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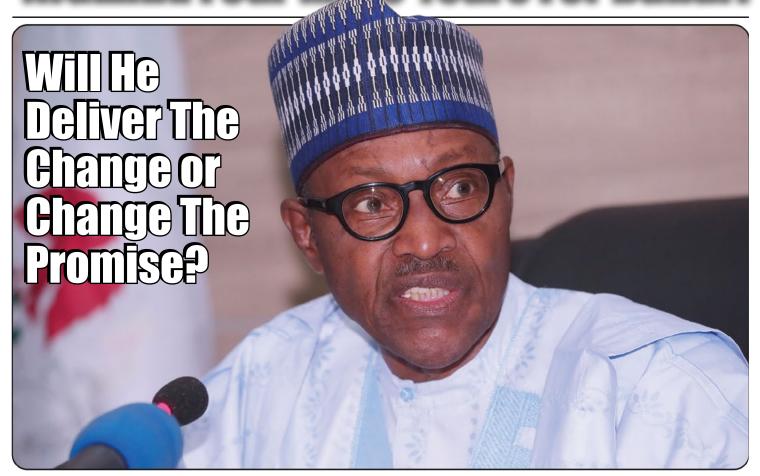
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## **PAN AFRICAN VISIONS**

7614 Green Willow Court, Hyattsville, MD 20785

Tel: 2404292177, email: pav@panafricanvisions.com, editor@panafricanvisions.com

**Managing Editor** Ajong Mbapndah L

**Contributors** Wallace Mawire

Deng Machol Papisdaff Abdullah Ajayi Olyinka Prince Kuripati Hategeka Moses Asong Zelifac Samuel Ouma Primus Tazanu Alexandre Nhampossa, Ishmael Sallieu

Koroma, Teslim Olawore Nevson Mpofu Boris Esono Nwenfor Amos Fofung Jean d'Amour Mugabo

Advertising Email: marketing@ panafricanvisions. com

**Graphic Designer** 

Atemnkeng Jerry M, (Young Jerry) EC designs, Abudhabi - UAE +971 52 863 7744 atemjerry@outlook.com



## Nigeria, Buhari and The Leadership Burden In Africa

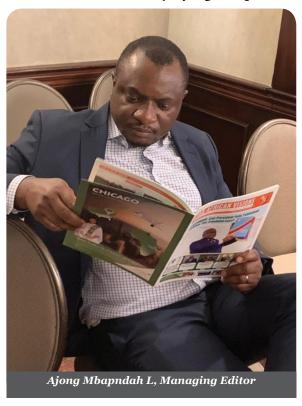
By Ajong Mbapndah L

2019 elections in Nigeria lived up to its typical hype: attention from Africa, and the rest of world, violence here and there, accusations and counter accusations rigging, escalation of tensions between the largely Muslim North, and largely Christian Southern parts of the country, influx of international observers ...

With some 70 candidates running for the highest office of the land, it narrowed down to a two-horse race between opposition PDP Challenger former Vice President Atiku Abubakar (who supported Buhari in the last elections), and the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari. At the end, Mr. Buhari, aged 76, was proclaimed winner.

last the In elections. President Goodluck Jonathan set the bar so high by doing something unthinkable in Nigerian politics: A sitting President conceding defeat As it stands, the status quo and calling his opposition challenger to congratulate him. Despite peace summits, and promises to respect the outcome of the elections, as of now, while Mr. Buhari is basking in the glow of victory, opposition Challenger Atiku is yet to concede defeat, and his party is mounting a vigorous challenge of the outcome in the courts.

"The United States congratulates the people of Nigeria on a successful presidential election, and President Muhammadu Buhari on his re-election," read a statement from Secretary of State Mike other Pompeo. Similarly,



leaders in Africa and around the world have congratulated Buhari for his victory, a victory that Atiku Abubakar and the PDP are challenging. remains with Buhari President of Nigeria, and with that the burdens of Nigeria and Africa on his shoulders.

a population circa 200 million, and its huge economy, Nigeria is the undisputed leader in Africa and events there tend to mirror what takes place in the rest of Africa. How governs therefore does not only have an impact in Nigeria, but also resonates with the rest of Africa. He does well with Nigeria, Africa will do well, and if he messes up, prospects are high the rest of the continent will be messed up.

Drawing on his first term in office as a democratically elected President, it is safe to say Buhari will have to double his efforts if he has to leave a lasting legacy for Nigeria. Nigerians complain and for genuine reasons, that things have been slow since he took over. From the security challenges, to the fight against corruption, and other promises used by Buhari and the APC to win the elections of 2016, the achievement side does not paint a glossy picture.

Corruption is still rife, the corruption watchdog EFCC has been accused of been partisan in those it goes after, Boko Haram is still running riots in some parts of the country, and for four years, not all of the chibok girls whose disappearance provided campaign fodder for the APC in 2016 have been found. On the continental scene, the

leadership of Nigeria has not been felt. With a country like neighboring Cameroon in serious political crisis, one would have expected Nigeria to play a mediating role. While Nigeria has hosted some refugees, one of the most ignoble thing done by the Buhari administration was the arrest and surreptitiously leadership the of the separatist Southern Cameroons movement to the government of Cameroon where there were held incommunicado for months . If Africans cannot have refuge and protection in the country that is supposed to be the leader of the continent, where else should they go?

In Buhari's first term as well, he spent a considerable amount of time out of the country for health reasons. For a country with the size, and complexities of Nigeria, such prolonged absences do not bode well. While we may want to wish him the best and see him make a difference for Nigeria and Africa, any such prolonged absence will not bode well in his second

At 76, Buhari is not the oldest President in Africa. His main challenger Atiku Abubakar was 72. But we are talking about Nigeria here, the country with some the smartest and brightest not just in Africa, but in the world. In articulations of people like Sowore, Moghalu, Mbonu, and others on the younger side in terms of age, one could see that there is no shortage of people with the talent and vision to transform Nigeria. Looking at the demographics in Nigeria, looking at the development dynamics, the world going digital, and hightech, are people like Buhari or his challenger Atiku the best reflection of an ambitious people and Nation?

The age and health factors in leadership are not just an issue for Nigeria alone. In Neighboring Cameroon, clearly overwhelmed President Paul Biya in his mid-80s is still clinging on to power as the country moves from crisis to crisis. In Algeria, even on a wheel chair, President Boutleflika until recently was insisting remaining in power for another term. In our African traditions, age is associated with wisdom, but not much of that has been seen with most of the elders running affairs in a number African countries. the international scene for instance, how can Macron of France relate with Paul Biva of Cameroon, or Sassou Nguesso of Congo? How can Trudeau of Canada relate with Buhari of Nigeria or with Obiang Nguema of Equatorial Guinea?

One thing Nigeria and Africa definitely do not lack is the abundance of talent in literally all spheres of life. In Nigeria, elections are held every four years and just like Buhari himself contested for multiple times before winning in a democratic election, the candidates who did not make it should root for his success and brace up for a fight another day when another opportunity comes up. Those who voted for Buhari certainly have their strong reasons for doing so,

it is their democratic right. Hopefully he will not just be a President for those who voted for him, but also for those disgruntled with his performance. Working to assuage their grievances will only make him a better leader with a better legacy as it will ultimately come to that.

Living to fight another day runs in this issue of PAV magazine with former President John Mahama bracing up for another fight with current President Akufo Addo in the elections of 2020. One of the prominent challenges the Buhari Administration will grapple with is cyber security, the interview with Ambassador Omar on Africa and the challenges of cyber security could be of help to him. In this issue, we also share insight into the work and activities of dynamic Africans making a difference like Leila Ndiaye President and CEO

the Initiative Development. From East Africa, the issue takes a look at the feud between Rwanda and Uganda taking a toll on the economies of both countries. For those interested in making money. learning from the experiences of Forex guru Denis Jali from South Africa will help. The troubles in Cameroon. South Sudan digging its way out from civil war ,and the travails of Mnangagwa with the economy in Zimbabwe and more are on the menu for this issue of PAV magazine. Happy reading!!

## **Buhari Wins In Nigeria - Will He Deliver The Change or Change The Promise?**

By Omoshola Deji, for Pan African Visions

igeria's status of being Africa's most populous nation makes her political-economic issues attract global attention. Many foreigners, especially those who are yet to visit Nigeria, think the nation is all about downs because the ups are hardly reported. The nation's failings often make global headlines but something different is putting her in the news lately: the general elections. Nigeria's presidential and federal lawmakers' election was held on 23 February 2019 while the governorship and state lawmakers' election was conducted on 9 March, 2019. This piece analyses the presidential election issues, results and the challenges ahead for Nigeria.

## The Political Parties

Nigeria operates a multiparty system, with over 90 registered political parties, but the political arena is dominated by two major parties: ruling All the Progressives Congress (APC) and the main opposition People's Democratic Party (PDP). Founded in 2013, APC is a coalition of parties aspiring to govern nation, but whose outlook, operations

were sectional. The defunct parties that teamed up to form the APC includes the Action Congress of Nigeria (strong in the Southwest), the Congress for Progressive Change (strong in the North), the All Nigeria's Peoples Party (strong in the core North) and a faction of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (strong in the Southeast). The alliance of these sectional parties birthed APC and gave it the national outlook it needs to win a presidential election in Nigeria. The party took over power in 2015.

The PDP was formed in when the military, after much delay, expressed readiness to transmit power to a democratically elected government in 1999. The party won the presidential elections in 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011, ruling Nigeria for 16 unbroken years before it was defeated in 2015 by the APC. The party lost power due to her inability to manage intraparty crisis. Other issues, including underdevelopment, corruption, maladministration and misappropriation of resources also made Nigerians sack the PDP in 2015. The party lost to incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari, who

just got reelected to rule till 2023.

The unimpressive performance of the APC in the last four years and the constant defection of politicians to either of the two main parties (APC and PDP) triggered the demand for a 'third force'. The third force is an alliance of many of the over 90 lightweight parties into a formidable one that can wrestle power from the PDP and APC. Appeals to get the aspirants of the relatively unknown parties to unite has been unsuccessful because everyone wants to be on the driver's seat. The profitability

of politics and the enormous power attached to occupying public offices especially that of the President makes everyone want to be in power. The move by 18 presidential aspirants to produce candidate election 2019 was unsuccessful. Aside the nonsubmissiveness of aspirants their weak political structures, Nigerians are also not ready to give the smaller parties a chance as the major ones continue to defeat them at the polls by a wide margin.



## The Presidential Candidates

candidates 70 participated in Nigeria's 2019 presidential election. Despite the huge number of candidates, the election was a two-horse race between President Muhammadu Buhari of the APC and former Vice-President Atiku Abubakar of the PDP.

Muhammadu Buhari (aged 76) is Nigeria's incumbent President since 29 He contested President, but lost in 2003, 2007 and 2011. He ran as the APC candidate in 2015 and defeated then President Goodluck Jonathan, making the first individual defeat an incumbent





President in Nigeria's history. Buhari spent most of his productive life in the Nigerian military, where he retired as a Major General. He has occupied various public offices. He is the former Military Governor of the Northeastern State (1975) and Borno (1976); former Federal Commissioner of Petroleum (1976-78); and former Military Head of State (1983-85).

Atiku Abubakar (aged Nigeria's former Vice-President from 1999-2007. The 2019 presidential election is his fourth failed attempt to become the nation's President. His first attempt was on the platform the Social Democratic Party in 1992. He came third in the presidential primaries, behind Babagana Kingibe and Moshood Abiola. Atiku spent most of his productive years as a Customs officer and retired in 1989 as Deputy Director, the second highest position in the service as at then. He later ventured into politics and business. He

businesses ranging from trading, agriculture, real estate, oil and and education.

previous campaigns.

The identical background of the two main candidates, Atiku and Buhari, renders ethno-religious based forecasts inoperable in the 2019 poll. Unlike 2015 when a Muslim-Northerner contested against a Christian-Southerner, the two leading presidential candidates 2019 are both Northerners, Muslims Fulanis. and septuagenarians. Both candidates veteran contestants and have crisscrossed parties. This election is Atiku's fourth attempt. Buhari won on his fourth attempt in 2015 and have won another term.

Other candidates - most whom are first time contestants - that participated the 2019 presidential race are Kingsley Moghalu, a professor of international business and public policy; Omoyele Sowore, the founder of Sahara Reporters, an online news agency; has his hands in different Fela Durotoye, a business consultant and motivational speaker; and Oby Ezekwesili, the former Vice-President of World Bank>s Africa division. Ezekwesili couldn't stand the heat for long; she withdrew from the race few weeks to the election. Over 70 candidates contested the election against Buhari, arguing that he has underperformed.

#### **Buhari's Performance**

Buhari, like every other incumbent, contested against two things: his performance and his opponents. Nigerians are sharply divided on his performance. Some think he has performed well, while others think he has failed. In all sincerity, both the praise singers and condemners of Buhari's performance are right. The praise singers are rating Buhari based on the achievements of his predecessors, many of whom score low on the provision of basic amenities, security and socioeconomic development. Buhari has performed satisfactorily when compared with his predecessors. He is reviving the railway, constructing the Second Niger consumables Bridge, building a number of roads, and combating Boko Haram. Buhari has also paid the defunct Nigerian Airways pensioners and introduced social incentives such as school feeding, N-power and Trader Moni - which the opposition has criticized as voters inducement. The presidential election partly a referendum Buhari's performance. He earned the votes people who think he has performed, while those who think otherwise and mindful that the second term of governments are often not better than their first voted other candidates.

