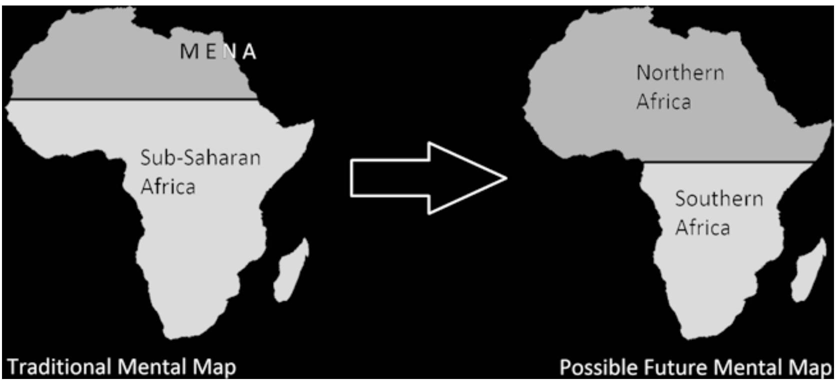


**Fig. 14.1** Europe's mental map of Sub-Saharan Africa
Source: Author

It should be noted that this area of Northern Africa does not coincide with the Arab world. The historical home of the Arabs is of course on the Arabian peninsula in Asia, and not in Africa, and the Northern Africa region also includes many lands in Africa that are not inhabited by Arabs. They have populations that consist of Muslims (either in majority or minority) or else are influenced by Muslims. This is in line with the situation that has evolved over the past few decades, that it is not only the Arab peoples themselves, but also other Islamic peoples, in Africa and in Asia (and even elsewhere) who feel the urge to revolt. In Africa these include the Tuareg of the Sahara desert, and peoples in both the Horn of Africa and the Sahel. Many West African countries have populations with either Islam as their religion (in the north) or Christianity (in the south). In several places terrorist groups have appeared that are not Arab or Arab-dominated, for example Boko Haram in Nigeria and the surrounding countries, Al Shabaab in Somalia, and various Islamist groups in the Sahara and Sahel regions. Instead of choosing the "Arab world" in the title of this chapter, I have therefore opted for the wider "Islamic world", with a focus of course on Africa.

## Connecting to Culture and Emotion

The newly identified sub-region of Northern Africa is defined, above anything else, by culture and the religion of Islam. This resonates with Samuel Huntington's claim that in the post-Cold War era, world cultures, more than anything else, would dominate world politics.[4] But instead of converging, as Singaporean scholar-diplomat Kishore Mahbubani argues,[5] these cultures will divide the peoples of the regions, and they might even be the main causes of violent clashes. These will be the basis for identities in the post-Cold War era, and the unfolding processes of separating one culture from the other. It is, of course, very hard to judge such broad frames of interpretation, whether Huntington's "clash of civilisations" or Mahbubani's convergence of a "theory of one world" is more apt. For the most part, the world's major cultures seem to get along rather well with each other, and on many of their characteristics they might indeed be converging, as Mahbubani claims. But in the case of the attitude of the Islamic world towards other cultures and religions (especially those of the West), Huntington seems to have a point. According to Huntington, world politics will be dominated by culture as national interest, creating a new political ideology that is setting a new norm as the geopolitical fault line.

Huntington's theory was somewhat nuanced by the French scholar Dominique Moisi, who stated that the people of the main cultural regions, in their general outlook of life but also in their international affairs, could be said to act on specific emotions.[6] According to Moisi, for some cultures it is clear which emotions are currently dominant. For Europe (and the West in general) this is "fear"; for the Arab or the wider Islamic world this is "humiliation"; and for rising Asia this is "hope". For other cultures, such as the Eastern European, Latin American, or African, it is less clear which emotion is paramount. They seem to express several emotions at the same time, positive and negative alike.

Moisi's geopolitics of emotions is more discriminating than Huntington's clash, and seems to fit in nicely in providing a clearer analysis of the relations between Africa, the Arab world, and Europe. Indeed, general attitudes in these regions seem to be driven to some extent by emotion as part of the larger fabric of culture. Of course, not everyone in these cultures share these emotions in the same manner, or at all. But apart from all the exceptions that can be found, to Moisi, a geopolitics of emotions still make sense as a "tool for understanding", to use his framework of analysis.

So non-Muslim Africa as a region does not display any dominant emotion. Based on its history and current insertion into the world system, many emotions could be imagined, and probably all exist on the continent to a certain extent. In African historical legacy, the periods of the slave trade by both the Europeans and the Arabs, and colonialism by European states, continue to play a central role in the shaping of emotions, as does the continuing poverty for many Africans. So a feeling of anger would be quite understandable. Nonetheless, Africa seems to have the resilience to look into the future with hope. The years of liberation from colonialism and the independence of African states were a great opportunity for Africa in the "new wave" of international relations and in setting its own agenda in the global arena. In the 1990s the promise of an African "renaissance" was brought to the fore.[7] In recent years, the idea of a "rising" Africa, when looking to the future of the continent, has attracted attention. Thus Africa, despite its difficult history, is looking with an open mind towards a positive future.

Africa's mixed but positive emotion is in stark contrast to the dominant emotion of humiliation expressed, according to Moisi, by the Arab world, or the Islamic world in general, although faraway places with largely Muslim populations like Indonesia and Malaysia, seem to display more the

Asian emotion of hope (as Mahbubani opines) than the Islamic emotion of humiliation. It should be noted, however, that influences from the Middle East also have contributed to the Muslim cultures in Asia becoming more uncompromising and aggressive, both internally and externally. The many Arab peoples who do want to integrate in a peaceful way into the developing world system, and who supported the Arab Spring, for the time being no longer dominate the scene.[8] Their fight has been taken up by people who display the emotions of humiliation and anger, and people who want to rebuild the world according to radical Islamic norms. If this cannot be done, some of them would rather die as martyrs than live on in humiliation.

This attitude of uncompromising revolt finds expression in every direction: internally in the Muslim societies themselves, and to the north, east, south, and west. Neighbouring Africa is an attractive region for conversion and enlisting new men into the ranks of fighters, because many young African Muslims already live in the adjacent areas of the Sahel and elsewhere, often in poor conditions. The emergence of terrorist Islamic groups from West Africa to the Horn proves the success of this approach, although their tactics are also fiercely opposed by the African states located on the front lines of violence. For traditional Muslims in the societies where radicalisation takes place, it is difficult and even dangerous to oppose the intimidating and violent self-proclaimed leaders.

At the international level, much of Muslims' anger is directed towards Europe and the West. It must be said that the tensions between the two cultures (or between the two religions, Islam and Christianity) have a very long history stretching back to the eighth century, when Islamic armies established a foothold in the Iberian peninsula that was to last until the fifteenth century when they were expelled by the Spaniards. At the same time, the Portuguese opened new Atlantic sea routes, thereby bypassing the Muslim-dominated trans-Saharan trade lanes.[9] European princes and Christian armies invaded the Middle East in so-called Holy Crusades. Although these violent activities took place long ago, the memories and wounds are still fresh in the minds of many descendants today. In the twentieth century, European armies destroyed the caliphate, which under Ottoman or Turkish rule, in some measure united the Muslim world. The Europeans went on to divide the region into new states, most of them without a history of their own. So in the eyes of many in the Arab world, the Europeans not only destroyed Islamic unity and Arab greatness, but also forced Muslims and Arabs to live in states that have no meaning or legitimacy.

They live under oppressive dictators and in conditions characterised by poverty and a lack of reasonable prospects for a better future. And finally, the Western world installed the state of Israel right in the heart of the Muslim world, resulting in conflicts with neighbours until this day. So yes, humiliation and anger are two strong emotions that find expression in contemporary Muslim societies.

Europe, on the other hand, has not always focused much on the Arab world. Instead, Western Europe modernised while relying on its colonial empires. Europe has a global outlook; it tends to divide the world roughly into the West and the "Rest". The "Rest" of course is a very general concept, including also the Islamic world and Africa. For a long time, there was no need to look at these non-Western regions in a distinguishing way unless they provided economic benefits. After two world wars, the decolonisation of empires, and the division into camps led by the USA and the Soviet Union, Europe's place in the world changed drastically. At first the continent adapted spectacularly well to the new global environment. It started a process of European cooperation and then integration, which brought the continent peace, stability, and, after the Cold War, even unity. Life in Europe prospered. Europe was defined as a region of contentment and prosperity among peaceful societies, existing in freedom and wealth that would spill over into generations to come. What more could Europe wish for?

The newfound fear facing contemporary Europe is the realisation that its offspring may *not* have a better life. If things can only get worse, not better, change should be avoided in order to maintain the prosperous and peaceful existence intact. But in the modern world, change is happening at a fast pace. European integration is now involving many Eastern Europeans who are finding employment in the richer Western European member states, and the wealth and stability of Europe are attracting many non-Europeans, including Arabs and Africans. Europeans fear that the influx of Arabs and Africans will include Islamic terrorists who might strike in European capitals. Similarly, Europe has a more general and vague sense of loss of control, including control of migration flows. Migration to Europe reached its peak in 2015 with 1,600,000 new arrivals, mainly from the Arab world and Africa. Migration thus became an opportunity for many desperate people fleeing their war-ravaged or just poor countries. But for many people in Europe, migration has become synonymous with terrorism and unwished for or too rapid changes in society. The citizens of Europe have lost faith in the political system in general, which is being looked at with increasing scepticism, if not cynicism. People feel they are on a fast-running train with nobody in control or knowing where the train is going.

## Problems on the Ground

The problems faced by real people in their day-to-day lives lead to all kinds of behaviours that in turn affect their local conditions and remote relationships. At some point, problems trigger policy responses of states. It would be possible to mention a hundred problems faced by people in Africa—both Northern and Southern—and even in Europe, where people live relatively well-off. This section focuses on just a few problems crucial to illuminating this debate: focused on unemployment, climate change, and migration.

### *Unemployment*

Substantial unemployment has been a key ingredient in patterns of violence seen in states, especially violence among young men, and has the ability to unravel societies and create chaos. The MENA region has a total population of 350,000,000 people as of 2016, and 50 % or more of youth in the Arab world are unemployed or unemployable; only 19 % of the working-age population have formal sector jobs, relative to 27 % in Latin America and the Caribbean and 40 % in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.[10] Without any opportunities for decent work, young people lack the prospects of better lives. With regard to the media, Arabs see the better lives of their peers elsewhere in the world, fuelling further anger and possibly hatred. Moreover, in 2017 the total number of young working people living in poverty stood at 98,000,000 in emerging countries, and 54,000,000 in developing countries.[11]

In the coming decades, the number of unemployed on the African continent is likely to increase because of rapidly growing populations. In relation to the global youth unemployment total of 71,000,000 in 2017, Northern Africa stood at 3,700,000, sub-Saharan Africa at 11,600,000, and the Arab states at 2,600,000. According to United Nations' (UN) estimates, Africa and the Arab world will continue their spectacular population growth during this century; this population growth is by far the fastest in the world. It is well known that it is practically impossible to reduce the fast population growth of poor societies; only higher incomes will do that. Besides, orthodox Islam, like Roman Catholicism, does not accept family planning. So with the stronger influence of Islam in Northern Africa, families tend to become larger, not smaller. Living on the sands and hard rocks in the Sahel, families with ten children are not an exception. It is hard to imagine a decent future for such large families.

### *Climate Change*

Climate change may not (yet) be a cause of conflict in its own right, but it is certainly a contributing factor. It is also likely to lead to an increase in poverty and unemployment rates over the years. Harald Welzer and other scholars have established a relationship between increasing drought and desertification, rising food prices resulting from this, and revolting populations.[12] The war in Syria may not have been directly caused by ecological disaster, but it is also no coincidence that it followed after years of droughts and rising food prices. In the same way, there is a correlation between the ongoing desertification in the Lake Chad area (where Nigeria, Chad, Niger, and Cameroon meet) and the appearance of the terrorist movement Boko Haram. Agriculture being no longer an option for young people has resulted in large numbers of youth moving into the urban areas, which places a further burden on over-populated cities. Some young people join radical Islamists groups that not only give them a sense of belonging, but also offer employment and adventure.

The Paris climate change agreement of December 2015 provided some hope that the process could somehow be controlled, but this is most probably too optimistic. Even if all the plans that have been put forward are implemented, the average rise in temperature will not be two degrees but rather three degrees Celsius.[13] The records show that many of the plans will not be fully implemented. So the rise in temperature will be higher, and natural conditions are such that the rise in temperature will be more than average in the Middle East and North Africa. Also on the northern shores of the Mediterranean, in southern Europe, desertification will take place. On average, the rise in temperature in the Middle East and North Africa will be twice as high as the global average. Around 2050, this could easily bring temperatures in many countries to 50 degrees Celsius, making human life close to unbearable.[14]

Agriculture in general will most likely also suffer, although the opportunities for agriculture depend on the availability of water, above anything else. Some areas, especially around the Mediterranean, will be characterised by water shortages. While others like the Sahel region might actually see more rain, because of wetter monsoons due to increased evaporation from warmer oceans. The same goes for the countries farther south in Africa. Many parts of Southern and East Africa are already witnessing long years of droughts, but in other parts it might actually rain more, making the general picture for agriculture varied, complicated, and difficult to predict.

### *Migration*

Violence, unemployment, and climate change all constitute reasons to migrate. Clearly, migration might constitute a problem for some parties and individuals, but an opportunity for others, namely those who migrate and often also the relatives who stay behind and, in a wider sense, their local community. With regard to poor societies and countries, migration is mostly seen as contributing to development. In Africa migration from the rural to the urban areas has been happening since independence, and even before. There happened also quite some migration across borders, both legally and illegally. Then there are the internally displaced persons and the refugees, fleeing from violence. In the context of Africa, the Arab world, and Europe, a migration movement from the south to the north has been growing over the years, first to the shores of the Mediterranean and then across the sea, reaching a peak in the summer of 2015 of 1,600,000 new arrivals in Europe.

The levels of international migration on the African continent, and transcontinental migration into Europe, are likely to remain high in the coming years, and might very well become significantly higher than in the past. Prospects are such that people will have every reason to escape from their home countries and regions. Still, hypothetically, conditions in countries may improve; for example, more jobs because of inclusive economic development, resulting in even greater migration, as the prospects of affording migration—an expensive choice for the poor—become greater. It is only in the very long term that increasing prospects in countries of origin will gradually reduce the pressures of poverty and insecurity that result in the need to migrate.

## Regional Contexts and International Relations

Given these problems, what will be the most likely trajectories of each of the three regions, with what kinds of consequences for their interactions? In other words, how will all this play out for the international relations of

Africa? For the Arab world, there are three possible scenarios to consider for the coming decade.[15] First, “muddling through”—that is, if the Arab world’s economies do not improve, unemployment will remain high. A large majority of the population, especially young people, will remain restless and anxious for change due to high unemployment rates.[16] However, authoritarian leaders, with foreign support, will maintain the status quo.

The second scenario is an even more pessimistic one, called the “Arab implosion”. In this scenario, responses of Europe and the West to the terrorist activities of Islamic State and Al Qaida, among other groups, will inform how much support is offered in other important areas, and the neglect of such areas as economic and political reform. Terrorism severely damages the economic tourist sector, and climate change has a similar impact on agriculture. The Arab Spring no longer seems to be a realistic option, and support for a caliphate (where new power and jurisdiction can be exercised) is spreading throughout the region. State structures are collapsing.

The third scenario is of course the optimistic one, called the “Arab leap forward”. The Arab Spring, with its promise of democracy, freedom, and a better life, is being kept alive in Tunisia and other Arab countries, remaining below the surface, as democracy has yet to be achieved. At some point this movement might again gain momentum. There are hopes of economic improvement and job creation, and that political reforms will be set in motion leading to the establishment of more inclusive political institutions. At this juncture terrorism loses its appeal and violence no longer dominates the scene. The Arab world would finally move forward and integrate in a constructive and sustainable way into the modern world.

For the international effects of the Arab world on its neighbouring regions, both to the north (Europe) and to the south (Africa), it matters a great deal which of the three scenarios becomes dominant: muddling through, implosion, or a great leap forward. In the same manner, the policies of the neighbouring regions, especially Europe, will have an effect on which direction the Arab world will take, although outside interference will probably not be decisive. It will be the Arab parties themselves will determine the future of the region. For the moment, all Arabs, Africans, and Europeans are working for their own survival, using international contacts to support their causes. Relations of Arab states and organisations with the rest of Africa, which started in the 1970s, are still relatively limited. Since the start of religious radicalisation, and especially since Al Qaida attacked the World Trade Centre in New York, the Arab world’s relations with Africa have come under more scrutiny by Western powers anxious to halt the spread of radical ideas and behaviours on the continent.[17]

Europe has to deal with its new "ring of instability", especially on its southeastern and southern borders. Terrorist violence in the Arab world has struck in many European cities. At the same time, large numbers of migrants who are trying to enter the European Union (EU) are tragically dying on the way (see also Hammerstad in this volume). The incapacity of the EU to deal with the crisis has fuelled the already existing fears of the European population. As the proverb says: fear breeds proximity. The eastern member states of the EU have refused to compromise on a quota system for refugees, and in Western Europe divisions have appeared between the higher and lower echelons of society. In June 2016, this led to the spectacular result of a referendum in the United Kingdom in which the British people, albeit by a very small majority, voted to leave the EU. Many British who voted to leave the EU did so out of anger about migrants entering their towns in large numbers, even though they were often fellow Europeans from the eastern member states.[18] The divisions in British society made visible by the Brexit referendum also exist in many other European countries, thus making the survival of the EU no longer a certainty.

In 2016 the European political authorities quickly installed new measures to obtain control over Europe's outside borders. The EU desperately looked for new ways to control the migrant flows, for example by the creation of a new common border and coast guard.[19] This might lead to militarisation of the Mediterranean, which causes concern among African governments, as was voiced at the Europe-Africa summit on migration in La Valletta in November 2015. The EU and its member states have also begun cooperating with several African countries of origin of migration, to provide better conditions for the inhabitants, in the hope that they will remain at home.

Security has become the primary concern for Europe. The violence and insecurity in the Arab world directly influences security in Europe, because young Muslims, often born in European countries, take up the cause of their fellow fighters in the Arab world and commit suicide attacks in urban areas.[20] Clearly, external and internal security have become connected. So Europe feels the need to contribute to ending the violence and instability in the Arab world, but at the same time Europe is uncertain as to which form this contribution should take. Major operations to change state structures and societies, as tried in Afghanistan and Iraq, have been very disappointing. Also the military operation in Libya in 2011, under the principle of "responsibility to protect", had important counterproductive effects. The reluctance to become involved in the Syrian war and leave the initiative to Russia signals the current lack of confidence of the West. Nevertheless, there remain opportunities for contributing positively to peace and security in the Arab and wider Islamic world, ranging from diplomatic initiatives and support for civil society organisations, to participation in UN peacekeeping missions like the current one in Mali, to contributing to security sector reform in partner countries.

Although Europe's leverage in the Arab world is decreasing, supporting security, stability, and inclusive economic development in the countries on its southern border is clearly of strategic significance. The most important long-term effect on peaceful development south of the Mediterranean would be the generation of employment in a growing economy. Europe's neighbourhood policy towards its southern neighbours include various measures and instruments to improve the economy of the partner countries, for example by lowering tariffs for access of agricultural and industrial products and services to the European market.

To some extent European policies towards the rest of Africa—Southern, Central, and East—will be business as usual, but the increased attention towards Northern Africa, which will receive a bigger share of budgets that are always under pressure, will most likely lead to a somewhat diminished attention to Africa's other countries. This has already been the trend for some time under the principle that trade should in time replace aid. Trade relations between Europe and Africa can of course increase if the economies on both sides develop further. Europe will also remain involved in conflict resolution, especially in the Great Lakes region. With respect to adaptation to climate change and limitation of migration, cooperation might actually increase. In the rapidly changing international environment, the European Commission is also taking a fresh look at European development cooperation.

Several African countries in the middle of the continent, between the northern and southern parts, are feeling the impact of Islamic radicalism and terrorism. In countries like Mali, Nigeria, and even Kenya, security concerns now dominate policymaking. In that sense a securitisation of policy is taking place just as in Europe. As one goes farther south, developments in the Islamic world have less of an impact. From the Southern perspective, the world looks very different indeed. Europe is becoming less important. Many African countries are embracing the opportunities that the multipolar world is offering them. They are developing relations with other countries and regions, most of all China. These new relations have many consequences for African countries and societies, both positive and negative. African economies are receiving new investments and are often growing, although the majority of populations remain impoverished. The new world is offering new choices for governments as well as for individuals who, using modern communications technology, can connect to new economic partners. Africa is moving ahead.

## With a Little Help from Our Friends

For poor countries, migration of some of the work force to foreign, richer countries is beneficial from a developmental perspective. At home, there are not enough jobs anyway, and abroad these men and women gain working experience and earn an income that is in part returned to their relatives back home. For many African countries the remittances from migrants abroad constitute a larger amount of money than official development aid. Moreover, migration strengthens political stability in the countries of origin, because it eases not only social pressures, but also political pressures. The most restless youth are no longer around to cause political pressure, which could be considered an effect working *against* development. Thus, African and Arab countries on the whole have stimulated or at least not hindered the migration of their nationals to foreign countries, whether to Europe or elsewhere. Since these migrants have been considered illegal workers in those richer markets and forced to return to their countries of origin, the governments of their home countries usually have not cooperated in making their repatriation possible.

For Europe, both the uncontrolled influx of migrants and the practical impossibility of returning them to their countries of origin are becoming a political liability. Considering the motivation of many British people in voting to leave the EU, the migration issue is clearly linked to the political organisation of the continent.[21] If the EU is unable to control this issue, the people of Europe might vote for a new generation of politicians who promise to do so. These new politicians tend to be rightist, nationalists, isolationist, and maybe even xenophobic. Their rise will fragment the EU further and give a new direction to the foreign policies of the European states, with more focus on security and less on other aspects of international relations such as cooperation for development. This will drive Africa, the Arab world, and Europe further apart. Possibilities to cooperate to solve common problems will diminish. In the long run this will harm the interests of all parties involved in the relationship.

So with a view to establishing a long-term constructive relationship between Africa, the Islamic world, and Europe, the issue of migration needs to be tackled head-on, especially because it is not only an issue at play between these three regions, but also an issue of global significance, with important consequences also in other regions, for example in southern Asia or in the Americas. It would be preferable to hammer out a global deal under the UN. Such a process to arrive at a new migration regime will be a lengthy one that will probably need to be supplemented by regional arrangements, based on regional migration characteristics.

In these negotiations, rich countries, including those of the EU, will be demanding cooperation and support from poor countries. Looking strictly to the issue of uncontrolled migration, the governments of African and Arab countries might feel they will be losing if they accept demands from Europe. But the issue at hand is much bigger: in the end it involves the entire relationship, which will make it a matter of give-and-take. Even within the migration issue, there will be opportunities for poor countries to get something out of it—for example, new forms of regulated, circular migration in sectors where Europe needs more labour, or special programs to attract expertise in certain areas. To establish such migration programmes that benefit countries on both sides, as well as the migrants, will provide new breath for the long-term relationship between Europe and its southern neighbours.

## Conclusion

Both Europe and the Arab world have a longtime relationship with Africa, one that has evolved rapidly, particularly since the independence of African states more than half a century ago. Both Arab states and private organisations are active on the African continent, mostly in areas where the population is predominantly or to some extent Muslim. Besides, Arab states in Africa are united with the other African states in the African Union. Other international organisations also show combinations of African and Arab membership, such as the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation.[22]

We are entering a new era, with relations between the three regions likely to fundamentally differ from the patterns of the Cold War. The most recent development driving this new relationship is the Arab uprisings in the wake of the abortive Arab Spring. The violent consequences of the uprisings are not limited to the Arab world itself, but are spreading both north and south, inviting responses from outside states and organisations.

So the main driver of the relationship between the three regions will no longer be primarily Europe, based on its economic, political, and military strength, but rather will be organisations and even individuals, fighting for their radical version of Islam. Many of them are based in Europe or Africa, but most of them operate in the Arab and wider Islamic world. To a great extent this means that non-state actors have become more important as agents of international change, at the expense of states.

The main drivers of international developments are the events in the Arab world itself. At this point in time it is impossible to predict what the overall direction will be: muddling through, implosion, or a leap forward. Maybe various parts of the extensive Arab and Islamic world will show different pathways. Given the uncertainty, international activities originating from the Arab world are all somehow related to the struggle that is taking place, trying to find foreign allies and foreign support for their cause.

The states to the north and south of the Arab world for the time being have little choice but to put security first. They have to minimise the effects of the violence on their own societies. Consequently, their relations with the Arab world and in the case of Africa—the Sahel, Sahara, and Horn of Africa—are becoming securitised, meaning that security concerns are dominating other aspects of the relationship.

Given this impact of the events in the Arab world, the European states and especially the EU are giving increasing attention to Northern Africa. Plans, activities, and budgets are being focused more and more on this sub-region, with the objectives being to increase security, minimise migration, fight organised crime, strengthen political stability, mitigate the effects of climate change, and, last but not least, stimulate the economy. For Europe, this relationship can no longer be an option without it really committing itself, because both success and failure of the policies towards Northern Africa will be felt directly or indirectly in Europe as well.

The new focus on Northern Africa might of course limit the possibilities for Europe's relations with other parts of the world, including the southern half of Africa. That relationship does not have to change much in content, though more attention will have to be paid to migration and climate change issues. The trade relationship might actually broaden and deepen, depending on the economic development of both regions. But for most of the southern half of Africa this somewhat reduced relationship with Europe will not be of much consequence. With the rise of the multipolar world, Africa has many more opportunities to relate to the outside world. China has become an important partner, and so have others. Africa itself is becoming an important international player, following its own historical trajectory.

## Notes

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PART III

# Multilateral Relations

CHAPTER 15

# Africa and the Middle East: Shifting Alliances and Strategic Partnerships

*Hamdy A. Hassan and Hala Thabet*

Africa's relations with the Middle East, according to Ali Mazrui, have deep historical roots, back to well before the formation of the Red Sea as a divide between Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.[1] Arabs of the Gulf used their marine skills to establish trade relations and settle in East Africa. After the advent of Islam, Afro-Arab relations were consolidated in the Abyssinia region and the eastern coast of Africa, where many kingdoms emerged, such as Zeila and Harar. Arab migrations continued, stretching to the African coast in the subsequent historical stages, such as the migrations of the Banu Harith, who fled from the oppression of the governor of Al Ahsa and settled on Banadir coast and founded the cities of Mogadishu and Burao.

In the aftermath of the two world wars, the Middle East region was marginal for Africa. The interactions between the two regions were limited to a number of major regional powers such as Egypt, South Africa, Iran, Turkey, and Israel. To halt communist expansion, South Africa established diplomatic relations with Egypt, and also recognised the state of Israel in 1948. Israel sought to be part of the security arrangements in the Middle East, along with Turkey and South Africa.

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_15

However, after the Second World War, a number of regional changes emerged in the Middle East that altered the patterns of relationships and the Middle East's interactions with its geographical neighbours. Among those changes was the establishment of the Arab League in 1945, which stood up against colonialism and racial discrimination.[2] The real attention to Africa's national liberation movements, though, was linked to the Egyptians' revolution of 1952, in their onslaught against colonialism and racism to gain emancipation, equality, human rights, socioeconomic freedoms, and social justice.

Afro-Arab cooperation developed through several historical stages. The 1950s and 1960s of the last century witnessed cohesion between Arab and African peoples in support of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), formed in 1963, and the struggle against all forms of racism and colonialism. The 1970s saw unprecedented African support for the Palestinian cause as well as for the first Afro-Arab summit, in Cairo in 1977.[3] African-Israeli relations have deteriorated significantly since the 1960s, when Arab efforts within the OAU and the United Nations (UN) were successful in passing resolutions condemning Israel and its expansionist and imperialist policies. In the wake of the Middle East crisis in the 1967 war, Israel became a subject of controversy on the agenda of African summits. Israel was strongly condemned by Africa's leaders for its support to the apartheid South African government, which Israel viewed as a protecting measure for the large Jewish and Israeli community in South Africa. It was not until 1987 that Israel condemned South Africa's racist policies, at the time when the UN and the world were imposing economic sanctions on the apartheid government. In January 1974, only five African countries maintained diplomatic relations with Israel.

To understand these contradicting patterns of interactions between Africa and the Middle East in the post-Cold War era, this chapter focuses on the key political, economic, and cultural dynamics that govern the relations between the two regions.

## The Political Dynamics

This section reviews the major developments that influenced the political relations between Africa and the Middle East: revival of Afro-Arab summits, Afro-Arab cooperation in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Arab Spring, and the globalisation of radical jihadism. Also discussed is the re-emergence of major players in the region such as Israel, Iran, and Turkey.

### *The Revival of Afro-Arab Summits*

One of the key influences on relations between Africa and the Middle East was the revival of Afro-Arab summits. A number of Arab countries, such as Algeria, Egypt, and Libya, made great efforts to revive the Afro-Arab common institutions, and strongly supported the hosting of the second Afro-Arab summit, in Sirte in 2010. They also participated in the enactment and implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the economic arm of the African Union (AU). Although the first Afro-Arab summit, in Cairo in 1977, institutionalised the cooperation process between the two regions, these efforts failed, for many political and economic reasons. The most significant was the absence of an Egyptian role after the signing of the Camp David Accords in 1979.[4] As Egypt's membership in the Arab League was frozen, the driving force of Afro-Arab joint action was therefore absent.

The new millennium and the transformation of the OAU into the AU in 2002 propelled support for, and reconsideration of, Afro-Arab cooperation. Libya's leader, President Muammar Qaddafi, and his aspiration to exercise a leadership role in Africa, helped facilitate the convening of the second Afro-Arab summit, in Sirte in 2010. Just a year later, in 2011, the world witnessed his tragic murder orchestrated by his own people. Nevertheless, the summit raised two issues. The first was Qaddafi's apology for Arab involvement in the slave trade.[5] Second was the emphasis placed on the joint Arab and African commitment to the peaceful settlement of disputes (such as Nile water distribution and the conflict in Somalia), in addition to unity against terrorism.[6]

Relations between the Arab and the African worlds have varied with particular issues at particular times. But despite the limited role of the Afro-Arab institutions in the management of local and regional conflicts in both the Arab and African worlds, there is a clear difference between the positions of the League of Arab States (LAS) and the AU with regards to some conflicts. This difference is due to the absence of a shared agenda between LAS and the AU and because of the exploitation of these divisions by the conflicting parties to their advantage. Perhaps the clearest example is the Western Sahara. After the OAU accepted the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) as a member in 1982, Morocco withdrew from the OAU during the African summit of 1984[7]; in Morocco's view, the OAU was recognising a fictitious state.

Morocco's withdrawal from the OAU, and its absence from the AU, represented a unique case in the framework of Arab-African interactions. The Sahrawi Republic became a member of the AU, not the Arab League, while Morocco, a member of the Arab League and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), had an empty seat in the AU. This situation served to continue the conflict as it obstructed any common negotiating agenda at the regional and continental levels. In 2017, Morocco was reinstated into the AU as its 55th member state, after its absence of 33 years.[8]

Morocco realised the importance of returning to the AU, and the importance of contesting its fierce struggle from within the organisation rather than from outside. In its application to attend the African summit in Kigali in 2016 and return to the AU, it gained the support of 28 AU member states who signed a statement to the AU presidency calling for the suspension of the membership of the Sahrawi Republic.[9] The summits in Kuwait in 2013 and Malabo in 2016 still reflect the predominance of rhetorical discourse on the recommendations of the summits, thus reflecting deferred decisions on the progress of Afro-Arab cooperation. The structural crises of the Arab system obstruct the institutionalisation of Afro-Arab cooperation, as manifested in the withdrawal of Morocco and eight other Arab countries from the Malabo summit because of the participation of the Sahrawi Republic's delegation.[10]

### *Developments of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*

The Palestinian crisis still enjoys wide African support in AU statements and declarations.[11] For example, the AU issued a special communiqué on Palestine, which has observer status, in the regular summit in Addis Ababa in 2013. The AU expressed deep support to the Palestinian people in their tragedy under illegal Israeli practices of collective punishment and construction of settlements within the Palestinian occupied territories.[12] The AU has supported the Palestinian Authority's efforts to gain a full seat at the UN.

The Afro-Arab summit in Kuwait was keen to issue a joint statement on Palestine as well. The statement stressed the need to put an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories occupied since 1967. It called for the establishment of a Palestinian state with a capital in East Jerusalem, based on the resolutions of the UN, the Arab Peace Initiative, and the principle of land for peace. The roadmap aims to reach a just and comprehensive solution for the Palestinian refugee problem in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution 194.[13] At the African summit in Johannesburg in 2015, the AU confirmed its continuing support to the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupation.[14]

Despite the foregoing, it is important to note that the regional role of the major Arab powers in Africa declined after the Arab Spring. As a result, the African position on Israel has changed, and a number of African countries, such as Kenya and Ethiopia, now support granting Israel observer status in the AU.[15] However, the Israeli charm offensive in the Nile Basin countries in the wake of the Arab Spring was articulated in several forms. The most prominent of those was the promotion of Israel's extremist counter-terrorism policy and practices conducted in countries such as Kenya, South Sudan, and Ethiopia. Israel used its soft power to provide assistance to African countries in the fields of agriculture, water, medicine, and community services. In its quest to achieve this goal, Israel established partnerships with major donor countries such as the United States (USA), Canada, and Italy in order to carry out various investment projects. Worth noting in this context, Germany's Israeli initiative, concluded between the two countries in February 2014, has the objective of achieving a development programme in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, and Burundi.[16] The visit of Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu to four countries in the Nile Basin region in July 2016 can be perceived in this context as a culmination of many years of Israeli penetration into Africa.[17]

### *Effects of the Arab Uprisings*

The period 2010 to 2011 witnessed many Arab uprisings, from Tunisia to Egypt, as cities in Northern Africa's Arab countries called for freedom, dignity, jobs, and an end to government corruption. Scholars called these popular uprisings the second Arab "awakening". Reactions of Arab governments to the uprising varied. For example, Tunisian president Ben Ali fled, while Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down. Presidential elections were conducted in Egypt in 2012 and won by the Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Morsi, who lasted only a year until he was ousted by the Egyptian army, led by Abdel Fattah al-Sisi.[18] The uprisings took a bloodier character in Libya, Yemen, and Syria In 2011, with the intervention of outside parties leading to the outbreak of civil wars and the disintegration of these nation-states themselves.[19]

The conflicts witnessed in the Arab region in both Africa and the Middle East have had negative impacts on the state's national capacities, especially under regime change, thus raising concerns about arms influx across borders. Apparently, in the case of Libya, the increased flow of arms into the northern Sahel region may have found their way into the hands of terrorist groups such as Al Qaida and Al Shabaab. There are also indications that countries such as Algeria, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Yemen, and even Kenya have seen an increase in terrorism since the beginning of the Arab Spring. Among other sources of threat, the return of thousands of Tuareg soldiers from Libya to Mali in 2012 has worsened the political instability in the latter. After Qaddafi's brutal murder in his hometown of Sirte, owing to his defeat at the hands of the internationally backed opposition, Tuareg forces were targeted because of their association with the former regime. The defeat of Qaddafi led to the dispersion of large groups of Tuareg members across the Sahel and sub-Saharan Africa, especially in Niger, Mali, Nigeria, and Morocco. The group managed to move large quantities of arms and ammunition with them. The Tuareg of Mali took advantage of this golden opportunity to prepare for their disengagement plan and achieve the dream of the independent state of Azawad.[20]

It seems that the events of the Arab Spring led to a decline in the roles of both Egypt and Libya in the AU. Libya's Qaddafi and Egypt's Mubarak supported the AU's financial reform plan of 2006. Under this plan, Algeria, Nigeria, and South Africa, as well as Egypt and Libya, contributed about 66% of the total annual budget of the AU. The new security system of the AU was based on the 1993 Cairo Declaration's mechanism of conflict prevention, management, and resolution. It was the Sirte meeting in 1999 that paved the way for the establishment of the AU.[21]

The Arab Spring has undoubtedly led to the emergence of new African regional powers such as South Africa and Ethiopia. Countries such as Algeria and Nigeria continue to face internal and regional security challenges that threaten their stability and territorial integrity. Given this scenario, South Africa has emerged as a rising power. The rise of South Africa could probably be attributed to having the strongest economy on the continent. Its membership in both the BRICS bloc (with Brazil, Russia, India, and China) and the Group of 20 (G20) countries has enabled the South African government to exercise of a major role in the context of the AU. Ethiopia's role also increased in the post-Arab Spring period, with the adoption of infrastructural development projects such as its dams strategy, including the Renaissance Dam, regardless of the structured legal system for the distribution of Nile water inherited from the colonial era. Perhaps the Khartoum agreement of March 2015 between Egypt, Sudan, and Ethiopia on the Renaissance Dam is in fact a launch of a new era in the African regional integration agenda for the benefit of non-Arab parties.

### *The Globalisation of Islamic Jihad*

The Islamic State (IS), rooted within Al Qaida, has appeared in Syria and Iraq. It recruits thousands of volunteers from around the world. Many observers studying the transformations in the phenomenon of terrorism in the Middle East countries and their environs in Africa underscore the unprecedented levels of violence and destruction.[22] Apart from that, these movements continue splitting and evolving newer structures and tactics, against the state and society alike. In 2015, the cities of northern Nigeria faced about 400 attacks, resulting in the deaths of more than 9000, which may have contributed to the election of former military ruler General Muhammadu Buhari, who became the first opposition candidate to win a presidential election in Nigeria, in the hope of the Nigerian people finding a saviour who is better positioned to defeat Boko Haram.[23]

The policies of militarisation and security solutions in East and West Africa have led to tactically unbalanced shifts in the behaviour of violent religious groups through car and suicide bombings. These groups, though they may be endangering themselves by exceeding their local framework, have become among the most prominent factors in regional instability in Africa. The paradox, despite regional and international military intervention in the cases of IS, Boko Haram, and Al Shabaab, is that radical Islamism is still far from its inevitable end. Radical Islamism is in its essence a political and developmental challenge. While military and security responses are necessary, the future evolution of radical Islamism will be determined by evolution in the domain of governance in the Middle East and Africa.

### *Iran and the Breaking of Western Isolation*

The end of the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s marked a turning point in Iran's ideological perception of Africa. Africa represents a third of UN seats, and half of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM),[24] which makes it a potential ally of Iran. Africa is also a potential arena in which to adopt the ideas of the Iranian Revolution. Former Iranian president Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani's tour to six African nations—Kenya, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zimbabwe—in 1996 was a clear manifestation of this new Iranian approach towards Africa. By the new millennium, and with the intensification of competition among rising powers in gaining access to new and emerging markets, Iran-Africa relations took a new turn. The first annual conference on Iran-Africa cultural and civilisational relations was organised in 2001. The Iran-Africa Cooperation Forum was held in March 2003 with the participation of 18 African countries, as well as representatives from the AU and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC). This Iranian diplomatic effort in Africa has clearly escalated under Iran's president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.[25] In 2009 alone, senior Iranian officials made about 20 visits to Africa.[26]

Iranian diplomacy is aimed at breaking the siege imposed by the West through the acquisition of new spheres of influence in Africa. The nuclear dimension has been no secret in Iran's approach towards Africa, as Iran seeks to secure uranium supplies from the continent. This was the main focus of Ahmadinejad's visit to both Uganda and Zimbabwe. However, Iran-Africa relations have suffered significant setbacks. In 2010, Gambia severed diplomatic relations with Tehran and expelled all its diplomats. The official reason was Nigeria's interception of an Iranian arms ship heading to Gambia. Moreover, Gabon, Nigeria, and Uganda voted in the UN Security Council (UNSC) in favour of Resolution 1929, which imposed sanctions on Iran over its nuclear programme.[27] Sudan, Iran's former ally, has also joined the list of countries, including Somalia, Djibouti, and Comoros, that have severed diplomatic ties with Tehran on the grounds of Iranian interference in the Yemeni crisis and support of the Houthis there.[28]

### *Turkey and the Ottoman Dream*

Turkey started shifting its focus to Africa in the 1990s, at the same time that Iran was re-evaluating its policy towards Africa. However, no action was taken until 2008, when Turkey hosted a conference on Turkish-Africa cooperation with the participation of representatives of 50 African countries—an unprecedented event in the history of Turkish diplomacy.[29] What were the reasons behind this shift?

It is known that during the reign of the Ottoman empire, some African countries—Egypt and West Algeria—were wholly or partly under Ottoman rule. In addition, the Ottoman influence extended to Southern Africa. For instance, the Ottoman empire posted Imam Abu Bakr Effendi to the Muslim community in the Cape in 1836 in order to teach them the Ottomans' religion. Yet the founding of the modern Turkish state in 1923 led to the neglect of the African dimension in Turkish policy.[30]

By the end of the 1990s, the Turkish government wanted to restore the glories of the Ottoman empire, and began searching for a real regional role away from the illusions of joining the European Union (EU). In 1998, Turkey issued its Africa policy in a new approach towards the continent, one seeking to strengthen its diplomatic, economic, and cultural ties with African countries. Turkey proclaimed the year 2005 as the "Year for Africa". Former Turkish prime minister and later president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Ethiopia and South Africa in March 2005, thus becoming the first Turkish leader to visit a state south of the equator.[31] In the same year, Turkey was granted observer status in the AU; and in 2008, during the African Union summit held in Addis Ababa, Turkey was announced as a strategic partner for Africa.[32]

This approach towards Africa has continued, and grown stronger since the Turkey-Africa summit in 2008. In March 2010, Turkish president Abdullah Gul visited Cameroon and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), reflecting the importance of the economic dimension of Turkey's new orientation towards Africa. Yet Turkey, just like Iran, continues to face many challenges in Africa, as expressed by Turkish scientific journals: "To the Turkish public, and particularly to Turkish intellectuals, Africa remains a great enigma, a dark continent full of obscurities. The current state of knowledge and of perspectives on Africa is very limited, poor and prejudiced."[33]

## The Economic Dynamics

Over the past decade, Africa has changed from a "hopeless continent" in 2000 to a "rising continent" in 2011, as labelled by *The Economist*.[34] Countries of the Middle East have seized the opportunity by giving Africa new offers, and have thus accelerated their economic engagement with the continent. On the one hand, this engagement will speed economic growth in sub-Saharan Africa and reduce the huge unemployment among its youth. Sub-Saharan Africa's arable lands represent more than 65% of the world's uncultivated land, with a large enough area to respond to Middle East need for food security. Africa is home to 30% of the world's precious minerals (40% of gold, 60% of cobalt, 90% of platinum, 65% of diamonds). The question now is how to tell whether both parties have benefited from their economic engagements in the post-Cold War period. The answer to this question lies in part in the volume of trade, investment flows, and assistance between the two regions.