The condemners of Buhari's performance are rating him based on the un-fulfillment his 2015 campaign promises. They are berating him for performing below expectations after raising **Nigerians** Buhari hope. promised restructuring, but backtracked. His appointments are lopsided northwards. Insecurity is rife as bandits, insurgents and herdsmen are carrying out genocidal bloodletting at will. The fight against corruption has been incredibly selective, making Transparency International rank Nigeria least corrupt 144 nation out of 175. Buhari serially flouted court orders; persecuted activists journalists; tolerated the massacre of unarmed IPOB and Shiite members; harassed the legislature and judiciary; ruled in a dictatorial manner; and hounded critics. Basic amenities are either dysfunctional or unavailable, the exchange rate is high, and unemployment an alarming rate. Buhari's performance is unsatisfactory if he's assessed by the oversweet promises he doled out in 2015. His reelection campaign mainly focused tackling corruption, insecurity and reviving the economy.

## Atiku's Challenge and Strategy

One major discredit for Atiku is the comment of his former boss, ex-President Olusegun Obabsanjo when their relationship was uncordial. In his book titled My Watch, Obasanjo said «what I did not know, which came out glaringly later, was parental background which somewhat was shadowy, his propensity to corruption, his tendency to disloyalty, his inability to say and stick to the truth all the time, a propensity for poor judgment, his belief and reliance on marabouts, his lack of transparency, his trust in money to buy his way out on all issues and his readiness to sacrifice morality, integrity, propriety, truth and national interest for self and selfish interest». Though Obasanjo reconciled with Atiku and his candidacy, supported many Nigerians are still using the statements in 'My Watch' to discredit Atiku.

has far-reaching Atiku networks and he campaigned vigorously. Unlike candidates who contested for the fame, Atiku's rigorous campaign is a testimonial that he contested to win. He left no stone unturned, knowing this opportunity may not present itself again as he is aging and



power is expected to return PVCs collected. to the south, if Buhari wins. Atiku reconciled with his foes, got crucial endorsements, and turned his major liability into asset: he visited the United registered voters, 11,849,027 States after his opponents has slandered him that he has not done so for over 12 years because he is being wanted for corruption charges.

Atiku has not been tried or jailed, home and abroad, but the hefty corruption accusations against him has shattered his repute and PVCs collected. erode people's confidence in him. Nonetheless, his visit to the US was a political masterstroke that revived his diminishing electoral value tainted by corruption. Atiku's campaign mainly focused on massive job creation, eradicating poverty and resuscitating the economy.

#### The Election Result

Nigeria has over 180 million population, but only 84,004,084 persons of voting age (18 and above) registered to vote. By population ranking, per geopolitical zone, the number registered voters and persons who collected their permanent voters card (PVC) across the six geopolitical zones are as follows:

North West: 20,158,100

South West: 16,292,212 registered voters, 12,444,594 PVCs collected.

North Central: 13,366,070 PVCs collected.

South South: 12,841,279 registered voters, 11,574,944 PVCs collected.

North East: 11,289,293 registered voters, 10,402,734 PVCs collected.

South East: 10,057,130 registered voters, 9,071,939

The above data shows that out of the 84,004,084 persons who registered to vote, only 74,199,092 can actually vote having collected their PVCs. 9,804,992 are yet to collect theirs. APC's Buhari comes from the Northwest, while PDP's Atiku is from the North-East. Both candidates garner huge votes in each other's zone, but Buhari came top. This is largely due to the cult followership he enjoys in the North as majority of the region's population supports him blindly; they believe PDP's 16 years of misrule is responsible for Buhari's failings. The performance of the two main candidates in Nigeria's 6 geopolitical zones are:

North West (7 states: Kano, Katsina, Kaduna, Kebbi. registered voters, 18,882,854 Sokoto, Jigawa, and Zamfara

State)

PDP's Atiku - 2,280,465 votes. votes.

APC's Buhari - 5,995,651 votes. votes.

North East (6 states: Adamawa. Yobe. Borno. Bauchi, Taraba and Gombe State)

PDP's Atiku - 1,116,873 votes.

APC's Buhari - 3,238,783 votes.

North Central (Federal Capital Territory and 6 states: Kogi, Benue, Kwara, Niger, Nassarawa and Plateau State) PDP's Atiku - 2,023,769 votes.

APC's Buhari - 2,465,599 votes.

PDP's and APC's total votes in Northern Nigeria (NW+NE+NC)

PDP's Atiku - 5,421,107

APC's Buhari - 11,700,033

South West (6 states: Oyo, Ogun, Lagos, Ondo, Osun and Ekiti State)

PDP's Atiku - 1,776,670 votes.

APC's Buhari - 2,036,450 votes.

South East (5 states: Enugu, Anambra, Abia. Ebonyi and Imo State)

APC's Buhari - 403,968

South South (6 states: Edo, Bayelsa, Delta, Rivers, Cross River and Akwa Ibom State) PDP's Atiku - 2,233,232

APC's Buhari - 1,051,396 votes.

votes.

PDP and APC's total votes in Southern Nigeria (SW+SE+SS)

PDP's Atiku - 5,703,387

APC's Buhari - 3,491,814

PDP's total votes in the election: 5,703,387 Southern votes + 5,421,107 Northern votes = 11,262,978 votes.

APC's total votes in the election: 3,491,814 Southern votes + 11,700,033 Northern votes = 15,191,847 votes.

From the figures above, you would observe that: APC's Northern votes nearly doubled that of PDP in the region; APC has more votes in the North than PDP has across the nation; and APC has more votes in the North West than PDP have across the entire North. Out of Nigeria's 36 states, APC's Buhari won 19 with an overall total of 15,191,847 votes.

PDP's Atiku - 1,693,485 PDP's Atiku won 17 states, including the Federal Capital Territory with an overall total of 11,262,978 votes. This is illustrated in the map below:

The image above shows that Buhari won majority of the states in the North, while Atiku won majority of the states in the South. Buhari won majority votes in the North based on the popular perception that he is a man of integrity and uncorrupt. His manner of appointments also helped him. Buhari ringfenced himself with people from the northern extraction. He appointed Northerners into crucial positions than While Southerners. this earned him more support in the North, it devastatingly diminished his support in the South, many of whom are anti-Buhari, especially in the South East and the South South. An overview of the vital appointments that indicates the North is overpoweringly favored against the South are as follows:

Chairman the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) - North; Secretary the Government the Federation -North; Army - North; National Security Adviser - North; Department Of Petroleum Resources (DPR) - North; Economic and Financial



Crimes Commission (EFCC) - North; Air Force - North; Police - North; Nigeria Security and Civil Defense Corps (NSCDC) - North; Nigeria **Ports** Authority (NPA) - North; Department of State Security (DSS) -North: Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) - North; Fire Service - North; National Insurance Commission North; National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) - North; Customs -North; State Chief of Protocol North: Accountant General of the Federation - North; Minister of Finance – North; Asset Management Company of Nigeria (AMCON) - North; Chief of Staff to the President – North; Aide de Camp to the President - North; ...the list continues.

Many find it bewildering that Buhari, a former military Head-of-State and incumbent President, who is conversant with the ethno-religious sensitivity of Nigeria could commit the sacrilege of being sectional and nepotistic. Nonetheless, the lopsided appointments aided his victory because his

stronghold, the North, has more voting population than the South. Aside that, in the three Southern regions, his party, the APC is in control of all the 6 states in the Southwest, the region with the second highest number of registered voters. Buhari defeated Atiku with a margin of 3,928,869 votes across the country.

opposition for the handling of the elections.

#### Why Buhari won

Democracy is a game of numbers and the camp with the highest figure will always the Federation – North; win. Buhari's APC is the inister of Finance – North; seet Management Company Nigeria (AMCON) – North; hief of Staff to the President North; Aide de Camp to the resident – North; ...the list ontinues.

Many find it bewildering at Buhari, a former and in the camp with the highest figure will always win. Buhari's APC is the incumbent government in the most populous states – Kano and Lagos. APC is also the incumbent government in majority of the Northern states and the entire 6 states in the Southwest. Out of the 36 states of the federation, at Buhari, a former allitary Head-of-State in 23 states, while PDP is ruling in 13.

Atiku has not been arraigned or convicted by any court, but the weighty corruption allegations against him has destroyed his reputation and diminished public trust in him. The

corruption burden largely made him lose the election, having contested against Buhari who is widely adjudged honest. Atiku's vow to privatize the inefficient Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) was largely construed as a ploy to enrich cronies, like he allegedly did when he, as Vice President, supervised the privatization of national assets. Atiku's outburst made the moguls profiting from NNPC's ineptness work hard for Buhari's reelection.

Buhari's unimpressive performance and shortcomings were covered by the rife public perception that Atiku will further entrench the corruption Buhari is struggling to eradicate. Many Nigerians see most of the people in Atiku's camp as corrupt and his enormous wealth been largely has criticized as the proceeds of corruption. Even though Buhari's anti-corruption war has mainly been a witch-hunt against opposition figures and dissenting voices, majority of the electorate believes it is at least good to start the war, recover some loot, get during their 16 years in the some looters jailed, than government was ferociously do nothing. They believe the fight against corruption can get better under Buhari, but will be abandoned if Atiku comes to power.

during their 16 years in government was ferociously used to deceive the public. Rather than owning up to his bad economic policies and inforesight, Buhari blames his inefficiencies on the past PDP

Atiku's focal campaign promise of restructuring the widely country was interpreted an anti-North agenda by his people. Although the policy amplified his popularity in the less voting populated regions in the South, it incredibly diminished his popularity in the major voting populated North. Atiku also failed to win the minds of voters during campaign. He underutilized the opportunity of using the rallies to draw people's attention to Buhari's shortcomings and how he would address them, elected. Atiku's campaign was not informative and revealing as expected from an opposition candidate. The PDP stalwarts preoccupied themselves with calumny, bereft, non-issues based campaigns, exchanging insults with Buhari's camp.

Atiku is popular, but his popularity and acceptance incomparable to that Buhari. The PDP's insubstantial votes in the North handed Buhari and APC an easy win. Atiku lost majority of the key northern states by a wide margin. One thing's for certain, the election must have enlightened Atiku that the mammoth crowd at the rallies are not votaries; they are fun-seekers any candidate desirous of electoral victory must not rely on.

Buhari ceaseless, apparently untrue narrative that the PDP did nothing government was ferociously used to deceive the public. Rather than owning up to his bad economic policies and inforesight, Buhari blames his inefficiencies on the past PDP administrations from 1999-2015. People largely voted for Buhari not because he performed outstandingly, but because they feel his party, the APC, is relatively new in government and giving her another four years is quite better than returning power into the hands of the PDP who ruled the nation for 16 years but made insignificant progress.

#### The Challenges Ahead

Having won reelection to rule Nigeria from 2019-2023, Buhari has an opportunity to right his wrongs and take Nigeria from where it is to where it ought to be. He has all it takes to do so within reach, but whether he is willing to deliver is a question no one except him can answer. But if Buhari's first term performance is used to make projections, his second term apparently cannot bring much positives for Nigerians.

Buhari is confronted with the challenge of uniting Nigeria as the nation is severely divided along ethnoreligious lines. Check the comments on any Nigerian issue on the social media and you'll be dazed at how Nigerians from a particular section of the country is raining insults and curses at their fellow citizens from another part of the country. Buhari's ethnic lopsided appointment has not been helping matters as the heads of virtually all the security agencies are Northerners.

This makes the Southerners feel like second class citizens. The manifesting aftereffect of this is the agitation for secession – Biafra restoration - in the Southeast. In his second term, Buhari has to be more national than sectional to keep the nation united.

Insecurity is another major challenge of the Nigerian state Buhari will need to go all out and tackle. Though decimated, the deadly insurgent group, Boko Haram, is still terrorizing and bombing parts of the Northeast. Herdsmen are carrying out genocidal killings unchecked across the North Central. Kidnapping is prevalent in the South East and South South. And there are strong signs that the

Niger-Delta militants attack, kidnapping and bombing of oil exploration facilities and expatriates would resume if the degradation and underdevelopment of their region is not tackled.

Eradicating poverty is a major challenge Buhari has to confront. Nigeria is the world poverty capital and majority of her population are indeed languishing in anguish. The wealth of the nation is trapped in the hands of a few powerful and privileged individuals. Nigeria's mono-product economy and centralization of power needs to be restructured for states to be in control of their resources. This would generate more income and employment. Majority

the youths are unemployed as firms are collapsing and new ones are not coming on board. This makes the vouth invests their energy intellectualism into crime, leading to insecurity. Frustration has turned many university graduates motorcycle riders, prostitutes, kidnappers and fraudsters. It is appalling that the billions of dollars government failed to invest on the youths is now being used to fight the crimes being committed by the youths.

Nigeria's electoral process needs to be reformed to increase the credibility of elections. Buhari must do all in his capacity to ensure he gives Nigeria the kind of credible election that brought him to power in 2015, defeating a sitting President. The option of using incident forms to accredit voters when card reader's malfunctions have been exploited by politicians to perpetrate electoral fraud. The manual transmission of results also gives room for result falsification and makes the timely completion of the electoral process unachievable. The National Assembly presented amended Electoral Act to Buhari for assent, but he declined assent three times. Buhari's refusal to sign the bill is not unconnected with the desire of him and the APC to profit from the defects of the electoral law.

Nigerians are hoping for

better days ahead. They are hoping to have a nation where roads won't be death traps; where electricity will be available; where universities won't strike; where everyone would be secured and get employed on merit regardless of their connections, ethnic group or religion. Can Buhari deliver all this? Only time will tell. He has four more years, till 2023. The clock is ticking.

\*This piece is written exclusively for Pan African Visions by Omoshola Deji, a political and public affairs analyst. He can be reached via email moshdeji@yahoo.com

# NigeriaDecides2019: A Tale of Winners and Losers

By Teslim Olawore

or every contest, there is always a winner and a loser, and so, the just-concluded February 23rd presidential and national assembly elections in Nigeria did not fail to produce individuals for the two categories. Although the polls were disputed mainly by the opposition and others who share their sentiments, what we know is that winners have emerged from the elections, while their standing identifies the losers.

This year election threw up some of the most significant political heavyweight losses that Nigeria has ever witnessed, the results showed the changing trends in voting and politicians influential power on the masses. With surprising outcomes for the participating contestants,



areas where victory used to be assured become losing grounds.

Although there are more than 70 registered political parties in the country, the election was mostly between the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) and the main opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), but, in no particular order, we have compiled the winners and losers that characterized the February 23 national elections. Traditionally, this idea recognizes not only those who ran for office but also those who mastermind their victory and defeat.

## THE WINNERS Muhammadu Buhari

The incumbent president, Muhammadu Buhari, the Candidate of Progressives Congress and president-elect, is the biggest winner in this election. While it is correct that his victory is already being challenged, by his closest rival, Atiku Abubakar, he has however keenly contested a election with 15,191,847 votes according to INEC. His victory is particularly instructive because was dismissed on account of age, poor health, and unimpressive performance, but against all of these odds, he has been declared the winner of the election and remains the number one winner.



#### Yemi Osinbajo

Vice-President Yemi Osinbajo shares in the collective victory of their joint ticket. Osinbajo comes across as a significant asset to the Buhari presidency, providing the intellectual bulwark needed for the business of governance. As an ally worthy of Buhari's trust and confidence, it is a general belief that Osinbajo earned it and not a status attributable to him, having had his fair share of the internal politics of the powerhouse. That he could weather it through also confirms his loyalty and the reason he was re-nominated for the office.

#### Bola Tinubu

Bola Tinubu is also a vital winner in the 2019 polls. The 66-year-old has established himself as the godfather of Lagos and APC. He has a knack for choosing his battles and winning most of them. President Buhari's re-election bid looked somewhat unsteady and shaky until Tinubu made peace with the president and took the co driver>s seat in the president's re-election campaign train. Tinubu not only delivered a chunk of the Southwest States in his base to Buhari, but he also made himself a foot soldier who campaigned alongside the president across the nation.

#### Adams Oshiomhole

The National Chairman of

the APC, Adams Oshiomhole is another crucial winner in the Buhari victory. Although he would naturally pass for liability than an asset given the way he has tended the party since assuming office, not to talk of the fact that Oshiomhole couldnot win his state for the president, but he still shares in the collective victory of the party as its head.

#### Ibrahim Oloriegbe

Oloriegbe went battle with Senate President Bukola Saraki for the Kwara central senatorial seat, as the clear underdog. He wasn't supposed to win the seat in a senatorial zone where the Saraki hegemony has become something of a stranglehold. However, thanks to the Otoge! (Enough is enough) battle cry from the APC and its faithful in the state, Oloriegbe defeated Saraki in all four local governments in the senatorial zone, polling 123,808 votes to Saraki's 68,994. No one else claimed a more significant scalp in the parliamentary elections.

#### Kola Balogun

The only reason why Governor Abiola Ajimobi of Oyo state won't be going to the Senate to join the ranks of former governors who turn parliament into a retirement home is because of this man. Balogun essentially pulled an upset in an APC stronghold, defeated an incumbent



candidate of former President Obasanjo lost this year.

governor to claim the seat for Oyo south senatorial district.

#### Dino Melaye

Senator Dino Melaye who represents Kogi West in the upper legislative chamber went into the general elections traumatized after getting on the wrong side of the APC. He was on trial for a slew of criminal charges and pulled up one stunt after another. Melaye defeated candidate of the APC to retain his senatorial seat.

#### Yakubu Dogara

The Speaker of the House of Representatives wasn't the favorite to retain his Bauchi House of Representatives seat after defecting to the PDP. However, Dogara, from the Christian minority in a predominantly Muslim State, will return to represent his constituency in the 9th Senate—a constituency he has been serving since 2007.

#### THE LOOSERS

#### Atiku Abubakar

If anyone had told the presidential candidate of the PDP, Atiku Abubakar that he lost the election, he would still disagree at this stage and explain that it was the reason he had challenged the results. But the reality is that by polling 11,262,978, he lost the election to Buhari with and remains so until the courts he has approached say otherwise. Although, Atiku

put up a good fight and rattled Buhari in many places. But still, he is the number one loser.

#### Peter Obi

The former governor of Anambra state and Atiku's running mate, Peter Obi is another loser. Although the whole of South-east got delivered for his sake having come from that part of the country, his home state posting the best result in the zone. But he couldn>t do more than that and so, their entire votes from the region didn>t change the fate of their aspiration. He is a loser.

Bukola Saraki

A Governor of the northcentral state of Kwara from 2003 to 2011 and a Senator from 2011 to this day, Senate President Bukola Saraki won't be returning to the Senate chamber in 2019 after losing the Kwara Central senatorial seat to lesserknown Ibrahim Oloriegbe of the All Progressives Congress (APC). A smart politician with bags of tricks to boot, Saraki after his defection to the PDP successfully evaded several impeachment plots from the APC and was exonerated by the Supreme Court on corruption charges. But his loss of the Kwara Central senatorial seat has to be the biggest upset from the Feb 23 polls, and a culmination of the APC's carefully orchestrated plots to eventually unseat him.

#### Olusegun Obasanjo

Former President
Olusegun was one of
the few, who stuck out
their necks for the PDP
candidate, because of
their beliefs in the fact
that Buhari was no
longer suitable for the
country. Apart from
writing letters and

granting interviews, he made up with Atiku after almost 15 years of standing in his way for the same office. With Buhari's victory, Obasanjo naturally falls in the category of losers

#### Abiola Ajimobi

Oyo State Governor Abiola Ajimobi completed his second four-year term as governor in May of 2019 and was looking forward to a retirement plan in Nigeria's parliament. However, Ajimobi lost the Oyo South senatorial seat to a former Commissioner for Commerce and Cooperatives, Kola Balogun, of the PDP.

## Godswill Akpabio

A former Governor of Nigeria's South-South Akwa Ibom State and Senate Minority leader of the current 8th Senate, Godswill Akpabio went into the senatorial election in his State with a fearsome reputation for brinkmanship and years of experience in the nation's political scene to boot. He made a switch from the PDP to the APC on August 8, 2018. However, Akpabio's uncommon defection couldn't stop him from losing the Akwa-Ibom North-West senatorial seat to PDP candidate Chris Ekpenyong who was backed by Akpabio's successor and incumbent Governor Udom Emmanuel.















# TRADE MISSION TO NAMIBIA MULTI-SECTORAL MAY 20 - 24, 2019

The Embassy of the Republic of Namibia is planning a multi-sectoral Trade Mission to Namibia and is inviting all interested business people and companies to join H.E Ambassador Monica N. Nashandi on this Trade Mission. The Trade Mission will be multi-sectoral and aims to promote Agribusiness; Infrastructure; Mining, Oil and Gas Exploration; Renewable Energy; Manufacturing; Hospitality; Telecommunications; Health & Medical Services, Fishing, Construction, etc.

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- Meetings with high level government officials;
- ➤ Briefing and presentations by various government ministries, agencies, and organizations (private and public);
- One-on-one meetings as may be requested;
- Site visits to Namibian factories.

**Registration for participation is free**, however; participants are expected to pay their own airfare and accommodation. The Namibian Government will provide ground transport and secure favorable rates at local hotels.

**To participate**: Please complete and return the registration form to commnamibia@gmail.com before April 5, 2019.

**For Further information:** contact Mr. Freddie !Gaoseb, Commercial Counsellor at 202-986-0540 or 301-204-6370



# Rwanda-Uganda feud: How Relations Soured In Two Decades

By Jean d'Amour Mugabo

wanda and Uganda have a shared ethnic and security history which would logically inspire friendly relations between the two East African neighbours. However, the story has been the opposite for well over two decades but the row has seriously been simmering for the last two years and worsened a fortnight ago when Rwanda closed its main border post with Uganda, Gatuna, and warned Rwandans against crossing to Uganda.

Rwanda's Foreign Affairs Minister Richard Sezibera told the media recently that Gatuna border post temporarily excluded trucks due the post construction works expected to be completed by May, adding that the trucks have been diverted to Kagitumba and Cyanika borders. However, Uganda alleges that their trucks have been blocked at the two borders as well.

Rwanda's President Paul Kagame and more Rwandans fought in a guerrilla war that led Uganda's Yoweri Museveni to power in 1986, and Uganda later backed Kagame-led liberation war which ended the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and left Kagame ruling Kigali in July.

Opening the 16th edition of the National Leadership Retreat on March 9, Kagame flatly put the tensions in detail, saying the two countries fell out in 1998 when Uganda backed a



plan by Seth Sendashonga to destabilise Rwanda. Sendashonga was Rwanda's Interior Minister from 1994 to 1995 when he exiled to Kenya where he was gunned down in 1998. The two countries also nearly went to war in 2000 after their forces clashed in Kisangani in the Democratic Republic of Congo where they jointly helped topple former dictator Mobutu Sese Seko before turning on each other.

President Kagame said he has on several occasions, including the face-to-face talks from Ethiopia and Kampala, shared evidence in vain with his counterpart Museveni about illegal abduction and detention of Rwandans by Ugandan intelligence and internal security agencies, and that Ugandan institutions are hobnobbing with the Rwandan Government's dissidents including the rebel groups: Rwanda Congress and Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR).

Rwanda also accuses
Uganda of sabotaging trade
by frustrating Rwanda's
exports transiting through
Uganda to the Kenya's
Mombasa port.

"Some of the Rwandans who are put in prison is on the advice of RNC. There is the case of a man who has been in prison for two years after he refused to be recruited by RNC...You can only be safe in Uganda if you are against Rwanda, that's the only way they will welcome you. I have come to accept that we advise Rwandans not to go to Uganda. But we don't stop other people from coming here and we don't touch them," Kagame said.

Rwanda reports that its 190 persons have illegally been deported from Uganda in the last two years.

"We have Rwandans who go to Uganda who have been in prison, in their dozens, some of them are in military prison, others nobody knows where they are. Almost every week people are brought and dumped across the border, and when you asked some of them, they say they have been in prison for two years." said President Kagame. "When you ask our friends from across the border, they tell us they were illegal immigrants, but they were in prison for two years, with no charges, until they pack them in a truck and take them across the border."

Uganda has always denied the accusations. It, however, accuses Rwanda of espionage and using some Ugandan security operatives to target and illegally deport the Kigali-wanted Rwandan refugees living in Uganda.

renowned

The

involves former Kagame's bodyguard Joel Mutabazi who fled Rwanda in 2013 and was reportedly kidnapped in Kampala by security personnel and handed over to his home government. The Kigali-based military court later sentenced him to life imprisonment on charges of terrorism and murder. Eight Ugandan security officers including a military colonel

and seven police officers were arrested in June 2018 and charged with forcibly handing over Mutabazi and his brother Jackson Karemera to Kigali, according to reports by Daily Monitor. The Security Minister Lt Gen. Henry Tumukunde and Police Chief Gen. Kale Kayihura were also sacked last year for reportedly keeping close ties with Rwanda.

## Kagame, Museveni trade

President Museveni has often said that nobody can disturb Uganda's peace, something he reiterated Friday at the International Women's Day celebrations in Bunyangabu district.

"No one will disturb the peace in Uganda. The peace will be maintained. The ADF are in Congo and the conflict will remain there. Whoever wants to cause conflict in Kasese, will not manage. ADF cannot come here, so do not be scared." he said.

Two days before, Museveni had also said "Nobody can disturb our peace. Anyone who thinks of destabilising Uganda, will destroy themselves and even those who have been killing people in Kampala, will be defeated and destroyed."

Addressing around 350 central and local governments' officials at the retreat on Saturday with a promise to reveal secrets in the two countries> rift, Kagame hit back at Museni's words

Pan African Visions MAGAZINE, 7614 Green Willow Court, Hyattsville, MD 20785 Tel: 2404292177, email: pav@panafricanvisions.com, editor@panafricanvisions.com

"When I hear somebody say no one can destabilise their country, I agree. No one should actually be destabilising that country, but that country should also not be destabilising others, I think it is a fair deal... I have raised it with our friends, I have been as elaborate as I can. I have begged and begged, but in that begging process, I have come to this point: in a relationship,

WELCOME TO THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA country to country or person to person, there are three types of relationships."

"One is we can be friends, allies; we can work as closely as anyone can. That is my choice. If that is the choice of the other party, they will never fault us for not responding as allies and friends. Second type is you can say why don't you ignore me, I ignore you and we have nothing to do with each other. For me

District

A Rwandan security officer inspects a vehicle from the Ugandan side at Cyanika border post. PHOTO ROBERT

**MUHEREZA NMG.** 

that is fair. Let's each do our own thing without bothering about the other. It is not my choice; my choice is the first one. The third one is I don't like you, I will always cause you problems, we will always conflict. It will not come from us, from this country or me, to seek problems with others. If others have made a choice to bring problems to you, they should find you ready to absorb it, contain it, and

make sure it doesn't give them what they want."

The tensions have now made Rwanda deny its citizens to cross to Uganda and businesses, especially on Ugandan side, have descended into losses.

World Bank reports of 2017 indicate that Rwanda was



Uganda's fifth export market, consuming about \$180 million worth of goods while Rwanda exported \$10 million worth to Uganda. About 80% of Rwanda's imports go through Dar port in Tanzania but its major exports like minerals, tea and coffee transit through Uganda to the Mombasa port in Kenya.

However, amid the Rwanda-Uganda feud, President Kagame visited Tanzania last week where he held bilateral talks with is counterpart John Pombe Magufuli. It is believed that Kagame was looking for an alternative route in Tanzania for all the goods which have been going through Uganda, and eventually Minister Sezibera had said, two days before the president's visit, that Rwanda was exploring alternative business channels and goods to replace those from Uganda.

# Rwanda-Uganda diplomatic row wrecks cross-border business

By Mohammed M. Mupenda

Rwandans have decried price hikes on commodities imported from and passing through Uganda amid the two countries' diplomatic row. This comes after Rwanda closed its border posts connecting to Uganda.

A row between the two neighboring countries has been simmering for the past two years, it escalated when Rwanda issued travel advisories to Rwandans to stop travelling to Uganda. Both countries have traded accusations of interference in each other's affairs.



Relations between Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Museveni of Uganda have deteriorated.