### *Economic Openness Towards Africa*

For decades, Africa remained neglected by Middle East Muslim countries. Turkish authorities, for instance, perceived economic relations with Africa as a waste of time, energy, and resources.[35] Yet in 1985, this negative perception changed and the continent received its first Turkish foreign aid, under Turkey's adoption of its "Opening to Africa Policy" framework in 1989.

It was in 1999 that Turkey shifted its attention to the continent, following the rejection of its application to join the EU. This new attention was marked by Erdoğan's visit to Ethiopia and South Africa in 2005 (as was aforementioned), an increase of Turkish investment into, and economic trade with the continent, as well as its hosting of the first summit on Turkish-African economic cooperation, where representatives of 50 African states discussed Turkey-Africa investment and trade deals, and development prospects and opportunities. As mentioned earlier, the African economy could benefit through technical assistance in the fields of agricultural development and energy production.[36] Turkey-Africa relations were further developed in 2008 when Turkey declared a partnership with Africa to further promote trade and investment. As a result, total trade volume between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa increased from $742 million in 2000, to $4.9 billion in 2009, to $7.5 billion in 2011, and then jumped to $20 billion in 2014.[37] It is worth noting that Turkey's total foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa exceeded $6 billion in 2015, a significant improvement from less than $100 million in 2003.[38]

Turkey also signed agreements on prevention of double taxation with 11 African countries in 2015, compared to four in 2003. As well, exports from Turkey to Africa doubled six times over the period 2003–15, while imports into Turkey from Africa more than doubled.[39] Turkey's share of Africa's trade volume increased from 1% in 2003 to 2.3% in 2014, while the share of Africa's total trade volume to Turkey increased from 3.5% in 1997 to 8.7% in 2015.[40] It is also worth noting that although Turkey is one of Africa's top 20 trade partners, no sub-Saharan African country are among Turkey's top ten exports or import partners.[41]

Over the period 2006 to 2012, both Turkey's imports from Africa, and Africa's imports from Turkey, decreased (see Figs. 15.1 and 15.2). Turkey is ranked among the top five investor countries during the same period.[42] In 2015, Turkey's total trade with South Africa alone represented 40% of Turkish trade with sub-Saharan Africa, generating more

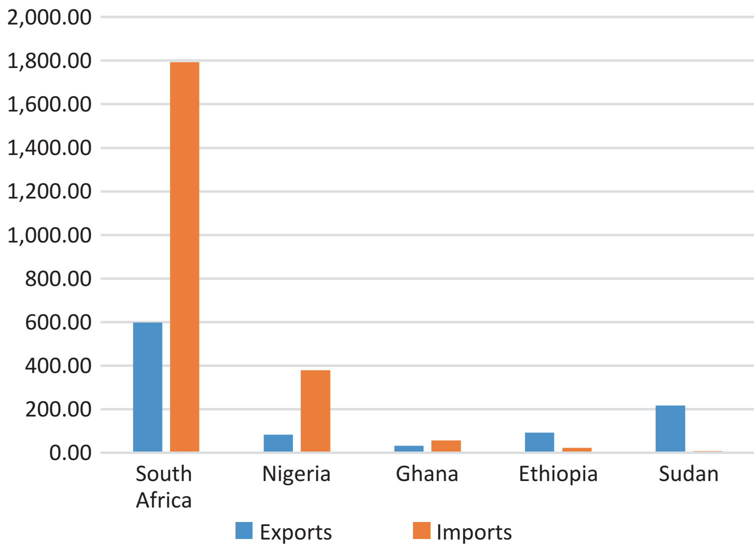


**Fig. 15.1** Turkey's top five trading partners in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2006 ($ millions)
Source: Compiled from International Monetary Fund data, *Trade Statistics Yearbook 2013*, http://data.imf.org/?sk=9D6028D4-F14A-464C-A2F2-59B2CD424B85

than 30% of the total gross domestic product (GDP) of all of sub-Saharan African countries. Seventy Turkish companies operate in South Africa, where the value of Turkish investments has exceeded $500 million, mostly focusing in the mining and textile sectors.[43]

What we can conclude from this review of trade between Turkey and sub-Saharan Africa is that the objective of Turkey's trade is mainly to find new markets for its growing industrial capacity, more than simply purchasing raw materials, given that Turkey's major exports to Africa focus on manufactured goods, iron and steel products, food and consumer products, textiles, cement, and plastics. Turkey's imports from Africa consist mostly of primary products such as cotton, minerals, precious stones, coal, leather, oilseeds, timber, and foods. Turkey has also signed energy cooperation agreements with countries such as Cameroon, Kenya, Niger, and Sudan.

Yet Turkey's share of total trade with sub-Saharan Africa has remained below 2% which is relatively small compared to the size of Africa's developing market and growing population.[44] Likewise, economic relations between the Arab states

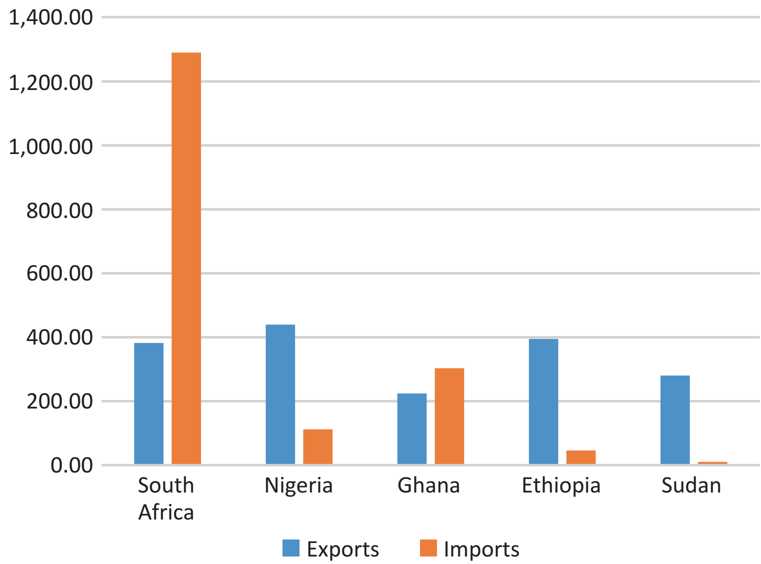


**Fig. 15.2** Turkey's top five trading partners in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2012
Source: Compiled from International Monetary Fund data, *Trade Statistics Yearbook 2013*, https://comtrade.un.org/data/

and sub-Saharan Africa have been more a reflection of political conditions than a stable economic policy. Africa supported the Arab world in the 1973 war with Israel, and regarded the latter as an aggressive country. This has largely affected Africa's trade relations in favour of the Arab region. Also, during the Iraq-Iran War and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the Gulf states, for instance, were preoccupied with their internal problems and shifted their focus away from sub-Saharan Africa. It was not until 2008 that the Arab states shifted their international trade and investment attentions back to Africa, as their traditional partners in Europe and Asia were still recovering from the international economic crises of 2008 and 2012.

The period 2007–08 witnessed large Gulf investments directed to a number of African countries, including $5.8 million from the six Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) member states (Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates [UAE]); $210 million from the Kuwait Fund for Arab Development; $1 billion from the UAE in Djibouti alone (Dubai World Port opened a container terminal in

Djibouti—the largest and most modern in East Africa); and a $3.4 billion loan from Qatar to Kenya.[45] Africa's imports from the Arab states witnessed in the period between 2008 and 2014 a significant increase from $1 million in 2008 to $2.4 million in 2014, although remains limited to oil exploration in Africa, and petroleum products and manufactured goods from the Gulf. While Africa's exports to the same region ranged between $0.9 million in 2008 to $1.7 million in 2014 (see Fig. 15.3). Gulf investment in sub-Saharan Africa is still far lower than expected, also limited to a small number of African countries in areas such as telecommunications and real estate.[46]

The same pattern of relations is repeated with Iran. From 2005 until the departure from office of Iran's former president Ahmadinejad in 2013, and in compensating for the deteriorating ties with Iran's traditional economic partners in Europe and in East Asia, owing to the economic sanctions imposed on Iran, the country adopted a "South-South" strategy. This meant enhancing economic relations with African states. These relations remained at a low profile and were largely influenced by African relations with the Arab states and the USA. Iran's exports to sub-Saharan Africa


**Fig. 15.3** Total trade between Sub-Saharan Africa and Arab States, 2008–14
Source: Compiled from the United Nations Comtrade data, https://comtrade.un.org/data/

decreased from $500 million in 2001 to $200 million in 2005, while imports remained at a range of $100–$200 million during the same period. Iran's attention focused on sub-Saharan African states—the DRC and South Africa for their uranium, and Angola for its oil. In return, Iran granted South African mobile phone companies 40% of Iran's mobile phone network in 2007 and 2008, and sold gas totalling $1.5 billion to Angola in 2009. Iran also established the Khodro cars factory in Senegal in 2007, with this move allowing Iran to export cars to other African countries and to Turkey for cheap prices. The Iranian government has also promised to build an oil refinery, a chemical plant, and a tractors plant in Senegal. Iran also maintains close ties with Mauritania, Gambia, and Nigeria.[47]

In 2010, Tehran sponsored a two-day Iran-Africa forum attended by 40 sub-Saharan African states to develop economic relations between the two markets. Yet Iran's total imports from Africa were as low as $200 million in 2010 and 2011, while total exports stood at $300 million during the same period. In 2016, the Iranian government expressed its intention to change its investment strategy in Africa, after years of neglect under the rule of Hassan Rouhani, and granted their support to African Arab states against Iran.[48]

Topping Iran's export destinations to sub-Saharan Africa was Tanzania, at 26% of total exports followed by South Africa at 7.8%, Ethiopia at 6.8%, and Rwanda at 3.7%. Iran's top import origins in the region were South Africa at 50% total imports followed by Guinea at 24%, and Senegal and Tanzania both at 1%.[49]

The trade situation is different with Israel, given the historical ties between Israel and sub-Saharan African, which date back to the 1950s and are largely dependent on diplomatic relations, more so than on the economic calculations of benefits and losses.[50] Although most of the sub-Saharan African countries severed diplomatic ties with Israel after the 1973 war, and although Africa was severely affected by the global oil crisis preceding the 1973 oil crisis, which triggered a three-fold increase in the price of oil demanded by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC),[51] the continent was considered a battlefield of conflict over influence between Israel and the Arab states. Sub-Saharan Africa countries discovered that Arab aid was not only occasional, but also, in many cases, religiously biased. African states learned to follow a more balanced policy toward the Arabs and Israel, thus benefiting from trade and aid from both sides. Also, both Israel and the Arab states discovered that sub-Saharan Africa was a huge market for their products and thus the importance of building strong economic ties with the continent.[52]

Accordingly, Israeli total exports to sub-Saharan Africa increased from $307 million in 2001, to $672 million in 2006, to around $1 billion annually from 2007 to 2015. Total Israeli imports from sub-Saharan Africa remained below or around $200 million annually during the period 2001–15, except for a few years when they reached $300–500 million (see Fig. 15.4).

It is worth noting that two-thirds of Israel's trade with Africa is with South Africa, mainly in diamonds. The relationship is historical, offering protection for South Africa's Jewish community and the development of export markets for Israeli industries. Following South Africa as Israel's top import partner are Nigeria and Togo, and following South Africa as Israel's top export partner are Ethiopia and Seychelles.

Also, thousands of Israelis work in prominent African economic centres in the areas of trade, agricultural management, and project services. Many Israeli companies' businesses have a presence in sub-Saharan Africa, in the fields of construction, agriculture, electronics, and electricity and water

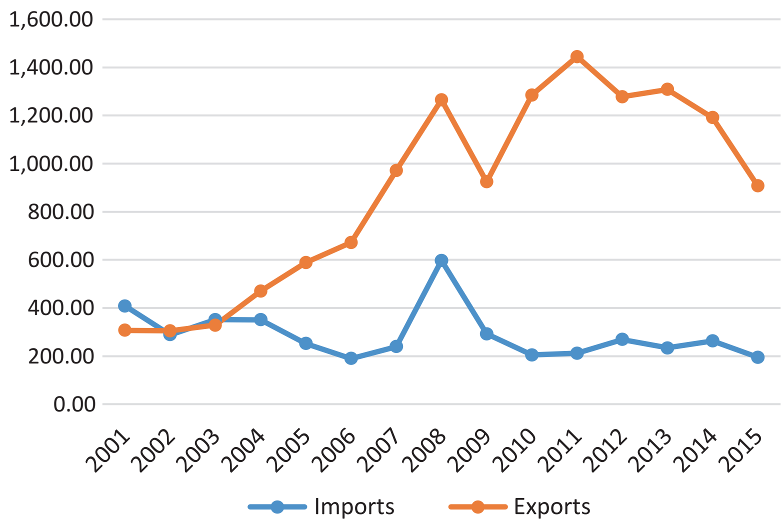


**Fig. 15.4** Total trade between Israel and Sub-Saharan Africa, 2001–15
Source: Compiled from United Nations Comtrade data, https://comtrade.un.org/data/

networks, such as Solel Boneh, Agrotop, CORE, Motorola Israel, Carmel Chemicals, Vered, Tahal, Mekorot, and Koortrade.[53]

Many important Israeli businessmen work in mining diamonds, cobalt, and other raw minerals, and are very close to the decision-making circles in African countries, such as Lev Leviev, who was close to Angolan president José Eduardo dos Santos; and Dan Gertler, who was close to the DRC president Joseph Kabila; and Benny Steinmetz who was close to Mamadie Toure, the wife of Guinea's ex-president Lansana Conte.[54] Still, Israeli trade and investment in Africa focuses more on finding a new market for Israeli exports than a mutually beneficial relationship, though some of Israel's investment plans focus on development and the training of experts.

In short, although economic engagements between Africa and the Middle East would appear at first glance to be beneficial to both regions, on the ground these engagements do not meet the expectations of good economic ties centred on balanced, and mutually beneficial relations. The economic relationship is still dominated by colonial policies: Africa's dependence on the Middle East as a market for exports of raw materials and agricultural products, and dependence on imports of manufactured goods.

### *Financial, Technical, and Humanitarian Assistance*

Since 2010, Turkey has implemented its New Economic Neighbourhood (NEN) programme as part of its humanitarian aid. Through NEN, the Turkey's Department of Red Crescent provides support and food to many African countries in crisis. For example, it established a logistical service centre in the region of Cezire for Somali refugees. Turkish aid campaigns cover many African countries, with Sudan, Mauritania, and Ethiopia alone having received more than 52% of total Turkish humanitarian aid. In 2008, Turkey spent $52 million in Africa, representing 6% of total Turkish humanitarian aid, administered by the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKKA), mainly in agriculture, healthcare, supplying drinking water, and the like.[55] The amount reached $782.7 million in 2013 from $38 million in 2010, as per OECD data.[56]

Israel too has provided financial assistance to sub-Saharan Africa through training programmes for a thousand African students in modern agricultural methods, medicine, and communications. The Israeli government has also provided loans for the construction of medical centres, such as a $217 million loan provided to the University of Ghana in November 2012. Teams of medical professionals, along with pop-up emergency clinics and special quarantine tents, were sent to African countries affected by the Ebola outbreak in 2014. Israel has also assisted with drip-irrigation farm projects to regulate water usage, with a view to save crops in drought-stricken African countries, as well as providing solar-power farms and many other projects.[57]

These projects portray the developing relations between Israel and sub-Saharan Africa, which culminated the holding in Jerusalem of the first seminar of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) outside Africa in December 2016, to enhance sustainable agricultural productivity in arid and semi-arid regions. The Gulf region in general has also emerged in the past decade as an international donor, helping to alleviate poverty in Africa and overcome major development problems.

## The Cultural Dynamics

Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab countries share several cultural and religious ties. Large Muslim communities live in Africa, with the Arabic language accounting for almost 25% of the Swahili and Hausa languages widely spoken in East and West Africa. Socioeconomic relations between the Gulf states and sub-Saharan Africa date back to the seventh century, with large movements of both peoples and goods between the two regions. These relations were strengthened with the spread of Islam and annual pilgrimages of Africans to Mecca, and later in the 1950s and 1960s with the wave of decolonisation.[58]

Turkey restored its religious connections with African Muslim countries in 2002. In 2006, Istanbul hosted a meeting of religious leaders with the representation of 21 African Muslim countries. Turkey also actively participated in the activities of the Organisation of Islamic Conference. In 2009, Turkey developed a plan of provide educational scholarships to 300 African Imams.[59] Turkey has been criticised for building its relations with sub-Saharan Africa on religious bases. This appears obvious from Turkish prime minister Erdoğan's visits to Muslim-dominated African countries and the opening of Gülen schools, although after December 2013 Erdoğan called for such schools to be shut down.[60] In 2014, Turkey provided scholarships to 4380 students, and hosted 116 visiting professors and research assistants, from African countries.[61]

Iran's cultural role in sub-Saharan Africa historically focused primarily on the spread of the Shii Da'wa, especially with the migration of Lebanese Shiite refugees in the 1980s. The number of Shiites in Ghana is estimated at about 1,200,000, and in Nigeria about 3,500,000.[62]

Similarly, Israel's cultural relations historically targeted Jews living in African territories. Israel's relations with Ethiopia were very close given the presence of Falashas. In 1985, Israel airlifted 10,000 of the 25,000 Falashas living in Ethiopia, to Israel. The same interest was shown in South Africa given the latter's 110,000 Jews and 15,000 Israelis.[63] On the other hand, Egypt, since 2014, has tried to regain its influence in Africa through religious institutions such as Al Azhar, and the Church. More than 70% of Al Azhar foreign students are African, and 70% of its envoys to the world are to Africa.[64] The Coptic Church in Egypt and Ethiopia shares historical and spiritual ties that enable it, for instance to play a role in solving problems between the two countries.

In regard to labour movements, sub-Saharan Africa is facing a serious "brain drain" given the immigration of skilled and educated workers to Middle Eastern countries in search of better standards of living or using the region as a bridge in their illegal immigration trip to Europe. The Gulf region, known for its high standard of living, is increasingly becoming a point of attraction to African immigrants and workforces. Yet the welfare of the migrant population raises concerns about the sustainability of economic and diplomatic relations between the two regions.

For the North African countries, who are neighbours to Europe, sub-Saharan African immigrants passing through their borders have ended up as illegal residents, adding to their poverty problems and security challenges. In regard to tourism, Turkish Airlines reached 48 destinations in 31 African countries by the end of 2015 compared to 2003 when it was limited to North Africa only. As a result, tourist exchange has significantly increased, and the number of Turkish residents in Africa, mostly in South Africa, has reached 3000.[65]

## Conclusion

Given developments witnessed in the Middle East, it could be argued that the negative impacts of civil wars and changing regimes in some countries will last for a long time. On the other hand, it seems that the transformations taking place in Europe and the USA from regressive anti-globalisation movements will alter twentieth-century relations between Africa and Middle East relations. It is a moment of great transformation in the history of both regions. Despite all of this, there are many opportunities and incentives to push for cooperation and build strategic partnerships between Africa and the Middle East. First, adopting a win-win approach—a real partnership according to the South-South development framework and collective self-reliance—is vital. Perhaps linking Yemen with Djibouti through a bridge over the Strait of Bab el Mandeb represents an important step in relationship-building and restoring organic cohesion between the two regions. Second, it will be important to focus on valuable investment opportunities, and gain a better understanding of the investment environment, with a view to embracing the differences seen between the two markets. This should be accompanied by the support and expansion of bilateral trade, with a focus on emerging powers on both sides. All of this is linked to building mutual trust and correcting the inherited stereotypes around religion, ethnicity, culture, class, and society.

Third, sub-Saharan Africa should expand its trade relations to include the development of new income-generating sectors such as tourism, manufacturing sustainable energy, and advancing technology. There is a need to focus on developing such capabilities through offering technical assistance and training programs for local workers and experts.

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CHAPTER 16

# Africa at the United Nations: From Dominance to Weakness

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This chapter's primary concern is to assess how to strengthen Africa's engagement with the United Nations (UN).[1] I argue that the African position within the UN has moved from one of dominance to one of decline. The chapter first provides a brief background to the formation of the UN and an understanding of Africa's involvement during the 1940s. Also provided is a trajectory of African states' experiences within the UN, and an assessment of the key challenges that have confronted African governments within the world body, during and since the post-Cold War era. The chapter also critically assesses Africa's contemporary relations with the UN. In concluding the chapter, I chart a way forward for Africa's future engagement with the world body as well as give recommendations for governments and international policymakers to consider.

## Africa's Entry into the United Nations

When the African states joined the UN, they joined an organisation that they were not part of when it was formed, since only four African governments participated in its formation in 1945: Ethiopia, Egypt, Liberia, and

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_16

South Africa. The 1944 meeting that took place at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., was to essentially create a new international dispensation to succeed the defunct League of Nations of 1919 to 1939. The main purpose in creating the UN was to create a guarantor of world peace. The UN Security Council, however, afforded authority to only five major Allied powers with permanent membership: the United States (USA), Russia, China, Britain, and France, who would have the exclusive right collectively to act as the "world's watchdog" and to serve separately from the current 193-member UN General Assembly.[2] The five permanent members are consistently at the top of the list of countries with the highest military expenditure. They account for 60% of global military expenditure, 40% of which is attributed to the United States alone.

Africa's membership of four at the UN further expanded, and in 1955 Libya became a member, followed by Morocco, Sudan, and Tunisia in 1956; Ghana in 1957; and Sierra Leone in 1961, providing a total of 25 African representatives at the UN.[3] Many African states joined the UN after their independence, primarily for two reasons. First, they believed that the UN would be able to protect their sovereignty after the lengthy years of colonialism[4]; and second, Africa's governments viewed the UN as an instrument through which to conduct their international relations with other foreign ministries in the absence of African embassies not established at the international level.

The adoption of the Uniting for Peace Resolution in 1950 by the UN General Assembly considerably enhanced the role of the General Assembly. Under the Charter of the UN the African position at the UN was restricted to general discussion of international conflicts and disputes and they could not take decisions on security matters which were reserved for the Security Council. The Uniting for Peace Resolution thus authorised the General Assembly to take decisions on security matters when the exercise of veto in the Security Council made it difficult for the Security Council to act: this process at that time shifted the power of influence of the UN to the General Assembly. It should be recalled that during that period (the 1950s), the Security Council seldom convened owing to the deeper disagreement between East and Western countries in the Security Council. The African countries which entered the organisation during that shift allowed them to exercise enormous influence as to what was referred to as parliamentary diplomacy.

The Africans chose three worldviews: ending colonialism, ending apartheid and racist government practices, and bringing to an end global economic dominance and decline. African states were also skilful in expanding the modalities of Article 73(e) of the UN Charter, which requested colonial powers, mainly Britain, France, and Portugal, to submit to the UN any information that concerned their dependent territories. These events as well as the support of Soviet Union and socialist countries led the African states to develop the principle of equal rights and self-determination. A major spin-off resulted in the drafting of General Assembly Resolution 1514 in December 1960, largely led by Soviet premier Nikita Khruschev, and brought into force the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.[5] Because of the high calibre of appointments of African ambassadors and delegates at the time, the continent also brought into the General Assembly novel African ideas such as the notion of elementary democracy—quite new at the UN. This notion caught many of the Western powers off-guard, since their largely traditional diplomats were not familiar with and had to learn of creating elementary democracy within a parliamentary context. These events also allowed for the first caucus groups to be developed at the UN.

Africa's first goal was to tackle the issue of racism, and in this connection it should be borne in mind that during this crucial period of Cold War politics, the new African states were fervently courted by both East and West. Africa also relied heavily on the cooperation of India, since India was the first country that had dealt with the issue of racism and apartheid at the General Assembly. India was also able to resist the pressure exerted by Western powers who maintained that the issue of racism did not belong at UN debates and discussions. The African state received very strong support from third-world countries in Latin America and Asia as well as the communist bloc. Africa therefore, also cooperated with Asia, and with Latin America, and in so doing further expanded its power at the UN. African states were thus able to establish a powerful committee on decolonisation—the Special Committee of 24—in 1962. This body also allowed for three further committees to develop at the General Assembly: the Special Committee for South West Africa, the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories, and the Committee of Information Transmitted under Article 73(e). Moreover, the African states were able to establish further key committees—the Special Committee Against Apartheid in 1962, and the Council for Namibia in 1967. These two bodies led to the virtual end of South Africa's stronghold over South West Africa and saw Namibia's independence in 1990. The same resulted in the end of apartheid government practices in Rhodesia, and in South Africa. However, Africa was confronted with three major conflicts during the early years of independence during the 1960s, to which we now turn.

## Africa's Major Post-Independence Conflicts

The first major crisis for Africa came immediately after the Congo gained its independence from Belgium in 1960. The Swedish UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld oversaw the Congo mission, and was seen as the most powerful person in the UN security structure at that time.

Hammarskjöld was ably assisted by Ralph Bunche who actually drafted the provisions under decolonisation in the UN Charter and was an African-American Diplomat who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950, because of his exemplary performance in negotiating the Armistice Agreements in the Middle East in the Israeli-Arab war in 1948–49. Hammarskjöld's concept of the role of the Secretary General calls for impartiality in the performance of the duties of the office. This attitude confused the Soviet Union's premier Nikita Krushchev, who had seen the UN as a defender of Congolese independence and unity and could not understand Hammarskjöld's refusal to use UN peacekeeping forces to put an end to the secession of Katanga.[6] Krushchev, sensing the displeasure of African states regarding the position of Hammarskjöld, introduced a proposal for a "troika", by which the office of the Secretary General would be divided into three parts: one occupied by a Western official, another by an Eastern official, and a third by a Third-World official. It is of interest to observe that the fundamental Soviet view of the UN structure was diametrically opposed to the views of Western countries at the time. In the Soviets' view, the Secretary General's duties should be confined to administrative matters and accordingly vigorously challenged Hammarskjöld's meddling in security matters, such as dispatching special envoys to troubled areas. Now in addition to this position, Krushchev criticised Hammarskjöld for favouring Western policy in the Congo with particular reference to an advisory group in the Secretariat that was assisting Hammarskjöld. This group was mainly composed of Western Secretariat officials and the Soviet Union decisively referred to it as the Congo club.[7]

But the idea of a UN troika was rejected by the Africans and key non-aligned members, Nehru and others—it failed, and Hammarskjöld was against it. Although the African states, with strong support for the non-aligned group, were sceptical about Hammarskjöld's approach in the

Congo, they were reluctant to give backing to Krushchev's troika proposal, fearing that the application of the troika would weaken the office of the Secretary General and thereby weaken the authority of the UN. Nonetheless, the experience of the African states in the Congo crisis convinced them that it would be unwise to be too dependent on the UN in the settlement of African disputes. This was one of the major motivations that prompted key African leaders to work diligently for the formation of an organisation of African unity. This was often referred to as the Congo "allergy".

In recognising the lack of a formal institution for African countries to manage disputes, an Ethiopian delegation to the UN General Assembly's 16th session, in 1961, expressed their determination to create such an organisation under the provisions of Article 52 of the UN Charter. It was the Addis Ababa meeting in May 1963 that spearheaded the African course to advance an African agenda and African unity.[8] These successes are clearly outlined in Article VII of the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) Charter of 1963, which defines the establishment of the continental body's Commission on Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration.[9]

After the OAU's creation in 1963, the continental body was also able to negotiate a number of crises such as the territorial conflict between Morocco and Algeria that broke out in October 1963. The OAU was able to arrange a ceasefire between those two countries—Morocco and Algeria—that culminated the signing of the peace agreement in February 1964.[10] It was thus clear to the UN, and as far back as 1964, that the OAU was the sole bearer of its issues and approaches to managing disputes on the continent. It was also clear to the world body that the international community would take no action in or on Africa unless invited in doing so by the OAU. Africa, on the other hand, had serious limitations in successfully dealing with major cases of war. For example, the OAU had no troops of its own to represent itself in peacekeeping missions, and had to rely on member states to contribute troops to intervene and keep the peace.

## Africa at the United Nations at the End of the Cold War: A Position of Dominance

During the 1970s and 1980s, Africa was in a dominant position at the UN given the standing of the two superpowers competing for the friendship of African states. Africa's dominance was also proven in the continent's ability in combating racism and achieving independence of colonial peoples. Moreover, the continent had the ability to align itself with the non-aligned countries and other developing nations. Nothing could be adopted at the General Assembly concerning Africa without African consent, and the continent had a strong ability and leverage in defining a course of action for its own issues. In furthering the continent's economic discourse, Africa was also to align its interests with Latin America, which was instrumental in helping shaping the continent's establishment of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in 1958.

By and large as the end of the Cold War approached, the African states succeeded in achieving their main goals. Decolonisation was coming to an end on the African continent, they had succeeded in arguing against the establishment of foreign bases on the continent, and they had broken the back of the apartheid regime in South Africa. African states displayed great diplomatic flexibility when they accepted the United States' insistence that Cuban troops should be withdrawn from Angola prior to the independence of Namibia.

However, darker days for the African continent were approaching. The end of the Cold War was defined mainly by Western analysis meant the defeat of the Soviet Union and the emergence of one superpower. There was no longer a competition between the East and the West for the support of African states. Instead, as the Soviet Union withdrew from deep involvement in the African continent, the western states began to refocus their attention towards the development of the economic and social matters in Eastern Europe which they wished to incorporate into the western alliance. African states were left by and large to fend for themselves. The classic example of this weakening of the African position at the end of the Cold War was the debacle in Somalia after the overthrow of President Siad Barre and the outbreak of a deadly civil war in Somalia. Western country embassies that left Somalia at the time seemed to have turned their back on Somalia; instead, they were heavily involved in tackling the consequences of the break-up of Yugoslavia. When Boutros Boutros Ghali became Secretary General of the Security Council at the end of the Cold War, he spoke openly about what he believed was the major Western powers concentration in the rich man's war in Yugoslavia while ignoring the poor man's war in Somalia—which was yet another painful problem for African states.

Thus, at the end of the Cold War there was a recognition by African states that in the circumstances they should do two main things: (1) to move towards greater democracy on the continent and (2) accepting the necessary international requirements for their economic development.

Without much economic support from outside giving the turn of the West towards the East, they were obliged to turn towards the Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since these two organisations were greatly influenced by Western principles, African states were given no option but to embrace the so-called Washington Consensus for their economic development. This means in essence that they were compelled to accept the full scope of the globalisation concept and process. In this connection, it must not be forgotten that, prior to the end of the Cold War, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) played a significant role in the economic development on the African continent. Since at the end of the Cold War funding for UNDP became a problem, the economic role of the UN began to diminish.

Under present circumstances, it would appear that China is emerging as a major supporter of development on the African continent. As may be recalled, at a time when African states were very dominant within the General Assembly, it played a leadership role in assigning the seat of China to the Chinese People's Republic under Mao Tse-Tung. China has been a founding member of the UN, but at that time China was unified under Chiang Kai-Shek. At the end of the war against Japan and the civil war which followed, the Republic of China withdrew to the island of Taiwan and continued to represent the whole of China in that position. African states were largely responsible for winning for the People's Republic of China for a major diplomatic victory. Contrary to some false analysis, African states were not participating in the expulsion of Taiwan from the UN.

It was engaged in restoring the rightful place of the People's Republic of China in the UN. Now it seems China has not forgotten the role of Africa and is offering a helping hand to the African continent. There is unfortunately some confusion about the role of China in Africa in the Western media. It is often presented that China is engaged in new colonialism in Africa. It is true that China, like all other major industrialised countries, looks to Africa for strategic and other major minerals. But what should not be denied is that China is genuinely involved in infrastructural developments on the African continent and has supplemented some of the economic development programmes that were lost at the end of the Cold War. This is a programme in progress and one has to pay special attention as to whether, in the long run, China's economic involvement in Africa will be different from that of Western colonial powers that merely took commodities and natural resources from Africa mainly for the development of the European continent as well as North America. Thus far, African states have welcomed with open arms the external role of China in Africa's economic development programmes.

## A Gap in the UN Charter: A Peacekeeping Anomaly

When the UN was formed in 1945, its Charter made no provision for peacekeeping. During that time, the absence of modalities of peacekeeping was not necessarily identified as a gap in the UN's Charter, since it was envisaged that the Security Council would be supported by the Military Staff Committee, a role defined in Chapter VII of the Charter. But the Military Staff Committee was dysfunctional for the Security Council's permanent members (Russia, the USA, France, Britain, and China), as gaining consensus on security issues had become increasingly difficult for the superpowers.

The UN's initial peacekeeping involvement had come in two prior observer missions that entailed unarmed military officers: in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP),[11] and in the Middle East (UNTSO). On 29 May 1948, the UN Security Council put into force Resolution 50, which called for a cessation of hostilities in Palestine. The resolution entailed providing UN mediation, with the assistance of a group of military observers. The first group of military observers arrived in the region in June 1948. In 1949, UNTSO military observers remained to supervise the armistice agreements between Israel and its Arab neighbours, which for many years remained the main basis of the uneasy truce in the area.[12] These two observer missions became key models for establishing a UN Emergency Force (UNEF I) in Sinai.

There is general acknowledgement that the African continent is widely seen as the "sick man" of the international community. Left to fend for itself and in a weaken position in international institutions including in the UN. The African continent is in desperate search of a credible role in the maintenance of global peace and security. But the growing degree of dependency of the continent on the largesse of outside players undermines its own role as an independent actor. The fact that African states by themselves find it difficult to finance its own continental institutions such as the African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa and other sub-regional organisations, makes it unlikely that outside actors take them too seriously. As we have seen proposals now before the AU for its members to fund the organisation.[13] One instance in which the lack of general respect for the opinion of

African states may have jeopardised deterioration in security and international relations is that of Libya. At the outbreak of Libya's crisis, Africa did put forward a solid roadmap that could have been helpful in resolving the crisis peacefully. But some of the external actors were disrespectful of the African plan and were able to convince some of the parties not to support the African roadmap in preference to the plan put forward by the League of Arab States. The consequences of this move are now clear for all to see. Yes, the manoeuvring did produce a no-fly zone by the Security Council. It did encourage the involvement of outside actors, and it did promote a regime change in Libya. But to what end? Libya today is a failed state and efforts to bring about peace in that troubled land have remained unsuccessful.

The African continent believes that one move to regain international prestige is to be represented as permanent members of the Security Council. African states have put forward a proposal for two permanent seats along with permanent seats for Asia and Latin America. It is clear however, that reform of the Security Council is not presently foreseen. Some of the five permanent members are doggedly opposed to the expansion of the permanent seats by five and even then, will, contrary to the Charter, deny the right of veto to any new permanent member.

For Africa to accept this condition, would reinforce its diminished status in international relations. But the African state should join others to bring about some reforms in international institutions that were established at the end of the Second World War. Despite their dependency African states should push very hard for meaningful reform in the Bretton Woods institutions. It should also join others to give a meaningful role to the General Assembly that was true in the 1970s and 1980s. Today, African states have a minimal role in the functioning of the UN Secretariat, the principal organisation. Having in quick succession supplied two Africans as Secretaries General—Egyptian scholar-diplomat Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Ghana's Kofi Annan—it is baffling why in today's Secretariat it is difficult to find any significant role given to Africans, particularly when it comes to managing significant departments of the Secretariat. It is hard to believe that under the Secretary Generalship of Boutros-Ghali—two Africans headed two of its three major departments of the Secretariat—the political department and the peacekeeping department. But African states themselves must return to the practice which they adopted during the first decade of their involvement in the UN. They should appoint permanent representatives of stature, particularly of political weight. Today there is a widespread perception that too many permanent representatives are willing to take any job within the Secretariat and its agencies. African heads of state should insist that African representation be in one or two of the key departments of the Secretariat, and not just appoint special representatives for this or that.

## Conclusion

Can Africa regain the influence it once had at the UN? There is a case to be made for Africa to have a more influential role and prominent position at the world body. Much of the UN's socioeconomic and humanitarian work occurs in Africa, and Nairobi (the site of the UN Environment Programme [UNEP]) remains one of only four UN headquarters around the world—together with New York, Geneva, and Vienna. About half (29 out of 56) of the UN's peacekeeping missions in the post-Cold War era have taken place in Africa, while 73% (74,000 out of 101,000) of the world body's peacekeepers in April 2016 were deployed in 9 African countries out of 16 missions worldwide.[14] Out of the top 20 peacekeeping contributors to the UN—also in April 2016—12 were African. As of May 2016, UNDP had 1067 projects taking place in Africa, with Zimbabwe, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) offices being the top recipients of UNDP development funds.[15]

The world body has also established sub-regional offices in West Africa, the Great Lakes region, and Central Africa, as well as peacebuilding offices in Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic (CAR), Sierra Leone, and Burundi. But the Africa remains one of only two major regions of the world—along with Latin America—without a permanent seat and veto power on the UN's most powerful body. First, Africa needs to put into place high-calibre ambassadors to represent the continent at the UN. Second, the continent must steer itself away from dependency and pay its dues to adequately reflect membership in the UN.

Furthermore, the Secretary General is not able to adequately represent Africa at the UN. The Secretary General reports to the Security Council, telling the Council what it needs to hear instead what it ought to know. Bearing this in mind, African governments must work in greater partnership with the AU. Though the Charter provides the Security Council the responsibility to harmonise security in the world, this expectation does not permit the Council the power to address the interests of ordinary people locked in crisis and conflict. Of relevance to Africa, for example, prior to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the UN withdrew its troops.[16] It is therefore imperative that the Secretary General be clear, consistent, and articulate when engaging the Security Council. The end of the Cold War was a starting point for the UN in realising that the instruments available to the international community are not adequate to address the challenges of the modern world. It is imperative that those member states that contribute troops to peacekeeping missions develop the mandates for peacekeeping as well.

## Notes

1. This chapter is based on James O.C. Jonah, "A Life in Peacekeeping", a paper presented at the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR) seminar *Towards a New Pax-Africana: Making, Keeping, and Building Peace in Africa*, Stellenbosch (28–31 August 2013); and James O.C. Jonah, "Africa and the United Nations", a paper presented at the CCR seminar *Africa and External Actors*, Cape Town (24–25 August 2016). I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dawn Nagar, Senior Researcher at the Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town, for her research and assistance as I completed this chapter.
2. "A Critique of the United Nations Security Council", 5 April 2013, http://fordhampoliticalreview.org/a-critique-of-the-united-nations-security-council
3. James O.C. Jonah, "The Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Secretariat" (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2009), pp. 65–85.
4. Robert H. Jackson, "Negative Sovereignty in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Review of International Studies* 12(4) (1986), pp. 247–64.
5. R. Emerson, "Colonialism, Political Development, and the UN", in Norman J. Padelford and Leland M. Goodrich (eds), *The United Nations in the Balance* (New York: Praeger, 1965), pp. 120–39.
6. *See especially* Stanley Hoffmann, "In Search of a Thread: The UN in the Congo Labyrinth", *Africa and International Organization*, vol. 16, no. 2 (Spring, 1962), pp. 331–61, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705388
7. Madeleine G. Kalb, *The Congo Cables: The Cold War in Africa—From Eisenhower to Kennedy* (New York: Macmillan, 1982).
8. Jackson, "Negative Sovereignty in Sub-Saharan Africa".
9. Jonah, "The Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Secretariat".
10. Toyin Falola, *Key Events in African History: A Reference Guide* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2002), p. 243.
11. The first group of United Nations military observers arrived in the mission area on 24 January 1949 to supervise the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. These observers, under the

command of the military adviser appointed by the UN Secretary General, formed the nucleus of the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan. *See* http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unmogip

12. UNTSO's activities have been and still are spread over territory within five states, and therefore it has relations with five host countries—Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Syrian Arab Republic. *See* http://untso.unmissions.org
13. *See also* Centre for Conflict Resolution, "The African Union: Regional and Global Challenges", seminar report (August 2016), http://www.ccr.org.za
14. *See* "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, Fact Sheet", 2016, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/bnote0416.pdf
15. *See* "United Nations Development Programme, Our Projects", 2016, http://open.undp.org/#2016/filter/region-RBA
16. Henry Anyidoho, "A Tale of Two Tragedies: Rwanda and Darfur", in Adekeye Adebajo and Helen Scanlon (eds), *A Dialogue of the Deaf: Essays on Africa and the United Nations* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2006), p. 154.

CHAPTER 17

# Africa and the International Criminal Court

*Dan Kuwali*

In January 2017, the African Union (AU) Assembly of Heads of States and Government (AU Assembly) adopted a strategy calling for a collective withdrawal from the International Criminal Court (ICC) preceding the declarations by three African countries—Burundi, Kenya, and initially South Africa—signalling their withdrawal from the Rome Statute of the ICC. Earlier in 2014, AU leaders had adopted an additional provision, termed as Article 46A *bis* of the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights (the African Court) in order to circumvent the perceived "Africanisation" of the ICC by expanding the jurisdiction of the Court while exempting leaders and officials from its jurisdiction. These steps have exacerbated the ICC's turbulent relationship with most African leaders. From the perspective of the three states as noted, there is a need for rapproachement to avoid irretrievable breakdown of the relationship and the continued fight by all parties against crimes committed with impunity. To avoid any perception of the "Africanisation" of its prosecutions, the ICC must extricate itself from the entanglements of global power politics and demonstrate its independence and focus beyond Africa. In the pursuit of positive complementarity, the ICC should assist African states in strengthening their domestic jurisdictions to prosecute perpetrators of international crimes in national courts. Justice delivered where the evidence is, and where the witnesses and victims reside, may have a cathartic effect in efforts by

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_17

states of promoting healing and post-conflict reconciliation more effectively than justice that is delivered farther away in The Hague. African leaders, on their part, in planning a mass withdrawal from the ICC and exempting state officials from prosecution, have lost the plot of ending impunity on the continent as set out in Article 4 of the AU Constitutive Act. The AU Assembly ought to realise that preventing mass atrocities is more worthwhile than penalising perpetrators after egregious crimes have been committed. To prevent such crimes, factors of restructuring the political and economic empowerment of certain disadvantaged classes or groups of people on the continent, as well as cultural issues, must be addressed. If they are not, mass atrocities will remain a commonplace on the continent. Instead of focusing on prosecution as curative medicine for an injury that has already occurred, African leaders should address the urgent problems that spark the conflicts that lead to the crimes for which they have exempted themselves from prosecution.

This chapter explores the seemingly turbulent relationship between the International Criminal Court and the African Union in order to reconcile the two institutions in the interest of the victims. The discussion examines the criticisms levelled against the Court in the exercise of its mandate in Africa and attempts to provide the way forward to normalise its relationship with the continent and thus enable it to continue the fight against impunity and secure the provision of reparations for victims of mass atrocities in Africa. This discussion, presented from the victims' perspective, is divided in four main parts. The first part assesses the arguments for, and against, the ICC in order to set the record straight as regard to the Court's exercising of its mandate in Africa. The second part interrogates the rationale of the AU's position in relation to the ICC to determine the real problem in this fractious relationship. The third part addresses some daunting questions in the relationship between the Court and African states concerning protection of victims, positive complementarity, independence of the Court, immunity of officials of non-state parties, and reparations for victims. The conclusion provides recommendations for the prevention of atrocities on the continent.

## Debunking the "Africanisation" of the International Criminal Court

The ICC's actions have provoked debates over the Court's potential impact, its perceived prioritisation of Africa while seemingly ignoring other continents, its selection of cases, and the potential effect of prosecutions on peace processes in Africa. Generally, five sets of arguments have been levelled against the ICC. First is the perception of selectivity in the ICC Prosecutor's choice of cases, which has disproportionately focused on Africa.[1] As of early 2017, the ICC has 18 cases on its docket, with eight cases under investigation in the Court[2] and all of these cases relates to African countries all of the 32 individuals who have so far been indicted by the ICC are African.[3] Hence it has been argued that the ICC is a Western tool designed to subjugate African leaders on the continent while advancing an imperialist agenda.[4]

Others argue that the Prosecutor has limited investigative powers in Africa because of geopolitical pressures, either to avoid confrontation with major powers or to find an easy target or "soft landing" on the continent.[5] The ICC has been accused of turning a blind eye to crimes in other parts of the world such as Chechnya, Palestine, Sri Lanka, and Syria, thereby making Africans such soft targets.[6] William Schabas has questioned the rationale of prosecuting post-election violence in Kenya, or recruitment of child soldiers in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), "but not murder and torture of prisoners in Iraq or illegal settlements in the West Bank".[7] Such seemingly selective justice has led a former AU chairperson, Ethiopia's prime minister Hailemariam Desalegn, to proclaim that the ICC has degenerated from fighting impunity to "race hunting".[8] This "Africanisation" of ICC prosecution has also led Mahmood Mamdani to assert that "[i]ts name notwithstanding, the ICC is rapidly turning into a Western court to try African crimes".[9] The Court's focus on the continent also portrays Africa as "the theatre of ICC crimes".[10]

Second, critics claim that the Court potentially jeopardises political settlements that may keep the peace in the pursuit of justice, as has been the case in the Darfur region of Sudan, and recently in Kenya. For example, despite the concerns raised by the AU, the pre-trial chamber of the ICC proceeded to issue an arrest warrant for the Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir in March 2009, a move that was openly condemned by the AU. The third critique relates to the ICC Prosecutor's selection of cases, which tends to reaffirm the notion of victor's justice, as noted with the political situation of Côte d'Ivoire, where the vanquished presidential contender, Laurent Gbagbo, is now in the custody of the Court, while the victor in the violent aftermath of the 2010 national poll there, Alassane Ouatarra, remains free despite his fighters also being involved in committing atrocities in the country. Similarly, in Uganda, the DRC, the Central Africa Republic (CAR), and Libya, the Prosecutor has focused on alleged abuses by rebel fighters to the exclusion of those reportedly committed by government troops.[11] In Kenya, the ICC did not pursue the protagonists in the elections, Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odiga, but instead chose to prosecute Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, who were then protégés of Kibaki and Odinga respectively. The fourth problem is whether prosecuting suspects in The Hague can deter potential perpetrators in Africa from committing crimes with impunity.

The fifth and final concern regards the speed and credibility of ICC indictments in Africa. The question is whether the ICC can rigorously investigate and prosecute perpetrators of crimes, or whether it is just a political tool of the United Nations (UN) Security Council. Although Gambian scholar-diplomat Fatou Bensouda, an international criminal law expert and legal adviser to former Gambian president Yahya Jammeh who was elected as ICC Prosecutor in December 2011 has been methodical and strategic in her approach, the ICC faces an unsustainable workload given its shoe-string resources. According to Phil Clark, "[t]o mount the type of detailed and forensic investigations required and to sustain effective witness protection programmes, the court needs more money and more legal and investigative expertise".[12] With countries such as the United States (USA), China, Russia, and India not being members of the Court, the ICC is "critically dependent on the cash-strapped economies of Europe and Japan".[13] The Court's "proceedings are interminable and expensive", and yet, with the recent global economic downturn of 2014 and 2015, and given the snail's pace of ICC prosecutions, the main financiers of the Court cannot be eager to increase contributions to the Court's roughly $100 million annual budget.[14] By way of example, the ICC's annual budget just for investigating crimes is close to double the entire annual budget of the AU, which was $417 million in 2016.[15] The fact that the ICC Prosecutor has secured only one conviction since the Court's establishment in 2001 makes it questionable as to whether symbolic prosecution of a handful of the most visible renegades is really worth the cost.

Still, human rights advocates and victims have commended the investigations and prosecutions conducted by the ICC in Africa as a crucial step against impunity on the continent. Supporters also contend that national legal systems in Africa are particularly weak, which has allowed the ICC to assert its jurisdiction under the principle of complementarity. Former UN Secretary General and Ghanaian scholar-diplomat Kofi Annan holds a similar view, noting that "it is the culture of impunity, not African countries, which are the target" because the ICC "is a court of last resort".[16] As to why the ICC has focused only on rebels and not government troops, ICC supporters have responded that the Prosecutor is mandated to focus on cases of a particularly serious nature, and that for these cases the investigations are still ongoing. Supporters of the Court maintain that most investigations have so far been determined by referrals, either from African states themselves or from the UN Security Council, and that the Prosecutor is also assessing situations outside of Africa.[17] The Office of the ICC Prosecutor maintains that its choice of cases is based on the relative gravity of abuses, and that crimes committed in Africa are among the world's most serious offences.[18]

## Circumventing the "Africanisation" of the International Criminal Court

Following concerns over perceived selectivity of the ICC in Africa, on 12 October 2016 the parliament in Burundi adopted—in a vote overwhelmingly in favour of—a law on the withdrawal of the country from the Rome Statute. On 19 October 2016, the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), signed an "instrument of withdrawal", which has since been declared irregular by the country's Constitutional Court. On 26 October 2016, Gambia also declared its withdrawal from the ICC.[19] At the AU summit of January 2017, the AU Assembly adopted a strategy calling for a collective withdrawal from the ICC. The non-binding decision recommends that African countries strengthen their own judicial mechanisms and expand the jurisdiction of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights "in order to reduce the deference to the ICC".[20]

This follows an attempt made in June 2014 to circumvent the "Africanisation" of the ICC, when the AU Assembly surreptitiously adopted Article 46A *bis* of the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights to expand the jurisdiction of the African Court in order "to stop legal and judicial activism of overzealous young investigating magistrates in Europe from indicting African heads of state and government officials".[21] Among other provisions are the Protocol on Amendments containing Article 46A *bis* that effectively shields African leaders and senior government officials accused of committing serious human rights violations from criminal prosecution before the proposed African Court.[22] The immunity clause raises serious doubts about the potential efficacy of the continental court and its leaders' commitment to ending impunity and ensuring justice for the victims of atrocities on the continent.

The AU has justified its adoption of the immunity provision under Article 46A *bis* as a "compromise" reached to allow government officials to attend fully to their responsibilities while in office.[23] Also in support of the immunity provision is the argument that guaranteeing immunity for leaders and senior officials might foster greater cooperation between African states and the African Court and thereby ensure compliance of its rulings. Others indicate that Article 46A *bis* seeks to rectify the position in international law that heads of state and top government officials have functional immunity for acts committed while in office.[24] If this is the case, then there is no way that Article 46A *bis* can be a deterrent to leaders who have a propensity to commit atrocities against their citizens.[25] It should be noted that under international law, former heads of state do not have immunity for non-official functions when it comes to liability for serious crimes including genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. This view derives from the *Pinochet* case, wherein the courts decided that commission of atrocity crimes such as torture cannot be said to be a state function warranting functional immunity.[26]

By granting immunity for heads of state and high-level government officials in the African Court, the AU Assembly has taken a step backwards in ending impunity on the continent. If this retrogressive provision comes into force, the survivors and victims of atrocities will have no option but to seek justice and reparation from elsewhere—in this case the ICC, which still has jurisdiction to try perpetrators of mass atrocities, regardless of official position—thereby defeating the principle of "African solutions to African problems".[27] Fortunately, although the Protocol on Amendments has been adopted, it is not yet in force. This is owing to Article 9 of the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court, requiring that the Protocol on Amendments be ratified by at least 15 AU member states for it to come into force.[28] If past delays in African states' ratifying of international instruments are instructive, there is still a long way to go before the immunity provision comes into play.[29] Meanwhile, African leaders who commit atrocities should remember that there is still no immunity for them beyond the continent.[30]

## Failure to Pursue Non-African Cases

The central problem for the ICC is not the pursuit of African cases, but rather the Court's failure to pursue non-African cases. Although the claim that the ICC unfairly targets Africa and serve the political interests of global powers is not baseless, the ICC's focus on Africa is also, to a large extent, a result of requests (self-referrals) by African states. Out of the ninety-eight cases that the ICC is investigating as of April 2017, four were initiated upon the request of the countries concerned—Uganda, the DRC, CAR, and Mali; while two—Libya and Darfur—were launched based on the referral of the UN Security Council; the other two—Kenya and Côte d'Ivoire—arose from the ICC Prosecutor's own initiative, termed as *proprio motu* powers.[31] In Kenya, for example, when the question of addressing the post-electoral violence of late 2007 and early 2008, and bringing the perpetrators to justice, was brought up in parliament, legislators rallied behind their suspected colleagues with the slogan "Don't' be vague, say The Hague!", thereby frustrating the establishment of an independent, limited-term tribunal to try the suspects locally.[32]

At that time, the former Kenyan government had tabled a bill to set up a local tribunal on three occasions, but each time the legislators had rejected the proposal.[33] It is reported that the aforementioned William Ruto himself was at the forefront advocating for ICC prosecutions, arguing that these cases would be better tried in The Hague, as it would take 40 years for the ICC to conclude such a case.[34] For Côte d'Ivoire, the government willingly accepted the ICC's jurisdiction before becoming a state party to the Rome Statute, in order to allow the ICC Prosecutor to commence a case in the country.[35] Given that African states and the UN Security Council have referred the majority of the cases before the ICC, the most valid concern regarding the Court's perceived bias against Africa is its non-pursuit of situations and cases from other continents, rather than its pursuit of Africans.[36]

The critique that the ICC is a tool of Western imperialism and a neocolonial project hunting down Africans not only is insensitive to the plight of the victims but also undermines the support and commitment that the vast majority of African states have demonstrated by ratifying or signing the Rome Statute, the founding treaty of the ICC.[37] African countries were also actively involved in the negotiations of the Rome Statute and the establishment of the ICC. Forty-seven African states were present for the drafting of the Rome Statute at the Rome Conference in July 1998.[38] Many of these countries were members of the Like-Minded Group that supported the adoption of the Rome Statute.[39] The vast majority of African states voted in favour of adopting the Rome Statute and establishing the ICC.[40] The first country in the world to ratify the Rome Statute, Senegal, is an African state.[41] Another African state, the DRC, was the 60th state to ratify the Rome Statute, thereby allowing it to enter into force. As of early

2017, 34 African states have ratified the Rome Statute, making Africa the most widely represented region.[42]

There is also a considerable representation of Africans in the Court's judicial division, the Registry and the Office of the Prosecutor, with Gambian jurist Fatou Bensouda being the Chief Prosecutor.[43] Bensouda herself has contended that "[w]e say that the ICC is targeting Africans, but all of the victims in our cases in Africa are African victims".[44] To put the record straight, it is not just the ICC that is in Africa; eight of the 18 existing UN peace support operations are deployed in Africa.[45] This is underscored by the fact that 60% of the deliberations of the UN Security Council focus on Africa.[46] Also, all the six countries currently on the UN Peacebuilding Commission's agenda are African.[47] It is correct to say that the ICC focuses on Africa because there have been mass atrocities on the continent. From the victims' perspective, therefore, if African leaders do not want the ICC in Africa, they should consider not committing, and not tolerating, atrocities.

## From Competition to Cooperation: Ending Africanisation, Promoting Cooperation

The animosity directed towards the ICC by the AU is partly incited by the UN Security Council's refusing of considering deferring the indictment of Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir pursuant to its powers under Article 16 of the Rome Statute.[48] The official position of the AU is to not cooperate with the ICC in the arrest and surrender of President al-Bashir.[49] The AU has also rejected the request by the ICC to establish a liaison office at the AU headquarters in Addis Ababa.[50] The AU is concerned—and rightly so—that the ICC intervenes only in Africa, while similar mass atrocities have also been committed on other continents.[51] Former AU Chairperson Jean Ping narrated the AU's position like this: "[W]e support the fight against impunity; we cannot let crime perpetrators go unpunished. But we say that peace and justice should not collide, that the need for justice should not override the need for peace."[52]

The Kenyan situation reignited the criticisms of the ICC as a "neocolonialist" institution biased against Africa, exacerbating the already troubled relationship between the continent and the ICC. In May 2013, the Kenyan government successfully lobbied other AU member states to adopt a resolution calling for the cases that involved Kenyatta and Ruto to be referred to Kenya and to be dealt with locally, rather than being left to the ICC. The

AU subsequently passed a resolution insisting that the ICC was unfairly targeting African states.[53] The resolution was supported by all AU member states except Botswana, which was the lone dissenting voice. Botswana's ambassador to Kenya, John Moreti, remarked that his country's decision had nothing to do with its position towards Kenya's leadership, and that Botswana had "no problem with the Court" such that any dislike of the Prosecutor should not amount to dislike for the Court itself.[54] The resolution also regrets that the AU's request to defer the al-Bashir case was ignored by the Security Council.[55] In the resolution, the AU stressed the need for "international justice to be conducted in a transparent and fair manner, in order to avoid any perception of double standards", and also expressed concern at the threat that the indictments of Kenyatta and Ruto may pose to the ongoing efforts in the promotion of peace, national healing, and reconciliation, as well as the rule of law and stability in Kenya and the East African region.[56]

On 5 September 2013, Kenya's parliament voted in favour of withdrawing from the ICC, thereby sharpening lines of confrontation between African governments and the Court.[57] According to Article 126 of the Rome Statute, a state party may withdraw from the Statute if supported by written notification to the UN Secretary General. Such a withdrawal can only take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification, or a later date that the notification may specify. Even if Kenya's president had assented to the bill to repeal the country's International Crimes Act and withdraw from the ICC, the withdrawal would have had no bearing on the cases against Kenyatta and Ruto since it would have had no retrospective effect on those proceedings before the ICC. Luckily for them, the cases against Kenyatta and Ruto collapsed in the ICC mainly due to witnesses recanting their testimonies.[58] Otherwise, there was a danger that if they had not cooperated, ICC judges may have decided to issue arrest warrants against them. That said, the long and short of the planned mass withdrawal of African countries from the ICC may lead to the irretrievable breakdown of the relationship between the ICC and the continent.[59] Such a move will be a blow on the victims and an escape route for perpetrators in the fight against impunity.

From the victims' perspective, it is imperative for AU member states to cooperate fully with the ICC as provided for under Article 86 of the Rome Statute in order to sustain the fight against impunity in Africa. However, the ICC does not have its own police, military, or law enforcement agents, and relies heavily on the assistance and cooperation of the states that have ratified the Rome Statute in order to discharge its mandate effectively. Given such myriad procedural and substantive challenges, the ICC must work through the states in conducting investigations, obtaining evidence, and apprehending suspects. As the al-Bashir case has shown, this forces the Court to rely entirely on the cooperation of relevant states in order to function, which can delay the prosecution of suspects and thereby delay justice.[60]

Since peace and justice are not mutually exclusive but complementary, the issue is not to achieve peace at the expense of justice, but to aim for the attainment of both peace and justice.[61] Although the Rome Statute provides for reparations for victims, a rigid focus on accountability for perpetrators risks ignoring the plight of victims for reparations. The primary goal of criminal prosecution is to apportion blame and punish the guilty. Criminal prosecutions are not generally designed to address or alleviate the underlying sociopolitical problems that lead to mass atrocity crimes such as "ethnic distrust, corruption, marginalization of ethnic groups and inequitable allocation of a nation's resources".[62] Al-Bashir may be prosecuted on the basis of bearing the most responsibility, but "violence created by underlying social problems and perpetrated by several citizens with varying degrees of culpability cannot be addressed by criminal prosecution designed to address individual misconduct, especially in cases where the causes of deviant conduct reside not at the individual level but at the communal level".[63] The UN Security Council should therefore seriously take heed of the concerns of African states to ensure their cooperation in the ICC's operations on the continent.

### *Prioritise Reparations to Victims and Witness Protection*

Article 68 of the Rome Statute requires the Court to "take appropriate measures to protect the safety, physical and psychological well-being, dignity and privacy of victims and witnesses". However, one of the main problems with the ICC's witness protection programme is that it relies on local partners to carry out protection measures. In the Kenya cases for example, the issue of witness protection was a challenge, especially where the identity of witnesses was revealed long before the Court started investigating the cases. Since Kenyatta and Ruto came to power in the Jubilee Alliance in the March 2013 elections in Kenya, two witnesses disappeared, while at least 20 witnesses in the Kenyatta case and the Ruto case recanted their testimonies.[64] "Witness no. 4" is the most glaring example, whose withdrawal by the ICC prosecution triggered the collapse of the case against Francis

Muthaura.[65] Unfortunately, this scenario militated against the cases being referred back to Kenya, where the witness protection agencies are accountable to the suspects, making it extremely unlikely that the necessary testimonies would have been obtained. The critical difference between Kenya and the other situations handled by the ICC is that in the case of Kenya, the Court was prosecuting those who were in power—the president and his deputy.[66] From the victims' perspective, the victims' and witnesses' unit of the ICC should prioritise appropriate protective measures, security arrangements, counselling, and assistance to ensure adequate protection of victims and witnesses, especially in cases where the incumbents are the suspects.

### *Adopt a Positive Complementarity*

Although the AU has adopted Article 46 *bis* to circumvent the challenge of "Africanisation" of the ICC, the legal solution is problematic itself. First, Article 46A *bis* is a departure from, in stark contrast to and inconsistent with, international law, which allow international courts to lift immunity from sitting heads of state and senior officials to uphold the principle of equality before the law.[67] Second, Article 46A *bis* creates a sphere of impunity that denies justice to victims. Penetration of the veil of immunity to prosecute government officials is key to ensuring justice and accountability for serious crimes under international law. The immunity conferred by Article 46A *bis* insulates from prosecution those most responsible for international crimes, as well as those in the best position to prevent them.[68] History teaches that crimes from which the leaders and government officials are exempted are usually committed at the hand of the state or by those who wield state-like power.[69] This begs the difficult question of who will try the perpetrators of these crimes. It explains why irrelevance of official capacity is key to ensure accountability for mass atrocities. Insulating state-sponsored perpetrators from prosecution for as long as they retain power is a step backwards in the fight against impunity, and a betrayal of the victims of atrocity crimes. Third, Article 46A *bis* is antithetical to the spirit of the AU's Constitutive Act and other national constitutions. Granting immunity to sitting heads of state and senior government officials for mass atrocities runs against the spirit of the AU's Constitutive Act, particularly Article 4(o), which proclaims the AU's commitment to respect the sanctity of human life and condemns and rejects impunity, and Article 4(h), which asserts the continental body's right to intervene in a member state with respect to genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.[70]

According to Article 17 of the Rome Statute, the jurisdiction of the ICC is subordinate or complementary to that of national courts. This is supported by the preamble of the Rome Statute, which recognises "the duty of every State to exercise its criminal jurisdiction over those responsible for international crimes".[71] It should be borne in mind that the decision by the UN Security Council to refer the situation in Darfur to the ICC was based on the apparent culture of impunity in Sudan despite the evidence of the commission of mass atrocities there.[72] Thus, in accordance with the Rome Statute and pursuant to the principle of complementarity, the ICC would not have interfered if Sudan had shown willingness or ability to genuinely prosecute the suspects.[73] As for Libya, which was referred to the ICC by the UN Security Council on 18 July 2013, the appeals chamber of the ICC rejected the Libyan authorities' request to suspend the surrender of Saif al-Islam Qaddafi and reiterated that Libya is currently obliged to surrender Qaddafi, who is under the custody of the Libyan authorities, to the ICC.[74] The ICC appeals chamber was not convinced by the reasons provided as to why the surrender of Qaddafi to the Court would create, for the Libyan authorities, an irreversible situation or one that would be too complex to correct.[75] The very premise of complementarity allows African states to demand that the ICC defer to domestic courts the jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute international crimes.

From a victims' perspective, the choice is for a state to be able and willing to genuinely prosecute its own citizens lest, failing of doing so, they be tried in The Hague at the ICC. The distance of the trial from the crime location denies victims the opportunity to see first-hand the justice being done in their name and also limits the number of witnesses who could be called before the Court, which compromises the quality of evidence.[76] Instead of weakening states and undermining sovereignty, the ICC regime therefore should help to strengthen the domestic jurisdiction of African countries to be able and willing to genuinely prosecute their own—positive complementarity—insofar as the ultimate goal is to end impunity and provide reparations for victims.[77] This explains why Principle Three of the Cairo-Arusha Principles on Universal Jurisdiction require states to adopt measures, including legislative and administrative, that will ensure that their national courts can exercise universal jurisdiction over gross human rights offences, including, but not limited to, those contained in the Rome Statute.[78]

Also from a victims' perspective, it can be argued that justice delivered where the crime was committed, and where the witnesses and victims reside, has a cathartic effect, promoting healing and post-conflict reconciliation more effectively than justice delivered in the remote confines of the Court's European dock.[79] This view resonated with the initial announcement by the judges of the ICC on 3 June 2013 that the Court would hold parts of the trial of Ruto's case in Kenya or Tanzania.[80] It is therefore recommended that African states should review their laws and policies to make provision for the arrest, extradition, and prosecution of suspected perpetrators of mass atrocities. Phil Clark also endorses this view, arguing that "a new donor focus on supporting domestic judiciaries around the world might not only make financial sense but also deliver more tangible benefits to victims and societies recovering from mass conflict".[81] Through concerted efforts to facilitate the extradition and trial of perpetrators of mass atrocities, African states will be able to take positive steps towards ending the culture of impunity that has plagued Africa, and thereby force the ICC to focus elsewhere.

### *Resolve the Question of Immunity of Heads of State of a Non-State Party*

The question of immunity is central to the prosecution of heads of state and government such as President al-Bashir. It is generally accepted that under international law, incumbent heads of state and government are immune from the jurisdiction of other states.[82] Article 27 of the Rome Statute provides that neither the immunity of a head of state nor the official position of a suspect can bar the ICC from exercising its jurisdiction. One interpretation of Article 27 of the Rome Statute is, therefore, a departure from customary international law on the immunity of heads of state and government, which provides that a head of state does in fact have immunity, including personal inviolability, special protection for his or her dignity, immunity from criminal and civil jurisdiction, and immunity from arrest and prosecution in a foreign state on charges concerning all crimes, including international crimes. Nonetheless, Article 98 of the Rome Statute appears to conflict with Article 27 by providing that the ICC may not request cooperation on or surrender of a suspect from a state where that would require the state to act inconsistently with its obligations under international law with respect to the state or diplomatic immunity of a person or property of a third state, unless the ICC can first obtain the cooperation of that third state for the waiver of the immunity. The United States has capitalised on this provision of Article 98 by engaging in bilateral agreements with several states that are parties to the Rome Statute to explicitly waive their right to prosecute or surrender USA citizens to the ICC.[83]

It can be argued that by virtue of becoming members of the Rome Statute, state parties have waived the immunity of their own heads of state and senior state officials, or have deemed to have consented to the condition that they do not have immunity.[84] If this reasoning is sound, then for state parties, Article 98 of the Rome Statute does not apply, and there is no immunity before the ICC for their government officials. As seen in the al-Bashir case, this is the difficulty that arises in the case of a serving head of state of a non-state party as to whether they can be prosecuted by the ICC. An argument can be made that in such a situation, like Sudan, it is irrelevant that the country is not a party to the Rome Statute, because the Sudan case was referred to the Court by the UN Security Council through a resolution made under Chapter VII, which is binding on all UN member states.[85]

Given these ambiguous and seemingly contradictory provisions (Articles 27 and 98) in the Rome Statute, the AU Assembly requested the AU Commission to consider whether it would be possible to request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the question of immunity in such cases.[86] The *Arrest Warrants* case and the *Tachiona* case dealt with criminal prosecution and civil suit, respectively, in a national or domestic court, not an international court such as the ICC. The crimes under the jurisdiction of the ICC are serious crimes under international law—“crimes against all nations” (*delicta juris gentium*)—and the perpetrators of such crimes are “enemies of mankind” (*hostis humani generis*).[87] International crimes constitute compelling obligations owed by a state to the entire international community, in contrast to purely bilateral obligations of states between or among themselves.[88] It is therefore possible to argue that “the prohibitions of genocide, crimes against humanity and serious war crimes, all clearly fall within the category of *jus cogens* rules” (peremptory norms).[89] Such international crimes are subject to extra-territorial jurisdiction because each state is deemed to have a common interest in the international legal and social order and in international peace and security.[90] Where public officials perpetrate those international crimes, the arguments for upholding immunity can be weaker, while those for accountability can be compelling. Where the UN Security Council has referred the case to the ICC under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, it will be even more difficult to plead immunity before the ICC.[91] Moreover, UN Security Council Resolution 1593 require that all member states cooperate fully with the ICC, and that the government of Sudan should not only cooperate fully with the Court but also provide any necessary assistance to the Court and the Prosecutor.[92]

### *Practise More Law, Less Politics*

The ICC affirms that it is independent of political influences and that it operates strictly within the mandate and legal framework created by the Rome Statute. However, the seemingly selective application of ICC processes outlined earlier seems to erode the independence of the Court and present it as a political tool of powerful states. The ICC does not operate in a vacuum but rather within the comity of states and political institutions, and in such a manner that it is not immune to political influence. With reference to the al-Bashir case, Mahmood Mamdani has aptly analysed the tension between the ICC and African leaders: “More than the innocence or guilt of the president of Sudan, it is the relationship between law and politics—including the politicization of the ICC—that poses a wider issue, one of greatest concern to African governments and its peoples.”[93] According to William Schabas, the root of the problem is not the ICC’s obsession with Africa but rather its shift from independence shown in its formative stages towards dependence on the UN Security Council and the great powers (the USA, France, and Germany).[94] Despite being an independent court, the ICC has increasingly tethered itself to the UN Security Council at the expense of state parties to the Rome Statute.

The ICC is politically answerable to the UN Security Council, which is politically controlled by its five permanent members (P5), which have the critical power of veto: Britain, China, France, Russia, and the United States. Yet the USA, which is a lead member of the Security Council, is not a member of the ICC. The same is the case with Russia and China. Thus a few members of the Security Council that are not members of the ICC seek to hold accountable the rest of those states—including 34 African states—that have ceded a degree of sovereignty in signing and ratifying the Rome Statute. The Security Council comes into the picture of the Court by virtue of the powers of deferral of cases to the ICC conferred to the Court under Article 16 of the Rome Statute. The other connection is that crimes under the jurisdiction of the ICC are usually threats to peace and security that invariably register on the radar of the UN Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

The nature and structure of international politics is such that the application of international justice usually reflects the distribution of power within the international community.[95] Therefore it cannot be denied that the ICC is unlikely to indict a suspect from any of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, no matter the gravity or scale of the crimes the country in question may commit.[96] Neither can it be concealed that the ICC is a court whose proceedings are unduly influenced by political considerations, given the speed with which the Security Council referred the Libyan case to the ICC and the expedited reaction of the ICC Prosecutor to open investigations.[97] Thus, questions of the ICC's credibility will continue as long as some of the world's most powerful countries stand outside its jurisdiction. Kofi Annan has questioned the "sort of leadership … that absolves the powerful from the rules they apply to the weak" and demanded that those who seek global leadership should accept the duty of promoting global values.[98] The rule of law requires that the rules should apply to all equally, including those who make them.[99] From the victims' perspective, if the ICC continues to be seen as a pawn in a major powers' chess game, its credibility will dwindle, Africa's support for the Court will wane, and cooperation by African states will falter.[100]

## Conclusion: Prevention Is Better Than Penalisation

The fact that the UN Security Council has referred to the ICC some cases—Libya and Darfur—but not others, such as Sri Lanka and Syria, tends to support the suggestion that the Court is biased against Africa.[101] The lingering question concerns why all prosecutions at the ICC involve Africans. If the jurisdiction of the ICC is complementary, does it really mean that there are no competent courts on the continent to try those African suspects? There can be no better explanation of the urgent need for African states to create effective enforcement machinery for stopping, preventing, and punishing perpetrators of crimes as stipulated in Article 5 of the Rome Statute, like the South American countries have.[102] The credibility and legitimacy of the ICC hinge on whether, and to what extent, it emancipates itself from the entanglements of global power politics and demonstrate its independence and focus beyond Africa.

While it is abundantly clear that African leaders are not representing the voices of the continent's victims, it is imperative that the ICC should rethink its approach regarding its relationship with African states. This will require a politically conscientious adaptation of strategies manifesting independence, especially regarding the Court's evolving relationships with the UN Security Council. Although not explicitly provided for in the Rome Statute, the ICC also needs to demonstrate genuine support for the principle of complementarity by assisting states in building national mechanisms to foster accountability for perpetrators of international crimes in domestic courts—positive complementarity.[103]

The negative perception of the ICC in Africa has been exacerbated by insufficient efforts by the Court to clarify the rationale for focusing on African situations but not on situations of apparently equal culpability elsewhere. The previous Chief Prosecutor of the ICC (2003–12), Luis Moreno Ocampo, was accused of being egotistical and prejudiced against Africa. He exacerbated these accusations levelled against him by not communicating his prosecutorial strategy to Africans, leading the AU to conclude that the ICC was handing out "Ocampo's justice" on the continent.[104] So far, since the election of Fatou Bensouda, an African woman, as the ICC Chief Prosecutor, in June 2012, the "Bensouda effect" is yet to erode the acrimony between the ICC and the AU. To move forward, and in the interest of the victims, the AU should support the ICC in the exercise of its mandate by allowing it to open an African liaison office at AU headquarters in Addis Ababa. Such an office may help to demystify the Court's work in the continent and also keep open the lines of communication between the ICC and the AU.

Millions of Africans have been victims of unimaginable atrocities in several intractable conflicts in the continent: war crimes, crimes against humanity, and even genocide against them by their own leaders. By attempting to punish those responsible for these crimes, the ICC is standing up for African victims and attempting to prevent the future occurrence of atrocities. The ICC seeks justice for victims of grave crimes, including African victims. Victims are "persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights".[105] Although African leaders have vehemently challenged the ICC, they have made little or no mention of the interest of victims of the violence, or the citizens of the affected states, in their public arguments against the Court. Ignored in the politico-legal quagmire of the ICC and the AU is the plight of millions of victims in Africa. Seen through the victims' eyes, the AU's position does not acknowledge their concerns nor especially the urgent need for reparations. It is imperative that the AU show sensitivity to the provision of justice for the victims.[106]

For the victims to obtain reparations under the ICC framework, this requires a suspect's conviction under Article 75 of the Rome Statute. As noted in the case against Thomas Lubanga Dyilo of the DRC, given the speed at which the wheels of international criminal justice grind at the ICC, it may take ages for the victims to obtain the necessary recourse to redress their suffering.[107] The unjustifiable length of a case delays justice for the victims, weakens the societal impact of the case, and increases the financial costs.[108]

Impunity arises not just from failure by states to investigate violations and prosecute and punish perpetrators, but also from failure to provide victims with effective remedies and reparation for the injuries suffered and to take steps to prevent any recurrence of such violations.[109] Since the right of the victims to reparations cannot be compromised, the default position of those fighting impunity should be not only accountability of the perpetrators but also justice for the victims in terms of reparations. In essence, prosecutorial measures should be pursued alongside other transitional justice mechanisms to make the justice process comprehensive.[110]

Thus, the international responsibility of a subject of law can be invoked only when no domestic remedy is available or if domestic remedies have been exhausted or are inadequate.[111] African leaders, at both the national and the regional level, should prioritise the needs of victims of grave international crimes. States should also provide international legal machinery to enforce the rights of victim reparations to facilitate efforts to find and seize the assets of transgressing parties and their leaders.[112] Borrowing Kofi Annan's words, "the eyes of the victims of past crimes, and of the potential victims of future ones, are fixed firmly upon [reparations]".[113]

However, prevention of mass atrocities is more worthwhile than penalisation of perpetrators after the victims have already been brutalised. Therefore, more attention should continue to be paid to the factors that trigger the crimes in the first place. The wholesale adoption of Western models of justice may not work in Africa given the prevailing social, political, and cultural realities in the continent.[114] In Africa, the root of all atrocities that lead to crimes under the jurisdiction of the ICC is political—not judicial—in nature. Therefore, the solution requires political means and not judicial mechanisms. The Sudan and Kenyan cases help to illustrate this scenario wherein the real problem is not that the cases were taken to the ICC instead of national courts, but rather the attempt to solve political problems through judicial means. The inadequacy of criminal proceedings is that they are designed to declare one side guilty and another innocent, which can be problematic in an internal conflict where neither side is wholly innocent or entirely guilty, as the perpetrators may also be the victims, as was the case in the post-electoral violence in Kenya.[115] The UN Security Council should take into account this inadequacy of criminal prosecutions in addressing political problems and consider the concerns of the African states from that angle.

Apart from the crime of aggression, all the crimes under the jurisdiction of the ICC border are on discrimination, including ethnic rivalry and political exclusion. Therefore, unless the political, socioeconomic, and cultural issues are addressed by empowering the disadvantaged classes or groups of people, the ICC will not be able to provide a lasting solution to the mass atrocity crimes on the continent. As Okechukwu Oko has poignantly pointed out, addressing the challenge of atrocities in Africa requires addressing the idiosyncratic environmental factors that animate violence, as well as recognition that criminal prosecutions cannot address the social pathologies that have disfigured Africa.[116] While helpful and complementary, the ICC alone may not the best tool to deter and put an end to the commission of mass atrocities on the continent, which it has set out to do. As such, instead of focusing on criminal prosecution as curative medicine after the victims have already suffered, the international community should help Africa address the urgent political, social, and economic problems that spark the conflicts that lead to the crimes that impel the ICC to hunt for perpetrators on the continent.[117] Put simply, if African leaders do not want the ICC to pursue perpetrators of mass atrocities on the continent, they should stop committing Article 5 crimes.

## Notes

1. *See also* Max du Plessis, Tiyanjana Maluwa, and Annie O'Reilly, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", International Law no. 2013/01 (London: Chatham House, July 2013), p. 2.
2. As of April 2017, the ten are: Georgia, the Central African Republic (twice: first regarding the 2002–03 conflict, and second regarding the atrocities committed in the renewed violence starting in 2012), Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Libya, Kenya, Darfur, Sudan, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *See* International Criminal Court, "Situations and Cases", http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/situations%20and%20cases/Pages/situations%20and%20cases.aspx

3. As of April 2017, the names are: Bah Abua Garda (Sudan), Mohammed Ali (Kenya), Abdallah Banda (Sudan), Omar al-Bashir (Sudan), Jean-Pierre Bemba (CAR), Charles Blé Gonde (Côte d'Ivoire), Muammar Qaddafi (Libya), Saif al-Islam Qaddafi (Libya), Laurent Gbagbo (Côte d'Ivoire), Simone Gbagbo (Côte d'Ivoire), Ahmed Haroun (Sudan), Abdel Rahim Huseein (Sudan), Saleh Jerbo (Sudan), Germain Katanga (DRC), Uhuru Kenyatta (Kenya), Joseph Kony (Uganda), Henry Kosgey (Kenya), Ali Kushayb (Sudan), Thomas Lubanga Dyilo (DRC), Raska Lukwiya (Uganda), Ahmad al-Mahdi (Mali), Callixte Mbarushimana (DRC), Sylvestre Maducumura (DRC), Francis Muthaura (Kenya), Mathieu Ngadjolo Chui (DRC), Bosco Ntaganda (DRC), Okot Odhiambo (Uganda), Dominic Ongweni (DRC), Vincent Otti (Uganda), William Ruto (Kenya), Joshua Sang (Kenya), Abdullah Senussi (Libya). *See* ICC, "Situations and Cases".
4. Farouk Chothia, "Fatou Bensouda Is the New ICC Chief Prosecutor", 12 December 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16029121
5. *See for example* Oraib Al Rantawi, "A Step Forward or Backward?", *Bitter Lemons*, Issue number 32 (14 August 2008), http://www.bitterlemons-international.org/inside.php?id=982
6. *See also* David Bosco, "Why Is the International Criminal Court Picking Only on Africa?", *Washington Post*, 29 March 2013, http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-03-29/opinions/38117212_1_international-criminal-court-african-union-central-african-republic
7. William Schabas, *quoted in* "Ten Years In, ICC's Acquittal Rate Is Extraordinarily High", *Global Insider*, 19 March 2013, http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/12798/global-insider-ten-years-in-icc-s-acquittal-rate-is-extraordinarily-high
8. Statement made by the former chairperson of the African Union, Ethiopia's prime minister Hailemariam Desalegn During the press conference at the conclusion of the African Union summit, the chairperson of the Assembly. *See* "African Leaders Slam ICC 'Race-Hunt' in Africa", *Xinhua*, 27 May 2013, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/africa/2013-05/28/c_132412222.htm
9. Mahmood Mamdani, "Darfur, ICC, and the New Humanitarian Order", *Pambazuka News*, 17 September 2008, http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/comment/50568%20
10. Solomon Dersso, "The International Criminal Court's Africa Problem", 11 June 2013 http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/06/201369851918549.html
11. The decision to pursue DRC opposition leader Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo has provoked accusations that the ICC Prosecutor was swayed by political bias or, potentially, excessive pragmatism, since other Congolese

and CAR politicians accused of similar abuses have not been pursued to date.

12. Phil Clark, *quoted in* Patrick Smith, "Slow Progress for African Cases", *African Report*, no. 51 (June 2013), p. 27.
13. *See also* Alexis Arieff, Rhoda Margesson, Marjorie Browne, and Matthew Weed, "International Criminal Court Cases in Africa: Status and Policy Issues", Congressional Research Service, p. 9, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34665.pdf
14. "The ICC and Africa: Dim Prospects", *The Economist*, 17 February 2011, http://www.economist.com/node/18176088?utm_source=Africa+Center+for+Strategic+Studies+-+Media+Review+for+September+9%2C+2013&utm_campaign=9%2F9%2F2013&utm_medium=email
15. Max du Plessis, "Implications of the AU Decision to Give the African Court Jurisdiction over International Crimes", *Institute for Security Studies*, Paper no. 235 (28 June 2012), http://www.iss.co.za/pgcontent.php?UID=31600. *See also* Centre for Conflict Resolution, "The African Union: Regional and Global Challenges", seminar report (August 2016), p. 24, http://www.ccr.org.za
16. Kofi A. Annan, "Justice vs. Impunity", *New York Times*, 30 May 2010, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/31/opinion/31iht-edannan.html?_r=0
17. Apart from Nigeria, it is reported that the Office of the Prosecutor is currently analysing situations outside Africa, including conducting preliminary examinations in Afghanistan, Colombia, Georgia, Guinea, Honduras, and Korea. The ICC Prosecutor is also examining whether the Court has jurisdiction over the Palestinian territories and any crimes that may have occurred there since 1 July 2002. *See* ICC, Situations and Cases".
18. Arieff, Margesson, Browne, and Weed, "International Criminal Court Cases in Africa: Status and Policy Issues", p. 27.
19. *See* Solomon Dersso, "Africa's Challenge to the ICC", *Opinion Africa*, 12 November 2016, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2016/11/africa-challenge-icc-161109120331097.html
20. *See for example* Amnesty International, "Africa: Malabo Protocol: Legal and Institutional Implications of the Merged and Expanded African Court, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr01/3063/2016/en/
21. At its 23rd Ordinary Session, held on 26–27 June 2014, the AU Assembly adopted the Protocol on Amendments to the Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights. The jurisdiction of the proposed court will be broader than that of its predecessor, the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, in that it will include atrocity crimes—genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

22. Article 46A *bis* of the Protocol on Amendments provides that "no charges shall be commenced or continued before the Court against any serving [AU] Head of State or Government, or anybody acting or entitled to act in such capacity, or other senior state officials based on their functions, during their tenure of office". *See* AU Summit, "Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights", http://summits.au.int/en/23rdsummit. *See also* Betty Waitherero, "Immunities Clause at the African Court of Justice and Human Rights Is Outrageous", *Daily Nation*, 4 July 2014, http://mobile.nation.co.ke/blogs/-Heads-of-state-Immunities-clause/-/1949942/2369696/-/format/xhtml/-/7lahgiz/-/index.html
23. Mireille Affa'a-Mindzie, "Leaders Agree on Immunity for Themselves During Expansion of African Court", Global Observatory, http://theglobalobservatory.org/analysis/788-leaders-agree-immunity-expansion-african-court.html
24. Author interview with a former top official of the African Union who is familiar with the history and raison d'être of the drafting of Article 46A *bis*, Pretoria, 5 September 2014.
25. *But see* Affa'a-Mindzie, "Leaders Agree on Immunity for Themselves".
26. "Regina v. Bartle and Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis and Others Ex Parte Pinochet and Regina v. Evans and Another" (on appeal from a divisional court of the Queen's Bench Division), http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld199899/ldjudgmt/jd990324/pino2.htm
27. Waitherero, "Immunities Clause at the African Court of Justice".
28. AU, Protocol on the Statute of the African Court of Justice and Human Rights, 20, http://www.african-court.org/en/images/documents/Court/Statute%20ACJHR/ACJHR_Protocol.pdf
29. Coalition for the International Criminal Court, "A Step Towards Impunity: AU Approves Immunity for Those in Power", *Coalition Bulletin*, http://ciccglobaljustice.wordpress.com/2014/07/03/a-step-towards-impunity-for-grave-crimes-au-approves-immunity-for-those-in-power/?utm_source=CICC+Newsletters&utm_campaign=062cc04932-Coalition_Bulletin_June_2014_ENGLISH&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_68df9c5182-062cc04932-356527553
30. Dan Kuwali, "Article 46 *bis*: A Step Backward in Ending Impunity in Africa", *Kujenga Amani*, http://forums.ssrc.org/kujenga-amani/2014/09/22/article-46a-bis-a-step-backward-in-ending-impunity-in-africa
31. *See also* Coalition for the International Criminal Court, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", http://www.iccnow.org/documents/Africa_and_the_ICC.pdf

32. The pro-Hague group included the current deputy president, William Ruto, who indicated that the cases at the ICC would take as long as 40 years. The political calculation in 2009 was that a tribunal formed in Kenya would move faster than ICC. This is why the then ICC chief prosecutor, Louis Moreno Ocampo, became involved and exercised his *proprio motu* (right of initiative) to open an investigation. *See* Tom Maliti, "Acknowledgement for Those Killed, Displaced, and Maimed", *African Report* no. 51 (July 2013), p. 24.
33. Catherine Wambua-Soi, "How the ICC Became Kenya's State Enemy", *Al Jazeera*, 5 September 2013, http://blogs.aljazeera.com/blog/africa/how-icc-became-kenyas-state-enemy?utm_source=Africa+Center+for+Strategic+Studies+−+Media+Review+for+September+9%2C+2013&utm_campaign=9%2F9%2F2013&utm_medium=email
34. *See* Maliti, Acknowledgement for Those Killed, Displaced, and Maimed", p. 24.
35. ICC, "Situations and Cases".
36. du Plessis, Maluwa, and O'Reilly, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", p. 2.
37. *See* Coalition for the International Criminal Court, "A Step Towards Impunity: AU Approves Immunity for Those in Power", p. 1.
38. Coalition for the International Criminal Court, "A Step Towards Impunity: AU Approves Immunity for Those in Power", p. 1.
39. The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court was adopted at a diplomatic conference in Rome on 17 July 1998 and came into force on 1 July 2002. For the statute, *see* http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/legal%20texts%20and%20tools/official%20journal/Pages/rome%20statute.aspx
40. ICC, "The States Parties to the Rome Statute", https://www.icc-cpi.int/
41. On 14 January 1999, Senegal's national assembly authorised its national government to ratify the Rome Statute. *See* International Commission of Jurists, "Senegal: Senegal Is the First State to Ratify the International Criminal Court's Statute", http://www.icj.org/default.asp?nodeID=349&sessID=&langage=1&myPage=Legal_Documentation&id=21822
42. ICC, "The States Parties to the Rome Statute".
43. ICC, "Structure of the Court", https://www.icc-cpi.int/
44. Chothia, "Fatou Bensouda Is the New ICC Chief Prosecutor".
45. United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, fact sheet, http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/bnote0213.pdf. *See also* Stale Ulriksen and Giovanna Bono, "Conclusion: Economic and Diplomatic Tools vs. Military Might", *International Peacekeeping* 11, no. 3 (2004), p. 561.