According to the latest 2017, Rwanda was Uganda's selling about \$180m worth World Bank Data from fifth biggest export market, of goods. Rwanda meanwhile

exported \$10m worth to Uganda. The authorities in Uganda are calling for the trade to return to normal. Rwanda>s Foreign Minister Richard Sezibera told the press earlier last week that the government in Kigali was making efforts to ensure its citizens were not faced with shortages or price hikes.

Kigali traders who spoke to Pan African Visions have, however, expressed their challenges on price hikes mostly to the goods from and passing through Uganda. Currently, the price of different foodstuffs

## PAN AFRICAN VISIONS

## Inside Africa

has increased. Among them include maize floor, also known as «Kawunga» that rose up to Rwf15,000 from Rwf12,000 per 25 Kg, Sunseed oil and soaps rose up to 30%.

The traders also lamented that it's not easy find Movit jelly that made and outsourced from Uganda; highland is hardly found milk and different fruits like mangoes and vegetables as well. As Uganda has been the biggest exporter and retailing place of clothes and shoes to Rwandan traders, the country is now facing the shortage of these commodities.

are parts dealer believes that Rwandan officials were wrong to have stopped them crossing the border to go to Uganda. He said that if it was possible, the GoR would be sued. "How does the political differences of the government officials for the two countries become a burden to ordinary citizens?" He said, pleading with the Rwanda government to handle the case as of Burundi whereby they let citizens be informed on the situation in the neighbouring country without stopping them on crossing the border but instead make their own choice on travelling or not. "We should be allowed to travel for our usual business



and visiting families," he said.

He also pointed out that now a few Rwandans go to Burundi because they made their own choice after realizing that it was risky.

"How do you stop citizens from visiting a country where they have families to check on daily, students cross daily for school and most of the commodities are outsourced in Uganda?" He questions, stressing that prices have been hiked and the shortage of some commodities, and students stopped going to school which will affect their education in future.

Rwandans who live in Uganda and supply secondhand clothes to Rwanda have also raised their concerns over their goods that were blocked to enter Rwanda for sale which is causing losses. "We have been living on selling second-hand shoes and clothes from Kampala Owino market to Kigali, currently, we cannot make any sale to earn daily income after most of the goods sent to Kigali were blocked at the border posts and those who usually come from Kigali to buy from here were stopped to cross," said James Tumusiime.

He stressed that their families including children are likely to be sent back home due to delaying on paying school fees.

However, President
Kagame explained this at
the National Leadership
Retreat last Saturday, saying
that each time Rwandans
are arrested in Uganda,
their relatives approach the
government for help. It is easy

for the government to help when the arrested persons have been duly brought to its attention via the normal diplomatic channels and their places of incarceration made known. The Rwanda High Commission in Uganda can provide them with consular services, including availing lawyers if necessary.

According to Dr Frederick Golooba- Mutebi researcher, analyst anthropologist said it seemed that when Rwandans are arrested, the GoR is not informed. As a result, they don't know where they are incarcerated. They also cannot provide them and their relatives with any assistance. But this does not stop relatives from pushing for help from the government. That is why the Rwanda government decided to issue travel advisories to Rwandans to stop going to Uganda.

He added that it is understandable that there are people who are unhappy about the situation, precisely because of the challenges it poses for those who do buy goods in Uganda for re-sale in Rwanda, those who outsource food and other necessities from there, border communities especially, and those that have families there whom they want to visit. There challenges clearly on both the government side and that of Rwandans wanting to travel to Uganda. He, however, urged the two sides to talk and resolve their differences.

A diplomatic feud between Rwanda and Uganda has had a huge effect on daily life for families in both countries. Uganda>s President Yoweri Museveni and his Rwandan counterpart Paul Kagame are intrinsically linked. They helped each other come to power through rebellions.

The biggest impact for the moment will be on Ugandan businesses which have not been able to sell goods to Rwandans, and Rwandans who cannot access food, daily commodities education and healthcare in Uganda.

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## Shifting Gears: A Year of Leila Ndiaye At The IGD

By Ajong Mbapndah L

edia appearances have been rare for Leila Ndiaye since she joined the Initiative for Global Development in March 2018 as Executive President. In July, she was promoted to President, and Chief Executive Officer (CEO), and effectively assumed her new role on August 1, 2018.

While she may have media Leila been shy, Ndiave has made great strides in taking the IGD to greater heights in its core mission of transforming the organization into an engaging and influential platform that fosters greater investment of U.S. and African small- and medium-sized enterprises (SME) in Africa. From events featuring African Heads of State, to a leadership for Agriculture Forum in South Africa, the IGD under Ndiaye is living up to expectations as a credible development partner for Africa.

With the annual Frontier 100 Forum of the IGD in the horizon, Ndiaye accepted to talk to Pan African Visions. In addition to shedding light on her stewardship since joining the IGD, Ndiaye offers insights on the Frontier 100 Forum which takes place on April 10 and 11 in Washington, DC, the Advanced Executive Training Program, and other seminal projects in gestation.

## It's been about year now since you joined the IGD, how has the experience been for you?

My time at the Initiative for Global Development so far has been extremely rewarding. IGD has been doing great work on the continent bringing private sector solutions to solve development challenges and suggesting ways that the private sector can work with the public sector to promote a conducive environment for business and investment.

On the event side, in September 2018, IGD organized two conferences featuring two African Heads of States in New York and Washington, D.C., and facilitated a Leadership for Agriculture Forum in Johannesburg in November 2018.

This event brings together African ministers of agriculture and finance together with African business leaders and is funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and led by the African Development Bank.

Back in April 2018, IGD hosted its annual spring Forum in Washington, D.C. and proceeded to host numerous African business and government leaders for a tour of New York, Iowa Texas states, where participants presented their experiences, learned from local counterparts, and had explored opportunities collaboration. This U.S. Roadshow Tour served also to share business and opportunities investment available on the continent to U.S. businesses, and became a precursor to IGD's new The program: Advanced Executive Training Program or AEP.

# What are some of the innovations that you have tried to bring on board?

We have an extremely talented team at IGD, and the best recipe for continued success is to foster increased and effective collaboration between our team and our members as well as with other partners. We are launching the new AEP Program, which will take US, African and global business partners to several countries on the continent each year as well as in the US.

These business leaders will participate in a serious trade and training immersion program where they will learn first-hand from local business and government leaders on how to do business in the country; visit local industries of interest to them; and engage local partners who might be interested in collaborative ventures.

countries targeted for the first year: Tunisia, Nigeria and Mozambique. African business and government leaders will also be invited to visit ICT, Agriculture and Energy industries in US in the fall. IGD strongly believes in promoting SMEbetween linkages emerging African businesses and other global communities accelerate Africa's transformation.

The Frontier 100 Forum is coming up on April 10-11 this year, how are the preparations going, may we have an idea on some of the highlights of this year's event?

IGD Frontier 100 Forum brings together IGD business members together with African, US and global partners from all sectors to discuss core business issues of significance to the continent's development. This year, we will host a reception on April 10 and the Forum on April





Vith President Nyusi of Mozambique . Mozambique will host one of the Advanced Executive Program sessions.

11 at the Mayflower Hotel in downtown Washington, D.C. The title of our Forum is "Africa@Crossroads: Unlocking Intra-African Trade through SME

Business Growth and Skills Development," and it covers three major subthemes: (1) Raising Support for Africa's Economic and Development Agenda; (2) Expanding Regional Trade and Investments through the newly signed African

Continental Trade Agreement; and (3) Spurring SME-led Business Growth through Greater Access to Skills Resources and African Women and Youth. We have a range of great speakers from government officials, business leaders institutional experts. Panels will be moderated by renowned experts and recommendations shared with key sector and policy leaders for advancement.

May we also some of the big names expected at the forum, what in general should participants expect?

We have invited many prominent business and government leaders and have already received some confirmations while awaiting others. Hon. Mukhisa Kituvi, Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; Benedict Dr. Oramah, President, African Export and Import (Afrexim) Bank; Vera Songwe, the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission on Africa; C.D. Glin, President and CEO of the U.S. African Development Foundation: Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield, former US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs; former US Ambassador to Nigeria, Ambassador Robin Sanders; among others.

**Participants** should expect a robust discussion revamping Intra-African regional trade and stimulating investment: women- and youth-led SME business growth; and creating opportunities for expanding jobs and wealth on the continent.

We did notice that the IGD now has a new Advanced Executive Program, could you shed light on this for us?

The Advanced Executive (AEP) Program is a new initiative that we are launching at the April IGD Frontier 100 Forum. It is geared to educate American and African business leaders on how to do business with each other, and in Africa and the US.

It is a combination of business training program and a trade mission. We believe that strengthening

**know** Africa's private sector will accelerate opportunities for market-led development and self-reliance for generating employment and advancing economic growth on the continent.

> The best way to aid this process is to equip business leaders with the knowledge, tools and experience explore prospects for growth in these amazing and emerging markets, and provide the context needed to ensure successful and dynamic African, American and global business engagement.

> The AEP will be exciting and includes both business and cultural components so that participants understand the full picture working and doing business in a specific country. A typical schedule of this immersion program will include two days of seminars and two days of industrial visits. The first day will be discussion sessions with local business leaders and experts, and relevant officials with insight in trade and investment opportunities in the country.

> The second day will be devoted to engagement with ministers and public sector officials focusing on legal and policy environment, logistical support and government resources available to reduce incentivize and reduce the cost of doing business.

> There will also be a day or two, depending on sectors covered, for visiting leading local industries and engaging local investors, and the last day will encompass a cultural excursion to understand the culture and local community engagement. Throughout the week there will also be numerous networking receptions, group dinners, and free time for participants



to explore the surrounding area. Similar programming will be done for visits to the US by African business and government leaders.

In what parts of Africa will the program take place in and what motivated the choice of those countries?

For 2019, we are targeting three initial countries for AEP: Tunisia, Mozambique and Nigeria. The decision was reached after consultation with leaders, aligned opportunities for co-hosting the event alongside other major convening; promising African markets, and identification of key local contacts who are interested in supporting the program.

Each year, we hope to 3-4 countries as well two missions to the US. More information will be forthcoming about our dates and planned AEP activities.

How has the public especially Africa responded to the AEP initiative and in terms of cost, how affordable is it?

We have received verv positive reactions from partners, advisors and

per participant is US\$6,000, which is inclusive of all costs except airfare. This means that this registration fee includes accommodation, local transportation, some meals and business certification. In addition, participants' organizations will receive one year membership to IGD's Frontier 100 Leaders Network, which is our member network that comprises global, US and African CEOs and senior executives whose companies have interests and priorities regarding sustainable and inclusive growth in Africa.

Membership allows access to exclusive events by IGD and our partners, as well access to advisory services, visibility on our website and marketing materials, and access to our influential network African public and private sector leaders. Typically, membership is US\$5,000 for one year. By including membership as a benefit to the AEP, we can show the value of becoming an IGD member beyond participation in AEP country programs.

Any other projects that you have in mind issues around potential funders. The cost entrepreneurship, youth

## and women issues that are passionate to you?

Yes, IGD is planning to play a significant role expanding business opportunities for youth and women in Africa. In order to reach a larger audience of youth and women-led SMEs, IGD is working on hosting an online training program for SMEs around business best practices. value chain management, logistics, legal processes, and gaining access to government resources. These trainings will target growth sectors such as agribusiness, ICT, entertainment, energy and other industries.

These will be held on a regular basis in partnership with other institutions. Our hope is that this initiative will be able to reach a broader base of entrepreneurs that regular programing can, and also make such training accessible especially to many young people who are currently connected to each other and to the world. IGD currently participates in youth-based training and mentorships programs led by the African Development Bank (ENABLE YOUTH) and the United Nations Development Program (Africa Youth Connect).





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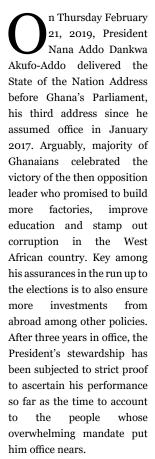
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## Ghana: Akufo Addo Under Pressure to Deliver As Mahama Braces Up For Fresh Challenge

By Papisdaff Abdullah



Working on promises

Since assuming office, the government has been working hard to make good on its promises. In public High Schools, for instance, Education has been free since September 2017. But this was not without operational challenges and setbacks. Schools were not prepared for the huge population of students - they were lacking teaching materials, space and qualified teachers as well as essentials like desks and chairs. A Special Prosecutor was appointed to spearhead government's crack-down on corruption as part of efforts to save the public purse and



sanitize the system. Also, the narrative of revamping and expanding the rail transport infrastructure has seen considerable progress. Not much is seen about the ambitious projects of building dams and factories but government spokespersons maintain a lot is being done in those areas.

Again, the Planting for Foods and Jobs programme was launched by the president in his second year in office to help address the declining growth of the agricultural sector of the country. As part of the programme, Ghanaians are expected to take up agriculture as a fulltime business to enable the country to produce enough to feed itself and for export. Under the programme, about 200,000 farmers were provided with fertilizers as well as other farming inputs. Spanning a period of five years, the programme also hopes to create jobs to deal with the unemployment

challenges in the country.

the unemployment sector, the Akufu Addo led introduced government Nation **Builders** Corps (NaBCo) an initiative aimed addressing graduate unemployment in Ghana. The programme was launched by President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo in Mav 2018. Central to its objectives is to engage the raw talents of unemployed graduates and equip them with skills through a process of value addition and training. The scheme at the time was expected to train and employ about 100,000 graduates seven modules; namely, Educate Ghana, Heal Ghana, Feed Ghana, Revenue Ghana, Digitize Ghana, Civic Ghana and Enterprise Ghana. Beneficiaries of the NaBCo programme will have the jobs for a period of 3 years under a monthly stipend of GH¢700. Concerns

Despite the efforts by the government to fulfil its

promises to the people, more Ghanaians are beginning to worry over an apparent break down in the security situation in the country. The past few years has seen a considerable number of policemen murdered the course of discharging their duties in service to the country. Also, the activities of political militia groups saw a surge. A militia group for instance invaded a court to free their members standing trial, another was captured by the media halting public activities championed by official appointees of government in protest at lack of jobs, the assault of journalists also in on the ascendency. A recent byeelection in the country was also nearly marred by violent clashes and sporadic shooting between so-called sponsored National Security and operatives elements from the largest opposition NDC. This left nearly a dozen

with

various

electorates

degrees of injuries. Again, the murder of Hussein Swale in January 2019 caused a lot of Ghanaians, Civil Society and the International Community to question the security architecture of the country.