46. CCR, "Towards a New *Pax Africana*: Making, Keeping, and Building Peace in Africa", concept paper for research seminar, 28–30 August 2013, Stellenbosch, p. 6, http://www.ccr.org.za
47. As of April 2017, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, and the Central African Republic. *See* United Nations Association in Canada, "UN Peacekeeping: From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding", http://www.unac.org/peacekeeping/en/un-peacekeeping/fact-sheets/from-peacekeeping-to-peacebuilding
48. du Plessis, Maluwa, and O'Reilly, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", p. 11.
49. African Union, 15th AU Summit, Press Release no. 104, Decisions of the 15th AU Summit, Addis Ababa (29 July 2010), p. 5, http://www.coalitionfortheicc.org/documents/pr_eng_decisions_15th_au_summit_29-07-10_REV2.pdf *See* AU, Decision on the Meeting of the African States Parties to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Doc. Assembly/AU/13(XIII), 1–3 July 2009, para. 10, http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/assembly_en_1_3_july_2009_auc_thirteenth_ordinary_session_decisions_declarations_%20message_congratulations_motion_0.pdf
50. 15th AU Summit, Press Release no. 104, para. 10.
51. The AU justifies its decision not to cooperate with the ICC as "a logical consequence of the stated position of the AU on the manner in which the prosecution against President Bashir has been conducted, the publicity-seeking approach of the ICC Prosecutor, the refusal by the UN Security Council to address the request made by the [AU] and other important International groupings for deferment of the indictment against President Bashir". *See* AU, Decision on the Meeting of African States Parties to the Rome Statute of ICC, press release, 14 July 2009, http://www.africa-union.org/root/.../Press%20Release%20-%20ICC.doc
52. *See* "Addis Ababa Office Opening Still on Hold", 4 February 2011, http://www.rnw.nl/international-justice/print/292628
53. AU, Decision on International Jurisdiction, Justice, and the International Criminal Court, Doc. Assembly/AU/13(XXI), http://iccnow.org/documents/AU_decisions_21st_summit_May_2013.pdf
54. Mark Kersten, "Backing the ICC: Why Botswana Stands Alone Amongst AU States", http://justiceinconflict.org/2013/06/13/backing-the-icc-why-botswana-stands-alone-amongst-au-states
55. AU, Decision on International Jurisdiction, Justice, and the International Criminal Court.
56. AU, Decision on International Jurisdiction, Justice, and the International Criminal Court, para. 5. *See also* Mark Kersten, "Impending Disaster? On the ICC in Kenya and Africa", 29 July 2013, http://www.una.org.uk/

magazine/summer-2013/impending-disaster-mark-kersten-icc-kenya-and-africa?utm_source=CICC+Newsletters&utm_campaign=5651732857-Kenya_AUG13_ENG&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_68df9c5182-5651732857-356527553#sthash.8pMf0LyR.dpuf

57. The parliamentary resolution will be followed by a bill seeking to repeal the International Crimes Act of 2008. If that bill is passed within 30 days of the original resolution, the president can then sign it into law. It is only once President Kenyatta has signed it that the process of withdrawal actually begins. The UN Security Council needs at least a year's notice from a member country planning to withdraw. *See* Article 127 of the Rome Statute. *See also* International Crimes Act of 2008, http://www.issafrica.org/anicj/uploads/Kenya_International_Crimes_Act_2008.pdf
58. Dan Kuwali, "Clash of Law and Politics: Why Kenyatta Won't Be Prosecuted", *The Star*, 25 April 2013, p. 35.
59. du Plessis, Maluwa, and O'Reilly, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", p. 6.
60. *See generally* Leila Nadya Sadat, *The International Criminal Court and the Transformation of International Law: Justice for the New Millennium* (Ardsley: Transnational, 2002), p. 250. *See also* Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2008), p. 116.
61. CCR, *United Nations Mediation Experience in Africa* (Cape Town, October 2006), p. 8, http://www.ccr.org.za
62. Okechukwu Oko, "The Limits of Prosecutions", *Oxford Transitional Justice Research: Debating International* Justice in Africa—OTJR Collected Essays, 2008–2010, http://www.academia.edu/1328517/Oxford_Transitional_Justice_Research_Debating_International_Justice_in_Africa, p. 21.
63. Oko, "The Limits of Prosecutions", p. 22.
64. *See also* Dan Kuwali, "Clash of Law and Politics: Why Kenyatta Won't Be Prosecuted", *The Star*, 25 April 2013, p. 35.
65. Parselelo Kantai, "International Criminal Court Justice on Trial", *African Report* no. 51, p. 22.
66. du Plessis, Maluwa, and O'Reilly, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", p. 6.
67. The irrelevance of official capacity before international criminal courts is also entrenched in international legal instruments, including the Convention Against Torture, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Geneva Conventions of 1949, which recognise the imperative of accountability for individuals who have committed serious crimes, irrespective of their positions.

*See* Article 27(1) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; Article 7(2) of the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; and Article 6(2) of the Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. *See generally* Micaela Frulli, "Some Reflections on Immunity of State Officials", offprint from *Italian Yearbook of International Law* 19 (2009), http://www.academia.edu/1996792/Some_Reflections_on_the_Functional_Immunity_of_State_Officials (accessed July 30, 2014). *See also* Andrea Bianchi, "Immunity Versus Human Rights: The Pinochet Case", *European Journal of International Law* 10 (1999), pp. 237–77, http://www.ejil.org/pdfs/10/2/581.pdf

68. Heads of state and high officials do usually enjoy a degree of immunity by virtue of their positions, however. They have immunity from national courts when they are on the territory of a foreign state, and former heads of state and senior officials enjoy immunity for official duties carried out while they were in office.
69. William A. Schabas, "Genocide Convention at Fifty", in *United States Institute of Peace Special Report* (1999), p. 4, http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr990107.pdf
70. Furthermore, several domestic courts in Africa reject immunity for serious crimes in violation of international law. For example, Article 143(4) of the Kenyan constitution provides that immunity of the president shall not extend to a crime for which the president may be prosecuted under any treaty to which Kenya is party and that prohibits such immunity. Likewise, Section 4(2)(a) of South Africa's International Criminal Court Act adopts the Rome Statute's hard line on rejecting immunity for government officials, including heads of state or government, as defence for a crime or grounds for any possible reduction of a sentence for a crime under the jurisdiction of the ICC; *see* Republic of South Africa, Implementation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court Act, Act 27 of 2002. *See also* International Justice Resource Centre, "African Union Approves Immunity for Government Officials in Amendment to the African Court of Justice and Human Rights Statute", 2 July 2014, http://www.ijrcenter.org/2014/07/02/african-union-approves-immunity-for-heads-of-state-in-amendment-to-african-court-of-justice-and-human-rights-statute
71. *See* sixth recital of the Preamble of the Rome Statute.
72. *See* Article 17 of the Rome Statute.
73. *See also Prosecutor v. Tihomir Blaskić*, Judgement, Case no. IT-95-14-A, 29 July 2004, para. 26.
74. *Prosecutor v. Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi*, Case no. ICC-01/11-01/11.

75. *Prosecutor v. Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi and Abdullah Al-Senussi*.
76. Phil Clark, "Do War Crimes Trials Really Help Victims?", *CNN News*, 30 May 2012, http://www.cnn.com/2012/04/26/opinion/charles-taylor-victims/index.html
77. du Plessis, Maluwa, and O'Reilly, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", p. 8. *See also* Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Not the Court of First Resort", *Washington Post*, 21 December 2003, http://www.princeton.edu/~slaughtr/Commentary/WPCourtResortdoc.pdf
78. Africa Legal Aid, "Cairo-Arusha Principles on Universal Jurisdiction in Respect of Gross Human Rights Offences: An African Perspective", 20 October 2002, principle 6, www.africalegalaid.com/.../4321_366498_OvQ1_Policy_Document.pdf. *See also* Princeton Project on Universal Jurisdiction, "Princeton Principles on Universal Jurisdiction", *Programme in Law and Public Affairs* (2001), principle 11, http://lapa.princeton.edu/hosteddocs/unive_ jur.pdf
79. Dan Kuwali, "From Promise to Practice: Towards Universal Jurisdiction to Deter the Commission of Mass Atrocities in Africa", *African Security Review* 19, no. 4 (2010), p. 49.
80. Dersso, "The International Criminal Court's Africa Problem".
81. Clark, "Do War Crimes Trials Really Help Victims?"
82. On this basis, serving heads of states cannot be subject to arrest or the criminal processes of other states. This official immunity for serving heads of state and government is a right that accrues not to the individual but to his or her state. Dapo Akande, "The Bashir Indictment: Are Serving Heads of State Immune from ICC Prosecution?", in *Oxford Transitional Justice Research*, p. 87.
83. Pondai Bamu, "Head of State Immunity and the ICC: Can Bashir Be Prosecuted?", in *Oxford Transitional Justice Research*, pp. 85–6.
84. Bamu, "Head of State Immunity and the ICC", pp. 85–6. *See also* Akande, "The Bashir Indictment".
85. *See also* UN Security Council Resolution 1593, adopted 31 March 2005, UN Doc. S/RES/1593(2005), para. 2. *See generally* ICC, Decision Pursuant to Article 87(7) of the Rome Statute on the Failure by the Republic of Malawi to Comply with the Cooperation Requests Issued by the Court with Respect to the Arrest and Surrender of Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir, Case no. ICC-02/05-01/09, 12 December 2011, http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/doc/doc1287184.pdf
86. *See* International Law, "The African Union's Response to the ICC's Decisions on Bashir's Immunity: Will the ICJ Get Another Immunity Case?", http://www.dipublico.com.ar/english/the-african-unions-response-to-the-iccs-decisions-on-bashirs-immunity-will-the-icj-get-another-immunity-case. *See also* du Plessis, Maluwa, and O'Reilly, "Africa and the International

Criminal Court", p. 5, in the *Arrest Warrant* case, the ICJ held that ministers of foreign affairs enjoy full immunity from criminal prosecution and inviolability while in office because this immunity is important for the exercise of their duties; *see Case Concerning the Arrest Warrant of 11 April 2000: DRC v. Belgium*, 2002 I.C.J. 3; *Tachiona v. United States*, 386 F.3d 205, 2d Cir. 2004**.**

87. *For example* Article IX of the 1948 Genocide Convention provides for a general right of all parties to institute ICJ proceedings in response to breaches of the convention. Likewise, the virtual universal ratification of the 1949 Geneva Conventions ensures that the conduct of hostilities renders the rules there under as norms of customary law opposable against all states (*erga omnes*), and that the prohibition of grave breaches probably forms part of *jus cogens* (peremptory norms). Serious war crimes and crimes against humanity might be covered as *erga omnes* obligations following the advisory opinion of the ICJ in the *Israeli Wall* case of 1994 that international humanitarian law obligations apply against all states. Evidence abounds that the relevant rules prohibiting torture, genocide, serious war crimes, and crimes against humanity are peremptory in nature.
88. *See for example* "Case concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide" (Bosnia and Herzegovina v Serbia) [Genocide case], ICJ Reports 1996, 625 and 631 26 February 2007; Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory [Israeli Wall case], Advisory Opinion, 9 July 2004, General List no. 131, paras. 155–7, http://www.icj-cij.org. *See also* "Case Concerning the Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide: Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro, ICJ Judgment, General List no. 9, 26 February 2007; Lyal S. Sunga, *International Responsibility in International Law for Serious Human Rights Violations* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992), p. 131; Jennifer M. Welsh, "The Responsibility to Protect: Securing the Individual in International Society", in Oliver Jütersonke and Keith Krause (eds.), *From Rights to Responsibilities: Rethinking Interventions for Humanitarian Purposes* (Geneva: Programme for Strategic and International Security Studies, 2006), pp. 23–44, and p. 67; Christian J. Tams, *Enforcing Obligations Erga Omnes in International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in International and Comparative Law, 2005), pp. 74–5, and p. 145.
89. *See* Mahmoud Cherif Bassiouni, "International Crimes: *Jus Cogens* and *Obligatio Erga Omnes*", *Law and Contemporary Problems* 59, no. 9 (1996), pp. 63–74. *See also* Andrew Clapham, "Rights and Responsibilities: A Legal Perspective", in Oliver Jütersonke and Keith Krause (eds.), *From Rights to Responsibilities: Rethinking Interventions for Humanitarian*

*Purposes*, pp. 78 and 82. Commission of such international crimes can be more offensive to the international community when committed under the colour of office. *R. v. Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrates Court and Others, Ex Parte Pinochet Ugarte*, no. 3, 2 ALL ER 97, 1999, p. 289.

90. Attorney General of Israel v Adolf Eichmann [*Eichmann* case], 36 I.L.R. 277 (S.Ct), p. 294, 11 December 1961. *See also* Jonathan H. Marks, "Mending the Web: Universal Jurisdiction, Humanitarian Intervention, and the Abrogation of Immunity by the Security Council", Public Law and Legal Theory Research Paper no. 03-7, 2004, p. 28.
91. Bamu, "Head of State Immunity and the ICC", pp. 85–6.
92. *See* UN Security Council Resolution 1593, para. 2.
93. Mamdani, "Darfur, ICC, and the New Humanitarian Order".
94. William Schabas, *quoted in* Kersten, "Backing the ICC: Why Botswana Stands Alone Amongst AU States".
95. Dersso, "The International Criminal Court's Africa Problem".
96. *See also* Comfort Ero, "Understanding Africa's Position on the International Criminal Court", *Oxford Transitional Justice Research*, 2008–2010, p. 13.
97. Ero, "Understanding Africa's Position on the International Criminal Court".
98. Annan, "Justice vs. Impunity".
99. Mahmood Mamdani, "You Cannot Solve Political Problems Through the Courts", *African Report* no. 51 (June 2013), p. 25.
100. *See* "The ICC and Africa".
101. John Dugard, "Palestine and the International Criminal Court: Institutional Failure or Bias?", *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 11, no. 3 (2013), pp. 563–70.
102. *See* Union of South American Nations, "Special Declaration of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of South American Nations", tenth anniversary of the entry into force of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Bogota D.C., 11 June 2012, http://www.iccnow.org/documents/Unasur_ICC_2012.pdf. *See also* UN General Assembly Resolution 2840 (XXVI), 26 UN GAOR Supp. (no. 29), UN Doc. A/8429 (1971), para. 88. *See also* UN General Assembly Resolution 3074 on "Principles of International Co-operation in the Detention, Arrest, Extradition, and Punishment of Persons Guilty of War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity", G.A. Res. 3074 (XXVIII), 28 U.N. GAOR Supp. (no. 30), UN Doc. A/9030 (1973), p. 78.
103. Avocats Sans Frontières, "Africa and the International Criminal Court: Mending Fences" (July 2012), pp. 15–16, http://issuu.com/avocatssansfrontieres/docs/asf_ug_africa_and_the_icc_new

104. Aminta Ossom, "An African Solution to an African Problem? How an African Prosecutor Could Strengthen the ICC", *Virginia Journal of International Law Association* 52 (2011), pp. 68–78.
105. In this case, victims are those who have directly and personally suffered the harm arising from the violations. The victims or passive subjects of atrocities can be groups or individuals; UN General Assembly Resolution 40/34, Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power, 29 November 1985. *See also* principle 4 of the Updated Principles on Impunity, Updated Principles on Impunity for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights Through Action to Combat Impunity, E/CN.4/2005/102/Add.1, 8 February 2005.
106. An essential element of providing justice to the victims of atrocities is the provision of reparations. The right to reparation covers all injuries suffered by victims, including measures of restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, and satisfaction as provided by international law. Velasquez-Rodriguez v Honduras. (Merits; 29 July 1988; Series C No 4) IACtHR, judgement of 29 July 1999, para. 134; Amnesty International, "Sierra Leone: Ending Impunity and Achieving Justice", AI Index: AFR 51/004/2005.
107. *Prosecutor v. Thomas Lubanga Dyilo*, Case no. ICC-01/04-01/06, 1 December 2014. *See also* ICC, "*Lubanga* Case: Trial Chamber I Issues First ICC Decision on Reparations for Victims", press releases, 7 August 2012, http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/situations%20and%20cases/situations/situation%20icc%200104/related% 20cases/icc%200104%200106/press%20releases/Pages/pr831.aspx
108. Clark, "Do War Crimes Trials Really Help Victims?".
109. Principle 18 of the Updated Principles on Impunity. *See also* Peter Malcontent, "Human Rights and Peace: Two Sides of the Same Coin", in Ramesh Thakur and Peter Malcontent (eds.), *From Sovereign Impunity to International Accountability: The Search for Justice in a World of States* (Paris: United Nations University Press, 2004), pp. 1–12.
110. Full and effective exercise of the right to the truth also provides a vital safeguard against the recurrence of violations. Apart from criminal prosecutions, states should establish parallel mechanisms for victims to act as a civil party (*partie civile*) to ensure reparations for victims where criminal prosecutions prove problematic. Naomi Roht-Arriaza, "Combating Impunity: Some Thoughts on the Way Forward", *Law and Contemporary Problems* 59, no. 4 (1996), p. 100.
111. If violations extend beyond domestic boundaries and affect several countries, this engages the international responsibility of the perpetrators, whether individuals, groups, multinational corporations, states, or regional or international organisations. There are thus two types of

responsibility: national and international. These are not cumulative but rather complementary or supplementary. *See* "Jawara v. The Gambia" (2000), AHRLR 107, ACHPR.

112. UN, "Report on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict", UN Doc. S/1999/957 (8 September 1999), para. 38. According to Michael Scharf, not only do these mechanisms constitute a "second best approach" when prosecution is impracticable, but also in many situations they may be better suited to achieving justice; Michael P. Scharf, "Trading Justice for Peace: The Contemporary Law and Policy Debate", in Edel Hughes, William Schabas and Ramesh Chandra Thakur (eds.), Atrocities and International Accountability: Beyond Transitional Justice (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007), p. 250. See also ASF, "Africa and the International Criminal Court", p. 16.
113. Annan, "Justice vs. Impunity".
114. Oko, "The Limits of Prosecutions", p. 22.
115. Mamdani, "You Cannot Solve Political Problems Through the Courts", p. 25.
116. Oko, "The Limits of Prosecutions", p. 22.
117. *See* Obasi Okafor-Obasi, *International Law Students Association Journal of International and Comparative Law* 12, no. 1 (2005), pp. 87–97.

CHAPTER 18

# Can the BRICS Re-Open the "Gateway to Africa"? South Africa's Contradictory Facilitation of Divergent Brazilian, Russian, Indian and Chinese Interests

*Patrick Bond*

Several features of the global political economy and political ecology are definitively ending "Africa Rising" myth-making, resetting world geopolitics, and requiring a much more realistic assessment of conflict resolution on the continent for the years ahead. The United States (USA) presidency of Donald Trump from January 2017, multiple signals of extreme European political stress with the exit vote by a United Kingdom (UK) majority in June 2016 from the European Union (EU), and ongoing Japanese economic stagnation leave the "metropole countries" much less capable of ordering global governance (and especially relations with Africa) to their advantage. Partly as a result, the "semi-periphery"—especially the BRICS bloc (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa)—is central to the political economic processes of the "peripheral" states, notwithstanding the BRICS internal contradictions. Multinational corporations (MNCs) and state firms based in the BRICS countries may find the so-called "gateway" function in Africa offered by South Africa to be of diminishing utility. Structural

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_18

economic conditions are increasingly adverse to South Africa and the continent as a whole, with extremely high debt levels and relatively low commodity prices compared to the 2007–11 peak years. From below, on the other hand, the concept we can term "Africans Uprising against Africa Rising" appears more relevant with each passing global crisis.

The essential power relationship that binds together the state leaderships and large corporations, ranging across spaces from the Western metropoles to the farthest African mine or agricultural field, is a nested hierarchy that includes imperialist and sub-imperialist relations. Elites (the '1%') from the metropoles have traditionally used the multilateral institutions they control to reach deep into the furthest periphery, a process that continues through various well-known extractive systems and institutions.[1] The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how the semi-peripheral economies—especially the BRICS—amplify those power relations in Africa, even while claiming to be offering an "alternative" multilateralism.

In brief, the metropole economies draw the BRICS much deeper into exploitative institutions such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (see Mariama Williams in this volume), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (see Adele Jinadu in this volume), the Bank for International Settlements (BIS), United Nations institutions—including the General Assembly (UNGA), Security Council (UNSC) in the cases of China and Russia, and the Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)—as well as the private sector-led World Economic Forum (WEF) talk-shop, effectively making them junior partners in the underdevelopment of Africa. Simultaneously, elites from the four BRIC countries use South Africa as a wedge into the continent, and when financial power is required in coming years, the New Development Bank (NDB) and Contingent Reserve Arrangement (CRA) will be available.

Within the Group of 20 (G20) largest economic powers, both the West and BRICS have more ambitions for looting Africa, especially through the 2017 Compact with Africa which is co-chaired by the German hosts and the South African finance minister, and which will intensify the provision of public subsidies for corporate investment. In turn, South Africa has amplified its own powers over African economies, with its recent leadership of the African Union (AU) and a major ongoing role in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which Pretoria launched in 2001. Throughout the power chain, diplomacy and flattery are exercised. But the bottom line is the amplification of exploitation and extraction by multinational corporations—both Western and BRICS—using the oft-touted benefits of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as well

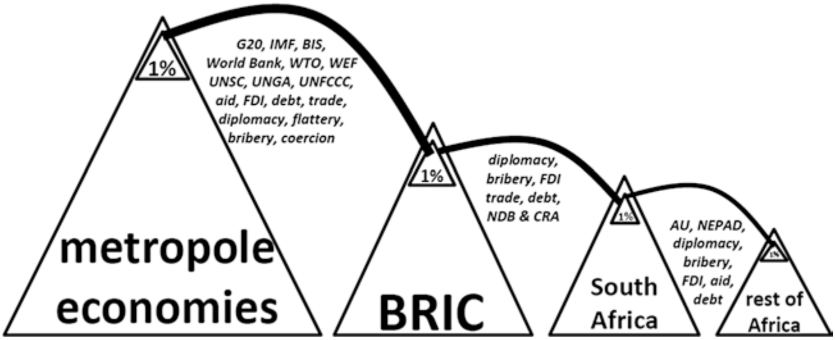


**Fig. 18.1** Power cascades from the metropole to the periphery
Source: Patrick Bond

as debt, trade, aid, and corrupt relationships (Fig. 18.1). As the elites link up through these institutions and process, the contradictions scream out, as do new generations of social activists in resistance.

## Will the BRICS Crack Under New Stresses?

It must be acknowledged at the outset that the BRICS are not an omniscient and all-powerful bloc. Contradictions within the BRICS are obvious enough—for example, where Russia and China join the USA, France, and Britain to *deny* UNSC seats to the other three BRICS, in spite of a decade-plus campaign to democratise that body (for fear of diluting their own power). Another example is the failure of the BRICS even to propose a candidate from their ranks to replace two disgraced IMF managing directors—Dominique Strauss-Kahn in 2011 following a sexual harassment charge, and Christine Lagarde in 2016 following her corruption conviction in the French courts—and three poorly performing World Bank presidents—Paul Wolfowitz in 2007, Robert Zoellick in 2012, and Jim Yong Kim in 2016. In addition, Donald Trump's presidency heralds extreme chaos in BRICS geopolitics, as Trump seeks to divide the conservative rulers of three BRICS—Russia's Vladimir Putin, India's Narendra Modi, and Brazil's Michel Temer—from China's Xi Jinping and South Africa's Jacob Zuma. The conflict between India and Pakistan is another wedge issue, which became apparent when the former boycotted Beijing's Belt and Road summit in May 2017 as a result of the large Pakistani role in the infrastructure strategy, especially on contested Kashmir territory.

In addition to the likelihood of further military conflict in the South China Sea, Beijing will certainly face worsening economic problems with Trump, given the latter's propensity to blame trade competition—specifically subsidised Chinese exports and currency devaluation, as well as alleged Chinese commercial computer hacking—for US de-industrialisation. Advised by the notorious Sinophobe economist Peter Navarro, Trump's answer is a series of localisation-oriented policies that will allegedly benefit its USA manufacturing industry by increasing protection from foreign imports with what—he threatened during his campaign—could be a 45% tariff on China and 10% on goods from other overseas sources. Centre-left economist Joseph Stiglitz warns against Trumponomics, in part because of the lack of redistribution that might make such high import tariffs feasible:

> Higher interest rates will undercut construction jobs and increase the value of the dollar, leading to larger trade deficits and fewer manufacturing jobs—just the opposite of what Trump promised. Meanwhile, his tax policies will be of limited benefit to middle-class and working families—and will be more than offset by cutbacks in health care, education, and social programs.[2]

A trade war is just as likely an outcome, reminiscent of the protectionist Smoot-Hawley Act of 1930, which is credited with contributing to the Great Depression. Like that period, the major question is in which direction populist sentiments channel working-class politics. Momentum in most sites is enjoyed by right-wing leaders: the USA (Trump), Britain (UK Independence Party and Brexit supporters), France (National Front, led by Marine le Pen), Germany (Alternative for Germany), and the Netherlands (Party of Freedom, led by Geert Wilders), with the latter three in elections in 2017, along with Italy, whose Five Star Movement (led by comedian Beppe Grillo) also has right-populist support. But a left alternative might also arise: in the USA as indicated by Bernie Sanders's popularity (greater than any other politician), and Britain if the Jeremy Corbyn-led Labour Party gains more support. In Spain, Podemos gained more than a fifth of the vote in 2016—in Portugal the Left Bloc is part of government—while in Greece the once radical then tamed Syriza was elected to run the state in 2015.

If the former prevails, we can expect what is often termed a "fascist" regime: that is, when the populist sentiments of working-class people are revealed as nativist, racist, misogynist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, ablist, and anti-ecological; when imperialist and militaristic sentiments are acted upon by this bloc within the state; and when the sociocultural agenda of the right is conjoined with corporate power and a charismatic head of state. Were Trump not so incompetent, his USA state would appear to have the ingredients of a dangerous fascism, with the leaders of three BRICS countries potentially in tow.

In contrast, the left version of populism stresses economic justice, social equality, state-centric redistributive strategies, and ecologically sensitive industrial localisation. Earlier examples include the USA "New Deal" of the 1930s and subsequent Latin American "import-substitution industrialisation" strategies, European social welfare regimes, South Africa's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the mid-1990s (mostly not implemented), the Brazilian Workers Party agenda of the 1980s–1990s, and in Greece, Syriza's 2015 promises. Cuba's economic policies foundered on the economic rocks of isolation after the Soviet Union's demise, but progressive social policy remained intact, as did the project of ending addiction to Soviet oil and emphatically beginning a transition to a post-carbon society.

In the period 2017–20, the dominant alignment appears to be a combination of far-right sociocultural politics with mega-corporate interests, at least in the USA. In Britain, however, the City of London's financial-corporate agenda conflicts more explicitly with the far-right's Brexit strategy. It became clear immediately after the 2016 USA election that Wall Street's giddy investors expect military, financial, and fossil fuel industry stocks to prosper far more than any others, as the Dow Jones index hit a new record. Trump promises to lower corporate taxes from 35% to 15% and rapidly inject what might be called "dirty Keynesian" spending on airports and private transport infrastructure, heralding a new boom in US state debt. Along with the Federal Reserve's rise in interest rates, this in turn will at least initially draw more of the world's liquid capital back into the USA economy, similar to the 2008–09 and post-2013 shifts of funds that debilitated all the BRICS currencies aside from the Chinese yuan. So while there may be a slight uptick in demand for commodities such as copper and steel, the broader process of Trumponomics appears highly unfavourable to Africa.[3] Moreover, as the world becomes more geopolitically dynamic and economically dangerous—what with ongoing Chinese over-capacity, unprecedented global corporate debt while profit rates continue falling, worsening stagnation, and rising financial meltdown risks emanating from weak European banks such as Germany's Deutsche as well as several Italian banks—the political coherence of the BRICS bloc is thus in question.

Trump's election heralded a period ahead in which the aim of the BRICS to build a counter-hegemonic world politics will falter even faster. Two leaders—Temer and Modi—have strong ideological affinities as conservative nationalists. Temer's government, installed under extremely dubious circumstances in May 2016, has come under intense pressure. Ongoing popular de-legitimation of his constitutional-coup regime stems in part from unions that had supported the predecessor Workers Party as well as anti-austerity protesters. Temer's closest allies include, for example: Renan Calheiros and Eduardo Cunha, who arranged former president Dilma Rousseff's downfall in the congress (along with six of her cabinet ministers), were repeatedly exposed as far more corrupt than the prior president, thanks in part to plea-bargain confessions by 77 officials of the Odebrecht construction companies involved in political bribery. In December 2016, Temer's government imposed a new 20-year austerity regime that generated unrest, especially as new revelations emerged of an alleged hush-money payoff strategy involving Temer and Cunha in May 2017. Temer's two 2016 trips to Asia—to appear with the G20 countries and especially with other BRICS leaders at the Goa summit—represented one means of distraction from such troubles.

In India, just six weeks before hosting the October 2016 BRICS summit, the country witnessed a strike of an estimated 180 million workers who demanded both higher wages and an end to Modi's neoliberal (austerity-oriented, pro-corporate) economic policies. Although his Hindu nationalism ensures a strong base, Modi soon became even more unpopular with the non-sectarian working class and poor (among others) due to his chaotic banning of large currency notes (500 and 1000 rupees) that make up 86% of the money in circulation. This left many rural areas virtually without cash and hence without economic activity, and banks were compelled to restrict funds withdrawals to small daily amounts. Modi also attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to use the Goa summit for intense "anti-terrorist" lobbying. The economic and political links that China and Russia have built with the Pakistani government—as it has progressively de-linked from Washington in the wake of the 2011 Osama bin Laden execution—remain more attractive than remaining in India's favour within the South Asian rivalry.

Another BRICS leader, South Africa's Jacob Zuma, seems to require anti-imperialist myth-making to shore up internal legitimation. For example, in November 2016 Zuma explained BRICS to party activists in the provincial city of Pietermaritzburg: "It is a small group but very powerful.

[The West] did not like BRICS. China is going to be number one economy leader … [Western countries] want to dismantle this BRICS. We have had seven votes of no confidence in South Africa. In Brazil, the president was removed." The following week in parliament, Zuma was asked by an opposition member of parliament which countries he meant, and he replied: "I've forgotten the names of these countries. How can he think I'm going to remember here? Heh heh heh heh!" he chuckled.[4]

It is evident that Zuma will continue to use the BRICS as a foil for such defensive sentiments, even though his government's initial endorsement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) bombing of Libya in 2011 was the most egregious case of the geopolitical role of the BRICS in Africa, against the AU's wishes (and to be fair, Pretoria [Tshwane] did reverse course and oppose further intervention). But at the conclusion of his 2014 meeting with the then USA president Barack Obama as part of a USA-Africa heads-of-state summit, Zuma identified a chilling conclusion that reflects sub-imperial service: "There had been a good relationship already between Africa and the USA but this summit has reshaped it and has taken it to another level … We secured a buy-in from the USA for Africa's peace and security initiatives … As President Obama said, the boots must be African."[5]

As for the African continent's prospects, they were relatively weak as the millennium dawned, even before the BRICS were conceptualised (in 2001 by Goldman Sachs), much less in their current form (in 2010 South Africa was added to the BRIC group). The liberation of South Africa from apartheid in 1994 portended a more aggressive economic role for Johannesburg capital in Africa, with these firms still the largest source of FDI on the continent. Also playing an accommodating role were the Pretoria government's Pan-Africanist political leadership in the 2001 NEPAD, the 2003 African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), the controversial election to the AU Chair of President Jacob Zuma's ex-wife Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma from 2012–16, and Zuma's 2015 push for a military-oriented African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC) troop-contributing force. South Africa intervened to "keep peace" in nearly a dozen African sites, but with mixed results and occasional disasters such as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Central African Republic (CAR).[6] But as we will see, it in is the "gateway" function for BRIC allies that South Africa's role in lubricating sub-imperialism has been most devastating. And the global economic context for that role is equally vital.

## As World Economy Stagnates, Africa Again Falls into Crisis

Three core processes behind globalisation and then neoliberalism together created depression in Africa during the 1980s–1990s and then a 2002–11 "resource cursed" revival that confused many superficial observers into declaring "Africa Rising!" First, dating to the early 1970s, the durable, recurring problem of over-production was witnessed in huge gluts in many markets, declining increases in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) growth (from 3.6% during the 1960s to 2.2% during the 1970s to 1.2% during the 1980s to 1.1% during the 1990s and 1.3% during the 2000s), and falling corporate profit rates. The result was a series of periodic crises. But these were displaced and mitigated by shifting the problems around using new geographical flexibility, and also by deploying credit so as to stall problems into the future, at the cost of much more severe tensions and potential market volatility in different places and over the years ahead.

What this meant for Africa, as we will observe, was a sudden increase in demand for ever higher-priced commodities after 2000, as the world's uneven development required new infrastructure investment especially in China. But the super-cycle led to Africa's addiction to export-led growth, whose profits were captured by transnational corporations prone to non-declaration of assets (with a small amount channelled to local rentiers, especially politicians and military officials as the case of Zimbabwe's Marange diamonds illustrates so well). With the collapse of the commodity super-cycle bubble in 2011–15, there were deep-seated crises for Nigeria, Angola, and many other countries suffering from such extreme primary-product dependence.

Second, the temporary dampening of global crisis conditions was also achieved through increased credit resulting in the expansion of financial capital—especially in real estate but other speculative markets based upon trading paper representations of capital "derivatives"—far beyond the ability of production to meet the paper values. Regular financial meltdowns reflected this profound contradiction, exemplified by the 2008 crash and the 2009–11 reflation of the economy through bank bailouts and the printing of paper money known as "quantitative easing". Flooding markets with liquidity was accompanied by negative real interest rates. Meanwhile in Africa, the impact of Group of Seven (G7)-country debt relief in 2005–06 was suddenly offset by a large increase in Chinese-supplied credit, which was often associated with minerals or petroleum extraction as collateral. Sub-Saharan Africa's foreign indebtedness doubled to $400 billion by 2016.

Third, geographical shifts in production and finance continue to cause economic volatility and regional geopolitical tensions. These have contributed to unevenness in currencies and markets as well as pressure by transnational corporations to delve into not only more intense market relations, but also non-market spheres of society and nature, in search of restored profitability. When profits made from brand-name controls and intellectual property royalties were sent to the transnational corporate headquarters, they partially made up for the declining industrial production and growing trade deficits in many countries (especially English-speaking). Africa was also in deficit for most of the era, although the 2002–11 commodity super-cycle provided some relief. The trade-surplus countries were mostly Japan, China, South Korea, and other Asian exporters; Germany; and the Middle Eastern oil-producing economies. However, these trade-surplus countries' trading and profit flows began to diverge widely and wildly, and only in 2008 began to rebalance matters as a result of a crisis and subsequent "de-globalisation" process.

By 2011, the main contributors to recovering global growth were the BRICS countries. Aside from a brief 2009 recession in South Africa, all had continued to grow at world-leading rates through the 2002–11 commodity super-cycle. But most benefits of growth in this era went to the global corporations as they took advantage of minerals, petroleum, production, and retailing networks, all of which were interconnected by the world's largest financial institutions. Increasing power was witnessed in capital's financial circuits as well, as the credit ratings agencies—Moody's, Fitch, and Standard and Poor's—gave Brazil and Russia junk economic status, and South Africa also succumbed to junk status in 2017, in the wake of the firing of a finance minister popular with investors.

Not only did this network succeed in deregulating large areas of world finance (especially with "shadow banking" securitisation techniques after 2000). At the same time, borrowing by states, corporations, and households rose to unprecedented heights: from 125% of world GDP (gross domestic product) in 1980 to 200% in 2008 and then, with the global bailout, to 240% by 2015. Financial assets increased from 220% of world GDP during the early 1990s to 350% by 2014, leading logically to the next round of economic crises.

The major question, then, would be whether multilateral institutions would help Africa adjust, in contrast to the post-Cold War era's control of those institutions by the metropole countries, when they were held back by structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). As ever, the problem arose as to whether the role of the BRICS in multilateralism attenuated or amplified the underlying adverse power relations.

## The BRICS and Multilateral Assimilation

Simultaneously, South Africa and the other BRICS countries increased their footprint in Africa. The 1990s and 2000s witnessed the rise of Chinese trade and parastatal investment—albeit with uneven flows that went mainly to resource-rich countries—raising the continent's level of GDP, while at the same time the continent's overall wealth shrank dramatically owing to (net negative) natural capital depletion in nine out of every ten countries. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) (see Liu in this volume) met every three years from 2000 to 2015, and at the last summit in Johannesburg announced notional Chinese commitments of $60 billion, along with a "re-industrialisation" strategy for light manufacturing enterprises, with Ethiopia in the vanguard.

From 2003 to 2016, Brazil's Workers Party leaders made encouraging sounds about a benign approach by its corporations and development aid mechanisms in Lusophone Africa (Angola, Mozambique, and Cape Verde). In New Delhi, an India-Africa Forum summit to promote interstate and business relations was held in 2008, and again in Addis Ababa in 2011 and New Delhi in 2015. The latter meeting generated India's commitment to $10 billion, with 41 African heads of state in attendance (up from ten to 15 heads of state at the prior two fora). Even the least-active of the BRICS—Russia—was promoting nuclear energy, arms, transport, mining, and petroleum deals in more than a dozen African countries. Meanwhile, in competition, Obama's 2014 meeting with most African leaders in Washington resulted in a $37 billion deal-making headline.[7]

In short, prospects for an ever-greater BRICS role in Africa created enormous optimism. But reality has begun to set in. Starting in 2011 and speeding up in 2015, the crash in commodity prices has signified the exhaustion of Chinese Keynesian infrastructure expansion and left African materials exporters with enormous excess capacity and debt. The role of the BRICS countries in world trade has amplified economic and political contradictions associated with generalised world capitalist over-production and global governance failure. This was mostly evident at the WTO's revitalisation in December 2015, as the Nairobi summit had devastating implications for food sovereignty in Africa as well as in the BRICS bloc.

The WTO was the second multilateral institution whose neoliberal power was amplified in December 2015 with credit largely to the BRICS, at a ministerial summit in Nairobi that achieved a breakthrough in negotiations, to great relief for the world's elites. A vital feature is that three of the BRICS countries—Brazil, India, and China—have been in formal alliance with the EU and USA as the Group of Five (G5), the most important bloc and one generally opposed to what in 2003 formed as the G20 trading bloc, comprising the larger poor and middle-income countries, which traditionally are opposed to the power of the West. To be sure, Trump's cancelation of the Trans Pacific Partnership offered a sense that the period starting in 2017 would be very different.

The divisions within the BRICS inside the WTO are legion, starting with Russia's role as a "developed" and not developing economy.[8] (Initially in 1994, South Africa entered the WTO as a "transitional" economy after unsuccessfully having sought "developing" status.) For many years South Africa acted decisively in opposition to the interests of Africa, with Pretoria's former trade minister Alec Erwin even nominated by the journal *Foreign Policy* to become the WTO's leader after he performed to the North's satisfaction in various of the insider "green rooms" and as a "friend of the chair".[9] In 2013, after fruitless efforts by former WTO director-general Pascal Lamy to restart the stalled 2001 Doha Agenda, the WTO was given a new leader, Brazilian negotiator Roberto Azevêdo, who pro-trade bias was just as strong.

Moreover, according to the (ordinarily pro-BRICS) Malaysian non-governmental organisation (NGO) Third World Network (TWN), Brazil conspired with the United States and the EU at the WTO to ensure "that India did not get the language it proposed" to maintain vital food subsidies, a defeat that in coming years will lead tens of millions of Indian peasants to suffer, according to TWN's Chakravarthi Raghavan.[10] He continued, "on the eve of Nairobi, Brazil unilaterally abandoned the G20 alliance to join the USA and EU, in trying to act against China and India", not to mention against the world's poor. Azevêdo and Kenya's hosting chairperson agreed, reports Horace Campbell, "to exclude 'African issues' from the agenda while simultaneously pushing through the Expansion of the Information Technology Agreement, which benefits US corporations".[11] The WTO thus became far more hostile to African interests thanks in part to interventions by a few of the BRICS countries.

Nevertheless, South Africa signed on to the Nairobi WTO deal, in yet another case of talk-left walk-right. Reflecting Pretoria's tendency towards assimilation not opposition, Azevêdo remarked in March 2017 at the University of Cape Town:

> South Africa remains a central player in the system today, as a leading voice in the African Group of WTO members, and in all aspects of our work. In fact, your current representative in Geneva, Ambassador Xavier Carim has recently been appointed as chair of the WTO's Dispute Settlement Body. This is one of the most prominent positions in the organisation … It stands testament to South Africa's leadership in the trade debate today.[12]

African reactions to the WTO debacle were muted, but at least in the wake of the mid-2016 Brexit vote by the UK, Europe was itself never more divided. There appeared to be increasing resistance to EU neoliberal penetration in the form of Tanzanian and Ugandan state retraction of commitments to join the EU's economic partnership agreements (EPAs) (see Khadiagala in this volume). In Zimbabwe, a persistent trade deficit with a more advanced industrial power, namely South Africa, led to a ban imposed on many imports that typically moved across the Beitbridge border. The policy kicked in as Zimbabwe ran short on US dollars, and so was less an act of strategy than desperation to preserve the country's currency and reduce the trade deficit. South Africa also came under pressure from both local steel companies and trade unionists to bloc steel imports from China (whose net trade soared from a deficit of 35 million tonnes to a surplus of 100 million from 2005 to 2015, as China raised its share of world production from 30 to 50% over that decade). As a result, Trade Minister Rob Davies imposed a 10% special tariff in 2015, with higher rates anticipated in 2017.

These were small initiatives by countries with highly erratic leaders known more for zig-zagging in diverse ideological directions than for any consistent policy stance. Still, in opposition to the persistent ideology of free trade, such desperation-protectionism might in future years be repeated and become the basis of an import-substitution industrialisation strategy. But that, in turn, would require new governments opposed to neoliberalism, whereas the trends in the BRICS countries are basically in the other direction, especially in Brazil and India, with South Africa still obeying the dictates of the major credit-rating agencies more than its own people. The other important development in the wake of the post-Cancun WTO malaise was the rise of bilateral investment treaties (BITs) and bilateral trade deals. Brazilian scholar Ana Garcia's critiques of BITs clarify how damaging these have been to Africa, especially where BRICS countries have dominance.[13]

As the Nairobi WTO deal was concluded, during the same month in Washington (December 2015) the 2010–15 IMF restructuring negotiations were also finalised, with the US Congress approving a new voting regime. Four BRICS countries won major increases in "voice". Three years earlier, in 2012, the IMF had been recapitalised (through a credit mechanism) with $75 billion from the BRICS: China gave $43 billion; Brazil, Russia, and India gave $10 billion each; and South Africa gave $2 billion. In return, in December 2015, four of the five BRICS countries received major increases in their voting power: China by 37%, Brazil by 23%, India by 11%, and Russia by 8%. Yet the USA still would not give up its veto power—being the only country with more than the 15% required for veto—and the BRICS countries' total vote is now just 14.7%. Worse, the deal that made this rise possible was detrimental to seven African countries that lost more than a fifth of their IMF voting share: Nigeria lost 41% of its voting power, along with Libya losing 39%, Morocco 27%, Gabon 26%, Algeria 26%, Namibia 26%, and even South Africa, which lost 21% (see Jinadu in this volume).

One facet of Africa's decline at the IMF is its inability to maintain currency strength in the face of the commodity crash. This was especially apparent in the period after mid-2011 when, for example, the South African rand peaked at R6.3 per US dollar. By January 2016, after a run apparently begun by Goldman Sachs, the rate was R17.9 per US dollar, although by mid-year it recovered and stabilised around R13.4 per US dollar. Other African currencies collapsed during 2014–15, with Zambia's kwacha's losing half its worth, and the values of currencies from Angola, Namibia, Uganda, and Tanzania down more than a fifth over a 12-month period.

Finally, the December 2015 Paris Agreement confirmed Africa's victimisation by climate change, mainly because the BRICS countries allied with the historically dominant greenhouse gas emitters, especially the United States and the EU, in a deal celebrated by polluters, given that the (weak) emission-cut commitments are non-binding (with no legal accountability for violations), and also that there is no longer a prospect of legal liability (the "climate debt") against the wealthy countries for their role in what are likely to be 200 million additional African deaths this century due to extreme weather, droughts, and increased temperatures. According to Oscar Reyes, seven fatal flaws in the agreement stand out:

- The targets are ambitious, but unlikely to be met (hence serving as a greenwash).
- There are no legally-binding targets to cut emissions.
- There was no new money promised to developing countries.
- Reparations are now legally off limits (no “climate debt” can be sued for by victims).
- Oil, gas, and coal producers are not compelled to leave fossil fuels unexploited.
- The deal opens the same carbon-trading loopholes that undermined prior climate deals.
- Sources of greenhouse gas emissions from international shipping and flights, and from military-related emissions, aren’t included.[14]

Reyes singles out the role of Brazil in combining forces with the EU—against Bolivia—to “open the same carbon trading loopholes that undermined the last global climate deal”. Since 2009, the BRICS countries have been crucial participants in the degeneration of global climate policy, as four of their leaders (the “BASIC” countries) were the original co-signatories (along with Obama) of the Copenhagen Accord. Perhaps by mistake, John Kerry (later USA secretary of state) labelled Jacob Zuma, Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva of Brazil, Wen Jiabao of China, and Manmohan Singh of India the “four horsemen”.[15] The tag is accurate, in terms of climate damage to Africa caused by the 2009 deal and its successors. The Copenhagen Accord was mainly authored by the USA State Department and then, as leaks by USA military-intelligence whistleblower Chelsea Manning in early 2010 proved, was adopted by many poor and climate-vulnerable countries in Africa only due to bribery and bullying by the State Department’s Todd Stern.[16] Only one of the BRICS countries has hosted a Conference of the Parties (COP) summit of the UNFCCC, held in Durban in 2011, to which Washington immediately claimed victory. As documented by WikiLeaks (after liberating Hillary Clinton’s private email server), Stern bragged to Clinton that in relation to the Green Climate Fund: “We left Durban with virtually everything we sought.” His team had destroyed the “firewall” between rich and poor countries (the latter were not, in the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, required to make emissions cuts).[17]

In this context of worsening political, economic, and ecological devastation traceable to both the BRICS countries and Western powers, there are also worrying sociocultural backlashes against BRICS firms and citizens operating in Africa (and likewise within the BRICS against Africans—especially African immigrants to South Africa). The one example of constructive intra-BRICS solidarity and multilateral institutional reform, a struggle that has saved millions of lives of HIV-positive Africans already, is the violation of intellectual property rights on anti-retroviral medicines by Brazil and India starting in the late 1990s. South Africa's activists and allies forced the world to accept that these should become available as generic supplies so as to improve access to these life-saving medications for more than 40 million HIV-positive people, including six million in South Africa.[18] This required protest against Big Pharma, the WTO's Trade Related Intellectual Property System (TRIPS), and governments in Pretoria and Washington. The campaign was successful in 2001 at the WTO and in 2004 within South Africa. The model of "BRICS from below", which will be required to link hinterland-African anti-extraction and debt activists to South Africa and other BRICS counterparts in that spirit, is probably the only positive feature of the transition of the "emerging powers" into what now appear to be, at least in the cases of Brazil, Russia, and South Africa, *submerging*, albeit still explicitly *sub-imperial*, powers.[19]

In short, the main forces drawing Africans into the world economy and multilateral institutions appear uniformly destructive. The 2002–11 commodity super-cycle peaked just at the point that "Africa Rising" rhetoric was ramped up, apparently so as to encourage the continent's elites to continue trade and investment liberalisation aimed at more intense extractivism, even when this was obviously not in the interests of their economies. In part, because the value of minerals and petroleum exports shrank, the continent's foreign debt doubled. FDI flowed into Africa more rapidly until a 2015 reversal, but was mostly directed at the extraction of primary commodities in a process that (unlike in Australia, Canada, and Norway with similar commodity export orientations) left African countries "resource cursed" and losing far more in depleted minerals and petroleum than regained via the capital account.[20] The West's foreign aid to Africa shrank dramatically after the Cold War ended in 1990. Subsequent increases after 2000 translated into only marginal gains—for example, in education and health. However, FOCAC has recently heralded a dramatic increase in aid and credit availability, though not without complications. One of these is the way companies from China and other BRICS countries ruthlessly exploit the continent.

## BRICS Corporations and the Under-Development of Africa

Africa has been overwhelmed by the attention of BRICS corporations seeking investment, trade, and financing opportunities on the continent that, before the commodity price crash, provided the world's highest rate of return.[21] The rate of trade between Africa and the major emerging economies—especially China—rose from 5% to 20% of all commerce from 1994 to 2014. But China is not alone in spurring this growth. In 2010, 17 out of Africa's top 20 companies were still South African, even after extreme capital flight from Johannesburg a decade earlier, which saw Anglo American, De Beers, SA Breweries, and Old Mutual relocate to London. From 2000 to 2014, the rate of imports from sub-Saharan Africa as a share of total imports rose from 2% to 12%.[22]

As South Africa's then Deputy Foreign Minister Marius Fransman put it before the BRICS Durban summit in 2013: "South Africa presents a gateway for investment on the continent, and over the next 10 years the African continent will need $480 billion for infrastructure development."[23] Still, the huge push of South African FDI up-continent occurred prior to the peak of the commodity super-cycle in 2011, at which point several sub-Saharan African countries witnessed contraction in South African firms' share of the FDI-host country's GDP in the period 2010–14: Angola, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria and Swaziland. Other countries witnessed even greater domination of their markets by South African firms in this period: Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.[24]

In part because of illicit financial flows, Leonce Ndikumana argues, Africa is both "more integrated but more marginalised".[25] The marginalisation associated with illicit financial flows is well established, and this occurs particularly when Western and BRICS corporations externalise profits from oil, mining, and metals. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) estimated that $319 billion was transferred illicitly from Africa during the commodity super-cycle (from 2001 to 2010), with the most theft in metals, $84 billion; oil, $79 billion; natural gas, $34 billion; minerals, $33 billion; petroleum and coal products, $20 billion; crops, $17 billion; food products, $17 billion; machinery, $17 billion; clothing, $14 billion; and iron and steel, $13 billion. As destinations for this wealth, the USA was the leading single destination at $50 billion; but China, India, and Russia were responsible for $59 billion of the $319 billion flow identified as illicit (Brazil is not recorded in the top 17 and South Africa is not included).[26]

Other studies have similar findings. Thabo Mbeki’s celebrated 2015 UNECA report estimated that illicit financial flows drained Africa of $80 billion per year.[27] The NGO Global Financial Integrity estimated South Africa’s illicit financial flows alone accounted for $21 billion annually from 2004 to 2013.[28] As the commodity super-cycle ended decisively by 2015, African FDI fell from its $66 billion peak annual inflow in 2008 to a level of $50 billion by 2015, yet each year, in addition to *illicit* financial outflows, there were tens of billions of legal flows in the form of dividend expatriation that created extreme balance-of-payments deficits in many countries.[29]

South African firms’ profits drawn from the rest of Africa are revealing. Although “return on assets” as a measure was slightly lower, the profit margins of South African corporate subsidiaries in sub-Saharan Africa were far higher from 2006 to 2014 (ranging from 15 to 22%) than either those firms’ domestic subsidiaries within South Africa (10–15%) or their subsidiaries in other destinations (5–10%). According to a 2016 IMF report (the *Article IV Consultation*), only in 2015 did the profit margin for Africa fall below the others, as the commodity crash became decisive, as currencies crashed, and as austerity was rapidly imposed on many citizenries. Led by the Mobile Telecommunication Network (MTN), and Vodacom cell phone networks, more South African companies are operating in the services and information sector (36% of all investment) than any other, followed by finance (23%); wholesale and retail trade (16%); construction, utilities, and transport (9%); real estate (7%); and then mining and oil (7%).[30]

Newspaper investigators from London’s *Mail & Guardian* also tracked MTN’s profit flows, and it appeared that the continent’s leading cell phone company drew out hundreds of millions of dollars from African countries and externalised them to Mauritius bank accounts, and at which time the chair of the company was Cyril Ramaphosa, South Africa’s deputy president).[31] By 2014 he had divested his shares as he took up that post. MTN was also fined $1 billion by the Nigerian government in 2016, because in August 2015 it had failed to disconnect more than five million customers who had not registered their details for surveillance purposes, followed by a Boko Haram kidnapping the following month utilising an MTN account with a burner cell phone. Zuma had intervened with the Nigerian government on MTN’s behalf, apparently succeeding in reducing the fine from $3.9 billion, but MTN lost a third of its stock market value in the process.

Nigeria's desperation to raise funds for the state—from $145 to $26 per barrel from the 2008 peak to the 2016 trough—reflected the crash in the oil price.

Another equally dubious high-profile South African operation up-continent, partly run through Mauritius and other offshore financial centres, was the oil operation of Zuma's nephew Khulubuse in the DRC, said to be worth $10 billion when the concession was given to Zuma in 2010. Not far away, 1,350 South African National Defence Force (SANDF) troops were stationed as part of the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO), and in early 2016 it became apparent that these troops were not necessarily there only for "peacekeeping" against warlords, as a massacre occurred that month under their noses. Their proximity to Zuma's Lake Albert oil concessions may be worth considering as an alternative explanation, for as Belgian Royal Museum for Central Africa analyst Theodore Trefon put it: "Deployment of South African troops in the Intervention Brigade set up by the United Nations in March 2013 to reinforce MONUSCO in eastern DRC is an indication of President Zuma's motivation to stabilise the region for economic reasons."[32]

Such linkages between military and corporate power were identified as structurally logical within a 2009 report by the intelligence firm Stratfor (as revealed by WikiLeaks):

> South Africa's history is driven by the interplay of competition and cohabitation between domestic and foreign interests exploiting the country's mineral resources. Despite being led by a democratically-elected government, the core imperatives of South Africa remain the maintenance of a liberal regime that permits the free flow of labour and capital to and from the southern African region, as well as the maintenance of a superior security capability able to project into south-central Africa … [T]he ANC government knows that it can bring its influence to bear to present South African companies favorably to gain mining concessions.[33]

In August 2016, the US Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) prosecuted New York fund Och-Ziff Capital Management Group for bribery in several African locales.[34] Och-Ziff reached a settlement, anticipating a $414 million fine from Washington, but Pretoria's prosecution of corruption is notoriously lax, and indeed the Economic Crimes Surveys of Pricewaterhouse Coopers (PwC) have named the South African corporate elite as the world's most corrupt in its last two reports, in 2014 and 2016.[35]

Another case of extremely questionable behaviour in Africa was the Indian mining house Vedanta, whose extreme profiteering in Zambia represents the amplification by the BRICS countries of Western extraction systems. Vedanta, in 2014 bought Africa's largest copper mine, Konkola, from the Zambian government for $25 million after privatisation pressure from the Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF and World Bank). Every year since, amid growing controversy over ecological and social damage in the mining zone, Agarwal exported *profits* of $500 million to $1 billion.[36]

Other Indian mining and smelting firms (Arcelor Mittal, Tata, Jindal, Coal India) were also aggressive, but were also victims of generalised overproduction in steel and coal. Arcelor Mittal closed several South African foundries as the steel oversupply hit hard in 2015–16, with Tata's losses driving it to bankruptcy in several settings, including Britain. South African authorities regularly accused Mittal of inappropriate corporate behaviour in what was formerly the giant ISCOR state steel company, especially overpricing and failing to reinvest its profits in South African operations.[37] In 2015, the second largest South African steel firm, Evraz Highveld (formerly owned by Anglo American), was placed into bankruptcy by Roman Abramovich (the Russian tycoon who owns the UK-based Chelsea soccer team), with similar state and trade union allegations that the South African branch plant was being milked of profits and ultimately asset-stripped.[38] In short, membership in the BRICS did not prevent South Africa from the kinds of the internecine capitalist competition that can prove so ruinous.

In at least one case, Zimbabwe's Marange diamonds, the extraction of billions of dollars by Chinese-linked firms provided a classic "resource curse" for example, one that even Robert Mugabe in March 2016 complained had cost Zimbabwe $13 billion in unknown revenues, with just $2 billion in documented extraction. The key figure was Hong Kong-based entrepreneur Sam Pa, China's most prolific deal-maker in Africa. In 2014, the *Financial Times* revealed that Pa's Queensway Group had operations "worth tens of billions of dollars" mainly in repressive regimes.[39] In 2013, Pa had channelled vast sums to Mugabe's victorious election campaign via Zimbabwe's military. During the country's 2009–13 "unity" government, the treasury was controlled by Mugabe's enemy, Finance Minister Tendai Biti, of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), who long complained about lack of revenue. Pa was jailed in 2015 for reasons that are still mysterious. From 2003 onwards, Mugabe had established a "Look East" philosophy after Western sanctions were imposed on more than 100 top politicians linked to human rights violations. To be sure, China-Zimbabwe fraternal anti-imperialist rhetoric remains strong, based on Beijing's admirable support for the 1966–79 liberation war led by Mugabe against white Southern Rhodesian colonialism. But in the diamond fields, the contemporary record includes repressive territorial control by a dictatorship state, mass murder (hundreds of artisanal miners killed in November 2008), the displacement of thousands of residents, labour exploitation, and enormous environmental damage. The South African firm De Beers had previously begun to operate the same fields but in 2006 failed to persuade Mugabe's mining officials that Marange was being suitably developed.[40]

Other Chinese projects have been criticised—for example, Botswana's coal-fired power plant at Morupule failed.[41] Other notorious mega-project failures, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, include China Railways in Nigeria ($7.5 billion) and Libya ($4.2 billion), Chinese petroleum in Angola ($3.4 billion) and Nigeria ($1.4 billion), and Chinese metal investors in the DRC and Ghana ($3 billion each).[42] The renewal of FOCAC in December 2015 did nothing to assuage critics of the type of Chinese investment and credits, and their appropriateness in a post-commodity super-cycle environment.[43]

Simultaneously, with the dubious FDI, Africa witnessed a dramatic increase in infrastructural project investment—real and planned—to support extraction. It was logical for BRICS leaders to identify port, bridge, road, rail, hydropower, thermal coal, nuclear energy, and other infrastructure projects for subsidised investment, given that their countries' corporations would benefit from the associated extraction of minerals, petroleum, and crops. The Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) was the coordinating system. In 2016, the most ambitious of the PIDA projects included the Inga Hydropower Project in the DRC, which at $100 billion will be the most expensive development project in history if taken to fruition, with 43,200 megawatts of electricity (compared to the second largest, China's Three Gorges Dam, at less than half of that). But with commodity prices crashing, even China attempted in mid-2014—on the eve of Obama's summit with African leaders in Washington—to get Washington's support. Two years later, the World Bank withdrew its financing, on grounds of the DRC's (and other Inga project participants') failure to comply with socioeconomic and environmental agreements.[44] In addition to controversial mega-hydro, the Russian parastatal firm Rosatom promoted nuclear power plants to corruption-prone governments in Egypt, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia, signing tentative contracts, for example, with Zuma, in a manner that would leave Russia with no liability in the event of an accident.[45]

Another form of BRICS investment in Africa has been in land, a process that has often been caricatured as "land grabbing". Thomas Ferrando developed a database to track this, discovering extensive holdings especially by Indian and Chinese firms.[46]

Congolese scholar Baruti Amisi sums up the sub-imperial power relations:

> First, BRICS countries present important opportunities for foreign direct investment which impoverish the same people that they should empower. Impoverishment occurs through dispossession of natural resources with little or no compensation, unequal shares of the costs and benefits of mega-development projects, repayments of debts incurred to build these projects, and structural exclusion from accessing the outcomes of these initiatives.
>
> Second, BRICS countries share the same *modus operandi* at their different stages of imperialism, either as countries that have been active in Africa for a very long time (Russia and China); newly arrived (India); or playing their traditional sub-imperialist countries (Brazil and South Africa). The pattern is similar: accumulation by dispossession is taking place through abuse of local politics, national elites, warlords, and war economies, as in the eastern side of the DRC where, between BRICS and the West as consumers of the resulting mineral outflows, six million or more deaths have been the result.
>
> Third, BRICS countries share the same interests in natural resources including but not limited to mining, gas, oil and mega-dam projects for water and for electricity to meet their increasing demands for cheap and abundant electricity. They are also actively involved in the search for new markets, and hence they promote construction of roads, railways, bridges, ports and other infrastructure. But this infrastructure is often indistinguishable from colonial-era projects, meant to more quickly extract primary products for the world market.
>
> Fourth, BRICS countries have poor records of environmental regulation. There is virtually no commitment to mitigate climate change and invest in truly renewable energy, to take environmental impact assessments seriously, and to consult with and compensate adversely affected communities.[47]

## Conclusion: BRICS from Below

These top-down processes are not uncontested. Seen from below, resistance initiatives by many African grassroots communities and shopfloors—most spectacularly in the three largest economies (Nigeria in 2012, Egypt in 2011, and South Africa throughout)—have intensified in recent years. These protests are regularly repulsed by states hostile to democracy, mostly with Western backing (although successes in Tunisia in 2011 and Burkina Faso in 2014–15 put dictatorships onto the retreat). But Western hypocrisy is not the only factor. In many cases when African tyrants face popular critique, notably Zimbabwe, social unrest also threatens the stability of investments made by BRICS countries and corporate interests. Indeed, in several important African sites of struggle, the primary battle has been between BRICS mining interests and affected communities and workforces. Other modes of resistance to either political tyranny or economic misery include refugee status or migrancy; in the case of South Africa, either path has been enormously difficult for Africans, as a result of malgovernance at South Africa's Department of Home Affairs and the government's Police Services, as well as in working-class communities who have hosted immigrants, but with periodic sites of violent xenophobic upsurges (2008, 2010, 2015, 2017).

Only in the sole case of access to anti-retroviral medicines has concerted international support dramatically improved African life expectancies, as expensive branded medicines were replaced by generics in the early 2000s. As noted earlier, two of the BRICS were exceptionally important allies of Africa's HIV-positive community and health officials: Brazil and India provided innovative pharmaceutical development of generic anti-retrovirals, and were unintimidated by Western corporations whose patents they abused. However, this may be seen in retrospect as an exception that proves the rule, for in 2016, right-wing governments in both countries heralded a new era of respect for intellectual property rights at the expense of their sick citizenries. With Modi pressured by Obama to retract Indian opposition to a new round of intellectual property protections that aid Big Pharma at a time many treatable diseases continue to ravage Africa. It is in this sense that the sub-imperial role of the BRICS, assimilating into international capitalism, is obvious, given the alternative that the anti-retroviral case presented.

The BRICS stand accused of under-developing Africa in several respects, a process amplified by roller-coaster commodity price changes during the period 2002–16. The BRICS are, according to the information and analysis developed here, best understood as a new, more malevolent force within a general framework of neoliberal extractivism, amplifying the already extreme uneven and combined development so damaging to Africa. There are exceptions, of course, in which African leaders have helped their countries raise productivity and convert their natural resource wealth into investment (the main one being Botswana, although the citizenry have witnessed very little trickle-down). The capacity of the BRICS to take advantage of Africa's weaknesses justifies the use of the term "sub-imperialism". Whatever name one might use, South Africa's own National Planning Commission sheepishly conceded a "perception [*sic*] of the country as a regional bully" (a perception often matched in reality), such that the "gateway to Africa" logic often comes up against the harsh reality of extraction and exploitation (especially in March 2013).[48]

Still, the most important reasons for Africa's prone position in the world economy are not the fault of the BRICS—which simply amplify pre-existing problems instead of offering alternatives—but of the West. The latest manifestation of Western imperialism in Africa is indicative: when the World Economic Forum came to Kigali in May 2016, the organisation highlighted "Fourth Industrial Revolution cyber-physical systems" as central to Africa's future: the continent is "the world's fastest growing digital consumer market"[49] (though fewer than four Africans in ten have electricity). For good measure, the WEF's main speaker, Tony Blair, celebrated the dictatorship of his host, Paul Kagame. At the same time, the IMF's *Regional Economic Outlook for Africa* report suggested that "a substantial policy reset is critical in many cases … Because the reduction in revenue from the extractive sector is expected to persist, many affected countries also critically need to contain fiscal deficits and build a sustainable tax base from the rest of the economy".[50] This is the Western solution: a policy reset that represents more of the same, a reboot of an infected computer suffering Western-installed malware.

The danger, as Obama agreed with *The Economist* in a 2014 interview, is quite straightforwardly whether the BRICS institutions are "potentially putting pressure on the system [of Western capitalism] rather than adding to it and strengthening it … [and] whether China ends up inside that system or challenging it. That's the really big issue of our times."[51] This is also the problem Donald Trump now introduces, namely whether there will still be a "system" in a few years' time.

If that system breaks under pressure of all the centrifugal forces noted here, would African countries be in a position to "de-link", as Samir Amin has long advised?[52] The alternatives are obvious, but so far the main BRICS have only begun to exert defensive mechanisms—such as banning certain foreign exchange transactions (especially China in early 2016) and imposing desperately defensive tariffs. The bigger-picture reforms attempted by others remain essentially unexplored:

- Defaulting on unpayable, unjustifiable debt—taken out by corrupt elites—as did Argentina and Ecuador in 2002 and 2009.
- Evicting World Bank personnel, as did Ecuador in 2007.
- Imposing exchange controls against elites, as did Malaysia in 1998, Venezuela in 2003, Cyprus in 2013, and Greece in 2015.
- Establishing new common currency in order to avoid transactions in US dollars.
- Providing solidarity financing for governments resisting financial imperialism, as was offered (by Russia's deputy finance minister) to Greece but then never materialised.
- Adopting socially and ecologically conscious financing strategies tied to compatible trade (like the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America [ALBA]), such as were proposed and seed-funded by Venezuela in the still-born Bank of the South.

Instead, the BRICS have chosen the course of undergirding multilateral agencies (the Bretton Woods institutions and the UNFCCC), whose role is disastrous for Africa. What that means for BRICS in the years ahead—it is fair to predict—is more top-down scrambling within Africa, and more bottom-up resistance. Where African governments emerge that have more patriotic instincts, there will be scope for campaigning on matters of economic justice: for example against mining and petroleum extraction, extraction of illicit financial flows (and licit financial flows), and illegitimate debt. With the profits of so many Western firms in Africa hitting new lows and their share value nearly wiped out (such as the 2011–15 cases of Lonmin, Anglo, and Glencore, which each lost more than 85% of their value), there are imperialist precedents for what BRICS firms now may find logical: yet more extreme metabolisms of extraction and more desperation gambits to keep BRICS-friendly regimes in power, at the expense of the reproductive needs of society and nature. But resistance is already evident, if not yet among policymakers then at least in the form of "Africans Uprising against Africa Rising".[53]

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CHAPTER 19

# Europe-African Relations in the Era of Uncertainty

*Gilbert M. Khadiagala*

Major events that have occurred in the international environment since mid-2016 are promising but putting enormous pressures on the future of the European Union (EU)-Africa relationship. Before the momentous referendum ending the United Kingdom's (UK) membership in the EU (popularly called Brexit), in June 2016, the EU had made significant efforts in convincing a number of African regions to sign the economic partnership agreements (EPAs) that had been negotiated since the early 2000s. Mandated under the Cotonou Partnership Agreement (CPA) of 2000, EPAs have been a bone of contention in EU-Africa relations. The impending negotiations for Brexit and the rise of anti-establishment political parties in Europe have cast doubt on the coherence of the EU. Across the Atlantic, the election of Donald Trump as the 45th president of the United States of America (USA) (who has applauded Brexit) has solidified the populist impulses against integration. The year 2016 also saw the EU clamping down on African migrants in the Mediterranean. All these events have generated misgivings in Africa and Europe about the solidity of their cooperation. As the two quotations below illustrate, in the aftermath of Brexit, opinion in both the EU and Africa is uncertain about the future.

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_19

> Brexit could have a major impact on the future of ACP-EU relations post-2020. The UK would no longer engage in the discussions and negotiations on a Post-Cotonou successor agreement. Moreover, a future European Development Fund (EDF) would lose the UK contribution, which currently stands for almost 15% of the total EDF (approximately 500 million Euros per year).
>
> —Geert Laporte, Deputy Director, European Centre for Development Management (ECDPM), June 2016[1]

> I don't understand how such a powerful trade bloc can have a free trade agreement with the developing economies of Africa. There is no way that our small economies can have free trade agreement with Europe.
>
> —Former Tanzanian president Benjamin Mkapa, June 2016[2]

This chapter examines EU-Africa relations against the backdrop of the emerging global trends characterised by the crisis of confidence around regional integration in Europe. It proceeds from the assumption that the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES), announced in 2007, laid the foundations for managing the uneasiness in EU-Africa relations, but new dynamics in Europe are exerting additional strains on a relationship that has increasingly lost its lucre and lustre. In the long term, both continents confront the difficulties of reimagining new forms of relationships that conform to the emerging realities. The first section of the chapter looks at the policy frameworks that have governed Euro-Africa relations since the early 2000s as well as their achievements. The second section analyses the current trends and trajectories in light of ongoing changes in Europe and Africa. It suggests that while the pressures on integration in Europe provide unique opportunities for Africa to deepen its own integration project, there is a noticeable lack of new leadership and ideas to galvanise this process. Africa can gradually begin to learn from the weaknesses of European integration, but Africa should also bargain better, at a moment of European weakness.

## Before Brexit: The Premises and Promises of a Partnership

In previous reflections, I probed the evolution of EU-Africa relations from the Yaoundé and Lomé Conventions and the current Cotonou Agreement against the backdrop of profound changes in Europe and Africa.[3] Specifically, I wrote about how the two regions had sought to steadily overcome the encumbrances of postcolonialism by forging relationships that were anchored on more realistic grounds. I termed this evolution as the maturation of the relationship demonstrated by a more integrated Europe—through the Maastricht Treaty of February 1992, the adoption of a single market in January 1993, and a single currency in January 1999. As European integration broadened, Africa also made some stellar efforts in the early 2000s through the establishment of the African Union (AU) and related policy platforms such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). In recent years, Africa has also embarked on building on the achievements of its regional economic communities (RECs) to create the Continental Free Trade Area (C-FTA). The age of maturity, however, was replete with uncertainties stemming from the decline of the "special relationship", notably the bundle of preferential trade privileges encompassed in the Lomé Convention.[4]

The decline of the "special relationship" was further strained by the progressive accession of new countries into the EU, countries such as Bulgaria in 2007; Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia in 2004; and the latest country, Croatia, in 2013—all without colonial pasts and with tenuous knowledge and interests in Africa. The expansion of the EU thus furnished vistas for the EU's gradual disengagement from Africa, a dynamic that fortuitously forced Africa to invest in more sturdy institutions for integration, prosperity, and security. Collective institutions for integration in Africa seemed appropriate to counter a more united Europe that was gradually looking inward through myriad policies around Fortress Europe, the decline in development assistance, and the push for EPAs as the new trading arrangements. In dealing with these changed circumstances, Europe and Africa opted to couch the emerging relationship in terms of "partnership", reflecting the desire for less asymmetrical and more reciprocal engagements.[5]

More than any other policies, the negotiations for EPAs symbolised the maturation of EU-Africa cooperation. In efforts to increase access to each other's markets and to conform to the stipulations of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the EPAs were negotiated in four regional configurations—the East African Community (EAC) EPA; the Southern African Development Community (SADC) EPA; the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS) EPA; and the Central African Group EPA. Although South Africa had previously concluded its own trade agreement with the EU—the Europe-South Africa Trade Development

Corporation Agreement (TDCA) in October 1999—Pretoria worked closely with its SADC partners.[6] One of the major stumbling blocks in the negotiations was how much development assistance the EU would provide to Africa in exchange for Europe's access to African markets. During the negotiations, African countries denounced the EPAs because of the EU's heavy-handedness, particularly its threat to withdraw duty-free access from more advanced African countries that did not sign the EPAs.[7] More vital, critics charged that by negotiating in regional configurations, the EPAs would hamper the dream of African integration.[8]

Despite the criticisms against the EPAs, by the mid-2000s most African regions had signed interim partnership trade agreements in readiness for the final EPAs. To underscore the urgency of meeting the deadlines and to put its stamp on the negotiations, the EU withdrew trade concessions to countries that were reluctant to sign interim agreements, such as Gabon, Nigeria, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). On the eve of Brexit, after many difficult years of negotiations, the EU finalised EPAs with 12 of the 15 members of ECOWAS in March 2016. Only Nigeria, Gambia, and Mauritania refused to sign. In June 2016, a SADC EPA was concluded with Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland.[9] South Africa also agreed to modify the TDCA to conform to the EU-SADC EPA. In July 2016, Kenya and Rwanda signed the EAC EPA, leaving Burundi, Tanzania, and Uganda out of the agreement.[10] Although Cameroon signed an interim EPA, the negotiations with the Central Africa Group have yet to be concluded with Europe.

Apart from the negotiations on EPAs, EU-Africa relations have been dominated by the policies and programmes established by the 2007 JAES, and agreed by 81 African and European heads of state in Lisbon, Portugal. The JAES is the overarching political framework that defines cooperation between the two continents based on a shared vision and common principles.[11] It has five sets of priority areas: (1) peace and security; (2) democracy, good governance, and human rights; (3) human development; (4) sustainable and inclusive development and growth, and continental integration; and (5) global and emerging issues. These themes were reinforced in the 2014–2017 roadmap for EU-Africa relations, and unveiled at the EU-Africa summit in Brussels in April 2014.[12] Besides the summits of heads of state and government, one of the most important political meetings of the Africa-EU partnership is the annual gathering of the commissioners of the EU and AU.

## Peace and Security

The core programme governing EU-Africa cooperation in peace and security since 2004 has been the African Peace Facility (APF), whereby the EU committed more than €1.7 billion to support the AU's peace support operations and operationalised the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which includes the Peace and Security Council (PSC), the Continental Early Warning System, the Panel of the Wise, and the African Standby Force (ASF). For the 2014–20 period, the APF has a budget of €750 million funded through the EDF.[13] After France and Germany, the UK is the third largest contributor to the APF. The main beneficiaries of the APF have been the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISA), and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crisis (ACIRC). The APF has broadly sought to boost the capacity and preparedness of African institutions to take pre-emptive measures to contain conflicts, reduce violence, and deal with new scourges such as terrorism and piracy.[14]

The EU has also supported stabilisation initiatives through the Common Defence and Security Policy (CDSP). Over the past 12 years the EU has deployed 16 CDSP missions across Africa's trouble spots to strengthen security, maintain order, and prevent conflicts. Of these missions, seven have been military engagements in the DRC to protect civilians and guarantee peaceful elections (Artemis, EU Force [EUFOR]); in Chad and the Central Africa Republic (CAR) to deal with refugees from Darfur (EUFOR); in Somalia to prevent piracy (EU Naval Force [NAVFOR] [Operation Atalanta] Somalia [EU NAVFOR Somalia]; in Central Africa to protect civilians (EUFOR); and in Mali to support the UN mission (the EU Training Mission in Mali [EUTM Mali]).[15]

Of the nine civilian missions, the most prominent have been in the DRC to provide election security support (EU Police Mission [EUPOL], EU Security Sector Reform Mission [EUSEC]); support to the AU Mission in Darfur (AMIS II); in Guinea-Bissau to support security sector reforms (EU SSR); in South Sudan to provide security (EU Aviation Security Mission in South Sudan [EUAVSEC]); and in Mali, Niger, Libya, and the Sahel for security and stabilisation missions; EU Civilian Capacity Building Mission ([EUCAP Sahel Niger], EU Border Assistance Mission in Libya [EUBAM Libya], EUCAP Sahel Mali and EU Maritime Security Capacity Building Mission in Somalia [EUCAP Nestor]) (see also Yates in this volume).[16] In signalling enhanced security cooperation, the AU's

Peace and Security Council and the EU's Political and Security Committee made a joint visit to Mali in February 2015.

## Democracy, Good Governance, and Human Rights

In the area of democracy and human rights, the EU-Africa partnership has pivoted around electoral support and the regular deployment of election observer missions in Africa in coordination with observers from the AU and the RECs. Since 2007, the EU has sent more than 40 election observation missions designed to implement the principles enshrined in the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance (ACDEG).[17] Most of these missions have also been critical in pre-empting electoral conflicts that have arisen on the African political landscape since the late 1990s. As part of bids to bolster human rights on the continent, both partners established the EU-AU Human Rights Dialogue, which is held annually with a view to review progress in areas such as freedom of association, business, and human rights and the abolition of the death penalty. In addition, the EU has supported the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) and the African Court of Justice and Human Rights (ACJHR). In efforts to deepen the partnership on human rights, both the AU and the EU designated 2016 as the "Year of Human Rights", pledging to "increase cooperation in support for international human rights and international humanitarian law".[18]

## Human Development

The April 2014 Brussels summit was organised under the theme "Investing in People, Prosperity, and Peace" to highlight the essential role of a people-centred development in relations between the EU and Africa. By the expiry of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2015, the EU had contributed significant resources to meeting these objectives. One of the EU's publications captured some of its contributions to Africa between 2004 and 2014 in the following areas:

- MDG 1 by assisting 31.9 million people through social transfers
- MDG 1 by providing 3.4 million people with technical and vocational training
- MDG 2 by enrolling 9.4 million pupils in primary education

- MDG 3 by enrolling 170,000 new female students in secondary school between 2004 and 2013
- MDG 4 by immunising 5.1 million children under the age of one against measles
- MDG 5 by making sure that 5.4 million births were attended to by skilled health personnel
- MDG 6 by providing 261,000 people with advanced HIV infection with anti-retroviral therapy
- MDG 7 by providing 41 million people with connections to drinking water.[19]

Africa's overall record in attaining the MDGs was uneven and, in some cases, disappointing, but the EU's aid disbursements in key areas showed willingness to help address the multiple obstacles to Africa's development. Another area of human development that has dominated the EU's funding is higher education, where African universities benefited from numerous funding schemes. For instance, the EU funding for research and innovation under the framework of the seventh EU Framework Program for Research targeted food security, climate change, health, and energy sectors. Similarly, EU projects in information and communication technologies—Africa Connect and Ubuntunet—have connected research institutions and promoted information flows in Eastern and Southern Africa.[20]

## Sustainable and Inclusive Development and Growth, Continental Integration

Most of the EU's development assistance for the 2014–20 period, totalling almost €40 billion in areas such as energy, education, infrastructure, and sustainable agriculture, fed into other cross-cutting issues such as governance, security, migration, and human rights. Apart from financing the MDGs and the newly unveiled Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations (UN), adopted in September 2015, the EU has taken collective leadership with a view to meet the goal of contributing 0.7% of gross domestic product (GDP) in official development assistance (ODA). With respect to continental integration, the EU has been the largest contributor to the AU's budget, providing 80% of it annually. In the new Pan-African Programme, established in 2013 with a budget of €845 million for the period 2014–20, the EU has pledged to foster African cooperation and integration.[21]

## Global and Emerging Issues

Migration is the pivotal global issue that has caused considerable consternation between the EU and its African partners. With policymakers in Europe under tremendous pressure to stop irregular African migration, there have been various EU-Africa initiatives suggested in finding comprehensive solutions. Through its development policy, the EU has an array of programmes intended to address most of the drivers of irregular immigration, including the Joint Declaration on Migration and Mobility (2014–17) established during the Brussels Africa-EU summit. The EU's dominant approach has been to work with African countries to tackle migration upstream by strengthening borders and cracking down on smuggling networks; these efforts have been accompanied by economic incentives to countries that participate in such programmes.[22] Between 2004 and 2014, the EU devoted over €1 billion to projects on migration to stem the tide of illegal migration. At a joint EU-AU Commission meeting in April 2015, both sides addressed migration against the backdrop of the loss of lives of African immigrants on the Mediterranean. Subsequently, the EU proposed an emergency trust fund for Africa—a €2 billion aid programme to provide economic incentives to African governments in exchange for their cooperation in cutting the flow of migrants into Europe.[23] In another initiative, the Partnership Framework with Third World Countries, adopted in June 2016, the EU promised not only aid and trade deals for cooperating origin and transit countries, but also "negative incentives" for those that did not.[24] Among the African beneficiaries of the €8 billion of development aid envisaged over five years are Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, and Ethiopia. On the other hand, countries that do not cooperate with Europe could see substantial reductions in EU funding.[25]

A less contentious issue has been climate change, on which the EU and Africa found convergence during the major summits in Durban, South Africa, on the 2011 Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference—the 2015 Paris meeting—that reached a historic agreement on climate change, and the 2016 Marrakech, Morocco, summit that sought implementation for the Paris Agreement. In addition, since 2002, Africa has received climate-related EU aid amounting to €3.7 billion.[26]

The ambitious promises of genuine partnership encompassed in the JAES have remained the bedrock of EU-Africa relations in the last 10 years. Since its adoption, the partnership has both deepened and extended cooperation and remains the main vehicle for achieving a joint vision for shared prosperity and peace. But despite the proclamations of new forms of cooperation, the imbalanced dependencies of the past have endured, igniting irritations and tensions in the relationship. Thus, while at the Brussels summit in April 2014, German chancellor Angela Merkel appealed to Europe to see "the opportunities" on the continent, and not "just the problems".[27] Some African countries complained about the EU's prescriptive and patronising attitude, particularly at the failure to invite Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe to the April 2014 Brussels summit.[28] Similarly, invitations were withheld from Morocco, then a non-member of the AU (it became an official AU member in January 2017), and Egypt, which was then under suspension from the AU because of breaching the protocol on unconstitutional change of government.[29] Further fissures emerged around gay rights, with the EU lambasting African countries for criminalising lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and transvestite (LGBTT) people. Increasingly too, open divergences ensued over the International Criminal Court (ICC), with African leaders claiming to be targeted disproportionally (see also Kuwali in this volume). Echoing these disagreements, an ECDPM report on political dialogue on human rights noted accurately that "while the EU should continue to be a 'norm entrepreneur' and foster [universal] human rights values through its external action, it needs to do this with sensitivity to local contexts … [I]n the absence of realistic and gradual implementation approaches, EU efforts in the field of human rights may yield limited results and even be counterproductive".[30]

## After Brexit: Trends, Trajectories, and Options

The fifth EU-Africa summit, to be held in November 2017 in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, was set against the background of the UK's negotiations for a final divorce from the EU. British prime minister Theresa May in March 2017 wrote a letter to the EU Commission invoking Article 50, which will set in motion the process of separation. The events that ignited Brexit and the broader scepticism about European integration started in May 2014, when seven European countries elected right-wing parties to the EU Parliament in Brussels. The unprecedented political surge to the far right stemmed, in large measure, from the lacklustre economic performance in Europe that steadily diminished the enthusiasm for integration and open borders—the raison d'être of the EU.[31]

Emboldened both by Brexit and the election of the inward-looking President Trump in the United States, right-leaning political candidates are gaining popularity and footholds in France, the Netherlands, and

Germany—the anchors of European integration. An EU already fractured by Brexit thus faces its most severe crisis with the rise of Eurosceptic and populist forces. With popular demands for the EU to demonstrate its added value to its citizens at the age of 60, the organisation is more vulnerable than at any other point since its inception in March 1957. As the EU Global Strategy released in June 2016 acknowledges: "We live in times of existential crisis, within and beyond the European borders. Our Union is under threat. Our European Project, which has brought unprecedented peace, prosperity, and democracy, is being questioned."[32]

Although not as profoundly, Africa is facing equally significant political uncertainties leading up to the fifth EU-Africa summit in November 2017. The election of a new set of AU commissioners in January 2017 reignited the historical cleavages between the Francophone and Anglophone countries, culminating in the election of former Chadian foreign minister Moussa Faki Mahamat as the new AU Commission chair. Africa's leading powers—Nigeria and South Africa—do not occupy any of the major positions at the AU Commission, a sharp departure from the previous years. Furthermore, apart from managing the environment occasioned by Brexit, the new Commission faces real difficulties in galvanising political and economic resources to meet the AU's *Agenda 2063*, the SDGs, and the C-FTA. Africa also confronts ongoing challenges of unresolved violent conflicts, high youth unemployment, migration, and climate change.[33]

As a decisive year, therefore, 2017 finds the EU and Africa at a crossroads, searching for inspiration and direction in rescuing the project of integration and the partnership that both sides have invoked perennially. The fundamental dilemma will be whether historical memories, geographical proximity, and shared vision will sustain the partnership, or whether a fragmenting EU will force a rethink of the parameters of the partnership.[34] For Africa, particularly, seizing opportunities to redefine the relationship with Europe presents an enticing option at this moment. However, the grasping of opportunities often emanates from solid leadership, strategic thinking, and political action. The almost two years of negotiations for a new arrangement between the UK and the EU furnishes such a window of opportunity, but in the absence of an overarching African vision and creative leadership to steer the future, this opportunity may become lost.