The size of President Akufo Addo's government has also been a major worry to many, including anti-graft bodies. The West African country has never in its history had an elephant sized executive organ of government. That notwithstanding, President Akufo Addo maintains his government should be judged based on its ability to deliver on the promise it made to the Ghanaian people, not the size of the government.

The gradual depreciation of the Ghana cedi against the American dollar and the British pound sterling seems to be taking a heavy toll the economy of Ghana. The local currency is still struggling to stabilize against the major international currencies. This has brought untold hardship somewhat to traders and businesses operating in the country.

Mahama Contest in 2020 Immediate past President John Dramani Mahama is preparing for another shot at the presidency after winning the National Democratic Congress' (NDC) presidential primaries. The ex-president became the NDC's presidential aspirant-elect after beating off competition from six other candidates. John Mahama is obviously a popular man within the NDC,

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but among the larger populace of Ghanaians, the story may disclosed that P differ. This is because there are a lot of things that people believe he could have done better while he was president. There were many allegations of corruption which went unchecked. The NDC's loss in the 2016 general election was historic. This is because the party lost by more than one million votes. Science and disclosed that P Addo Dankwa will defeat for sold point in the Sold party lost by more than one though Nana not succeeded

This makes ex-president Mahama, the first sitting president in Ghana to have lost an election and also the NDC candidate to have lost by the heaviest margin since 1992. Political Science lecturer at the Kwame Nkrumah University of

Technology, disclosed that President Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo will defeat former President John Mahama in the 2020 polls. Dr. Amakye Boateng said "Mahama has no chance if Nana Addo declares his intention to run again in spite of his age". The Political Scientist opines that even though Nana Addo has so not succeeded in delivering on all his promises, he stands a good chance at beating Mahama in 2020. More so, Law Professor, Stephen Asare remarked that nothing has changed as far as the factors that led to the defeat of the former President in the 2016 election.



This according to the US based Professor is enough reason for Mahama to rescind his decision to make a

comeback. He urged Mahama would make the challenges not to on grounds that he has of the NDC brighter. "We already served the country have a good chance to win in various capacities. But the former President is confident about his chances in next year's crucial elections. would make the challenges of the NDC brighter. "We already served the country have a good chance to win the method in which the NPP came into power. They used a lot of sweet words, they

expressed strong optimism of victory 2020 for the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC). The former president indicated that the performance of the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) has been abysmal. Mahama says the failure of the NPP to deliver on their major campaign promises and the economic challenges Ghanaians are going through of the NDC brighter. "We have a good chance to win 2020 elections because of the method in which the NPP came into power. They used a lot of sweet words, they promised heaven and I don't think they thought through the promises because some of the promises were weird and absurd". "My worry is that, it shakes the fate of Ghanaians in our democracy, it makes Ghanaians believe politicians are just lairs and will not fulfill their promises" he added.



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PAN AFRICAN VISIONS



## **Sober Reflections on Ghana At 62**

ilbert Ahinful Aidoo, at the Department of Political Science in the University of Ghana Legon, has underscored the need for Ghana to do away with the lavish celebrations of its independence and channel the funds into the distressed areas of the country.

According to him, the government must eschew the charade of «there is no money» to do developmental works for the nation when they can organize money and resources to celebrate anniversary with no accountability.

He added that even though the day is significant to the citizenry as it's an indication freedom from foreign rule, he insists it must be done moderately since the resources, which are lavishly dissipated on such occasions, can be used in other developmental projects.

He suggested that nation quiz, for instance, could be organized among schools in country to strengthen reading habit among students.

The Independence a political scientist Day celebration, since its inception in 1957, has been characterized by a march pass by the security services, school children, and workers' unions with the president taking salutes and later delivering messages to the nation. The celebration is also replicated in the regions, districts, and schools across the country with the president's message being read on his behalf by a delegate.

> Mr. Aidoo alluded to the fact that governments must account to the nation every Independence Day celebration in order to enhance transparency and limit the number of resources used.

#### Poverty reduction

The United Nations Special rapporteur on extreme poverty, Philip Alston, during his visit to Ghana in 2018, says unless growing inequality and poverty rates in Ghana are addressed, Ghana will fall short of meeting the key U.N. Sustainable Development Goals, including By Jessica Ahedor



the eradication of extreme poverty by 2030. He made this statement when briefing the media during his factfinding mission to the Greater Accra, Northern, and Upper East regions.

This clearly implies that there is more to do to bring to the fore a balance in the living standard of the people.

Philip Alston, who examines the human rights implications of poverty in countries around the world in recent times, refers to the

the Ghana Statistical Service which revealed that almost one-quarter of the country's population is living in poverty and one person in every 12 in extreme poverty. Threeand-a-half million of those in poverty are children, with more than a third of them in extreme poverty. Though this is a growing phenomenon that needs to be curtailed, officials dissipate the nation's resources in the name of celebrations.

He bewailed that after vears political independence, Ghana still struggles to catch up with its peers due to the corrupt nature of its successive governments. He cited Singapore and Malaysia as peers of Ghana who have developed over the years, giving its citizens better standards of living, while Ghana continues to wallow in poverty and corruption.

#### **Education**

Even though he agrees the post-independence Ghana has chalked some successes

most recent official data from in the education sector, he lamented on the fact that most Policies are tailored to gain political advantage. A trend that can be curtailed if only the country has a developmental plan to guide every president that assumes office.

#### intimidation **Political** and democracy

He pointed out that although Ghana, has gained some credence in its democracy in the sub-Saharan region, political intimidation is never part of democracy. The fact that citizens are afraid of speaking their minds for fear of being attacked by a political faction must be condemned, he emphasized.

His statement stems from the emergence of political vigilantes/militia in the country. Members of such groups intimidate and sometimes harm their perceived political opponents. This he said does not augur well for the democratization of the nation.





## Agriculture an industrialization.

Mr. Aidoo also observed on agriculture and industrialization saying ever since the overthrow of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's government and his developmental program, there has not been any significant progress on the agricultural and industrial

and front.

He opined that the current governments' initiative of planting for food and jobs, one-village, one-dam, one district one warehouse as well as one district-one factory if properly coordinated and managed could go a long way in the industrialization of Ghana. This would help the government to process the

raw natural resources which are always exported or even provide jobs for the youth.

Historian on Ghana's history with political motive.

On his part, a historian, Ismael Annang from the Department of History at the University of Ghana said the current situation where the president is changing the historical names of places and institutions as well the historical dates to reflect the Danquah-Busia lineage is against professional history ethics. His actions are politically motivated. He alluded to the fact that even though history can be reviewed, it must not be altered to suit a particular political leaning.

#### History of Ghana

On the 6th of March 1957, Ghana became the first country sub of the Sahara to gain independence from the British colonial masters.

The Republic of Ghana is named after the medieval West African Ghana Empire. The empire became known in Europe and Arabia as the Ghana Empire after the title of its emperor, the Ghana.

On August 3, 1956, the new assembly passed a motion authorizing the government to request independence within the British Commonwealth. The opposition did not attend the debate, and the vote was unanimous. The British government accepted this motion as clearly representing a reasonable majority, and on September 18, 1956, the British set 6 March 1957, the 113th anniversary of the Bond of 1844, as the date the former British colony of the Gold Coast to become the independent state of Ghana, and the nation>s Legislative Assembly was to become the National Assembly.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was to be the prime minister, and Queen Elizabeth II as monarch, represented in the former colony by a governor general, Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke. Dominion status would continue until 1960, when after a national referendum, Ghana was declared a republic.

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## **Africa in the Age of Cyber Security**

By Ajong Mbapndah L

fter highly successful stint as ambassador of Benin to the USA. Omar Arouna has taken on a new challenge with zeal -cyber security. As Managing Partner at the US-Africa Cyber Security Group-USAFCG. Ambassador Arouna has taken the lead in raising awareness, proposing solutions to African countries. The challenges are real, and the threats enormous.savs Ambassador Arouna as he situates where Africa stands today in terms of cyber security. While countries like Mauritius, and Rwanda have made great strides, there are many other countries and businesses taking the threat for granted and the result is evident in a loss of circa \$3.5

## For those who are not familiar what is cyber security, and should it be of interest to Africa?

billion due to to cyber crimes

in 2017 says Ambassador

in an interview with PAV

magazine.

Cybersecurity is the collection of technologies, processes, and practices that protect networked computer systems from unauthorized harm. Broadly use orspeaking, cybersecurity topics can be subdivided complementary areas: cyber-attacks, which essentially offensive and emphasize network penetration techniques; and cyber defenses, which are essentially protective and emphasize counter-measures intended to eliminate or mitigate cyber-attacks. Cybercrime has grown to more than \$ 1 trillion a year in online fraud, identity

theft and loss intellectual property, affecting millions of people around the world, as well as countless businesses governments in every country. Africa has 1.21 people and almost all African countries are about to grow over the next year. Technology adoption is also

continuing to grow, with an exponential increase in the number of mobile owners, increasing use of social media, and the Internet of Things (IoT) quickly becoming a reality. This rapid economic is accompanied by a thriving e-commerce industry, which is expected to reach \$ 75 billion by 2025. African financial institutions governments suffered a loss of \$ 3.5 billion for Cybercrime in 2017. More than 95% of African businesses operate below the poverty line of cyber security. When people hear about cyber security, people think of the west, how much of a threat is this to Africa?

Private sector businesses and organizations including their consumer base have become extremely vulnerable online. Digital economies are taking off throughout all the regions of Africa. Cybercrime has emerged and already taken advantage of mobile banking, online banking and financial services delivered regionally. Local support cybersecurity across the region needs to be



Ambassador Arouna.

strengthened, and financial institutions in the region demanding training, servicing, and consulting services in cybersecurity.

About 300 million users have been brought online since 2000 due liberalization the telecommunications markets across African countries the increasingly widespread availability of mobile technologies. For Africa, the technology age is booming- and shows few signs of slowing. The rapid turnaround from being a continent essentially offline in 2000, with only 4.5 million Internet users, to this level of connectivity has left African leaders scrambling implement adequate cybersecurity policies and regulations.

May we know some of the ways in which the threats of cyber security manifest themselves, or some of the most vulnerable sectors?

most vulnerable sector is the financial sector. example, the 2017 Wannacry attack forced companies around world to shut down their

systems to stop the spread of the malicious code. The attack "immobilized" banks, hospitals, and government agencies in dozens countries, particularly hitting Kenya's financial institutions. Renault Tanger-Méditerranée automobile plant in Morocco closed for a full day, causing a loss of production of a thousand cars. Many other African companies may have been seriously impacted by the attack, but the extent is unknown due to failure to report these attacks to the national authorities in charge of computer security incident response.

The financial cost of cyberattacks for businesses has increased significantly over the years. African companies publish few figures on cybercrime, but the highest estimated costs in 2013 stood at \$47 million (26 billion FCFA) in Côte d'Ivoire and \$27 million (15 billion FCFA) in Senegal. More recent figures on annual losses (2017) are estimated for Nigeria \$649 million, followed by Kenya at \$210 million. And many sectors are concerned by these losses, with financial institutions, government, e-commerce hitting the top three impacted industries in Africa.

equipped and how serious **African** governments the fighting cyber security crimes?

In spite of the breathtaking growth of ICT use. development national cybersecurity

legislation has been relatively stagnant in the region. Mauritius, has legislation addressing cybercrime, e-commerce, data protection, and privacy as well as an established Emergency Computer Response Team (CERT). remains a distant outlier on the continent. Countries such as Chad, Guinea-Bissau, and Gabon, which have minimalto-no legislation addressing cyber issues, are much more typical. The AU faces the of challenge developing common continental cybersecurity policy, which requires not just the harmonization of legislation across several economic regions but also encouraging national policy development in a majority of member states. Attaining this level of political cohesiveness-in a regional organization that consistently faces criticism of ineffectiveness-is a steep hurdle to overcome.

On specific examples, may we know examples of what some countries are doing to keep staying safe from attacks?

Certification processes,

ISO/IEC 27001, released by the International Standard Organization (ISO). are useful resources for businesses seeking a baseline address cybersecurity from a management system perspective. Some African organizations are taking cyber threats seriously; ISO has reported an increase of 73 percent of Information Security Management System certified companies within a year, from 129 in 2015 to 224 in 2016, with the majority in South Africa, Nigeria, and Morocco.

Mauritius is the top ranked country in the Africa region. It scores particularly high in the legal and the technical areas. The Botnet Tracking and Detection project allows Computer Emergency Response Team of Mauritius (CERT-MU) to proactively take measures to curtail threats on different networks within the country. Capacity building is another area where Mauritius does well. The government IT Security Unit has conducted 180 awareness sessions for some 2 000 civil servants in 32 government ministries and departments.

Rwanda, ranked second in Africa, scores high in the organizational pillar and has a standalone cybersecurity policy addressing both the public and private sector. It is also committed to develop stronger cybersecurity industry to ensure a resilient cyber space.

Kenya, ranked third in the region, provides a good example of cooperation through its National Kenya Computer Incident Response Team Coordination Centre (National KECIRT/CC). The CIRT coordinates at national, regional and global levels with a range of actors. Nationally



voices on Africa from Washington,DC today. this includes ISPs and the

financial and educational sectors; regionally it works with other CIRTs through the **East African Communications** Organization: internationally it liaises with ITU, FIRST, and bi-laterally with the United States and Japan CIRTs among others. Ambassador Arouna is managing partner at US-Africa cyber security group, what services are offered by your company?