Initial perceptions of the impact of Brexit on Africa were rooted in the nostalgic idioms of British contributions to the EU and, by extension, Africa's loss of one of "its strongest champions in Brussels".[35] Most of these views have decried the loss of the UK's 15% contribution to the EDF (amounting to almost €2 billion), which is one of the world's largest sources of multilateral concessional aid. Others have worried about the loss of influence on European development debates exercised for almost 20 years by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) (see also Vines in this volume). From this view, DFID has had a progressive agenda for EU development aid in Africa, through consistent support for spending 0.7 percent of gross national product (GNP) on ODA. Equally vital, there have been concerns that UK's departure from the EU will diminish Europe's approach to peacebuilding and conflict prevention that, unlike France's, gives less prominence to military and defence considerations.[36] Supporters of Brexit, however, have charged that Britain will be able to forge stronger ties with Africa without the constraints of the EU's inefficient bureaucracy on aid and trade matters. These views claim that direct disbursement of UK aid will be more efficient and have a much more narrow geographical focus. Moreover, in the long term, once the negotiations for Brexit have been completed, African countries, notably the Commonwealth, could potentially benefit from the UK's quest for alternative markets and investment opportunities. Others have contended that in the post-Brexit era, the UK may be inclined to increase security assistance to African nations, citing its opposition to the EU's 20% reduction of assistance to AMISOM.[37]

For Africa, the anxieties around Brexit revolve around the length of time it will take for the UK to complete its negotiations with the EU, and the other 161 WTO members—a cumbersome and time-consuming process that could also slow global trade (see also Williams in this volume). As one analyst noted: "This is going to be [a] legal, economic and constitutional nightmare for all those who have trade agreements with the EU. No one has left the EU before. We are into uncharted waters here."[38] Although the negotiations are slated to be completed in two years, there are no guarantees that Africa will get priority as the UK embarks on protracted trade negotiations with its leading trading partners. No doubt, Africa will be on the extreme end of the negotiating queue, and thus may need lots of patience as the UK and its partners reach new trade agreements. Furthermore, for Africa, the future implications of Brexit will depend on the final terms of Britain's divorce from the EU and how these terms will affect Africa's trade, aid, and investment fortunes.[39]

Even though the Brexit negotiations will provide a window into future dynamics of European relations, Africa's priorities will have to be placed on the fate of the EU, its most vital donor and trading partner. The growing scepticism about the viability of the EU integration project has been compounded by the EU's preoccupation with continued financial problems, the wars in Syria and Iraq, and the migration crisis. As James Mackie and colleagues note:

> Europe itself continues to struggle to define solid responses to multiple challenges, not least irregular migration and forced displacement from conflicts and protracted crises in the EU neighbourhood and beyond. These have contributed to a redefinition of EU foreign policy and increasingly blurred the lines between internal and external security … Overall, the EU has become more explicitly interest-oriented.[40]

The changes unleashed by Brexit present a historic moment for Africa to seize the opportunity to define EU-Africa relations in the direction of autonomy and self-reliance—something Africa has yearned for since the 1960s. As the EU's power and influence dwindles, it may be imperative for Africa to take greater ownership of its future. The November summit in Abidjan will provide several options that Africa should focus on.

## Surmounting the Agony of EPAs

Citing the "turmoil" in Europe, Tanzania decided against signing the EAC EPA in July 2016, in a move that has not been replicated elsewhere in Africa.[41] The major battle in the post-Brexit era may hinge on whether the EU countenances the negotiation of EPAs or whether it will, like a wounded elephant, hang tough to maintain the tenets of the EPAs. Given the widespread disenchantment with the EPAs, particularly their negative effects on progress towards regional integration in Africa, some analysts have proposed a two- to five-year moratorium on implementation of the EPAs. For example, the Brookings Institution argues that in the aftermath of Brexit, bilateral trade agreements between the EU and other parties should be delayed to allow careful analysis and even possible EPA modification. As Stephen Lande and Dennis Matanda suggest:

> If the EU were to delay EPA implementation for a 5-year period, for instance, a continental free trade agreement (C-FTA) and even a possible common external tariff (CET) or customs union would have better prospects of being in place by the end of the decade; preparing the continent for

> future mega free trade agreements with trading blocs from a unified and stronger standpoint. In fact, although the Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) shall have a positive impact on Africa's regional trade, its impact will pale significantly when juxtaposed with potential results of a C-FTA and/or CET … Seminally, while Africa has held a plethora of EPA meetings, the time has come for the African Union to convene a continent-wide frank discussion on being forced to enter into permanent EPAs with a fracturing Europe versus Africa's relations with third countries, and the progress to graduate the Tripartite Arrangement of COMESA [Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa], EAC and SADC into the Continental Free Trade Agreement.[42]

Further:

> With the present flux in Brussels and the EU, the African Union could slow the headlong rush into EPAs by urging Europe to withdraw the October 2016 deadline for Africa's non-LDCs [least developed countries] to ratify and implement EPAs or lose preferential entry into the EU. Research shows that the pressure of the deadline is, first and foremost, forcing Africa's non-LDCs and some of their LDC colleagues to sacrifice their long-term interest in continental integration, concurrently putting their relationships with key trading partners such as China, India and the United States into jeopardy.[43]

Thus a fracture in the EU suggests an opportunity for Africa, but it may be lost, not seized. Over two major summits (Kigali in July 2016 and Addis Abba in January 2017), the AU and RECs have maintained muted silence on a blueprint to respond to the EPAs in the light of Brexit. After many years of campaigns against the EPAs, this silence could be explained as the lack of leadership around African integration. The response to Brexit from South Africa's minister in charge of the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, probably typifies the abdication of African leadership on this important question: "Brexit? We don't know about it. We saw it on television. We heard it will impact negatively on trade and relations, but we haven't seen any evidence of that."[44] If South Africa cannot galvanise continental debates on a post-Brexit dispensation, then Africa will have missed the chance of taking advantage of a historic moment to refashion a new relationship with Europe. Such chances are rare in international relations.

## A Self-Confident, Self-Financing Africa

The avenue for Africa's regeneration and respect is substantial reduction in EU funding for the AU and RECs. Breaking the chains of financial dependency is one of the major aspects of creating a more balanced partnership with the EU and other external actors. Since independence, there have been repeated calls by African leaders and civil society organisations for financial independence. Soon after the inception of the AU, an audit report headed by Adebayo Adedeji recommended creative solutions to financing of African regional institutions.[45] This has changed somewhat in recent years with attempts to look into innovative financing of African institutions, starting at the seventh joint AU-ECA annual meeting (the ECA being the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa [UNECA]), where the African ministers of economy, finance, planning, and economic development pledged to seriously look into this issue. These efforts culminated the AU's appointment of a working group under the leadership of Rwanda's president, Paul Kagame, to consider alternative sources of financing. Starting from the premise that there have been too many reports and recommendations that have not been implemented, the Kagame Report recommends:

> The African Union should focus on a fewer number of priority areas which are by nature continental in scope, such as political affairs, peace and security, economic integration (including the C-FTA), and Africa's global representation and voice. Accordingly, there should be a clear division of labour and effective collaboration between the African Union, RECs, regional mechanisms (RMs), member states, and other continental institutions in line with the principle of subsidiarity.[46]

On specific financial problems that the AU confronts, the report states:

> The African Union's programmes are 97 per cent funded by donors. By December 2016, only 25 out of 54 countries had paid their assessment for the financial year 2016 in full. Fourteen member states paid more than half their contribution and 15 per cent had not made any payment. This level of dependence on external partner funds raises a fundamental question: How can member states own the African Union and regain their dignity if they do not set its agenda? Improving overall financial accountability will mean voting budgets that member states can afford based on equitable burden-sharing as well as instituting a set of "Golden Rules" on financial management.[47]

The Kagame Report supports stringent measures to link membership to financial contributions, but given the record of past reports on this issue, it is unlikely to find resonance particularly in the context in which some member states are accustomed to having their assessments paid for by other African countries. In the past, the dependence of some Francophone states on Libyan payments for their dues created a culture of dependence and non-payment that still remains difficult to overcome. Nonetheless, the crisis of financing African agendas is part of a broader problem of creating responsible states and leaders that galvanise around functional and effective African institutions. As the Kagame Report observes, this is a problem that will not go away anytime soon unless there is a significant shift in African mindsets and institutions.

The unfortunate truth is that Africa today is ill-prepared to adequately respond to current events, because the African Union's Africa, despite its achievements, still has to be made fit for purpose. The cost of inaction will be borne by Africa's citizens, and measured in shortened lives and frustrated ambitions. Without an African Union that delivers, the continent cannot progress, and Africa faces the likelihood of another decade of lost opportunity.[48]

## Changing the Dialogue on Youth and Migration

The Abidjan EU-Africa summit in November 2017 on youth and development will be an important arena for Africa to push for paradigmatic changes in EU's migration policies. The existing policies are largely militarised. They are palliatives, not curative measures to a problem that is not going to disappear. A frank dialogue on migration is critical since Europe is facing serious demographic deficits that will require labour from Africa, the youngest continent in the world. Instead of Africa conniving with Europe's draconian methods of dealing with the spectre of illegal immigration, the AU needs to mobilise a collective African voice towards more quotas of educated African youth migrating to the EU. Besides, Europe cannot welcome refugees from Syria and Iraq while building walls around African migrants who probably are going to make much more significant contributions to EU economies. New and clear quotas for African migration to Europe will make a better impact on stemming illegal migration than the development assistance envisaged under the current policy platforms. As, Carlos Lopez, the former executive director of UNECA, has argued, Europe will need to come to "grips with its need for migrants, as many times acknowledged by the EU Commission".[49]

## African Approaches to Integration

For over 60 years, the EU has provided the ideational template and inspiration for African integration. Brexit potentially breaks this dynamic, allowing Africa to learn from the flaws of what was often touted as the most successful model of integration in the world. Africa should learn from the EU's failures, but also think through indigenous approaches to cooperation and integration.[50] For a start, Brexit highlights the dangers of the heavily bureaucratic and top-down institutional approach that has characterised the EU. An overly centralised integration project around Brussels has marginalised larger segments of the population, denuded states of substantial sovereignty without viable replacements, and bought too much into global cosmopolitanism. In the face of the problems besetting regional integration across the world, Africa can start to chart alternative frameworks that will reverse the years of borrowing from elsewhere in terms of ideas and institutions.

## Conclusion

Crises are the authors of political, cultural, and attitudinal change. Brexit potentially presents such a moment for Africa in rethinking the structures of EU-Africa relations. Instead of the widespread worries about how much Africa is going to lose from Brexit, the debate needs to focus on how to transform a relationship that has not changed much in years. The EU-Africa partnership has faced severe strains in recent years; there is no reason why it cannot be transformed radically to manage these strains. While there are opportunities in Brexit for strengthening African integration, this chapter has also shown that, given the African responses, it is unlikely that there will be strong leadership or new thinking in Africa's seizing of this historic moment.

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CHAPTER 20

# Africa and the World Trade Organisation

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Africa has a long, colourful, important but under-valued history of integration into the world's economy. Africa has contributed and continues to provide resources (natural, human, and social capital) to the global economy. In the modern period, Africa was not well integrated into the multilateral trading system's forms and processes of rule-making and global governance systems. In the immediate post-Second World War period, the key powers—the United States (USA) and its main allies in Europe—sought to remake the global trading system under the auspices of the 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Africa, while still invested in trade, was not much involved in the creation of the rules of the game, and those rules had little significant impacts on African economies, except for the two white-ruled settler states of Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa. Many African countries were still under the colonial occupation enforced since the 1884–85 Berlin Conference, which carved up and shared African territories between the contending European powers: Belgium, England, France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Portugal. This began to change qualitatively with the emergence and independence of the developmental postcolonial African state. The newly independent African states were not involved in the GATT process initially, but became more active players with the reconstruction and implementation of the contemporary rules-based multilateral system negotiated under the

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_20

Uruguay Round of trade negotiations (1986–94), which culminated the Marrakesh Agreement and the founding of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on 1 January 1995, after the agreement was signed by 123 countries on 15 April 1994. This chapter analyses Africa's relations with the WTO, particularly focusing on the era of the emergence of mega trade blocs and plurilateral agreements.

It is now over two decades since the beginning of WTO rule-making and surveillance of the multilateral trading system of 1995. It is therefore appropriate to assess how this system has impacted African economies. It is also important to look ahead and to assess how emerging issues in the global trade landscape will impact Africa's future relationship with the WTO. The remaining four sections of this chapter undertake a discursive, descriptive, and detailed forensic examination of this relationship. Discussed is African countries' participation in the negotiation processes of the WTO, and examined are the impacts of key substantive WTO provisions for economic growth and development for Africa's sub-regions. The first section of the chapter undertakes a synoptic review of the Cold War and GATT era and its impact on Africa's trade and development nexus. The second section of the chapter presents a forensic review of Africa's relationship with the WTO, including the Doha Round and the trade facilitation agreements. The third section provides an overview of emerging new trends of plurilateral agreements and mega-regional trade agreements (MRTAs). Keen interest is centred on the implications of such types of arrangements for WTO governance of the multilateral trade system and for Africa's growth and development as it concerns trade-related aspects of development. The chapter concludes with a few recommendations addressing the core issues discussed.

## Africa and Global Trade in the Cold War Period

For much of the Cold War period (circa 1947–91), Africa's global trade was determined by its postcolonial relationships with its former European colonial powers and through the major trade instruments of the Yaoundé Convention (1963–75), and later the Lomé Convention (1976–2000). Prior to the independence of much of sub-Saharan Africa, the European countries consolidated themselves into the European Economic Community (EEC). The Treaty of Rome, Article 131, provided 18 African colonial states (primarily French colonies) associated status due to the intervention of France and Belgium (1958–63). The Yaoundé Convention governed Africa's trade relationship with the members of the EEC. Yaoundé I (1963–69) was followed by Yaoundé II (1970–75), and ultimately the Lomé Convention was created in 1976. The Lomé Convention was a trade and aid agreement between the EEC and the 79-member African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) group of states, signed in February 1975 in Lomé, Togo. Under Lomé, the European Union (EU) granted "non-reciprocal" trade preferences to ACP countries for the export of agricultural and mineral materials duty-free to Europe.

Throughout much of the late Cold War and post-independence period, African countries joined with other developing countries in promoting a pro-development and strategic approach to trade, which was built on what Constantine Michalopoulos identified as at least four pillars: (1) industrialisation via import substitution using tariffs and non-tariff barriers (TBs] and [NTBs]); (2) promoting agriculture through government institutional apparatuses such as marketing boards; (3) promoting export manufacturing through subsidisation; and (4) enhancing trade-related protectionism for the balance of payments.[1] In this context, African countries advocated with other developing countries for at least four rules within the multilateral trading system that could (1) promote improved market access for the export of manufacturing goods (through trade preferences); (2) agree to non-reciprocity or less than full reciprocity between developing and developed countries; (3) provide flexibility; and (4) create the stabilisation of commodity prices.[2]

Over time, African countries, working with other developing countries, achieved some measured degree of success in making GATT more responsive to their developmental challenges. The integration of specific trade and development-related provisions, such as the "enabling clause", allowed preferential market access to goods from developing countries into developed countries, special and differential treatment provisions, and an explicit linkage between trade and development.[3]

## Africa and the WTO in the Post-Cold War Period

Since the coming into force of the WTO in 1995, 43 African countries are members of this institution, through quite different paths of subscription. The majority of African states (41 of 43) inherited (as opposed to negotiated) their entry into the WTO from their original membership under GATT. Eight African states—Algeria, Comoros, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Libya, São Tomé and Príncipe, Somalia, and Sudan—have observer status and are in the process of accession. Liberia has completed its accession via negotiation under Article XII of the WTO agreement. Only two African states, Eritrea and South Sudan, have no status as WTO members. However, it is not yet clear how beneficial the trade regime of the WTO, in particular the implementation of the Uruguay Round agreement, has been to African countries.

The arrival of the WTO agreements locked in the unilateral trade liberalisation and other reforms the African countries had implemented in the 1980s and 1990s under the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The WTO has an expansive agenda that goes significantly beyond the single focus of GATT on goods to include agriculture, services, intellectual property rights, and trade-related investment measures. Some of its measures also extend into deeply sensitive governmental operations such as government procurement, healthcare, and food security policies such as public stockholding. The WTO thus implemented two decades of trade liberalisation in Africa by reinforcing downward tariff and non-tariff-barrier trade reform measures, though the exact nature and consistency of these efforts are highly contested.[4] Maika Oshikawa, Ukamaka Anaedu, and Vicky Chemutai argue that Africa did not fully implement WTO provisions, and was inconsistent in the application of tariff and NTB reforms.[5]

The coming into force of WTO also brought under close scrutiny and eventually led to reform of the preferences that Africa and the Caribbean and Pacific group of states enjoyed with various Organisation for Economic and Cooperation Development (OECD) countries. Given this reality, African countries have increasingly become more active and proactive within the WTO's substantive agenda, particularly around the Doha Development Agenda (2001–present) as well as its institutional framework. African countries share concerns about the outcomes of particular WTO agreements, such as the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), and Trade-Related Investment Measures (TRIMs). In working jointly together, and with various developing countries, coalitions within the WTO have had some measured success in achieving the WTO action plan for least developed countries (LDCs) since 1996. This success includes the Integrated Framework for Trade-Related Technical Assistance (IFTF), established in 1997, the WTO Work Programme for LDCs 2002[6] and the Aid-for-Trade Initiative adopted by the WTO in 2005.[7]

At the same time, there are also questions levelled by some analysts about the extent and effectiveness of Africa's participation in WTO negotiations, especially with regard to the developmental impacts of the outcome of the recently concluded tenth ministerial meeting of the WTO, the first ministerial meeting held in Africa, in Nairobi in 2015. The tenth ministerial committee also celebrated the 20th anniversary of the WTO-led trade liberalisation, including an agenda that fostered the de-regulation of service sectors in developing countries. Its outcome somewhat mollified African countries, as it eliminated agricultural export subsidies and delivered on LDCs' service waivers. But it did not address the core of the Doha Development Agenda that Africa sought.

The foregoing discussion points to the increasing importance of strengthening Africa's negotiation capacity, influence, and participation in the WTO, including in the formulation of WTO jurisprudence through judicious involvement with the dispute settlement process. To date, Africa is not an active regional participant in the WTO dispute settlement process. There are no African countries involved in disputes as complainants (initiator of dispute case) or as respondents.[8] Scholars in the field argue that as active participants in WTO dispute settlement mechanisms,

> countries participate in the development of jurisprudence and that dispute settlement sometimes are used to 'fill gaps' in negotiations (through non-member submissions). Thus by African countries not having active participation in such cases they miss the opportunity to share obligations and develop interpretations supportive of development objectives. Furthermore, these scholars argue that participation of African countries will help to integrate them in the (multilateral trade system).[9]

Under the context of the WTO agreement, Latin American countries, among other developing countries, have raised questions concerning the "discriminatory" nature of preferences as under the Lomé Convention, which they argue have adversely affected their exports to host destinations. In the backdrop of the end of the Cold War and the possibility for EU expansion into the former Soviet Union neighbourhood, the WTO challenges presented the EU with the opportunity to renegotiate its preference arrangements with the ACP group of states, while at the same time maintaining its access to raw materials and strategic resources on the continent. Furthermore, the participation of African countries could help to integrate these countries into the multilateral trade system.

## Africa and the WTO

The transition from the GATT era to the WTO era, which effectively coincided with the end of the Cold War, does not seem to have brought unambiguous benefits to Africa, as a whole. When viewed in terms of the value, volume, and composition—essentially the structural elements of trade and the development of infrastructure for both basic social services and trade-related needs—as well as in terms of aggregate trade flows, it is clear that Africa has lost out. In the first instance, Africa's share of world export has declined since the 1970s, from 5.5% in 1975, rising to a high of 5.9% in 1980 in the GATT era, and then dropping to 2.5% in 2002 and remaining at about 3% since (3.5% in 2012, 3.3% in 2013, 3% 2014, and 3.5% in 2015). Oil still dominates Africa's export profile, and while non-fuel commodity exports were strong between the periods 1995–99 and 2010–14, this was mainly driven by rising prices, with the real prices of non-fuel commodities increasing by 50% and the price of crude oil exhibiting an average increase of 4.5% over the two periods.[10] Thus there were not really significant changes seen in the structure of production underlying export growth. During the same periods, Africa's share of services exports, other than transport and travel, declined.[11]

Second, Africa remains the region with the lowest share of manufactures in total merchandise exports, at 18.5% as of 2013. With a few exceptions, Africa's trade is dominated by agricultural commodities, and highly concentrated in traditional areas such as sugar, cotton, tea, coffee, and cocoa, with some growing involvement in non-traditional agriculture such as cut flowers, minerals, and ores—principally raw materials. Such commodities have very low to zero value-added and contribute little to sustained growth.[12] A small number of countries, such as Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, and Nigeria, are involved in lightly processed low technology-based exports, including textiles and clothing, leather, footwear, and metal products.[13] A few other countries, such as South Africa and Rwanda, are vested in medium technology-based exports.

Research by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) shows that between 1980 and 2013, Africa's manufacturing sector contribution to the continent's total economy actually declined, from 12% to 11%, leaving it with the smallest share of any developing region. In general, Africa's share in global exports has declined relative to the growth of other regions. In 1970 it was 4.9%, compared to East Asia at 2.3%; it then peaked at 5.9% in 1980, when East Asia was at 3.7%.[14] Thereafter, the story changed significantly, with East Asia rising in 1990 to 8.1%, an upward trend that continued to 12% in 2000, 17.8% in 2010, and 31.3% in 2013. Africa, on the other hand, consistently headed the other way, with its share of global exports declining by 3% in 1990, 2.3% in 2000, and 3.2% in 2013.[15] In 2013, Africa's share of manufacturing in total merchandise trade was 18.5%, with imports at 62%. Asia, on the other hand, had more balanced trade growth, with exports at 79.5% and imports at 59.3%.[16]

The structure of Africa's trade between 1985 and 2008 hardly shifted. Therefore, it can be argued that implementation of the WTO agreements was rather troublesome for the continent's total commerce and has not contributed to rapid industrialisation processes being achieved in Africa. The WTO agreements have instead facilitated the process of de-industrialisation perpetuated by the SAPs of the 1980s and 1990s. A cursory examination of Africa's manufacturing performance tells a similar story: in the period of the early developmental states and a strong push to industrialisation from 1961 to 1979, manufacturing accounted for 4.4% of Africa's total gross domestic project (GDP), but between the SAPs years of 1980 and 1999 this dropped to 1.7% of total GDP, and then recovered minimally to 3.1% between 2000 and 2012.[17] The muted impact on Africa's industrialisation and economic growth during the WTO era may possibly be linked to trade-induced volatility and the impact of WTO rules on policy space. Trade rules that constrain the use of performance requirements on foreign direct investment, or domestic content controls and the transfer of technology—which are all key instruments used by developed countries and East Asia—would act on restriction policy space. Thus at the end of five decades of multilateral trade liberalisation, first under GATT and then under the WTO, we can conclude that Africa trade and development issues have been problematic. Many of these issues have been mooted numerous times in the recent negotiations and elaboration of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that constitute the post-2015 development agenda. African countries in the WTO have become increasingly more active with regard to the Doha Development Agenda. The interests of Africa's 43 members of the WTO[18] are pushed by the Africa Group—an informal group set up in the late 1990s representing a broad array of countries, including 26 LDCs,[19] countries in the process of accession to the WTO[20] and net food importers.[21]

The successful conclusion of the Doha Round is looking less likely to satisfy developing countries in subsequent ministerial rounds of talks. Member preference is tilting towards incremental outcomes. Developed countries have moved on and are eager to see the end of these rounds of talks and a focus on new issues central to their own competitiveness, including trade facilitation, on which an agreement was agreed in Bali in 2013; investment and competition policy, with discussions still at play; government procurement, for which there is a plurilateral agreement among some members; and electronic commerce and environmental services. Increasingly, it appears that in the near future, the linkage between trade and climate issues will become another contender in the new sets of issues to emerge. How these new issues play out, and whether developing countries let go of the Doha Development Agenda, will depend very much on the astute role that African countries play in the continuing WTO negotiations.

## Africa and the WTO: Substantive Issues Under Negotiation[22]

For many African countries, as expressed in the 2016 declaration of the African Ministers of Trade[23] and the positions of the Africa Group, the major issues on the WTO negotiations agenda, especially those that are part of the built-in agenda of the Doha Development Agenda, are critical for achieving Africa's desired economic development outcome. These include agricultural liberalisation, services liberalisation, non-agricultural market access, TRIPS, TRIMs, and strengthening special and differential treatment, and rules particularly for fisheries and aid-for-trade.

With regard to agriculture, Africa's concerns primarily revolve around the three pillars of agriculture negotiations—domestic support, market access, and export competition as well as the concerns of net food-importing developing countries—in finding a permanent solution to public stockholding for purposes of food security. In the case of domestic support, the Africa Group advocates that developed countries should reduce and bind their overall trade distorting support in monetary amounts and that there should be stricter disciplines for domestic support in the "green box" (the so-called non-trade-distorting subsidies) and "blue box" (the production-limiting) subsidies, particularly direct payments and decoupled income supports. These issues are of paramount interest for large rural and farming sectors in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Africa Group also pushed for the elimination of export subsidies by developed countries, preservation of developing countries' flexibilities, and halting the erosion of preferences in the US and the EU markets. More specifically, they argued for the flexibility of treatment in special products, and operational flexibility as well as the easy-to-use “special safeguard mechanism”, through simple volume and price triggers, which are imperative for African countries’ sustainable development.[24] The 2015 WTO ministerial meeting, held in Nairobi, was widely anticipated to assist in making progress on the African agenda for trade and development. The Nairobi meeting achieved incremental improvements on agricultural negotiations such as commitments to guarantee export competition in agriculture, especially ending export subsidies, an agreement on cotton for LDCs. It did not address the broader issues of the trade-related development impacts of the Doha Development Agenda.

Under the services negotiation agenda, the issue of market access and national treatment is a challenging one for many African countries that are just beginning to build their service sector. Thus, the Africa Group is pushing for enhanced market access, the right to progressive liberalisation, and the right to regulate. All of the four modes of service supply—cross-border trade, consumption abroad, commercial presence, and movement of natural persons—are important for African countries, but levels of concern and interests towards a particular service may vary for some.[25] For example, LDCs and countries with high dependence on remittances may be more attracted to mode four issues (movement of natural persons), for other countries with high reliance on tourism (such as Uganda and Kenya) mode two may be more important in particular instances. Still countries such as Egypt, Morocco, and South Africa, while interested in all the modes of service liberalisation issues, may be particularly affected by commercial presence.[26] Ultimately, for many African countries, global liberalisation of movement of natural persons is viewed as the important area of achieving likely gains.

Regarding non-agricultural market access, the structural adjustment liberalisation process inspired autonomous liberalisation of tariffs in the industrial sector of some African countries, which proved detrimental to their small and medium enterprises and to some large firms. Similarly, further industrial tariff cuts under current non-agricultural market access proposals could lead to even more erosion of the existing margin of preference for African countries. The negotiations for non-agricultural market access centre on various tariff reduction formulas. The Africa Group has been resistant to the so-called Swiss formula under the modalities of this market access, owing to its untoward impact on African countries, especially those African countries belonging to some customs union, for example the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

African countries and other developing countries are concerned that there could be no leverage during negotiations with regard to the possibility of using infant industry protection. Many countries' preference is for this to be recognised in any WTO negotiations on non-agricultural market access, including those negotiations on sectorals and environmental goods. Another important area for Africa's governments to consider in negotiations for non-agricultural market access are the possibilities of imposing export taxes on raw materials. Export taxes are a fundamental tool in achieving value-addition for domestic economies, which also spurs economic and social development. It is thus in the interest of many African countries to reverse the ban on export taxes of raw materials in free trade agreements (FTAs) and protect its use at the WTO.

Africa's intermediate goods, which are non-finished goods traded for further processing into final goods, currently constitute 2% of its worldwide exports; 60% of Africa's total commerce is imports and the latter needs to be seriously addressed and needs to increase. According to the WTO, special and differential treatment usually refers to a category of legal provisions in existing WTO agreements that provide developing countries greater flexibility with regard to the application of commitments to and use of policy instruments as well as the right to treat developing countries more favourably. These provisions range from longer time periods for implementing the agreements and commitments, to help developing countries build the infrastructure for WTO work, handle disputes, and implement technical standards. In the context of the African Union's (AU) Accelerated Industrial Development for Africa (AIDA) programme, Africa has been playing an active role in special and differential treatment negotiations in the WTO. The Africa Group, which has submitted proposals on 61 special and differential treatment provisions, has been one of the most prolific in these submissions.

Within this context, the Africa Group has identified approximately 25 special and differential treatment provisions of which the focus has been on strengthening areas such as around TRIMs (local content and export taxes) and TRIPS (flexibilities in intellectual property rights) less stringent preferential rules of origin,[27] and making such rules more precise, effective, and operational so as to provide the adequate policy space necessary for the development and implementation of industrial policies in Africa.

## Africa, Mega Regional Trade Agreements, and the World Trade Organisation

Ongoing changes in the global trade and investment landscape could potentially reshape world trade rules for the twenty-first century. These changes include plurilateral agreements inside the WTO (as single stand-alone agreements), such as the agreement on government procurement, the Information Technology Agreement (ITA), the Trade in Services Agreement (TISA), and MRTAs within economic blocs (such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership [TPP], the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership [TTIP], and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership [RCEP]),[28] covers new ground in comparison to the new and earlier issues in the WTO. These MRTAs, rather than the WTO, are increasingly seen as the main loci of global trade governance. It is argued that the WTO needs to become more relevant for governance of twentieth century trade flows. African countries, as espoused in various discussion fora, as with other developing countries, are concerned that the disciplines in mega FTAs are likely to find their way to the WTO at some point in time.

Some mega FTAs contain negotiated text on many issues in the Doha Development Agenda that may be in the common interests of parties to the mega deals, but these issues may have no or low results in the Doha Development Agenda if they are treated as stand-alone issues. Issues of concern to the decision-makers of African trade and industries are now about the impact on African countries' integration into these blocs, and whether this integration would weaken or strengthen African states. Equally important, and relevant to determining the nature and balance of benefits from these blocs, is to assess the nature of the rules of preference in the blocs, and also to what extent the preference schemes that some African countries currently benefit from are carried over or otherwise harmonised in the blocs. Another cause for concern that ought to be assessed is how standards and new compliance measures are set, and how well African countries are able to compete within such trading blocs.

## Conclusion

There is an emerging consensus among African policymakers, intellectuals, and technical experts across a wide spectrum of institutions and disciplines that, currently, this must be the age of structural transformation for Africa, continentally, regionally, and nationally.[29] This structural transformation should be grounded on three pillars. First are industrialisation, global value chains, and infrastructure (from the national to the regional and vice versa) with the main aim of expanding Africa's production base and increasing the value-added element of African production and trade. Currently, trade in manufactured goods has become a key driver of regional value chains. Second, there is a need to increase the benefits from participating countries in global value chains.[30]

Third, the enhancement of domestic and cross-border infrastructure is essential. Weaning the domestic economies away from over-reliance on the production of low-valued primary goods, and by simply digging stuff out of the earth and exporting it, must be avoided, as this is harmful to Africa's promotion of growth and development. Africa's governments must attempt to acquire the ability to implement policies for the promotion of human development and, in so doing, raise productivity and support innovative entrepreneurship projects. Although intra-African trade is growing, seen in the overall picture of African growth, which was 10% in 2010, and 14% in 2014, there is yet a growing need for higher-valued products within and between African countries. There is significant regional variation with the growth of value-added trade. For example, North Africa has 78% of this trade variation; West Africa has 14%; East Africa 5%; and Central Africa 3%. The continent's current exports of coffee beans, for example, are valued at about $6 billion annually, which is a paltry sum when compared to the $94 billion earned annually along the value chain (from blending, mixing, branding, and other processing of the simple coffee beans into higher-valued intermediates and outputs).[31] Africa is also the second most important export market for most African countries.[32] Approximately 46% of intra-African trade is value-added production, in manufactures. Over three-quarters of intra-African trade takes place within the regional economic communities (RECs). This is likely to be expedited by intensification of regional tripartite free trade areas. A key example is the Tripartite Agreement among the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the East African Community (EAC), incepted in June 2015 with the intention of creating a larger market and ultimately expanding into an African continental free trade area involving the other regional groups of North, Central, and West Africa.[33] Through such processes Africa will be in a favourable position to command more of the international trade commodities value chain such as coffee.[34]

International trade rules as governed by the WTO are important for fostering and supporting Africa's economic diversification and industrialisation. For example, the reduction of barriers to the export of agriculture and agro-processing exports from Africa under the AoA is important in expanding many African countries' productive base. Similarly, the removal of distorting subsides in both agriculture and fisheries would be of great benefit to many African countries. WTO rules could also help to disentangle many of the sophisticated barriers to trade that block African goods from entering developed countries' markets, and could result in greater benefit and support to Africa's developmental efforts. Some policymakers and scholars have argued that "localisation under government procurement" could be a very useful tool for promoting industrialisation.[35] However, this requires that many of the imbalances and deficiencies expressed in the WTO agreements be addressed, including significant changes to implement rules for localisation under the government procurement provisions.

Industrialisation is a process that is proactive and uses trade policy and trade reform in the context of wider supportive macro-economic framework. For Africa's intentions of accelerating industrialisation, the focus should be around three key and interlinked processes: moving up the global value chain, diversification,[36] and engaging increasingly in productive activities that are nurtured by a cluster of actions characterised by increasing returns to scale. This requires high-functioning physical networks, human and social institutions and services, as well as affordable access to electrical grids and the manufacturing of renewable energy. These mark significant points of departure between the new industrial sector to which Africa aspires, and its old primary sector activities.

In the final analysis, African countries need policy space to promote and ensure sustainable economic diversification and structural transformation. Implementing such policy spaces would enable the "judicious use of tariffs and other forms of protection"[37] and "highly selective trade policies".[38] Africa may have to backtrack and renegotiate some agreements, where possible, and redesign, or refuse to sign, new agreements that have placed it at an economic disadvantage.[39]

From this advantage point, the Africa Group will have to intensify its involvement and proactivity in the post-Nairobi WTO negotiations of 2015. The group must take the lead and push for a good balance between individual African countries' interest and continent-wide interests, to ensure that plurilateral negotiations[40] such as TISA and the Environmental Goods Agreement (EGA), eliminate or alter provisions that may be injurious to African industrialisation and growth dynamics. Such agreements ought to include meaningful and operational special and differential treatment agreements that are realistic. The recently concluded Information Technology Agreement II,[41] agreed at the WTO negotiations in Nairobi in 2015, is a case in point. The EGA has a most favoured nation (MFN) dimension that can eventually make it applicable to African countries. So it is important to ensure that it does not in any way act as a brake on African services and industrial development.

The Africa Group and African Ministers of Trade must also be attentive to the lead taken by different groups of countries, seeking to protect and ensure their national competitiveness, by raising discussions in the areas of investment, competition policy, e-commerce and the digital economy, as well as global value chains on the post-Nairobi WTO agenda debates.[42] Although the Africa Group is not a direct party to negotiations, it should yet seek to ensure that one or more of its members sit on the relevant committee of those handling the agreement. AU institutions, where possible, should seek to be observers to such negotiations, including at similar processes of the IMF, the OECD, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and the International Trade Centre (ITC). As seen from the Information Technology Agreement, and the Government Procurement Agreement (GPA), these agreements can be renegotiated to take on board new circumstances and new or expanded product lists as motivated by the demanders. Hence Africa, represented by the Africa Group and the ACP group of states' negotiating machinery, must be prepared to act in unison in protecting Africa's present and future interests.

There are a plethora of new issues recently emerging in the WTO that have implications for Africa's push for industrialisation and trade in intermediate products such as semi-finished and finished goods. Intermediates have become a rapid growth area in international trade.[43] African states and the Africa Group must begin to clearly demarcate the specific and special needs of Africa with regard to the development dimension of investment; competition policy, particularly with regard to services; and medium, small, and micro enterprises, as well as to the topic of the trade-related industrialisation initiative.

A few African countries are members of the Friends of Industrialisation Initiative", created in 2015, which has two main objectives and four important priorities that are critical to the overall African trade and development agenda. The two main objectives are: (1) identification of specific aspects of the WTO package in which a relaxation in favour of developing countries would allow them to recover industrial policy tools now banned or limited; and (2) suggestions of concrete proposals that could be tabled to recover areas of public policy.[44] The four priority areas have great synergy with UNECA's 2015 vision for creating "smart industrialisation" and are also aligned with the proposals of the Group of 90 (G90) states (the poorest and developing countries).[45] The first priority area is effective reform of Article XVIII of GATT, 1994 (regarding government assistance to economic development). In its current version, this article allows, through a very intricate process and subject, in general to compensation, the possibility to depart from certain GATT rules for reasons of "imbalances in balance of payment" and for the "establishment" of a particular industry. The second priority area concerns the TRIMs agreement, which is viewed as a significant problem among several developing countries. One aim would be to expand situations in which developing countries may deviate from TRIMs, in order to encourage domestic manufacturing capacity.[46] The third priority area concerns the) Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (ASCM), which is often used to question the industrial policies of developing countries, particularly those involving subsidies tied to local content requirements. The possibility of obtaining flexibilities that apply to the use of subsidies contingent upon the use of domestic over imported goods could be explored. The fourth priority area concerns the special safeguard for non-agricultural goods, a safeguard mechanism with more flexible requirements than those currently provided in Article XIX of GATT. The safeguards agreement on non-agricultural goods could be explored possibly taking lessons from the special safeguard for agricultural goods.

A fifth priority area that would be in sync with the G90 proposals would be targeting better calibration of sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) measures and TBT issues with the needs of industrialisation and development.

In this context, the Africa Group and the Africa Union must be very careful and strategic in how they approach and address the issue of competition policy, which is especially relevant to services, in particular, e-commerce, investment facilitation, and the multilateral investment dispute mechanism now under discussion in certain fora and that, when further matured, will eventually reach the WTO. The challenges and constraints that African medium, small, and micro enterprises face must also be factored into these negotiations. Such discussions must include the challenges of e-commerce, and the Africa Group must give strategic emphasis to rules that mandate technology transfer to developing countries over those that prohibit such transfer. Preference should lean towards rules that allow for market segmentation so that African countries' suppliers can be supported by the regional markets as they learn and become more familiar with the digitisation of global products. Additionally, from an African development perspective, careful examination of the impact of proposed rules for strong market access is needed to ensure that there are no barriers to the imports of e-transmissions in goods and services, if regional economic integration is to succeed (for example, the common external tariff of the proposed continental free trade area).

The discussion on investment facilitation is a critical area that Africa must monitor with great care. Ostensibly, investment facilitation should focus on transparency, stakeholders, access to the electrical grid, and enquiry points for investment. But it can only benefit from the same careful assessment of costs and benefits to Africa as the scrutiny given to the trade facilitation agreement. It is therefore important to pinpoint how and to what extent different aspects of such an agreement could benefit African small and medium enterprises and move African countries towards the goal of industrialisation and expansion of the production base. It must be clear as to what the trade-offs are, and there must be clarity on the compensation measures, with attention given to how these will operate in different contexts and across different inter-regional economic communities and agreements.

Last, but not least, a strategic approach to trade policy and trade-related development is crucial for African countries if they are to benefit from trade and unlock significant and sustained dividends for poverty reduction and sustainable employment creation. This is more important than ever in this age of rising competitiveness and persistent global and national slowdown and stagnation in employment. Designing and implementing such a strategic trade policy, which could include elements of what the ECA has termed "smart protectionism", will require significant policy space. Hence, African countries may need to seek to renegotiate or otherwise mollify provisions that exacerbate some of these constraints. It is entirely feasible to argue for the waiver of some of these constraints in order to fulfil requirements of the both the post-2015 development agenda and the Paris climate change agreement of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), as well as the Kyoto Protocol, signed in June 1992. This may be possible if there is significant coordination and collaboration among African countries and the regional economic groups working in tandem with other developing countries.