USAFCG provides cybersecurity consulting services and delivers training programs for capacity building

We have partnered with cyber technologists specialized development and deployment of advanced cybersecurity solutions to strengthen our services. Our teams work with private and public sector organizations across Africa, and we understand business. technology and legal policy aspects as requirements vary at the region, country, and local

- •Coordination and Cooperation between public and private sector
- •Engagement and Assess-
- Training and Exercise
- Technical Assistance

•Education and Toolkits

Support Services

Cyber Hygiene e-Learning

We have partnered with the leader in Cyber Hygiene training,to deliver a state of the art interactive, engaging and effective tool consisting of a training module and two separate test modules to address human risk behaviour in cyberspace.

Cybersecurity Program for the Prevention and Fight against Cybercrime

Strengthening cybersecurity management of African capacity government agencies. The objective is to establish an integrated, effective and modern national/regional system for the prevention and fight against cybercrime.

How have these services of USAFCG been of help African countries and companies in need, any projects you have carried out in Africa?

But we have been building cybersecurity awareness to our potential clients in the public and private sector, helping them design the project that works for their context. We have been building the case to our African governments and private enterprises to plan to implement strategies to protect their clients, their



data, and themselves from a cvberattack.

Given the regional context, this can be achieved by considering four key initiatives: implementing cyber resilience strategies, developing cybersecurity skills, protecting data integrity, and integrating cyber risk protection in the decision-making process throughout all levels of management. And that is why we created USAFCG, to be the catalyst to carry out those initiatives in Africa.

the seasoned professional that you are, what is your current reading of ties between the USA and Africa, what changes has the trump African policy brought?

On Dec 6th, 2018 US National Security Advisor John Bolton unveiled the Trump administration's new strategy for Africa. The strategy is focused on three priorities, all of which have long been advocated by foreign policy experts. These priorities include advancing U.S. trade across the region, continuing to combat terrorism, and making sure U.S. money for aid is used as most effectively that it can be. The new US Africa strategy premise is that a free, growing, and self-sufficient Africa is of the utmost importance to the United

States' security national interests-a belief that the Trump administration said previous administrations did not share.

The view of the Trump administration "Great-power competitorsnamely, China and Russiarapidly expanding their financial and political influence across Africa,". "They are deliberately and aggressively targeting their investments in the region to gain a competitive advantage over the United States." So American foreign policy makers in the pursue of the interests of the American people and American values are mainly refining they approach in regaining the loss ground on the continent. Things have changed between the US and Africa now Governance and Democracy are taking back seat to investment and trade.

It should not come as a surprise that some of your compatriots are intrigued by your plans, after a successful stint as ambassador and doing well in the corporate world, what next for Arouna...any political ambitions?

Politics is something that is important to me and have always been in my mind...



## After returning stolen Namibian treasures, Germany urged to acknowledge past atrocities



high-powered delegation representing institutions in the fields of research, culture and arts from the state of Baden-Württemberg in southern Germany was southern Namibia. recently in Namibia for a historic mission.

Led by Theresia Bauer, the Minister of Science, Research and Arts of Baden-Württemberg, their visit was the restitution of the Bible and whip that belonged to one of the nation's revered heroes, Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi (1830-1905) of the elders of the Witbooi family. Nama to Namibia.

The two historical artefacts had been taken to Germany during the colonial time in and Culture Katrina Hanse-1902 and have been kept Himarwa for care and custody at the Linden Museum in Stuttgart ever since.

After formalities in the capital, Windhoek, including meeting with Vice-President Nangolo Mbumba senior government officials, Germany delegation the proceeded to Gibeon

The small settlement in Hardap region is the historic home of the Witbooi clan where the official hand-over of the items took place on 28 February 28, 2019.

Minister Bauer handed over the Bible and whip to President Hage Geingob, who in turn gave them to the

The latter handed the artefacts over to Namibian Minister of Education, Arts by the Ministry.

traditional leaders in the former German South West Africa that resisted the German imperialism.

fought a running battle against the German troops since becoming the paramount chief of the Nama people, until his death in

On April 12, 1893 following a surprise attack on his hideout camp at Hornkranz (in the Khomas Hochland German mountains). the soldiers took a box containing his most possessions - a personal journal, a Bible and whip.

The items were taken Germany, until their restitution last month, after years of haggling with the German institutions.

President Geingob has her group for "for having travelled to Namibia to deliver these two important treasures of our nation's history".

President Geingob said the repatriation of Witbooi's bible and whip evoke painful memories, given the history of the country.

"Kaptein Hendrik Witbooi was born at a time when colonialism was at its zenith.

"The powers of that time, were carving up African territory, driven by the lust for resources and subsequent wealth. It is during this period that many Namibian people were separated by boundaries that paid no consideration to the demographics of the region.

"Our and ancestors. present all of 118 here Kaptein Witbooi was one thanked Minister Bauer and today, are victims of these

indiscriminate annexations; annexations which dispossessed Namibians of their land, by force and without compensation," he said

He added that: "When the forces of imperialist aggression, in the form of the German army under Curt von François decided to invade Greater Namaqualand, destiny produced a man for the hour.

A man who would be described by historians as one of the most powerful African leaders at the time when European imperialism began to carve up Africa into colonies.'

## Germany must apologise

Witbooi led the Nama people through the darkest the Namibian colonial history.

## PAN AFRICAN VISIONS

recorded in modern history was committed against the Herero and Nama people, during the war of colonial resistance between 1904-1908

This was the result of infamous extermination order issued by the German General, Von Trotha in October 1904, that resulted in the indiscriminate killing of Namas and Hereros.

It also destroyed the way of living of those that survived the genocide.

The talks regarding the acknowledgment, and reparations for the genocide committed against the local communities currently relations overshadow the between Namibia and Germany.

President Geingob stressed the mass murder that committed by the Germans at the beginning the 20th century has left a deep scar on the Namibian people.

Hence his call for Germany publicly Germans acknowledge their historical moral responsibility, and the historical guilt committed in the past.

"The effects of the torture, collective punishment and ultimate racial extermination of Namibians by German imperialist soldiers are felt to this day. If we are to move forward, then it is important for the German Government admit the wrongs committed against the people of Namibia."

"In so doing, we expect that the most appropriate admission of this genocide will be the issuing by Germany of an apology which will be acceptable to the Namibian people. It is with this reality in mind that we are gathered here today," he said.

In her speech during the ceremony, Minister Bauer

The first genocide ever expressed her remorse and the regret for atrocities committed by German imperialist soldiers.

> «We are deeply sorry for the injustices of the past and the long delay in the return of the Bible and whip of Hendrik Witbooi. However, we cannot undo the past. Therefore, today should not be the end, but the beginning of a better and united future," Bauer said.

> During her meeting with Vice President Mbumba, the State Secretary in the Ministry of Science, Research and Arts of Baden-Württemberg Petra Olschowski acknowledged atrocities committed against Namibians during colonial periods.

"I cannot and will not refrain from admitting that, I am well aware that inhumane atrocities were perpetrated against people of Namibia the Namas and Herero tribes - at the hands of the Germans soldiers."

"And I am acknowledging this with the fe3eling of immense regret that this ever took place. I understand the need for deep healing so as to enable the further strengthening of a conducive relation between our two nations and people," said Olschowski.

#### Historical justice

The event at Gibeon marked another milestone in an ongoing effort by the Namibian Government to negotiate with institutions in Germany to return traditional during treasures stolen colonial periods.

This is part of a wider repeated calls for historical justice, as African countries pressuring former colonisers to return historical and cultural artefacts that were illegally displaced from the continent.

Countless relics that



currently adorns museums and private collections across Europe have strong emotional attachments and cultural significance to indigenous communities in Africa.

Namibia has been negotiating with museums in Europe over stolen collections in museums and archives in Berlin, Bremen, Frankfurt in Germany, Basel and Berne in Switzerland Vienna in Austria.

Earlier February 2019, the Ovembanderu community, a sub-group Ovaherero. retaliated its call for the repatriation from Germany, of a sacred belt, worn by their late Chief Kahimemua Nguvauva.

month, Kilus Last Nguvavu, the chief of Traditional Ovamanderu Authority and great grandson of Nguvauva appealed to a visiting German lawmaker, Ottmar von Holtz to help in the return of the heirloom, said to have represented various important aspects of the Nguvauva loyal clan.

Like Witbooi, Chief Nguvauva also fought the Germans over land dispossession. Α German soldier took his belt after he was wounded in battle in May 1896.

He was later sentenced to

death for leading an uprising against the Germans, and was executed by firing squad on June 12, 1896 at Okahandja.

In addition, the Museum Association of Namibia is leading negotiations for the restitution of the Stone Cross and other cultural objects.

Also known as 'the Padrão', the Stone Cross of Cape Cross on the Nambiab western coast forms part of the Permanent Exhibition of the Deutsche Historische Museum since 2006

The Cross bears the coat of arms of Portugal, crowned by a cross, that was erected at the coast of Namibia in 1485 by the famous Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão.

The pillars records in Latin and Portuguese King John II of Portugal's claim to power over the territory - a claim for which the Stone Cross was to serve as a visible symbol.

When the Germans declared the German South-West Africa (now Namibia) following the 1884 Berlin Conference, the Cross was shipped to the German Empire.

Kaiser Wilhelm II had his own sign of sovereignty erected replica cross at the site of the original Padrão, which is but bearing the emblem of the German

Empire.

A little victory has been this scored in regard. Witbooi's journal that was also stolen during the Hornkranz has since been repatriated is currently stored at the national archive. The entries in the journal, handwritten in old Cape Dutch, record events, experiences and insights into the nature of colonialism in the country.

UNESCO has described the journal as "probably first written formulation of the concept of Pan-Africanism". Due to historical significance, Withooi's journal was inscribed into the the United Nations education culture agency inscribed into the UNESCO's World Memory of the Register in 2007.

Justice was also done to the people of Ombalantu, in northern Namibia when the Finnish authorities returned a ritual stone, that played central in coronation ceremonies of the kings of this community in northern Namibia. The ritual stone was confiscated by the Finnish missionaries during between the 18th and 19th centuries, who deemed the cultural practice as ungodly.

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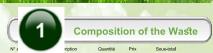
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# Mozambique's crackdown on hidden debt violators limited to "small fry"?

By Alexandre Nhampossa

he Mozambican authorities took about three and a half years to start with the arrests of individuals who signed and managed contracts for the financing of the illegal loans of state-owned companies Proindicus, EMATUM and MAM in the amount of US \$ 2 billion that were later imputed Mozambicans when the debts were considered sovereign. Some of these people had already been identified by the local and foreign press, but the Office of the Prosecutor-General (PGR) did absolutely nothing against them, claiming to be still investigating.

The situation began to take shape when South African police arrested the former Mozambican finance minister, Manuel Chang, on December 29, in pursuance of the international arrest warrant issued by the United States of America in connection with the financial scandal that became known as «hidden debts.»

Between 2013 and 2014, the Mozambican Government obtained loans of over two billion dollars without parliamentary approval to set up three state-owned companies: Proindicus, Mozambique Tuna Company (Ematum) and Mozambique Asset Management (MAM). The loans were arranged by Credit Suisse and a Russian investment bank. discovery of these secret loans in 2016 led the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and international donors halt financial support to Mozambique resulting in the collapse of its economy.



The country is now plunged *The arrests of «small* and money laundering for to an unprecedented *fry»* the enrichment of several

into unprecedented economic crisis. international partners condition funding to resolve case. The normal procedure would be the judiciary to speed up investigations and hold the individuals involved, but it has not been easy because of the lack of separation of powers that makes the executive power to influence investigations, since senior officials, and of the Mozambique>s ruling Party - Frelimo - were part of the fraudulent scheme.

The current Mozambican President, Filipe Nyusi, is one of them. Another important person is former Mozambican president, Armando Emílio Guebuza. Consciously or unconsciously they gave their endorsement. There are also other figures involved as is the case of the former deputy finance minister, Isaltina Lucas. These are the main guys considered «big fish» but that the Mozambican justice has not yet moved with them.

With the detention of Minister Chang in South Africa, Mozambique found itself in a difficult situation. The country had to do something. It is believed that the Americans started with the arrests because Mozambique took more than three years without the resolution of the case, a fact that directly impacts the local citizens who daily feel the high cost of living due to the economic crisis aggravated by the fraud. Chang's detention was on 29 December. It was the beginning because there are more Mozambicans that the US justice wants to be extradited. On February 14, Mozambique began to do the

The US accuses Manuel Chang of conspiracy for electronic fraud, conspiracy for securities fraud and money laundering, as part of the process of Mozambique's hidden debts.

The US indictment contains correspondence and documents that lead it to conclude that the three public companies will have served a scheme of corruption

and money laundering for the enrichment of several suspects and used US bank account.

Local analysts say that Mozambique has had to enter the wave of arrests to prevent local figures from being extradited to the US, where they are likely to reveal a lot of compromising information, while if they are to be kept in the country, the case will be treated differently. Mozambique and US have no signed extradition agreement.

Antonio Carlos do Rosário was the first to be detained. He is the head of the three companies that in theory should have received more than two trillion dollars of loans. At the time he was also responsible for the economic area of the secret services of Mozambique. He is cited as one of the schema's mentors.

Also on the same occasion were arrested Gregorio Leão, a former director of the secret services; Bruno Tandade, a secret service operative; Inês Moiane, personal secretary of Armando Guebuza - President of the Republic when the state secretly endorsed the loans and

Teófilo Nhangumele, alleged promoter with Mozambique of the idea of creating the companies and contracting the financing. Nhangumele and Do Rosario are also being sought by the US courts for an international arrest warrant against them.

A day later, February 15, three more people were arrested. Elias Moiane, nephew of the secretary Ines Moiane who benefited from bribes; Sérgio Namburete, said as close friend of the Guebuza family and Sidónio Sitoe. They were also used to receive dirty money from Privinvest, the naval company at the center of the alleged \$ 2.2 billion

Two days later, February 17, the ninth defendant - the eldest son former Mozambican statesman Armando Guebuza - was arrested. Ndambi Guebuza will have had the role of convincing his father to give political endorsement to the fraudulent project so that Minister Manuel Chang signed the guarantees for some banks to accept financing.

On March 7, Mozambican justice arrested Angela Leao, wife of the former head of the intelligence services, Gregorio Leão. A day earlier the authorities had sent Fabio Mabunda arrested, another figure who received money directly from Privinvest and later sent to the accounts of the Leão couple.

These are the 11 people arrested so far. They are people considered by Mozambican analysts to be «small fish». Some of



Mozambique>s former finance minister Manuel Chang appears in court during an extradition hearing in Johannesburg, January 8 2019. Picture REUTERS SHAFIEK TASSIEM.

these people were part of the project design, but have no political weight in the country, believing that there are others, but are being protected.

Mozambican President Filipe Nyusi, for example, was the person who approved the project at the level of the feasible obligation. Ministry of Defense, while he was still minister there. former Mozambican president, Guebuza, was the one who gave political endorsement after being allegedly convinced by his son, but so far neither was called to respond. Also included Isaltina Lucas, former finance minister who was responsible for the Mozambican treasury when the hidden debts were contradicted. It was she who gave the endorsement for Minister Chang to sign the guarantees.

Chang is currently being held in South Africa. The court is still examining the extradition requests sent first by the US, and another by Mozambique. The dispute over Chang is so strong that since January that the announcement of the decision has been postponed.

#### Prosecutor-General requires nullity ProIndicus contract

Another step taken by the

Mozambican authorities to solve the problem was the request sent to London for the «immediate cancellation» of the state guarantee given the loan of \$ 600 million made to the public company ProIndicus allegedly because it is not a valid, legal or

The country also wants to be compensated, with interest, for all losses it has sustained in relation to all three loans, made EMATUM, to ProIndicus, MAM. All three companies took loans totaling \$ 2 billion, which were granted by Credit Suisse and Russian bank VTB

Some of the acquired goods were delivered but are not in operation, in fact the three state-owned companies are not operating and do not generate income so the State has already had to honor its role of «guarantor» paying some of the amortizations of these loans.

In a note explaining the case lodged by the PGR at London>s Commercial Court on 1 March, the PGR said it wants the ProIndicus to be rescinded, and to be compensated by Credit Suisse. Privinvest the company which ultimately received the proceeds of the three loans - and three former Credit Suisse bankers who arranged the loans and who are accused of taking corrupt payments in connection with them.

The note does not specify that the MAM guarantee should be rescinded, nor does it make any mention of the sovereign bond which was sold to take out the EMATUM financing in 2016.

The PGR also asked the Administrative Tribunal to hold a total of sixteen public managers accountable for the financial accountability that played a crucial role in the scheme.

The Public Prosecutor>s lists three points: «failure to comply with the procedures and limits established by law in the issuance of guarantees and guarantees by the Government», «nonlegal compliance with procedures in the contracting of external financing and in the contracting of goods and services» and «execution of acts and contracts without their submission to the mandatory inspection by the competent entities».

Meanwhile, Mozambican government issued a leaflet at the end of February saying that it is monitoring the latest developments in the area of national and international justice and, while always protecting the interests of the State, will continue conclude negotiations to the process that has been going on since 2016. These negotiations, according to the brochure, are very important for the reinsertion of Mozambique into the international financial market and strengthen the confidence economic agents.

## Pan Africanist, George **Ngwane elected Board Member of Minority Rights Group**

By Boris Esono Nwenfor



George a meroonia n writer, Executive Director **AFRICAphonie** has been elected to the African Advisory Committee of the **International Minority Rights** Group Africa as member of the Board of Trustees. He was elected alongside three other members, Dr. Melakou Tegngem from Ethiopia, Ms Evelyne Neisere of Kenya, and Ms Juliet Nakoto Odol from Uganda, during a board meeting that held in Kampala, Uganda from 8 to 9 February 2019.

In an interview with Pan African Visions in his office in Buea, Cameroon, he outlined some of the challenges that lay ahead and what he brings to the table with respect to the organization.

## Reporter: What is the Minority Rights Group all about?

George Ngwane: The Minority Rights Group, MRG is an international organization that has headquarters in London. Its role is to secure the rights of minority rights groups for example, linguistic minority, ethnic minority, national minority. This year will make it 50 years of existence with headquarters all over the world. The one for Africa is based in Kampala, Uganda. What got me connected with MRG was three years ago when I did an internship with them, and they were able to think that I was able to make some contributions to the branch that is based in Africa.

## Reporter: what are some of the challenges that MRG has faced so far?

George Ngwane: I think their basic challenges has been how to advocate for policy to be implemented in the areas that they find these minority rights being marginalized and that people are being excluded on the basis of their minority status. They can make proposals but they somehow, they cannot have the ability to influence government policy. example, the MRG has been working with MBOSCUDA

(Mbororo Cultural Association) Development in Cameroon on land rightsthey have made seminar workshops with them but in terms of carrying forward recommendations that government can take actions have been a very big problem. One can understand that MRG is a non-governmental organization and not a bilateral organization-which involves government government.

## Reporter: What can be the ways to overcome the challenges?

George Ngwane: I think they (MRG) should see how they can channel most of their recommendations to their own government so that their governments can talk to the beneficiary governments on equal terms. But if they have to do it only on the basis of NGOs, I can tell you that most governments will always regard them as nuisances than partners in development.

## Reporter: Talk to us

and that responsibility every given to one is actually something of service. I have not really bothered so much about the fact that I have been appointed or elected to any post of responsibility. I see it as you have been given an appointment to serve, articulate some of the visions, missions that the organization has. One becomes humble and honoured to know that someone can recognize you have the capacity to be able to make an input to the kinds of things they want to see delivered across the board. It is a heavy challenge as well, although it is not a full-time job. It is only an advisory role and one that I am very happy

## Reporter: What are you bringing to the position?

George Ngwane: First as a person who belongs to the linguistic minority-Anglophone minority Cameroon, that is practical experience for me to say exactly how to make a contribution that has to do with other minorities. As a about your appointment writer as well, one who has been able to write across George Ngwane: I know the board that has to do



with issues on democracy and governance, I am very convince that there is a lot that I can put into MRG. The most important for me fundraising. When you run an NGO whether it is international or national, the only way that the NGO sustain itself is to be able to look for internal and external funding. And I am sure they will be very open for me to suggest a repertoire of funding sources that I have to be able to make the organization grow from where they are.

## Reporter: What are some of the Rights issues in Cameroon?

George Ngwane: There are

two categories of minority rights groups in Cameroon, one has to do with the Mbororos and the pygmies and the second has to do with the linguistic minority groupthe Anglophones. In every nuke and crannies, you can be sure that there are ethnic minorities-people who feel that they are not part of the governance structure because they do not come from the very big area, people who feel excluded. In the perspective of the study carried out by MRG, linguistic minority is a problem, and the indigenous population.

#### Reporter: what your view on the present situation in Cameroon?

George Ngwane: What is important in the role I have been given is to see how we can all fast track the present problem in Cameroon, which is basically a constitutional problem. I say so because from 1961 to 1972 to 1996, there have been forms of constitutional changes. major components the Anglophones and Francophones. It is a concern to me on how people who used to have statehood are now becoming a minority hood.

Reporter: Can you propound any solution

#### to the crisis?

George Ngwane: I have taken a very low profile in terms given solutions to the crisis not because of any reason but I don't want to sound like a broken record. We were the ones who were actually trying to put the crisis on the board by writing and exposing-but we were misconstrued at that time. After that we have been writing to show that there is an urgent need to address this. I find myself now irrelevant because the forces that are now talking about the crisis are not even referring to the people who have been there before they are acting like they are trying to reinvent the will, as if everything started from them.

There are two solutions for me which I think if we put in place now, other things will fall into place. There should be a bilateral ceasefire from both warring factions. It doesn't matter who calls for the ceasefire. In conflict management, anyone who calls for a ceasefire is the stronger party. Within that ceasefire, there will be the demobilization, and reintegration process which will lead to humanitarian which also assistance. involves reconstruction. All these will end with dialogue from both parties.



Evelyne Neisere from Kenya and Ms Juliet Nakoto Odol from Uganda.



## Kenya Heading To Dingy Dungeon As Corruption Punches Her Face

By Samuel Ouma | @journalist\_27

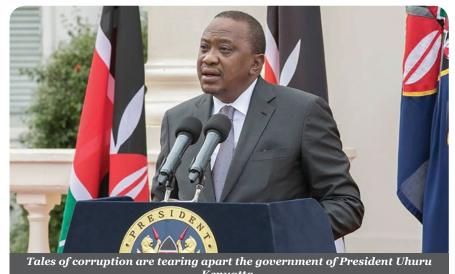
Morality was highly regarded in the African traditional Society. African communities were regulated by a strict code of laws and moral values which were nonnegotiable. Each community decided what was important to it and what was desirable for its members to practice and uphold.

Most common moral values across the communities were hospitality and love for self and others, honesty, obedience. cooperation, hard work, cooperation, and integrity. Failure to obey the laws resulted in punishments which were in various forms such as payment of heavy fines, excommunication from the society, being whipped in public among others.

Morals have changed and what has followed are severe consequences that are on the verge of breaking the society. In particularly, Kenya is a victim of moral degeneration. The East African country's effort to slay graft has not borne fruit. The root cause of the dragon is yet to be dealt with.

The end justifies the means. Leaders' behaviors of embezzling public funds are condoned. None is yet to be prosecuted despite a number of scandals surrounding them. They are roaming free and some hold higher positions in the government.

Corruption is predominant from the top rank of government to the grassroots level both in the national and county governments. Police, courts, ministries, political leaders are heavily linked



with mega scams that have caused the country billions of shillings

#### New scandal

Recently, shocking details emerged on how Kshs.21 billion (\$21 million) vanished in a multi-billion dam projects. Arror and Kimwarer dam projects were supposed to have begun in 2017 and until now there is no serious activity going on at the site.

"When we asked them for the designs of the dams, they said they were still doing them," said the Directorate Criminal Investigations (DCI) boss George Kinoti.

The projects were purposed for production of hydroelectricity and irrigation, increase electricity megawatts to the national grid and boost food production. A total of Kshs.65 billion (\$65 million) was allocated for the entire projects.

Treasury Cabinet Secretary
Henry Rotich, Devolution
Cabinet Secretary Eugine
Wamalwa, Treasury
Permanent Secretary

Kamau Thugge, Kerio Valley Development Authority (KVDA), Italian firm, CMC di Ravenna among other individuals and companies have been implicated in the scandal

The Directorate of Criminal Investigations has divulged details on how the amount was paid out to firms for the supply of goods and services. New Italico Ltd is said to have been paid Kshs.15 million (\$150, 000) for the supply of pillows, bed sheets, duvets, and towels. The mystery behind the relation between beddings and a construction site is yet to be unveiled.

Tusker Mattresses Ltd was allegedly paid Kshs.10.2 million (\$102,000) for supplying foodstuff even though the construction is yet to begin.

Azimath Group Ltd pocketed Kshs.18.3 million (\$183,000) for aerial survey and engineering services, Achilles Material Handling Ltd Kshs.6 million (\$60,000) to supply generators equipment, Files

Steel Structure Ltd Kshs.8 million (\$80,000) for construction materials and Salam Insurance Co. received Kshs.47 million (\$47,000) to provide a cover for the dams.

On Transport, Express
Travel Co. A Charleston
Travel Ltd and Toyota
Kenya got Kshs.14 million
(\$14,000), Kshs.33 million
(\$33,000) and Kshs.77
million (\$77,000) to supply
air tickets, travel services, and
motor vehicles respectively.

Despite the land in both sites are still occupied by the locals, Kshs.19.4 million is alleged to have been handed to Highland valuers for land valuation and relocation services.

CMC Di Ravenna Kenya allegedly received Kshs.100.6 million (\$10.06 million) for services yet to be uncovered. The detectives are still probing individuals who also pocketed the funds.

#### Verbal exchange

Calling of names, lashing out at the investigative agencies have filled the

atmosphere since the revelation of the scandal. Deputy President William Ruto tried to rescue his allies who were implicated in the scam. He denied reports that Kshs.21 billion (\$21,000) has been lost noting that only expenditure of Kshs.7 billion (\$7 million) is missing.

"You have heard that government has lost about Kshs.21 billion in Kimwarer and Arror dam, which is a flat lie!" he said.

"The money in question is about Kshs.7 billion and for every coin that has been paid, we have a bank guarantee. No money will be lost because we are a responsible government."

In rejoinder, the former Prime Minister Raila Odinga rubbished the deputy president's claim saying the amount involved as cited by him and DCI were not insubstantial sums that could be ignored.

He lashed out at Ruto for acting as a stumbling block in the fight against graft. The ODM party leader reminded him that none is above the

"The law is uniform. No one is above the law even in the fight against corruption. If some people are stealing money, it is uncalled for to rush and say that only Kshs.7 billion which is nothing big has been used," Raila said.

The opposition leader decried over fleecing of huge sum of money from public coffers by some individuals and turn around to lie that they were businessmen or farmers.

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"The Kshs.7 billion they are saying is not pocket change. This is not money to buy snacks. Then those who steal such come out saying they are entrepreneurs and farmers. They do not fit in any particular category like bats," he noted.

Ruto further launched fresh attacks at Odinga. He dubbed the opposition leader as lords of poverty and accused him of destabilizing Jubilee government.

"They have whipped together a narrative to try and criminalize and bastardize these development initiatives. The lords of poverty, people who have benefited from keeping people in the slavery of poverty want to criminalize every development initiative. They have orchestrated and are driving a narrative that every government has a corruption element in it. We on corruption by exaggerating figures," angry Ruto said.