## Notes

1. Constantine Michalopoulos, "Trade and Development in the GATT and the WTO: The Role of Special and Differential Treatment for Developing Countries", World Bank, Working Draft, 2000, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/825826-1111405593654/20432097/TradeanddevelopmentintheGATTandWTO.pdf
2. Michalopoulos, "Trade and Development in the GATT and the WTO".
3. "The minister in Doha, at the fourth Ministerial Conference mandated the Committee on Trade and Development to examine these special and differential treatment provisions. Also the Bali Ministerial Conference established a mechanism to review and analyse the implementation of provisions in December 2013". *See* World Trade Organisation, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/devel_e/dev_special_differential_provisions_e.htm
4. Maika Oshikawa, Ukamaka Anaedu, and Vicky Chemutai (2016), "Trade Policy Trends in Africa: Empirical Evidence from Twenty Years of WTO Trade Policy Reform", in Patrick Low, Chiedu Osakwe, and Maika Oshikawa (eds.), *African Perspective on Trade and the WTO: Domestic Reforms, Structural Transformation, and Global Economic Integration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 69–104. These scholars argue that Africa did not fully implement WTO provisions, or was inconsistent in the applying the reform process for tariff and non-tariff barriers. For more nuanced and critical perspectives on the issue, *see* Rob Davies, "Trade Investment and Development", in Low, Osakwe, and Oshikawa (2016), pp. 18–23; Rick Rowden, "Africa's Boom Is Over", *Foreign Policy*, 31 December 2015, http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/31/africas-boom-is-over/; Dani Rodrik, "Has Globalization gone too far?", *Institute for International Economics* (March 1997); and Yash Tandon, "Africa Draws Red Lines on the Sands of the WTO Ministerial", *Pambazuka* (2015), https://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/africa-draws-red-lines-sands-wto-ministerial
5. On varying perspectives regarding the WTO's tariff and non-tariff barriers for Africa's governments, *see* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development"; Rowden, "Africa's Boom Is Over"; Tandon, "Africa draws red lines in Sands"; and Rodrik, "Has globalization gone too far".
6. This was part of the outcome of the 2001 Doha Ministerial Declaration, para 42 D. The adoption and announcement of the work programme was made on 12 February 2002.
7. The AFT was part of the Hong Kong Ministerial Declaration, which also established a Task Force to operationalise AFT, para 57.
8. Between 2005 and 2010 countries such as Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Swaziland and Zimbabwe have been third parties joining in consultation stages of dispute cases. Henrik Horn, Louise Johannesson,

and Petros C. Mavroidis, "The WTO Dispute Settlement System 1995–2010: Some Descriptive Statistics", *Research Institute of Industrial Economics*, https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/81532/1/wp891.pdf
9. Calvin Manduna and Petina Grappha, "Daring to Dispute: Africa and the WTO (PPP)", *WTO Symposium*, Geneva, April 2005.
10. Michael Finger, "Rising Africa in World Trade? A Story of Traditional Commodities and New Products", Low, Osakwe, and Oshikawa, *African Perspective on Trade and the WTO*, pp. 67–68.
11. Finger, "Rising Africa in World Trade?".
12. Low, Osakwe, and Oshikawa, *African Perspective on Trade and the WTO.*
13. UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa: Industrialising through trade", 2015, p. 33.
14. UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa".
15. UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa".
16. UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa".
17. UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa".
18. All WTO member states from Africa have right of membership to the group. The Africa Group is presently composed of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The Africa Group's technical experts meet periodically to discuss technical issues in the negotiations and to consult with each other in identifying and reaching consensus on issues in the negotiations. They are organised in terms of focal points for different technical areas. The ambassadors meet to adopt the positions that are articulated as group positions. Coordination of the group rotates in alphabetical order every six months, with exceptions for another six-month period. The focus is to seek commonality, where this is feasible, so as to gain from strength in numbers.
19. Africa's LDCs are: Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, and Zambia.
20. Seven countries are at various stages of the WTO accession process: Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Seychelles, and Sudan. Cape Verde acceded to the WTO in 2007.
21. Net food-importing developing countries, all LDCs: Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Egypt, Gabon, Kenya, Mauritius, Morocco, Namibia, and Tunisia.

22. This section benefitted tremendously from comments and insights from my colleagues Aileen Kwa and Peter Lunenborg of the South Centre and also from Wase Musonge-Ediage. All interpretation is made by the author.
23. *See* Declaration of the Second Meeting of the African Ministers of Trade, Addis Ababa, 29–30 November 2016.
24. UNECA,"Economic Report on Africa".
25. UNECA,"Economic Report on Africa"; Pierre Sauvé and Natasha Ward, "The Preferential Liberation of Trade in Services: African Perspectives and Challenges", Swiss Centre for Competence in Research Working Document, WP 2012/01, (January 2012); and Joy Kategekwa, "The State of Play: Where Do We Go From Here", http://www.ictsd.org/downloads/2008/08/state-of-play-in-the-gats-negotiations_joy-kategekwa.pdf
26. According to UNECA's,"Economic Report on Africa", Services accounts for 13% of Africa's exports in 2013 and the services sector is the main contributor for 35 of 54 according countries but for Egypt, South Africa and Morocco and about nine other countries account for about 52% of services trade in Africa in the year 2012.
27. As noted in the UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa", this should be along the guidelines of the ninth WTO Ministerial Conference that was held in Bali, Indonesia in 2013.
28. The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership.
29. *See* UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa"; and Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development".
30. *See* Dawn Nagar, "COMESA and SADC: The Era of Convergence", in Levine and Nagar, 2016, p. 207.
31. *See* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development".
32. UNECA "Economic Report on Africa".
33. Daniel Levine and Dawn Nagar (eds), *Region-Building in Africa: Political and Economic Challenges* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
34. Nagar, "COMESA and SADC: The Era of Convergence", p . 207.
35. *See* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development".
36. *See* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development; and, UNECA, "Economic Report on Africa".
37. *See* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development".
38. *See* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development".
39. *See* Rowden, "Africa's Boom Is Over".
40. Since 2011, these so-called plurilateral agreements and negotiations have been actively pushed in order to reach agreement on specific issues on which the major demanders find it difficult to reach multilateral consensus.

Hence they have limited participation. However, there are differences in the type of plurilaterals: some have most favoured nation provisions or applicability, and some do not. Existing plurilaterals such as the Agreement on Government Procurement (the GPA of 1980, renegotiated in parallel with the Uruguay Round in 1994, entered into force 1 January 1996, with 17 members, covering 47 parties including the EU) and the Agreement on Trade in Civil Aircraft (1980, 32 signatories) are only applicable to members to the agreement. But other WTO members can accede to the agreement over time. African countries' participation in these negotiations was marginal. Cameroon was an observer to the GPA and Mauritius is the only African country to participate in the Trade in Services Agreement so far. *See* Low, Osakwe, and Oshikawa, *African Perspective on Trade and the WTO.*

41. The Information Technology Agreement was negotiated in 1996; ITA II has expanded the list of products covered to include many goods that were not classified as information and communications technology products under the original agreement, such as medical appliances, electric conductors and instruments, new-generation semi-conductors, GPS navigation systems, medical products including magnetic resonance imaging machines, machine tools for manufacturing printed circuits, telecommunications satellites, and touch screens, and has over 50 members, including Mauritius. It will cover 99% of the value of global information and communications technology goods, and some 80% of all product lines in this category. *See* United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, http://unctad.org/en/pages/newsdetails.aspx?OriginalVersionID=1159
42. This section draws heavily on unpublished and forthcoming research work by South Centre's Trade Team, Aileen Kwa and Peter Lunenborg.
43. *See* Davies, "Trade, Investment and Development".
44. South Centre, "The WTO Special and Differential Treatment Negotiations", AN/ SC/AN/TDP/2017/3 (January 2017), para 44.
45. Friends of Industrialisation, "Outline of a Potential Reform Agenda to Preserve and Strengthen Policy Space for Industrial Policy", *Centre for International Economy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Worship* (January 2015) (Unpublished); and the WTO Special and Differential Treatment Negotiations, WTO, AN/ SC/AN/TDP/2017/3 (January 2017).
46. WTO, "Trade-Related Investment Measures", Communication from Brazil and India, G/C/W/428, G/TRIMS/W/25 (9 October 2002).

CHAPTER 21

# Sub-Saharan Africa: The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund

*L. Adele Jinadu*

The argument of this chapter is woven around five theses.[1] First, beyond the Cold War, there is a structure of asymmetrical global power relations that disadvantages sub-Saharan African countries and mediates their relations with the Bretton Woods institutions: the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Second, the relations are conditioned by competing philosophical positions concerning the meaning of democracy and development, cast in terms of the extent and limit of the regulatory powers of the state. Third, the World Bank and the IMF have historically pushed a minimalist, neoliberal role for the state, which has sometimes been modified pragmatically by the state in their attempts in remedying the grave constraints of the implementation agenda of the neoliberal policies prescribed to African governments. Such constraints occurred owing to a combination of factors of structural and resource capacity constraints, the reality of global relations of trade and production, and popular African resistance against neoliberal policy prescriptions. However, building and strengthening an interventionist state has generally been the common African response to the neoliberal policy prescriptions.

Fourth, popular resistance in the implementation of neoliberal prescriptions by African governments was triggered by the harsh consequences of

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_21

the Bretton Woods institutional policies. Fifth, the World Bank and the IMF have reinforced the dependency of sub-Saharan Africa, while perpetuating and deepening global economic and political power asymmetries in a manner that constraints the terrain of alternative paths to democracy and development available to African countries.

On the way forward, the chapter provides the following recommendations. First, African member states of these institutions should be given more voice and power within the World Bank through reform structures that enhance the weighting on the basis of the equality of states, with a view to dilute the primacy given to global economic and political power within the World Bank and the IMF. Second, the two institutions—the World Bank and the IMF—should steer away from the underlying neoliberal philosophical foundations implemented in African government programmes and policy prescriptions, and instead embrace the supporting of a people-centred, pro-poor and human security governance architecture that is aligned with the policies of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), as well as those of the African Union's (AU) *Agenda 2063* continental framework. The austerity of the Bretton Woods institutions could be one of the reasons why African countries find comfort in the BRICS coming up with their own fund and bank for the Global South.

## Contextualising Relations Between Africa and the World Bank and IMF: Post-Second World War and Post-Cold War

The World Bank[2] and the IMF, established in 1944 by the Bretton Woods Agreement, came into force on 27 December 1945, comprising 23 member states, of which only two were from sub-Saharan-Africa: Ethiopia and South Africa. The main objectives of the World Bank were guided by the need to avoid another deep global recession as experienced in the 1930s, and to pursue post-Second World War economic reconstruction and development.

Currently, the World Bank intends to achieve two goals by 2030: "end[ing] poverty by decreasing percentage of people living on less than $1.90 a day to no more than 3 percent", and "promot[ing] shared prosperity by fostering income growth of the bottom 40 per cent of every country".[3] The "fundamental mission" of the IMF, on the other hand, is "to ensure that the stability of the international monetary system [through] keeping track of the global economy and economies of the member countries, lending to countries with balance of payments difficulties and giving practical help to members … under a framework for economic cooperation, updated in 2012 to include all macroeconomic and financial sector issues bearing on global stability".[4] In light of these objectives, the two institutions provide "financial and technical assistance" and "policy advice, research and analysis" to Africa's sub-Saharan countries. Yet Africa has been haunted by the criticisms levelled during its formative years by the United States (USA) that its economies would result in "substituting economic imperialism for political imperialism"[5] and that, therefore, the African state would be economically hampered. The post-Second World War and post-Cold War realignments have not substantially affected the hegemonic economic power and the political influence of the industrialised countries of Europe and the USA in both institutions. These institutions have continued, as they did in the early years, giving more weight to developed countries that are based on special drawing right (SDR) quotas and voting shares than those granted to developing countries. Developed countries have typically served as presidents and chief economists of the World Bank (see Table 21.1) and as managing directors of the IMF (see Table 21.2). It is in this sense that both institutions perhaps have vicariously contributed to perpetuating and deepening neoliberal policy prescriptions, as well as global economic and political power asymmetries that constrain the terrain of and the making or alternative paths to democracy and development available to African countries.

In view of the growing concern expressed by African countries about the continued hegemonic positions demonstrated by industrialised countries in their governance structures and processes, which disadvantaged developing countries in particular, both the World Bank and IMF responded by trying to democratise the structures and processes in more inclusive ways, "to better reflect the world economy as it is today". They also tried accommodating the growing economic power of newly industrialised member countries, such as Brazil, India, and China, and also Russia (the BRIC countries), through the World Bank's 2010 "Voice Reform-Phase 2", which provided developing countries more voting power within the World Bank, while reducing the power of some developed countries.[6]

But such reforms have not carried much weight, since the larger-economy members of both the World Bank and IMF continue to have more drawing right quotas and voting weight than that of the smaller economies. Criticisms levelled against the power structures within these

**Table 21.1** Past presidents and chief economists of the World Bank

| *Presidents: name, period in office, and nationality* | *Chief economists: name, period in office, and nationality* |
|---|---|
| 1. Eugene Mayer (1946–1946), United States | 1. Hollis B. Chenery (1972–1982), United States |
| 2. John J. McCloy (1947–1949), United States | 2. Anne Osborne Krueger (1982–1986), United States |
| 3. Eugene R. Black Sr. (1949–1963), United States | 3. Stanley Fischer (1988–1990), United States |
| 4. George Woods (1963–1968), United States | 4. Lawrence Summers (1991–1993), United States |
| 5. Robert McNamara (1968–1981), United States | 5. Michael Bruno (1993–1996) Israel |
| 6. Alden W. Clausen (1981–1986), United States | 6. Joseph E. Stiglitz (1997–2000) United States |
| 7. Barber Conable (1986–1991), United States | 7. Nicholas Stern (2000–2003), United Kingdom |
| 8. Lewis T. Preston (1991–1995), United States | 8. Francois Bourguignon (2003–2007), France |
| 9. Sir James Wolfensohn (1995–2005), United States (previously Australian) | 9. Justin Yifu Lin (2008–2012), China |
| 10. Paul Wolfowitz (2005–2007), United States | 10. Kaushik Basu (2012–present), India |
| 11. Robert Zoellick (2007–2012), United States | |
| 12. Jim Yong Kim (2012–present), United States (previously South Korean) | |

Source: Abstracted from http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Bank (accessed 29 July 2016)

**Table 21.2** Substantive managing directors of the IMF since 1946

| | *Date in office* | *Name* | *Nationality* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | May 1946–May 1951 | Camille Gutt | Belgium |
| 2. | August 1951–October 1956 | Ivar Rooth | Sweden |
| 3. | November 1956–May 1963 | Per Jacobson | Sweden |
| 4. | September 1963–August 1973 | Pierre-Paul Schweitzer | France |
| 5. | September 1973–June 1978 | Johan Witteveen | Netherlands |
| 6. | June 1978–January 1987 | Jacques de Lassorie | France |
| 7. | January 1987–February 2000 | Michel Camdessus | France |
| 8. | May 2000–March 2004 | Horst Kohler | Germany |
| 9. | June 2004–October 2007 | Rodrigo Rato | Spain |
| 10. | November 2007–May 2011 | Domique Strauss-Kahn | France |
| 11. | July 2011–present | Christine Lagarde | France |

Source: Adapted from http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Monetary_Fund$surveillance_of_the_global_economy (accessed 29 July 2016) two institutions argued "the aggregate shift of voting power from developed to developing countries is very modest in percentage point terms, and lower than official figures indicate. The total shift of voting power from high-income countries to low- and middle-income countries is 3.71 percent (1.35 percent in phase 1 and 2.36 percent in phase 2). High-income countries collectively hold 60.95 percent, the upper-middle-income countries 17.22 percent, and low-income countries 4.46 percent of the voting shares in the World Bank."[7] Table 21.3 shows the ten largest countries by voting power in the World Bank, and Table 21.4 shows that within the IMF, larger economies such as France, Germany, Italy, Japan,

**Table 21.3** Ten largest countries by voting power in World Bank institutions by number of votes

| | *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)* | *International Finance Corporation (IFC)* | *International Development Association (IDA)* | *Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | United States—384,364 | United States—570,199 | United States—2,707,023 | United States—32,790 |
| 2. | Japan—166,130 | Japan—163,354 | Japan—2,199,092 | Japan—9205 |
| 3. | China—107,280 | Germany—129,728 | United Kingdom—1,616,445 | Germany—9162 |
| 4. | Germany—97,260 | France—121,835 | Germany—1,420,639 | France—8791 |
| 5. | France—91,090 | United Kingdom—121,835 | France—1,420,639 | United Kingdom—8791 |
| 6. | United Kingdom—91,090 | India—103,767 | Saudi Arabia—849,303 | China—5756 |
| 7. | India—70,609 | Russia—103,673 | India—769,591 | Russia—5754 |
| 8. | Saudi Arabia—67,191 | Canada—82,162 | Canada—689,934 | Saudi Arabia—5754 |
| 9. | Canada—59,040 | Italy—82,162 | Italy—610,595 | India—5597 |
| 10. | Italy—61,589 | China—62,576 | China—571,811 | Canada—5451 |

Sources: Abstracted from International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) Country Voting Power of Member Countries, 6 February 2017, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/BODINT/Resources/278027-1215524804501/IBRDCountryVotingTable.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017); IFC Country Voting Power of Member Countries, 6 February 2017; http://siteresources.worldbank.org/BODINT/Resources/278027-1215524804501/IFCCountryVotingTable.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017); IDA Country Voting Power of Member Countries, 6 February 2017; http://siteresources.worldbank.org/BODINT/Resources/278027-1215524804501/IDACountryVotingTable.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017); and MIGA Country Voting Power of Member Countries, 6 February 2017, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/BODINT/Resources/278027-1215524804501/MIGACountryVotingTable.pdf (accessed 11 February 2017)

**Table 21.4** Special drawing right (SDR) quotas and voting shares for top ten IMF members

| | *Member country* | *Quota: SDR millions* | *Quota: percentage of total* | *Number of votes* | *Percentage of total votes* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | United States | 82,994.2 | 17.46 | 831,406 | 16.53 |
| 2. | Japan | 30,820.5 | 6.48 | 309,659 | 6.16 |
| 3. | China | 30,482.9 | 6.41 | 306,293 | 6.09 |
| 4. | Germany | 26,634.0.4 | 5.60 | 267,808 | 5.32 |
| 5. | France | 20,155.1 | 4.24 | 203,015 | 4.04 |
| 6. | United Kingdom | 20,1551 | 4.24 | 203,015 | 4.04 |
| 7. | Italy | 15,070.0 | 3.17 | 152,164 | 3.02 |
| 8. | India | 13,114.4 | 2.76 | 132,608 | 2.64 |
| 9. | Russian Federation | 12,903.7 | 2.71 | 130,501 | 2.59 |
| 10. | Brazil | 11,042.0 | 2.32 | 111,884 | 2.22 |

Source: Adapted from https://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/memdir/membersaspx (accessed 29 July 2016)

the United Kingdom (UK), and the USA, collectively hold 41.7% of the total special drawing right quotas, and 39.6% of the total voting shares.

In furtherance of the reform efforts while observing both institutions, some analysts have suggested that "economic size" should be moderated by taking into account the equality of members—one person, one vote, or some proportionality rule—in determining voting quotas; and the World Bank and IMF's "policy recommendations … disentangled from their power structure". The policies recommended, or approved for member countries do not necessarily reflect the power structure [of the World Bank and IMF], but are conditioned by [the huge emphasis in the graduate training in mainstream neoliberal economics] of the career staff, who develop these programs in cooperation with officials from member countries."[8]

The development of both institutions has been affected by post-Second World War realignments in the global economic and political order, notably at the end of the Cold War. Such developments have seen the strengthening of economic growth of Japan, China, Brazil, and India, and seen other newly industrialising countries becoming world economic powers. These economic growth spurts have also created a keen interest in the economies of Africa, resulting in a "New Scramble" for accessing Africa's resources and gaining access to its markets. The relations between the two institutions—the World Bank and IMF—and Africa's governments have been dominated by these two powerful institutions, forcing Africa's governments to realign their socioeconomic development and political instruments. It is within this context that the debates over the nexus of Africa's linking of development theory and policy to democracy emerged. But these debates have been contested and are against the views of the World Bank and IMF's ideological anchor prescribed to the African state of limiting the state's interventionist role and instead regulating its economy by reallocating social surpluses such as education and health policies, which thus shifts the emphasis placed on the welfare of the state to that of the market, resulting in a dysfunctional state and a major depletion of skills as well as the deteriorating conditions of basic health of its citizens.

The World Bank and the IMF have typically pushed for neoliberal, market-driven development strategies to "roll back the state" as a conditionality for their loans provided to African governments. However, the stark "neocolonial" structural reality and debilitating multifaceted and interlinked capacity deficits of the typical African state economy have generally meant that the World Bank and IMF modify their anti-state interventionist prescriptive positions.

## General Character and Orientations of Relations Between Africa and the World Bank and IMF: Pre- and Post-Cold War

Set against governance and economic power structures between "bourgeois and proletarian states",[9] this section of the chapter delves into a critical assessment in defining the character and dynamics of the relations between Africa and the World Bank and IMF. Of the current 189 members of each institution, only 50 are from sub-Saharan Africa. A total of 32 African states acquired membership in each institution between 1961 and 1970. Although some progress has been made by African governments to confront its inherently weak state institutional structures and human capacity crises since their independence between the late 1950s and 1960s, many of Africa's governments by the late 1960s and early 1970s were yet faced with imploding economic and political crises. These crises were largely caused by governments' inability to fulfil the promises made at independence, and resulted in a revolution of uprisings against authoritarian dictatorships of African leaders, owing to the dampening of expectations and the euphoria ushered in at independence. Most of the African states, particularly Angola, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, and Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo [DRC]), among others, were ruled by power-hungry governments and ill-equipped to manage state funds as well as the greed-fuelled corruption of autocratic leaders, resulting in a state economic decline and the ultimate dismal performance of many African countries.

Thus there emerged a vigorous intellectual debate in the World Bank, IMF, and also in Africa's think-tanks concerning the nature of the crises and the future of the African state. The extensive debates had ranged over the appropriate framework and strategy to deploy in crisis interventions of the state, and also concerned the design of alternative home-grown collective African regional and continental actions to be deployed by Africans themselves.[10]

The World Bank provided loans to African countries as far back as the mid-1950s for income generation, and for developmental needs of the states' infrastructural projects such as roads, rails, and ports.[11] During the mid-1960s both institutions diversified their loan portfolios in Africa, reflecting an approach that combined industrial, agricultural, and export-led growth with that of private sector development and social lending in education; the environment; health in general, including reproductive health and nutrition; population and urban development; as well as water and sanitation. Thus diversification meant combining growth with social justice to achieve equity and income redistribution, with the broader objectives of social protection, poverty alleviation, and meeting the basic needs of Africa's people. Yet the diversification of loans gave rise to questions about the modalities of the loans that were provided, as to whether the people, particularly the poor, should pay for services rendered, or whether increased lending would enhance or diminish the medium- to long-term creditworthiness of loan-recipient countries, or assessing whether such loans would lead to further state impoverishment.

Although a host of factors accounted for the escalation of African countries' obtaining loans from the World Bank and IMF, an unwholesome consequence of the loans disbursed for diversification was a huge continuous increase in the debt and debt-servicing profiles of some African recipient countries. The escalation of debt recipients resulted in questions concerning the proper utilisation of the loans, or whether the loans were used to personally enrich corrupt, unscrupulous public officials, which further resulted in dire implications for long-term debt sustainability.[12]

During the Cold War, debates arose concerning foreign aid from Cold War protagonists and the impact thereof, and whether foreign aid contributed to propping up authoritarian African governments.[13] Also in the post-Cold War era, similar questions were posed regarding the "nexus between aid and authoritarianism" in Africa, especially within the nexus of the "securitisation" of aid and its linkages and, moreover, after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks that occurred in the USA.[14] It is within this context that questions were also raised about the impact of the World Bank and IMF's financial aid policies and its implications for Africa's democracy and development government practices.

## World Bank and IMF Policy Prescriptions and African Responses: The SAP Debate

The debate over resolving the African economic and political governance crisis of the 1970s and 1980s was captured in the landmark doctrinal statements on the crisis in the Organisation of African Unity's (OAU) Lagos Plan of Action (LPA); the OAU's African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; the World Bank's *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* report (the Berg Report); the United Nations Declaration on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa; Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery of 1986–90 (APPER); the World Bank's *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth* report; the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa's (UNECA) African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes for Socio-Economic Transformation (AAF-SAP); and the African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation.[15] These statements reflected contrasting African and World Bank and IMF visions in strategic governance approaches to resolving the long-running economic crisis of Africa's economies.

The LPA and the AAF-SAP analysed the historical causes and external shocks to Africa's markets. These instruments focused on achieving a developmental state and emphasised that government's economic policies must become self-reliant and aligned with an equitable distribution of wealth that should be anchored in and derived from a cultural-based and a human security framework of rights and that is able to strengthen its public service. The World Bank's Berg Report, on the other hand, situated the core of Africa's economic crisis in the government's "domestic policy issues", and prescribed retooling African political economies by freeing enterprise-led growth and encouraged minimalist state involvement in the market and private sector, which was seen as a means of rectifying the damage that the loans had on Africa's economies.

Based on the Berg Report, during the 1980s the World Bank and IMF provided lending to African countries, specifically for debt-servicing, while promoting and insisting on the acceptance of neoliberal-anchored structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). SAPs prescribed economic and political reforms as conditionality for structural adjustments loans (SALs). SAPs renewed the debates over earlier questions that concerned the role of the World Bank and IMF's aid policies in Africa's economies. In the case of the World Bank, the SAP packages included privatisation and commercialisation of public enterprises; cuts in public spending and imposition of user fees; market-based pricing and removal of subsidies; and liberalising trade.

The IMF package included reduction of current account deficits; removal of foreign exchange restrictions and import licences; and public sector downsizing. All these were intended to mitigate and resolve the debt question and address the broader African governance crisis. By 1986, World Bank SALs had grown to $3 billion, constituting 25% of total World Bank and IMF lending provided globally. Both institutions "became an important presence in several … countries where [they] had been a minor lender earlier".[16]

The impact of SAPs and of other World Bank and IMF programmes on Africa's economies is mixed. On the positive side, the SAP packages highlighted domestic institutional weaknesses and failures as major causes of the African economic crisis. For example, they attributed the crisis to the pre-eminence accorded to social needs or politics over citizen's rational economic interests. SAPs attempted to overcome the weaknesses by assigning primacy to the autonomy of market forces as the engine of development. Accordingly, SAPs main achievement has been to expose relatively micro-level institutional problems hindering the strengthening of Africa's development.[17]

The underlying weakness of SAPs, however, was over-emphasising the allocative efficiency of market forces, and ignoring global and domestic market imperfections. But the World Bank and the IMF downplayed the significant role that the African state has and ought to play, in both micro- and macro-economic policies. Thus state regulations where market-driven policies conflicted with social goals were not adequately exposed through the SAP policies as a key responsibility that must be anchored firmly to the state. As Colin Leys argues: "it is not politics that 'impair' market efficiency, but market forces that conflict with social goals; and in reality what is at stake in Africa is precisely a conflict between principles of 'market society' and alternative conceptions—some traditional, some modern—of collective welfare. The assumption is that in dealing with 'economic matters', rational people act primarily for material advantage is by no means a 'natural' starting point …; it is a highly political one, which takes as 'natural' what is in fact at stake in the struggle for Africa's future."[18] Claude Ake observes that "political incoherence is the bane of Africa"[19] and argues that "a great defect of SAP[s] is that [they are] blind to [their] own politics, not only about [their] impact on politics but also the impact of politics on [their] own feasibility. SAP[s] [are] blind to the fact that [they are] usually associated with the de-democratization of politics".[20]

SAPs' failures to address the structural and social questions that concerned global and domestic power asymmetries in the African context spawned inequities. Such failures resulted in opposition that constituted central pillars of autonomist political action and resistance by social movements and citizens across Africa. There was thus strong opposition to the authoritarian regimes who imposed them.[21]

SAPs' prescriptions for democracy or "good governance" were no less problematic. First, SAPs are based on neoliberalism that conflates the problem of democracy in Africa with that of liberal democracy, resulting in "the democratization of disempowerment [with] people … voting without choosing".[22] They failed to address the design and political problem, which politically mobilised ethnicity and engendered competitive electoral politics, especially the first-past-the-post, "winner-take-all" electoral system. Second, SAPs failed to adequately relate the problem of democracy in Africa to the structural problem of under-development and the structural inequities and unequal exchanges created by the imperialist logic of globalisation. As Andre Gunder Frank observed, unless the global power asymmetries are removed, democratic transitions in the South "may well become … a fig leaf for continued exploitation and oppression of the South by the North",[23] with "state power … constituted to render democracy impossible".[24]

Third, SAPs had a negative impact on other World Bank and IMF programmes, such as the World Bank's poverty alleviation programmes. In his memoirs, Nigerian scholar and former World Bank official Ladipo Adamolekun recounted as one of his "two zones of discomfort working with the [World] Bank … the discomfiting inconsistency between the Bank's loud and commendable commitment to helping the member countries reduce poverty and policies and activities that gravely undermine the commitment".[25]

## World Bank and IMF Policy Prescriptions and African Responses: Post-SAPs and Post-Cold War

The wave of democratisation that swept through Africa during the late 1980s and 1990s contributed in no small measure to the World Bank and the IMF rethinking the impact of their programmes and operations. In its report *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*, the World Bank provided feeble accommodation to the need for a conducive political environment for development, such as constitutional government, anchored on the rule of law, accountability, participation, and transparency. Its prescriptions, however, remained, like those of the Berg Report, supportive of an "enhanced role for the private sector" and a "minimalist role of government".

The rethinking within both institutions led to their abandonment of SAPs in 1999. The post-SAPs and post-Cold War period saw the World Bank beginning to turn attention to democratic transitions and post-conflict peacebuilding projects in its African member countries.[26] In the case of the IMF, the institution introduced the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF). An IMF member country requesting to draw on the facility was required to submit a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)

> prepared … in broad consultation with stakeholders and development partners, including staffs of the World Bank and IMF … Updated every three years with annual progress reports, [it] describes the country's macroeconomic, structural, and social policies in support of growth and poverty reduction, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing.[27]

The requirement for "broad consultation with stakeholders" in producing a PRSP is intended to ensure its national ownership and diminish external donor imposition, through the "extensive participation" of the country's citizens in the process of producing it.

The IMF also placed renewed emphasis during the period on fiscal transparency in the economic governance and management of its member countries, through its Revised Code of Good Practices on Fiscal Transparency, among others. The code outlines four broad focus areas: clarity of roles and responsibilities; public availability of information; open budget preparation, execution, and reporting; and assurance of integrity.[28] The onset of the period coincided with the high-water mark of African regional efforts and initiatives that had begun during the 1980s, and accelerated between 1990 and 2000,[29] in rethinking and reinventing constitutional governments. Africa's constitutional governments are based on the rule of law, separation of powers, and the democratic management of diversity and of political succession through fixed term limits and enhanced electoral integrity. These include political devolution and decentralisation, human development (including social protection and safety nets, and human resource development), public sector reform, and the establishment of horizontal institutions of accountability and transparency in governance.

The reform was reinforced by the establishment of external African accountability mechanisms and constitutional jurisdictions. The objectives of the African programmes of both institutions, such as the PRGF, bear some affinity with and reinforce a number of African and international governance standards and conventions that emerged between 1980 and 2000 to "reshape" domestic accountability within the African state through constitutional and political reform measures anchored on an emergent consensus-based African governance architecture.[30]

But the PRGF interlinked with and in several instances cross-cut with other thematic areas of the APRM. The socioeconomic development thematic area of the APRM has objectives designed to analyse progress in APRM member countries in areas such as poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, gender equality, and universal education. The APRM themes also resonate with areas that are also targeted by the PRGF and the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and subsequently the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The APRM Country Review Reports (CRRs) of 17 APRM peer-reviewed member countries provide insightful findings and offer recommendations on progress under the APRM's socioeconomic development thematic area. Sierra Leone and Uganda are clear country examples that help explain how these cross-cutting thematic areas (as listed above) impacted on their socioeconomic conditions.

The Sierra Leone CRR notes that the second PRSP, *An Agenda for Change for 2008–2012*, which is designed to promote "transformational economic growth to achieve accelerated sustainable development and poverty reduction through the key strategic areas of energy, transport, infrastructure, agriculture, and human development", is "commendable", particularly in its emphasis on decentralisation. But the CRR also cautions that serious constraints on decentralisation remain, owing to district councils not being "fully aware of their responsibilities of ensuring proper project implementation, monitoring and evaluation"; lack of technical capacity; insufficient funding; lack of proper audit and monitoring; starting projects such as road construction and not completing them; and corruption of government officials and public officers.[31]

Uganda's CRR observes that the country's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), which seeks to promote "human development as part of the development process" through "substantial and sustained improvement in health, education, water and sanitation", has "led to a substantial reduction in income poverty in Uganda", with "income poverty headcount [declining] from … 38 per cent in 2002/3 … to 31 per cent in 2005/6". But Uganda's CRR also points out that "economic growth has not been associated with significant job creation and sustained improvement of living conditions of the ordinary Ugandan …". It is therefore recommended that "the problem of household vulnerability to poverty … needs to be addressed, [because] the upswing in poverty levels between 1999 and 2003 seems to indicate a significant level of household vulnerability".[32] Yet, on a more positive note, the CRR concludes that, "despite the persistence of chronic poverty and the rising inequalities across region and gender, … if the current trend in poverty reduction recorded in 2005/6 continues, the prospects for achieving the income poverty MDG target remain high".[33] Indeed, according to one estimate, Uganda surpassed the Millennium Development Goals target of halving poverty by 2015 and made significant progress in reducing the population that suffers from hunger. The proportion of the population living in extreme poverty ($1.90 a day) fell from 62.2% in 2002/2003 to 33.2% in 2012/13, representing the second fastest reduction in poverty in sub-Saharan Africa.[34] Regarding Uganda's decentralised governance and poverty reduction programmes, David Craig and Doug Porter show "how structural predilections obscure power relations and restrict practical and political options, while exacting heavy establishment and compliance costs".[35]

The overall picture emerging from APRM Country Review Reports of the 17 peer-reviewed countries is that although much progress is being made in addressing the challenges of poverty reduction and of related human development problems that these countries are faced with, the countries are further confronted with daunting cross-cutting constraints on achieving the poverty reduction objectives of their PRSPs because of factors including the lack of political will by governments to carry out decentralisation and devolution; poor resource mobilisation; serious lack of capacity; poor monitoring and evaluation processes; inadequate and poorly maintained infrastructure; ineffective policy and programme implementation as well as implementation gaps, including poor service delivery; social indiscipline; corruption; urban and rural and regional inequalities; and poor management of diversity.[36] It should be added, on a positive note, that many countries that implemented the PRGF facility in the early days received extensive debt relief and have since graduated from IMF lending programmes to "surveillance"-only mode, due to the strength of their achievements under the PRGF.[37]

In short, in the post-SAP and post-Cold War periods, the World Bank and the IMF provided a considerable part of the loans profile of Africa's states. In 2015, the World Bank approved loans to Africa included 103 projects totalling $11.6 billion, made up of $1.2 billion in International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) loans and $10.4 billion in International Development Association (IDA) commitments, with the leading sectors being public administration, law, and justice ($3.0 billion); health and other social services ($2.8 billion); and transportation ($1.2 billion). The projects of these two institutions financed regional integration; addressed development-related drivers of fragility; increased access to power; supported small farmers and boosted agriculture, and designed and implemented economic recovery in the countries affected by the Ebola epidemic.[38] Table 21.5 shows that total World Bank-funded projects in Africa between May and July 2016 ranged over such sectors as transport (Côte d'Ivoire), power grids (São Tomé and Príncipe), agriculture and natural resources (Mozambique), urban water and sanitation (Niger), public investment management and governance support (Benin), and rural electrification expansion (Tanzania), amounting to $1.743 trillion.

In respect of loans from the IMF, Table 21.6 shows that IMF loans to African countries between 2012 and 2016 totalled $5.426 billion, with

**Table 21.5** Select list of World Bank-funded projects in Africa, May–July 2016

| *Project name* | *Project ID* | *Commitment amount ($ millions)* | *Product line* | *Country* | *Status* | *Date of approval* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Transport Sector Modernization and Trade Corridor Facilitator Project | P156900 | 30 | IBRD/IDA | Côte d'Ivoire | Active | 5 July 2016 |
| 2. STP Power Sector Recovery Project | P157096 | 16 | IBRD/IDA | São Tomé and Príncipe | Active | 5 July 2016 |
| 3. Smallholder Agriculture Development and Commercialization Project | P154447 | 70 | IBRD/IDA | Angola | Active | 5 July 2016 |
| 4. Mozambique Agriculture and Natural Resources Landscape Management Project | P149620 | 40 | IBRD/IDA | Mozambique | Active | 30 June 2016 |
| 5. Urban Water and Sanitation Project | P159240 | 70 | IBRD/IDA | Niger | Active | 30 June 2016 |
| 6. Productive Safety Net Project (PSNP4) Additional Financing | P158770 | 100 | IBRD/IDA | Ethiopia | Active | 30 June 2016 |
| 7. Additional Financing CAB 4 | P158299 | 23 | IBRD/IDA | Gabon | Active | 29 June 2016 |
| 8. Urban Water Supply Project-Additional Funding | P157438 | 50 | IBRD/IDA | Mali | Active | 28 June 2016 |
| 9. South Sudan Health Rapid Results Project | P156917 | 40 | IBRD/IDA | South Sudan | Active | 27 June 2016 |

| *Project name* | *Project ID* | *Commitment amount ($ millions)* | *Product line* | *Country* | *Status* | *Date of approval* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. Additional Financing to Nutrition and HIV/AIDS Project | P156129 | 23 | IBRD/IDA | Malawi | Active | 23 June 2016 |
| 11. Public Investment Management and Governance Support Project | P147014 | 30 | IBRD/IDA | Benin | Active | 23 June 2016 |
| 12. Health Service Delivery and System Support | P153064 | 10 | IBRD/IDA | Sierra Leone | Active | 23 June 2016 |
| 13. TZ-Rural Electrification Expansion Programme | P153781 | 200 | IBRD/IDA | Tanzania | Active | 21 June 2016 |
| 14. Macroeconomic and Fiscal Management Operation | P156629 | 40 | IBRD/IDA | Guinea | Active | 17 June 2016 |
| 15. Burundi Coffee Sector Competitiveness Project | P151869 | 55 | IBRD/IDA | Burundi | Active | 17 June 2016 |
| 16. Transforming Health Care Systems for Universal Care Procurement Plan | P152394 | 150 | IBRD/IDA | Kenya | Active | 15 June 2016 |
| 17. National Social Safety Nets Projects | P151488 | 500 | IBRD/IDA | Nigeria | Active | 7 June 2016 |
| 18. Ethiopia: Transport Systems Improvement Project (TRANSIP) | P151819 | 300 | IBRD/IDA | Ethiopia | Active | 3 June 2016 |

(*continued*)

**Table 21.5** (continued)

| *Project name* | *Project ID* | *Commitment amount ($ millions)* | *Product line* | *Country* | *Status* | *Date of approval* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. Social Assistance Project | P151442 | 20 | IBRD/IDA | Lesotho | Active | 31 May 2016 |
| 20. DJ Second Additional Financing for the Rural Community Development and Water Mobilization Project (PRODERMO) | P157282 | 7 | IBRD/IDA | Djibouti | Active | 31 May 2016 |
| Total amount committed | | 1774 | | | | |

Source: Adapted from http:///www.worldbank.org/projects/search?land-en&search Term=Africa (accessed 31 July 2016)

**Table 21.6** International Monetary Fund (IMF) loans to Africa, 2012–2016

| *Country* | *Year* | *Quota at approval (SDR millions)* | *Total amount approved (including SRF) (SDR millions)* | *Actual approved amount (percentage of quota)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burundi | 2012 | 77 | 40 | 52 |
| Guinea | 2012 | 107 | 174 | 163 |
| Niger | 2012 | 66 | 120 | 183 |
| Gambia | 2012 | 31 | 19 | 61 |
| Central African Republic | 2012 | 56 | 42 | 75 |
| Tanzania | 2012 | 199 | 149 | 75 |
| Malawi | 2012 | 69 | 139 | 200 |
| Liberia | 2012 | 129 | 84 | 65 |
| Sierra Leone | 2013 | 104 | 187 | 180 |
| Mali | 2013 | 93 | 98 | 105 |
| Burkina Faso | 2013 | 60 | 51 | 85 |
| Chad | 2014 | 67 | 107 | 160 |
| Kenya | 2015 | 271 | 353 | 130 |
| Kenya | 2015 | 271 | 136 | 50 |
| Ghana | 2015 | 369 | 664 | 180 |
| Guinea-Bissau | 2015 | 14 | 17 | 120 |
| Mozambique | 2015 | 114 | 204 | 180 |
| Kenya | 2016 | 543 | 709 | 131 |
| Kenya | 2016 | 543 | 355 | 65 |
| Rwanda | 2016 | 160 | 144 | 90 |
| Central African Republic | 2016 | 111 | 84 | 75 |
| Total 1SDR = US$1.41373 | | SDR | 3876 | 2425 |
| | | US$ | **5426** | |

Source: Adapted by the author from International Monetary Fund, *Monitoring of Fund Arrangements (MONA) Database, Financial Arrangements Africa, 2012–2016*, Washington, DC: IMF, August 19, 2016

the highest loan amount of about 40% and equivalent to $2.174 billion to the Kenyan government, and the least amount of $17 million to Guinea-Bissau; while Table 21.7 provides information on arrangements approved and augmented to provide access to some African countries under the IMF's concessional financing facilities, including the Poverty Reduction and Growth Trust, in 2015 and 2016.

**Table 21.7** Arrangements approved and augmented by the IMF under the Poverty Reduction and Growth Trust in FY2016 in millions of SDRs

| | *Member* | *Effective date* | *Amount approved (millions of SDR) 1SDR = US$1.41373* |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. New Three-Year | Guinea-Bissau | July 10, 2015 | 17.0 |
| Extended Credit | Sao Tome & | July 13, 2015 | 4.4 |
| Facility[a] | Principe | *Sub-Total* | 21.4 |
| B. Augmentation of | Burkina Faso | June 5, 2015 | 24.1 |
| Extended Credit | Niger | November 30, | 41.1 |
| Facility | Sierra Leone | 2015 | 46.7 |
| Arrangement[b] | | November 16, | 111.9 |
| | | 2015 | |
| | | *Sub-Total* | |
| C. New Stand-by | Kenya | March 14, | 354.6 |
| Credit Facility | Mozambique | 2016 | 204.5 |
| Arrangement[b] | | December 18, | 559.1 |
| | | 2015 | |
| | | *Sub-Total* | |
| D. Disbursements | Central African | September 14, | 8.4 |
| under Rapid | Republic | 2015 | 30.6 |
| Credit Facility | Madagascar | November 18, | 39.0 |
| | | 2015 | 731.4 |
| | | *Sub-Total* | |
| | | TOTAL | |

Source: International Monetary Fund, *IMF Annual; Report 2016*, "Lending". Abstracted from Table 21.4 *see also* imf.org/external/pubs/ft/ar2016/eng/wwd-lending.html (accessed 29 July 2016)

[a]Previously the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility

[b]For augmentation, only the amount of the increase is shown

## Conclusion: Redefining Relations Between Africa and the World Bank and IMF

In what direction should Africa's future relations with the World Bank and IMF move? First, African member states should be given more voice and power within both institutions, through reforms that provide enhanced weight to equality of states, and with a view to further diluting the primacy given to global economic and political powers within them. Second, the two institutions should move away from the underlying neoliberal philosophical foundations of their African programmes such as SAPs. The policy prescriptions of the Breton Woods institutions should embrace and support the people-centred, pro-poor and human security governance architecture of the APRM and the African Union's *Agenda 2063*. The AU's African Governance Architecture (AGA) represents a paradigm shift in the thinking concerning democracy and development and is miles ahead of the World Bank and IMF's neoliberalist principles, supporting instead a more Afro-centric, home-grown thinking about Africa's economic governance architecture. It aims to create for African states the capability of a developmental state, as laid out in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of 1981, as well as in the African Charter for Popular Participation of 1990 and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance (ACDEG) created in 2012. Embracing and vigorously supporting these architectures will be an indication that the World Bank and IMF are reorienting their relations with Africa on the basis of mutuality and recognition.

## Notes

1. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund each designate North Africa as part of their Middle East and North Africa Region, thereby excluding North Africa from their Africa Region, which thus comprises members from sub-Saharan Africa only.
2. The World Bank, formerly known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, is a member of the World Bank Group, which has four other members: the International Development Association, the International Finance Corporation, the Multilateral Guarantee Agency, and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes.
3. *See* World Bank, http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/what-we-do
4. *See* IMF, http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm
5. Catherine Caufield, *Masters of Illusion: The World Bank and the Poverty of Nations* (New York: Henry Holt, 1977), p. 44.
6. World Bank, "New World, New World Bank: Synthesis Paper" (2010).
7. Jacob Vestergaard and Robert H. Wade, "Protecting Power: How Western States Retain Dominant Voice in World Bank Governance", *World Development* 46 (2013), pp. 153–64. *See also* Bretton Woods Project, "Analysis of the World Bank Voting Reforms: Governance Remains Illegitimate and Outdated", briefing (30 April 2010).
8. I am grateful to Iyabo Masha for drawing my attention to this point in a private email correspondence with me.
9. *See* Claude Ake, *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa* (London: Zed, 1978), pp. 17–18.
10. *Compare* the debate generated by the Colloquium on the African Road to Socialism, held in Dakar, 3–6 December 1962. *See also* United Nations

Economic Commission for Africa, "Capturing the 21st Century: African Peer Review Mechanism, Best Practices, and Lessons Learned" (2011), pp. 21–73.

11. Projects funded included railways (Côte d'Ivoire); irrigation (Sudan); dams (Ghana, Nigeria, Malawi, Sudan, Zambia); highways (Burundi, South Africa); ports (Nigeria); power plants (Swaziland, South Africa, Mauritius, Uganda); an iron mine (Mauritania); a manganese mine (Gabon); and telephone systems (Ethiopia). *See* Catherine Caufield, *Masters of Illusion*, pp. 70–90.
12. Lester B. Pearson, *Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development* (New York: Praeger, 1969). Pearson "[d]iscovered that developing countries were using a huge proportion of their foreign loans simply to pay interest due on earlier foreign loans, [and warned] that if borrowing continued at existing levels … Africa's annual debt-service would be 120 percent of its new borrowings" by 1977. *Quoted in* Catherine Caufield, *Masters of Illusion*, p. 89.
13. *See for example* Jeff Haynes, Trevor W. Parfitt, and Stephen Riley, "Debt in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Local Politics of Stabilisation", *African Affairs* 86(344) (July 1987), pp. 347–8; Emanuelle Fantini and Luca Puddu, "Ethiopia and International Aid: Development Between High Modernism and Exceptional Measures", in Tobias Hagmann and Filip Reyntjens (eds), *Aid and Authoritarianism in Africa: Development Without Democracy* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 2016), p. 93.
14. Tobias Hagmann and Filip Reyntjens, "Introduction: Aid and Authoritarianism in Sub-Saharan Africa after 1990", in Tobias and Reyntjens, *Aid and Authoritarianism in Africa*, p. 4.
15. *See* UNECA, "Capturing the 21st Century", pp. 35–52.
16. Ian M. Little, Richard N. Cooper, W. Max Corden, and Sarath Rajapatirana, *Boom, Crisis and Adjustment: The Macroeconomic Experience of Developing Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 124.
17. Colin Leys, *the Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (London: Currey, 1996), p. 82.
18. Leys, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*, p. 95. *See also* L. Adele Jinadu, "Globalization and State Capacity in Africa", technical paper, UNDP Seventh African Governance Forum, Building the Capable State in Africa, Ouagadougou (24–26 October 2007).
19. Claude Ake, *Democracy and Development in Africa* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2001), pp. 94–5.
20. Claude Ake, *Democracy and Development in Africa* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2001), pp. 94–5.
21. *See* J.B. Adekanye, "Structural Adjustment, Demonstration, and Rising Ethnic Tensions in Africa", *Development and Change* 26(2) (1995),

p. 355; Tade Aina, "Globalization and Social Policy in Africa", Working Paper no. 6, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, 1996; Claude Ake, *Democracy and Development in Africa*; B. Beckman, "Empowerment or Repression? The World Bank and the Politics of Adjustment", in Yusuf Bangura, Peter Gibbon, and Arve Ofstad (eds), *Authoritarianism, Democracy, and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1992); Liisa Laakso and Adebayo Olukoshi, "The Crisis of the Post-Colonial State Project in Africa", in Adebayo Olukoshi and Liisa Laakso (eds.), *Challenges to the Nation-State in Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstituet, 1996).

22. Claude Ake, "Democratisation of Disempowerment in Africa", Occasional Monograph no. 1, Centre for Advanced Social Science (1994), p. 12. *Compare* Bany Gills and Joel Rocamora, "Low Intensity Democracy", *Third World Quarterly* 13(3) (1993), p. 502; the authors claim that the neoliberal version of liberal democracy "is in danger of becoming a term of political mystification or obfuscation, serving as a euphemism for sophisticated forms of neo-authoritarianism".
23. Andre Gunder Frank, "Marketing Democracy in an Undemocratic Market", in Bany Gills (ed.), *Low Intensity Democracy: Political Power in the New World Order* (London: Pluto, 1993), p. 35.
24. Claude Ake, "Democratisation of Disempowerment in Africa", 1994.
25. Ladi Adamolekun, *I Remember* (Ibadan: Safari, 2016), p. 242.
26. Chukwuma Obiegwu, "Post-Conflict Peace-Building in Africa: Challenges of Socio-Economic Recovery and Development", Africa Region Working Paper Series no. 73, 2004.
27. IMF, "Ghana: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper", Country Report, no. 06, June 2006, p. 1.
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CHAPTER 22

# Conclusion

*Dawn Nagar*

This chapter provides a synthesis of the main arguments of this book while also illuminating the core *problematique* of Africa's relations with external actors. The Cold War and post-Cold War periods have invariably created an impoverished African continent that has become affected by state capitalism, insecurity, and political strife in both intra- and inter-state relations, stifling growth as well as any possibilities for a prosperous continent. Growing economies in the post-Cold War years have been equally daunting to manage, with governments using state assets to regulate markets, and then using markets to bolster domestic and political security positions.[1] The chapter further delves into the complex relations between Africa and the international community. During the Cold War and since, relations between African governments and the superpowers have been conducted to appease parochial interests. But African governments are also consistently complaining of being a victim of *realpolitik*. Double standards have had deleterious impacts on Africa's political economy and security, which have further derailed socioeconomic development and negatively impacted on the livelihoods of the more than one billion people on the African continent. With the end of colonialism, problems worsened, with former colonial actors becoming much more earnestly involved in the

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D. Nagar, C. Mutasa (eds.), *Africa and the World*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62590-4_22

continent's affairs and both sides marred with the inebriation of greed and corruption, with very little apparent desire to end the violence and wars that confronted several of Africa's countries, mainly the former Belgian colony of the Congo with its diamond-rich Katanga province in Eastern Congo; Angola with its oil and diamond fields; Mali with its uranium; Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa with their diamonds; and Sudan with its oil; as well as the Horn of Africa, notably Somalia, which the United States (USA) feared would become infiltrated by Saudi Arabia, to which Somalia did turn for support after the Ogaden War in the late 1970s.

During the 1900s and before Africa's independence, the continent was seeking a Pan-African vision. But African leaders were divided in the path to realise this vision. Thus, soon after Africa's independence from colonialism, during the 1950s and early 1960s, the ideals of Pan-Africanism died. For example, Ghana wanted a unified Africa, but the rest of the continent remained disinterested. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the continental body formed in 1963 (and later its successor, the African Union (AU), established in 2002), was created to support Africa's governments in pursuing socioeconomic transformation, including industrialisation and improving infrastructure such as railways, ports, roads, telecommunications, and power generation, to strengthen their economies. Although such grand ideas had firm support at the founding of the continental body, Africa's governments, as the master builders of the continent, have been inconsistent in their pursuit of socioeconomic development. Such expressions were more indicative of a "want" than a "need", trumped as they were by greed, corruption, and parochial interests.

With the United Nations (UN) having supported Africa's independence in the late 1950s, African states placed their hopes in global institutions, but in reality these hopes did not add up to much. Africa's trust was eroded when the global institutions were not able to provide the adequate support necessary for economic and security stability on the continent in global affairs. These global institutions in the main included, in addition to the UN, the Bretton Woods institutions (the World Bank and International Monetary Fund [IMF]), the International Criminal Court (ICC), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO). When the UN was established in 1945, its Security Council was the authority serving as guarantor of world peace, but with only five out of the 193 members of the UN General Assembly having gained permanent membership—the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, and France—it was these latter powers that were writing the rules of how global peace should work for the rest of the world. Africa was also been eager to entice the West into bribery and corruption, making it easy for the West to establish weak relations with government leaders.

Africans were of the view that the UN was an impartial body that would successfully disband colonisers and shed colonialism, protect their sovereignty, and manage conflict interventions. James Jonah's contribution to this volume underscores the UN's lack of actual involvement on the continent, with the UN having actually done very little for Africa aside from helping to end colonialism and apartheid. The UN's support in this regard ushered in several agreements and committees, including its committee on decolonisation—the Special Committee of 24—in 1962. This body also allowed for three further committees to develop at the UN General Assembly: the Special Committee for South West Africa, the Special Committee on Portuguese Territories, and the Committee of Information Transmitted. Further key committees were also established at the UN, such as the Special Committee Against Apartheid in 1962, and the Council for Namibia in 1967. The latter two bodies virtually ended South Africa's stronghold over South West Africa and saw Namibia's independence in 1990, and similarly ended apartheid in Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and in South Africa.[2] But it took these agreements 40 years to become effective—for the UN to deliver on the agreements of the 1960s—during which time a lot went wrong on the African continent.

A major reveille for Africa also occurred when UN Secretary General Dag Hammarsköjld, a central figure in orchestrating efforts to find a peaceful solution to the Congo war, was assassinated in September 1961. The continent soon came to the realisation that the UN was unable to provide it adequate support in conflict situations and in peacekeeping interventions. During the reign of four of Congo's leaders, the crisis escalated, with African governments and Western allies looting the country's resources, mainly the USA, Belgium, and France, with Congo's leaders—Patrice Lumumba, Joseph Désiré Mobutu (later called Mobutu Sese Seko), Laurent Kabila, and Joseph Kabila—and their military dictatorships forming the backbone of a militarised government in pursuit of wealth at all costs. The continent's realisation that the UN could not provide it adequate support was bolstered by the fact that the superpowers were eager to access the resources and mineral wealth of the Congo, and had major conflicts of interest with African states. If Congo's leaders were inept in toeing the line in accordance with what the West prescribed, leaders were either killed or ousted. When Congo's first leader, Lumumba, got too close in his relations with Soviet Russia, he too was slain, in 1961 during a military coup staged with a US and Belgian-backed military coup.[3] Subsequent Congolese leaders—Moïse Kapenda Tshombe, the prime minister, and Joseph Kasavubu, the president—were both ousted in November 1964 (since they too did not fit the hand that wore the glove) in another set of US and Belgian-backed military coups staged by the military of Mobutu, Congo's military chief of staff, who became president of the Congo in 1965. In furtherance of the parochial interests of the West, and in securing a strong-man regime and ensuring protection of international economic interests, the USA provided an estimated $300 million in weapons, while Belgium made available $100 million in military training to the Mobutu government.[4] Western allies watched as Mobutu looted the country's resources in diamond-smuggling trade deals with the United States conducted via the Kamina air-base in Southern Zaire, amounting to $5 billion per year and supporting Mobutu until his dictatorship ended in 1997.[5]

Though colonisation ended, the continent deteriorated amid escalating violence, poverty, and diseases, while former colonial actors continued their relations with African governments and much more aggressively than during the colonial period. In fact, it was the postcolonisation period that ushered in the major rivalry between the superpowers to gaining control over former colonies. Both France and Britain, in furthering their parochial agendas and neocolonial discourse, pursued side deals conducted with African government despots in unilateral engagements that never reached the level of UN Security Council engagement, conducted as they were in direct defiance of the decolonisation agreement reached in 1962. African governments were also trapped in Western parochial interests of the world's number one superpower, the USA, and in devastating contests with the Soviet-led communist bloc, to gain dominance over Africa's resource-rich territories.

The Horn of Africa was entrenched in capitalist and communist proxy wars that eventually led to state collapse in Somalia in the 1980s. Notwithstanding the departure of Italy from Somalia and Ethiopia and the brutality it handed out in those countries. In the end Rome was forced to pay Ethiopia $16.3 million for the atrocities it had committed. The Middle East war and oil crises of the 1970s changed the order of superpowers for Africa's major state actors, with Ethiopia moving closer to Moscow and Cuba, and Egypt, Somalia, and Sudan (and also Northern Yemen) moving closer to Saudi Arabia for arms bidding. Some relations in the post-Cold War era have remained engaged with superpowers, while a few African states having visibly shown their disenchantment with the USA and Russia, as was the case of Somalia, who showed its dissatisfaction towards Cuba. The USA feared Somalia's threats of teaming up with oil-rich Saudi Arabia, with Somalia remaining unforgiving of the Cubans for assisting Ethiopia and aligning its troops with Moscow against Somalia in the Ogaden War in 1977.[6]

Millions of people died on the continent in several wars—in the Congo, Angola, and Mozambique—as well as in the wars between Ethiopia and Somalia, between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and between the two Sudans. The exit of Moscow's influence in Ethiopia in the 1980s also left Addis Ababa on the brink of starvation due to ineffective Soviet farming practices in that country, resulting in millions of people starving to death. Several more million people have died during the post-Cold War period: 300,000 were killed in Burundi's genocide in 1993; a further 800,000 were killed in Rwanda's genocide in 1994; more than 300,000 were killed over ethnic clashes following the split of the two Sudans in 2011; and some 350,000 were displaced after South Sudan's referendum in 2011.[7] Further, hundreds of thousands of people have been killed in Libya, Somalia, and in the Great Lakes region (Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda). Since the end of the Cold War, new challenges of unconstitutional presidential third-termism have also emerged, with Africa also becoming dominated by Western security concerns with regard to terrorism and Islamic extremism and movements that have emerged in uprisings against corrupt governments, for example in Algeria, Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia.

On Africa's part, the continent's security concerns have been more centred on the violent groups and rebel movements that have begun threatening Africa's pursuit of peace, including the insurgent groups of the Central African Republic's (CAR) Séléka, the DRC's Mai-Mai groups, and Mali's Ansar Dine. Similarly, terrorists have threatened attempts at peace on the continent, including the Algeria-dominated Al Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Somalia's Al Shabaab, and Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), as well as decentralised violent social movements such as the CAR's anti-Balaka fighters and Nigeria's vigilante groups. The emergence of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in Opposition in 2013 also weakened the prospects for peace and stability in Africa's newest country, while Nigeria's Boko Haram has killed over 13,000 people since 2010.

The Congo's woes were also infiltrated by several other African states fighting proxy-fuelled wars in pursuit of greed, including Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda. Superpowers aided the states that were leveraging the necessary support to further their own interests. The USA responded with urgency when the autocratic leader of Zaire called on its support; and when radical members of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) supported Zaire's secessionist forces by invading Zaire twice, in 1977 and again in 1978, Mobutu could respond militarily with support from the USA, France, Belgium, and the DRC's African counterpart, Morocco.[8] The UN Security Council's five veto-wielding permanent members (the USA, Britain, France, Russia, and China) were dragging their feet in the case of Southern Africa. When support was not forthcoming from the world body to assist Southern African states in their plight against apartheid's wars of regional destabilisation (support did not arrive until four decades later), Southern Africa's response in the meantime was to form liberation movements and the Front Line States (FLS) alliance.[9]

Namibia's diamond wealth kept Windhoek on the UN Security Council's agenda, but nothing significant happened to help resolve South West Africa's wars or to assist that country in freeing itself from South Africa's exploitation of its resources and wealth. Namibia was a contested state because of its wealth in diamonds, managed by the South African government when its union was formed in 1910. South Africa's Anglo American Corporation was the key mining conglomerate extracting diamonds from Namibia's mines, and in order to gain international purchasing power, Anglo American made huge off-shore investments through its Minorco company, based in the United States.[10] Such strong external involvement has remained evident, with approximately 60% of Namibia's diamond exports going to Japanese and US markets in 2016.

France too has been seen as a controversial player on the continent. Earlier moves by the French were a clear pretext to gain control over a franc zone, particularly at a time when Western African states were considering an economic community—the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).[11] The first misled attempts of France to gain control on the continent were by sponsoring anti-colonialist groups, with Tunisia's Chadli Ben Mustapha, South Africa's Josiah Gumede, and West Africa's Tiemoko Garang Kouyate and Lamine Senghor, among others, who were misled by France's double standards mainly fuelled by greed. The rise of fascism in France after the First World War, in 1918, subsequently spilled over into Africa's own ideological path in October 1921;

the French Communist Party's role in Africa's liberation and involvement in Cameroon, Togo, French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, and French West Africa, to win support for and encourage African countries to pursue and take up arms against capitalism and imperialism, remains questionable. Thus as a second attempt, military and economic pacts signed between France and former colonies opened the way for France to gain its "sphere of influence" on the continent, making it extremely difficult for countries like Nigeria to lure Francophone states into its own fraternity of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and to secure a regional integration scheme in West Africa. These events were during French involvement in Biafra's war in 1967 (soon after Nigeria gained independence) and in support of the Republic of Biafra, both militarily and economically against Federal Nigeria and also with further support received from Britain, China, and Soviet Russia soon after Nigeria became independent.

## Africa and the International Community's Political and Economic Courtship: Policy of Détente

The impact that colonisation has had on the psyche of African governments has been demonstrated in the aggrandisement of Europeans (of France and Britain). Images of the "superiority of the white colonial master" and his "insubordinate slave", of the "worthlessness" of blacks, demonstrating the Europeans' total disregard for human dignity, with millions of deaths as a direct cause of colonisation's brutal wars and conflicts, still of course linger in the minds of Africans.[12] External actors' relations with the apartheid South African government were also never a barrier for other African governments to receive aid even under controversial conditions, even though the same superpowers, notably the USA, were also contributing to the violence and proxy wars on the continent. In contemporary Africa, hopeless conditions of infrastructure, poverty, famine, wars, and communicable diseases such as Ebola and HIV/AIDS on the continent are a direct result of power dynamics strategically positioned to contest for Africa's geographic regions, and played out mainly in trade and security patterns of relations during the Cold War. These levels of cohesion and types of communications have infiltrated a broad gambit of Africa's power structures, further dividing African states and the continent, which has become heavily constrained by the malign behaviours of both the international community and Africa's hegemonic states. These interactions are also strongly centred on interests that fuel conflict—and further fuelled by violence owing to the conflicts of interest and contestations among the actors that exacerbated Africa's intra- and inter-state wars.

Examples abound of the double standards and diplomatic ploy of both African governments and the international community. As early as 1957, when the World Bank was against any real support for Africa, China came to Tanzania's assistance with the World Bank's refusal to complete the Tazara railway, with Chinese funds of $450 million helping fund its completion.[13] But China's populations and similarly the population groups from Japan were provided with a "white superiority" title by the apartheid government and openly displayed racism against non-whites in South Africa. China, has also plundered the resources of the African continent. To benefit from Sudan's oil, in 1996 China's National Petroleum Cooperation (GNPOC) purchased 40% of the Sudanese oil consortium, the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company, and bought shares worth $8 billion in 14 projects.[14] The GNPOC controls 12.2 million acres of concession land as well as a $1 billion pipeline extending from the Bentiu oil fields to the Red Sea coast at Port Sudan. All this while China, on the UN Security Council, exercised a policy of non-interference, either abstaining from voting on, or watering down, most of the major resolutions concerning the crisis in Sudan's Darfur region at Council meetings.[15]

Japan, for its part, has been an awkward external actor in its engagements with Africa, as is skillfully outlined in this volume by Scarlett Cornelissen and Yoichi Mine, who describe this engagement by Japan as "schizophrenic", largely owing to the difficult events that transpired in 1939 when the Nigerian military (a regiment of 15 battalions), in appeasing Western powers (Britain and the USA), fought against Japan in Burma. There was also the Belgian Congo's involvement in providing the uranium for the making of the catastrophic atomic bombs dropped by the USA on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, which ultimately killed 135,000 people (80,000 instantly), with thousands more dying from radiation poisoning in subsequent years. Tokyo had very close relations with the apartheid South African government, while Japan was turning a blind eye to the inhumane conditions of South Africa's majority of its people in pursuit of South Africa's minerals. But Japan also maintained close ties with other African states in providing aid, such as to Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria; and these African states did not decline Japan's aid and were similarly unperturbed by Japan's relations with an apartheid government.

Similarly, the USA enforced sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and supported proxy wars backing the South African-led National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Between 1975 and 1985, Angola's major oil-trading partners and private businesses in Angola included Chevron, Texaco, and Mobil of the USA; Belgium's Petrofina; Italy's Agip; France's Total and Elf Aquitaine; Spain's Hispanoil; the United Kingdom's (UK) British Petroleum; Germany's Diminex; and Brazil's Petrobras.[16] The United States had a lot to lose in Angola's conflict, given the $600 million invested in its Chevron oil company between 1975 and 1985.[17] External actors have since remained involved in Angola; in 2016, Luanda's main trade exports (crude oil, diamonds, refined oil, gas, and coffee) went to its main export trading partners the United States, China, France, India, and Taiwan. More controversial, the USA was also an aid donor in providing $5 million in funding towards upgrading Mozambique's Beira port and a railway line, which were destroyed by the apartheid South African government in its wars of regional destabilisation, yet also openly supported UNITA to overthrow the government of Angola in proxies with South Africa. Apartheid South Africa mattered to the USA. America held over 1% of foreign investments and bank loans in South Africa, and a $7.6 billion share ownership.[18] In Southern Rhodesia, the United States had a chrome mining plant, Union Carbide and Foote Minerals, valued at £20 million. Other countries with interests in Southern Rhodesia were France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Japan.

## Post-Cold War Relations: Economics and Security

The chaos of Cold War proxies and capitalist and communist ideologies left a limping Africa to fending for itself when the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, with new international relations, the challenges of multilateralism, and trade routes redesigned to conduct trade liberalisation through open markets among the giant economies and resource gluts of the Great Lakes, the two Sudans, and the Horn of Africa. The manoeuvring of geostrategic positions and interests intensified, as did the challenges of terrorism in concentrated pockets in Somalia and Kenya in attempts to ward off Al Shabaab, resulting in the migration of thousands of people fleeing through Italy, Portugal, and Spain into Europe.

Since Rwanda's 1994 genocide and the withdrawal of French troops from the country preceding the genocide, France's Africa policy has been controlled solely by its presidency, thus providing significant clout to the

Elysée. As Douglas Yates in this volume brings to our attention, on the French president's authority, French peacekeeping troops have dispatched to African countries without prior consultation or agreement obtained from France's parliament or foreign affairs ministry. Aside from France's appetite to protect its former colonies, its appetite for Mali's uranium has been one of its major geostrategic interests in the Horn of Africa. Aside from France, as mentioned by Charles Mutasa at the start of this volume, the underhanded garnering of uranium resources for nuclear programmes by other external actors has proliferated on the continent.

Post-Cold War Africa has remained subjected to the whims of the superpowers in controlling the continent's economies, as well as the timing and intensity of conflicts and prescribing when, how, and who should be involved in intervening in Africa's affairs to resolve them. As the chapters in this volume show, the parochial interests of the superpowers on the African continent have been infused with violence. The only time the superpowers have ever shown real commitment to supporting the resolution of conflicts on the continent has been for conflicts that threatened their own interests. For example, in the case of Sudan, the USA, Europe, and China were forced to change their game plan in 2010, to tread more carefully given the realisation that Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed in January 2005 by the government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), had reached a critical stage that potentially risked major investments of these superpowers. In the run-up to the 2011 South Sudan referendum, Washington therefore became the biggest contributor of humanitarian aid to Sudan, with such assistance exceeding $1.2 billion in 2011.[19]

The European Union (EU) has also become more of a "paymaster" in providing the support required to reduce migration into Europe and thwart terrorism. Sudan was the EU's largest recipient of humanitarian aid, receiving €110 million of such assistance in 2009. Even the Nordic countries have changed their game plan for support to the continent, compared to former years when such support concerned only trade and aid packages.[20] Anne Hammerstad observes in this volume that the influx of migration seen as a security threat for the Nordic countries due to the inability of the EU countries to control their borders, leaving the Nordics to fend for themselves in their attempts to dealing with asylum seekers arriving in the EU, numbered at 1.2 million in 2015 alone.

## Africa and the World's Trade Milieu: Bilateral and Multilateral Relations with Traditional Superpowers

Africa's place in the world of politics, economics, and security and peacekeeping interventions has diminished since the end of the Cold War in contemporary engagements between it and the superpowers. Moreover, Africa's governments are severely lacking in their capacity to build effective institutions. Corporate policies have also been influenced by unscrupulous government leaders who lack commitment to implementing an African agenda of peace and socioeconomic development. Africa's post-Cold War relations have become further infused with the presence of the same superpowers involved on the continent during the Cold War, but under a different banner. These include the EU with its economic partnership agreements (EPAs); Brazil, Russia, India, and China as linked to the BRICS bloc (with South Africa also a member); Japan as linked to the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD); China (again) as linked to the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC); and the USA as linked to the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). These schemes were created from decades of research undertaken since the 1973 oil crisis, with subsequent global events precipitating other equations, such as the financial global crisis incepted with the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in 1973.[21]

As Adele Jinadu contends in this volume, there is a clear disconnect between the WTO and the Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank and the IMF—in the context of policy formulation and socioeconomic development of post-conflict reconstruction projects in Africa in their market liberalisation and trade schemes. The World Bank and the IMF have primarily served the role of banker and not paymaster. What has also been introduced is a neoliberal agenda tailor-made for post-conflict reconstruction projects that has invariably created a sea of debt for Africa. Such neoclassical economic models have succeeded amid the growth of massive privatisation schemes alongside import-export regimes that resulted in perpetual under-development of Africa's economies. Although the model de-emphasises the role of the state in economic development (wherein market forces operate freely), superpowers like Europe had already since 1975 introduced a Common Agriculture Policy (CAP), with the European Economic Commission's (EEC) total annual budget at €126 billion by the 1980s slated for subsidising and supporting its agriculture farmers—a sector that employed only 5% of Europe's working population. Europe's agricultural subsidies continued to plague the agenda of the World Trade Organisation. As a former director-general of the WTO, Pascal Lamy contended in an April 2013 strategic review that the "presence of high levels of subsidy in agriculture is a long-running source of friction in the trading system".[22] Africa's economic misery as a result of the 1973 oil crisis, together with the failure of the SAPs, stifled the continent's economies, which were also infiltrated by market liberalisation of open trade in bilateral and multilateral partnerships with the international community. But if bilateral and multilateral trade schemes are conducted under the same global operating principles as SAPs, why would a different result be expected—and one of economic growth through open trade? If this is the panacea for growth, then Africa is bound to remain impoverished.

Alex Vines in his contribution to the volume brings our attention to the EU's rules of engagement in providing a model for the rest of the world: the idea that national interests could be pooled by forfeiting regulations and state sovereignty, simply by allowing states to be controlled by a higher power—namely the European Union—has become dated. Britain eventually severed the EU Commission's noose that had been around its neck for over four decades when by 2016 it finally found it all too constraining: the UK, with a market population of 65,000,000 people, compared to the EU's 508,000,000 people (including the UK), voted in a referendum to allow its eventual exit from the EU (of which terms are to be negotiated over at least two years). This move saw the British pound plummet to a record low valuation of $1.35—a drop of 10%—as the lowest exchange rate to the dollar since the 2008 global financial crisis.

The goal of non-discriminatory trade under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/WTO rules of origin, a ten-year assessment known as the Sutherland Report, has been found to be inconsistent with regard to rules of origin in multiple regional trade agreements, hampering trade flows.[23] Regional agreements have not worked in favour of trade opportunities for Africa. Economists like Paul Krugman,[24] and Margaret Macmillan and Dani Rodrik,[25] proposed that economic growth convergence in trade liberalisation must consider production structures that first assess the risks and mitigating costs associated with labour, manufacture, and high-productivity and low-productivity jobs, and the impact of outputs versus inputs.[26] US relations with the continent have had very little economic value; the US African Growth and Opportunity Act of 2000, with its liberalisation policies, has also been a dismal failure for Africa, operating in multiple regional trade agreements that hamper trade flows and cripple industries. Nor have AGOA's complicated rules of origin attached to its goods added much value for Africa. For example, in the textile industry, AGOA resulted in negative growth in South Africa, from $562 million in 2000 compared with $392 million in 2001, followed by a further drop to $96 million in 2007. Trade under the EU's EPAs and AGOA's liberalisation policies has suffered under the complicated rules of origin attached to their goods.[27] South Africa's free trade agreement (FTA) offer to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) also evoked concern from the clothing and textile sector that had a labour force of 215,000 in 2004/2005.[28]

While Africa has the potential to industrialise and enhance its comparative position in production, agriculture could be a significant convergence point for intra-continental trade.[29] With the failure of SAP-forced trade liberalisation, it is thus imperative that Africa's governments consider how to address their commitments to achieving stronger economies. Legally binding regional policies for international trade commitments could be considered, which could sanction states that distort trade in regional commitments they have joined, but such an approach would not be feasible, given that the very founding treaties to which African governments accede themselves favour member states promoting international bilateral and multilateral trade. Such treaties may need to be addressed by Africa's regional economic communities (RECs) accordingly, at the treaty level as well as at the AU continental level, before any legally binding commitments could be considered.[30]

But as Gilbert Khadiagala contends in this volume, Africa requires strong leadership to take on this task. Africa's governments have always been swayed into trade schemes linked to aid packages, but in the bigger scheme of things, the reality is that these packages do not really make a difference.[31] Consider, for example, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which spent $265 billion on farm subsidies in 2008 while total OECD aid for all developing countries for agriculture was only $4 billion that same year.[32] Consider also China's billions of dollars injected into infrastructural projects on the continent through FOCAC to gain advantage over Africa's industrialisation and infrastructure. Through African governments have allowed China to bring labour onto the continent, consider Africa's staggering unemployment—with 11,600,000 young people alone unemployed in 2016.[33] Take India in the BRICS, which is behaving more like a rogue state in a trade bloc. For example, in 2014, Bangladesh did not consider Botswana's expertise in diamond polishing and how two peripheral economies could benefit from an opportunity for value-driven trade; neither did India consider any partnership with Botswana other than taking off with the total loot. India bought $8 billion worth of Zimbabwe's raw diamonds, and subsequently made a profit of $14 billion by polishing the gems and selling them as finished products. In April 2017, General Motors left South Africa for India, which managed to secure a deal with Bangladesh for the India General Motors vehicle plant. South Africa therefore had to shut down its motor vehicle investment plant in the Eastern Cape region, instantly losing 1800 jobs when General Motors decided to pull out from the country.[34]

## Final Word

How can Africa secure a future without good governance, or where human rights are disregarded, or in the absence of a strong entity who can enforce rules upon governments to respond responsibly to their citizens? Who is guarding the guard? As Dan Kuwali brings to our attention in this volume, the highest global authority—the International Criminal Court—is currently viewed as a rogue organisation, even having been booted out by a few African states on the continent. On 15 March 2016, the South African High Court found its government guilty in failing to act in accordance with its ICC instruments and its own constitution to arrest and detain the Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir, wanted for war crimes by the ICC.

The most plausible argument for this debacle was made by former South African president Thabo Mbeki when he expressed his concerns about the ICC's issuing of an arrest warrant indicting al-Bashir for war crimes during intricate negotiations undertaken by South Africa in a fragile peace implementation process that emerged out of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005 by the warring parties in Darfur. Therefore, the country's decision not to arrest al-Bashir could also be interpreted as a calculated one, one that, had it swayed differently, could have jeopardised sensitive peacemaking interventions under way in Sudan. But can Africa's governance step up to the challenge of upholding human rights in the absence of an ICC and the failure of an African Court of Justice? Similarly, other challenges have emerged with several of Africa's regional communities lacking effective regional parliamentary fora, with Africa's peoples exposed to and unsupported against human rights violations and atrocities committed by their governments.

Al-Bashir is also not the first president to be indicted by the ICC for crimes of impunity. Kenya's president Uhuru Kenyatta was also on the ICC's list of accused for orchestrating the deadly violence that ensued after disputed elections in December 2007 went wrong, with more than 1200 people killed and 350,000 more driven from their homes. In April 2016, Kenyatta led his country in triumphant glory with celebrations when ICC efforts failed and his ICC prosecution was abandoned. Several analysts see Kenya as having given the world a rulebook on how to beat the ICC at its own game.[35] Africa has a long way to go with regard to governance and human rights. Only seven African states are members of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Right, having ratified its protocol. The continent does not have the instruments to deal with crimes of genocide or crimes committed with impunity. The ICC has forced a showdown with the continent's government leaders and has long been viewed as a controversial body by many African governments, as well as by the United States, which is not a signatory to the Rome Statute of the ICC. Washington believes that a better mechanism, at least for Africa, would be a hybrid tribunal situated in Africa instead of a Westernised model. The United States also fundamentally objects to the view that the ICC can exercise jurisdiction over a country that is not party to the Rome Statute. But then again, America is not expose to the sorts of violence as seen in Africa's political and security milieu where human rights and atrocities are committed by the state and where there is total disregard for constitutions and also for the UN. In Burundi, the UN's role was watered down and ineffectual, as Burundian president Pierre Nkurunziza insisted on campaigning for presidential elections for a third term and defying the country's constitution. Nkurunziza was nevertheless re-elected as Burundi's president in August 2015, amid violent conflict in the country. Likewise in Rwanda, where media and civil society are noticeably stifled and the country lacks freedom of expression, the UN is noticeably muted on these issues as Rwanda's president, Paul Kagame, prepares to run for presidential elections for a third term in 2017, against the constitution of that country.[36]

Superpowers like the USA have huge interests in terms of both economics and security as linked to investments and resources in trade. But as Adekeye Adebajo discusses in this volume, when Barack Obama took office, there was an African expectation that as the first Black US president, he would radically be transforming US policy towards and in favour of Africa. But as Obama himself later voiced, US involvement in Libya, and in the aftermath of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) intervention there in 2011, which led to the brutal killing of its former president, Muammar Qaddafi, was his biggest foreign policy regret, given that the emergence of migration due to the violence in that region also resulted in economic decline and an increase in youth unemployment in the entire North African region.

In the era of Donald Trump, he and his presidential team are now questioning the validity of US humanitarian aid for Africa and equating such aid with concerns of widespread corruption and the possibility of American funds being stolen. However, examples of US engagement with unscrupulous African governments abound in this volume, especially given that the main conduit that facilitated the strengthening of America's "get rich quick" and "make it big" economy for decades used the African continent as a vehicle. It was the very same corruption and "ideals" that Washington is now accusing the African continent's leaders of that strengthened the US economy. As Italy and many other countries were forced to pay back those countries for their role in past gross human rights atrocities committed in such African states as Ethiopia, as Bernardo Venturi illuminates in this volume, so too should the USA consider such gestures. The Trump presidency should not so easily ignore the past role of the USA in Africa's regress, and its racist practices in working alongside an apartheid government in proxy wars against the rest of "black Africa", nor should it forget, as mentioned, that America's riding on the back of unscrupulous deals and practices has resulted in strengthening its own economy, benefiting America's people in some way.

Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel, after the 2017 Group of Seven (G7) summit meeting, announced that the world would now have to fend for itself given the protectionist policies of the superpowers—particularly the United States—and their severance from critical regimes such as the Paris climate change agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement. As Patrick Bond brings to our attention in this volume, Washington's protectionist foreign policy under Trump has no place for Africa and has entirely alienated the African continent. Trump has barely mentioned sub-Saharan Africa since taking over the presidency from Obama in 2017.

Hamdy Hassan and Hallah Thabet bring to our attention in this volume a more lateral way of thinking, arguing for more strategic engagement in relations between Africa and the Middle East, which could be an opportunity to create stronger partnerships. Hassan and Thabet argue that the transformations taking place in Europe and the USA due to regressive anti-globalisation movements will alter future relations between Africa and the Middle East—and could present an opportunity to restore "organic cohesion" between the two regions. The African continent must thus remain more vigilant and pull its economies together by ruling out corruption and unscrupulous government practices. Thabo Mbeki, in a February 2012 report, recommends that African governments radically reduce the illicit financial outflow from Africa, estimated at $50 billion annually.[37] There is also a huge need to push for an industrialisation of Africa that is trade-driven, with strong, business-centred policies between government and business to radically increase research and skills development realistically focused on a few key commodities. Africa must put down the begging bowl and not allow exploitative relations that make little economic sense, with little benefit in the long run for the continent. Rather Africa must unite its 55 AU member states if it is to fulfil its regional integration drive towards a continental free trade area for its one billion people.

Several contributions to this volume have shown that Africa's relations with the world are still marred by the inability of Africa's governments to pay for the institutions that really matter—that are critical to supporting governments in the running of their states—such as the AU and Africa's regional economic communities, and in furtherance of a peace architecture bolstered by a continental brigade, for example. Africa's partial or outright lack of commitment to financing continental and sub-regional institutions further concretises financial dependence on the international donor community. This lack of adequate support provided to governments to address crucial issues has invariably led African governments to turn consistently to the superpowers. The EU, for example, has remained involved in funding a variety of projects since the end of the Cold War, in aid-for-trade packages, including security, governance, and development programmes in Africa. External donors, for example, have provided over 75% of Africa's funding in the security arena. Thus African governments have allowed the agendas of the superpowers to gain easy access to the continent in such strategic areas as its security. Imagine the AU setting the agenda for NATO the way the USA and Europe have meddled in the affairs of Africa. While violence associated with terrorist activities remain undisputed, the concerns of the USA and Europe over migration come under a disguise of "overly exaggerated fears" over terrorism, but in reality the concerns are about migration which are underlaid by the "superiority" of class, racism and racist practices of both the USA and Europe during their colonial years—and ever since.

Therefore, one consideration for the African Union is to critically assess what the possible actors and factors are that have contributed to the delay of Africa's security architecture, and to tighten and strengthen its member states' engagements with external actors and strengthen its own constitution and regional treaties. For example, the raising of the African Standby Force (ASF) (having been delayed for seven years) requires that the AU immediately address the peace and security funding criteria received from Europe in particular. Clear levels of engagement for the African Union's security frameworks must be revisited and provided at a continental level in the AU's Constitutive Act, to address the role and responsibility of its security architecture at the regional levels. The funding at both regional and continental levels has invariably led to competition over funding packages from the EU between the AU and its regional communities; if this continues, Africa will never become brigade-ready. It is therefore crucial that the AU realign funding from external sources with a view to completing and finalising Africa's standby brigade, while subjecting the necessary funding available to regional brigades and mechanisms to a clear roadmap determined by completion of milestones outlined in the run-up to the final planning element of the ASF. At the regional level, Africa's governments need to revisit the treaties of RECs that allow for bilateral and multilateral relations of its member states with the international community, and need to consider adding legally binding agreements that provide rules of engagement in bilateral and multilateral trade agreements.[38]

While Europe is facing its own, sometimes violent struggles with migration and has focused attention on redrawing the map of Africa in terms of priorities for itself, as Roel van der Veen has highlighted in his chapter in this volume; Africa should use the space in international relations created by an uncertain world leader, US president Donald Trump, to reset unequal engagements and attempt to level the playing field. Africa needs to unite in building the continent, just as the West has united to its own ends for decades. The only stumbling block to Africa's rise is the intoxication of corruption and greed, the plundering of state resources, alongside ill-disciplined heads of state who seek third and fourth terms, or even to become presidents for life. An important lesson to take from this volume is that now might be the only and perhaps even the final opportunity for Africa to reverse the global order and reset the rules of the game of international relations.

## Notes

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17. Hanlon, *Beggar Your Neighbours*, pp. 169–70, 326.
18. Lindeke, "From Confrontation to Pragmatic Cooperation", p. 185.
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20. *See* Nagar, "The Politics and Economics of Regional Integration in Africa", p. 112: "The total Nordic funding support received in 1985 for the Southern African Coordination Conference (now known as the Southern African Development Community) projects was $369 million, and while funding was provided, there was also trade conducted. This trade from Nordic countries to SADCC in 1986 totalled $4328 million and total exports from SADCC to Nordic countries totalled $4267. The trade amounts between Nordic and SADCC countries during the 1980s did not reflect a major difference. Trade with SADCC was only to ensure that Nordic countries' motives for funding SADCC served as a form of cushioning for Nordic markets in instances of vulnerability, owing to the Nordic countries' relatively high ratios of foreign trade to their gross national product."
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29. Liam Halligan, "Global Africa: The Last Investment Frontier?", in Adekeye Adebajo and Kaye Whiteman (eds.), *The EU and Africa: From Eurafrique to Afro-Europa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2013), p. 183.
30. *See* Nagar, "The Politics and Economics of Regional Integration in Africa", p. 173: Any legally binding commitments must nuance the argument concerning bilateral and multilateral international trade agreements and the impacts of trade on Southern African economies; and on the African continent, and must take into account that governments—as sovereign states, and member states that are attached to regional economic communities (RECs)—were provided the right by their respective RECs to undertake international bilateral and multilateral trade agreements that are in accordance with regional treaties, such as the 1992 Treaty of the 15-member Southern African Development Community (SADC), as well as the 26-member Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the East African Community, and the SADC (COMESA-EAC-SADC) 2008 Agreement (to which 13 out of 15 SADC member states belong, and to which they are signatories).
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38. *See* Nagar, "The Politics and Economics of Regional Integration in Africa", p. 173. *See also* key policy recommendations provided in CCR policy seminar report "Africa and External Actors", December 2016, www.ccr.org.za, pp. 4–5.