In 2016, the Deputy President and his brigades denied reports of corruption in the National Youth (NYS) in which Services Kshs.971 million (\$9.71 million) was lost. After the detectives unearthed the truth, he changed the tune and admitted the government lost money in the NYS multimillion scandal.

us lots of English and catwalk around when it is clear that public money is missing and one of the suspects has admitted that she transported it in bags. Let's be honest with ourselves and call a spade a spade, "Ruto said while referring to the then **Devolution Cabinet Secretary** Anne Waiguru.

The Leader of Majority in the Senate Kipchumba Murkomen, one of Ruto's Lieutenants, castigated DCI for allowing himself to be used by cartels to pain Ruto as corrupt so as to dim his chances of becoming president.

He claimed DCI boss George Kinoti's input in the scandal is misplaced since he does not have any information on how the construction of the dams are being handled.

"I feel that all campaign are not going to win the war that has been going around on social media and the media that Kalenjins (Ruto's tribe) are corrupt is being engineered by cartels to scuttle is 2022 bid," said Murkomen.

#### Rhetoric president

President Kenyatta's inability to tackle corruption is not left unturned. The President's warnings are not accompanied by actions. Since March 9, "We do not need you to give handshake renewed war on



Central Organisation of Trade Union secretary General Francis Atwoli says government must take action or risk mass action.

graft has gained momentum. Many have been arrested and arraigned in court and one is yet to be persecuted.

Amani National Congress party leader Musalia Mudavadi has slammed President for what he termed as empty rhetoric about the war against corruption instead of arresting and prosecuting those culpable.

"The thieves have become so daring that it must now be understood that this government believes that corruption is part of the gains of being in government, "Mudavadi said.

Elsewhere, the Central Organisation of Trade Union (COTU) Secretary General Francis Atwoli has asked the Head of the State to take an action against those implicated in corruption or risk mass action from Kenyans.

"We cannot sit and watch our children languish in poverty, they cannot afford a meal, and they cannot go to school when a few individuals have sets and sets of choppers or helicopters at their disposal. We will rise, organize ourselves and face them," reiterated the vocal boss.

Vocal cleric Reverend Timothy Njoya has faulted the President for being slow to act on the corruption scandals which have denied the taxpayers billions of money. He proposed a capital punishment for any leader caught in scandals.

"If Uhuru Kenyatta's father hanged the poor for robbing the rich why can't he do the same; hang a few for robbing the poor," said Njoya.

#### Mere hawker of justice

Judiciary has been a huge impediment in graft purge.



Vice President Ruto is labeled as a stumbling block in the fight against corruption by opposition leader Raila Odinga.

This arm of government for years has been synonymous with corruption. The East African Bribery Index in 2017 ranked the Judiciary alongside the Lands Ministry as the second most corrupt institutions in the country behind the National Police

"Many Kenyans are forced to pay a bribe to access key services. They would pay a bribe to access police services (68.8%),Land (55.1%), Judiciary (48%) and Civil Registration Services (45%)," reads the part of the report.

The arrest and arraignment of the deputy Chief Justice Philomena Mwelu is clear confirmation of rot in the institution. She is accused of failure to pay taxes, abuse of office for personal gain, obtaining execution of a security belonging to Imperial Bank Limited by false pretense, accepting gift in form of money in circumstances which undermined public confidence in the integrity of the office and conducting themselves in disregard of the law.

Judge Philip Tunoi's reign at Supreme Court ended mysteriously in 2016 after he became a subject of corruption. He was accused of receiving a bribe of Kshs.200 million (\$2 million) from the former Nairobi Governor Evans Kidero to rule in his favor in an election petition filed by the ex-boss opponent.

The tribunal established to investigate Judge Tunoi ended its proceedings after the Judge retired via a court ruling on his age.

In the same year Joseph Mutava, a High Court Judge was dismissed after he was found guilty of misconduct by a tribunal led by the current Chief Justice David Maraga.

Mutava was found culpable of terminating the Kshs.5.8 billion (\$58 million) Goldenberg scandal case against businessman Kamlesh Pattni, who he appeared to protect.

His sacking was then followed by kick out of eleven magistrates in 2017 over professional misconduct. They were accused corruption, delayed of justice and incompetence.

All these scenarios were preceded by the judicial surgery of 2003 led by the former director of Kenya **Anti-Corruption Commission** (KACC). Five out of nine Court of Appeal Justices, 18 out 36 High Court Judges and 82 out of 254 Magistrates were dubbed corrupt by the report of the infamous purge.



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## **Dennis Jali On Creating Millionaires Through Ownership**

By Ajong Mbapndah L



From humble beginnings in South Africa, Denis Jali is a leading name in Forex trading today.

uoyed by another successful vear business, 1st Million Dollars, a Smart Partners LLC company is looking into the future with great optimism. Led by Dennis Jali, a seasoned Forex Trader, the company is changing lives with its unique business approach of putting between different currencies the customer first.

"We believe that our reputation should match up with the customer service and a customer experience, to that one individual, and person," says Dennis Jali in an interview with PAV.

You are a familiar name in the world of Forex trading, first what is Forex trading and how did you get into the business?

So, Forex Trading is the trading of the economies different Countries reflected in the currencies those countries use to buy and sell. For instance, the currency for The US is the US dollar and the currency for if that individual is satisfied, the UK is the British pound it's going to be easier to and those two currencies take the brand to the next are nothing but just a reflection of the economies of those two countries and which is another company

every now and then. So, it is literacy in Africa. tradable.

Let's talk about some of the companies you run join 1st million dollars notably my 1st Million, what is the company all about?

My first Million Dollars was inspired by helping our churches, helping our believers to try and get them into a level of ownership of assets and to let them have access to some of these Forex Trading Systems and try to build wealth from there. Well I own First Million Dollars, I also own Access to Asset,

that is constantly changing to help them with financial

## How do you make money and how do people who make money?

We have combined cutting edge technologies that scales out the market and watches over the changes in each economy, the changes in each currency pair, and we buy and sell rates of exchange of different currency pay in the Forex market. We set up accounts with trading focus and buying and holding of those rates of exchange is what makes the difference

provide those systems to different people.

## What motivated you to come up with the company, just a business idea?

At first, I basically helped somebody become financially and they shared their story with the next person, and then that's how the company was formed. I never intended to start the company, I just helped a friend and they were in debt. And from that experience they started sharing their story. And then that's how the company was formed.

## How many clients do you have now and what does it take to be part of 1stmillion dollars?

Usually, what we do is that we don't give out details of everything on platforms or social media. We usually would want people to come to seminars so that they understand exactly because it involves money and there's a lot of information that people need to have before they can decide whether this is for them or not. We usually would invite them to seminars, or they can come to our office and then talk to us face to face.

You are based in the USA, is the business open just to those residents here or people from other parts in profits and losses and we of the world in North

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#### America, Europe, Africa, Asia etc. could join?

We do have other companies providing the same kind of systems in Europe. We have another company in UK, in London. We have another one in Switzerland, and they are all customized according to the jurisdiction of those countries because the laws and the regulations are not the same. So, we do have different industries or market that we are involved in, but using the same technology.

And if you were to make a pitch to potential customers, what makes '1st Million' unique, what makes it different from the other companies?

Our trading record over the last four years, our transparency with people, we don't do extensive sales on marketing. We are not all over the place. We try to make sure that the customer in front of us feels like he or she is a king or queen because that is the person we are dealing with at that time. We believe that our reputation should match up with the customer service and customer experience to

that one individual, and if that individual is satisfied, it's going to be easier to take the brand to the next person.

There are other business ventures. that have started out strong but fizzled out in the course of time, what structures do you have in place to ensure that people who invest their money are always on the winning side?

I cannot completely take away the risk that is involved in the Forex market. No one can, because it's not controlled by one person or one government or one bank. The reality is that if you are getting yourself involved in Forex Trading, you should accept a limited liability. So, it depends on the structure that you have with the company you are dealing with. Do they say their liability is with them or with the customer? This is the only difference if you go to the bank and you want to invest your money, they would want you to sign document. I would say that the risk is on you, which means if you lose your money, if they lose all your money, you can claim nothing. But it's possible to set up a company if you say, "well, I set it up in such a way that I would take the liability and I will protect you, I will provide you with a private placement and I will protect your interest by making sure your capital is held liable, the company is held liable for your capital". That is what our company has done.

Any special deals or other opportunities that you may have? how will you be approaching to your client base during the course of 2019?

So, what are we doing on the 1st of March? We are basically inviting all our existing members, people that have been with us for long. People that actually know who we are as a company for four years, two years and have an experience in our systems we are inviting all of them to roll out what our plans are for 2019, 2020 I believe it is going to be a very big company. We believe that it's going to, by God's grace roll out to a billion dollars. It's going to take some effort. We have the determination, and the commitment to make that happen. We already are expanding, and we are basically presenting on the 1st of March. We are inviting everybody that would love to participate to call in and RSVP because only reserved seats available. You have to

For someone like you done great, who has what message do you have for the Africans especially those diaspora, what are the ingredients for the kind of success you enjoy?

make connections.

Well, if you listen to place. what everybody is saying, especially those who don't believe in success, who don't believe in prosperity. You're going to start believing what they say. The first thing you need in life if you're going to be successful, is to have a very strong voice that speaks to you concerning your future, concerning your destiny. And if you don't have that, you would end up believing every junk, every piece of information that's out there. And I think that's a starting point. Deciding where you're going as a people, as a group, as a nation, deciding what you want your future to be. And then from there you can start building slowly but surely. Making sure that you are following the train, it's very hard to achieve something that you don't have in mind. You would need to have that dream first, and then

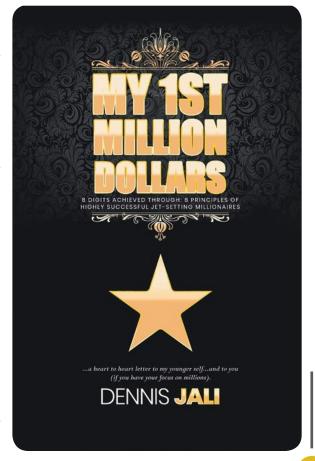
everything else will fall into

We end with a last question on your book My 1st Million Dollar, what is the book about and where can people obtain copies from?

So, My First Million Dollar is a book that I have written that helps people achieve their first million dollars following a very strategic pattern that I formulated over the years. I believe this works, I have experienced this myself every day, and I have somebody that I also taught, and they are now a successful trader. They are now making money. The book is available on Amazon or on other platforms where you buy books. It's called My First Million Dollars by Denis

Thanks for granting the interview

Amen. Thank you.





## From A Haven To Ravisher Of Human Rights.

The Story of Cameroon

By Amos Fofung N.

Cameroon, once harbinger of peace in the troubled Central African subregion is now at the brinks of civil war, a phenomenon that has engulfed much of African states since independence. Cameroon's once cherished peace is at risk. A litmus test for all patriots of the Greenred-yellow nation respected in Africa for its agricultural capabilities, national football cultural diversity, musical genre and its feared and respected octogenarian

Since 2014, Cameroon continues to face constant security threats from Nigerian based terrorist sect Boko Haram in its Northern regions. Now the country is fighting to stay united amid calls for secession in its two English-speaking regions in what is today known as the Anglophone Crisis.

president.

Yes, Cameroon has never been the most peaceful country in Africa. The Central African state has for sure never top the ranking of Human rights classification in the continent. But little over nine years ago, Cameroon classified among the most peaceful and amenable country which did not fail embrace refugees, give out aid to needy countries and resolve its international disputes by extending an "olive branch". Its human right record was passably encouraging.

Except for poor management of some civil unrests such as the economic protest in 2008, police excesses, detention of political prisoners and



President Biya welcome by kids in Buea during a 2014 ceremony to mark the reunification of Cameroon. Things have since fallen apart.

poor detention conditions, peace was Cameroon's greatest asset and there were considerable efforts to maintain and respect basic human rights.

For an African state with struggling economic challenges, health hazards and bad governance due to a worn-out political system, the path cover was applaudable and hopes were high for a better tomorrow. Many are those who pray to see Cameroon reclaim it once cherished peace.

The world bank while assist granting funds to refugees that wrote "Cameroon has a long history of hosting refugees from neighboring countries. Today it generously hosts almost 350,000 refugees from the Central African Republic and Nigeria, with about 10,000 new arrivals since the start of 2018 alone."

While we agree that peace is not the absence of war, thighs were way better than they are now. Today, a keen look at the bend negotiated by Cameroon's human rights statistics over the years as painted by international organizations is troubling. What change? What promoted the Central African giant to slip so backward?

Nigerian based journalist, Philip Obaji in his piece "Cameroon used to welcome refugees. Now it forcibly expels them," narrates the ordeal Nigerian refugees who are fleeing Boko Harman crackdown go through after been forced to leave Cameroon. He states that they are forcefully repatriated to Nigeria, most of them end up in the dragnets of the terrorist group they fled from.

Aside from its poor reception and treatment of refugees, its own citizens decry the fact they have been deprived of their fundamental human rights.

Cameroon's troubling
human rights record
Human rights defenders,

including civil society activists, journalists, trade unionists, lawyers, and teachers have always been under constant intimidation, harassment and detention. But with the attacks by Boko Haram insurgency and the birth of Cameroon's Anglophone crisis. situation is alarming.

International and local human rights organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, Transparency International, International Red Cross. Office of the United Nation High Commissioner for Human rights, National Commission for Human Rights and Freedom, Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa, Network of Human Rights Defenders in Central Africa among others have all raised concerns over Cameroon's current human rights situation.

The United Nation,
European Union,
Commonwealth, African

Union and foreign countries such as the United State of America and Canada have all joined their voices calling on authorities in Cameroon to respect human rights as it relates to its signed and ratified conventions.

Some have even gone as far as proposing sanctions on Cameroon for alleged human rights violations with the United State set to cut back millions of dollars in aid to Cameroon military after it was alleged that aid which was donated to fight Boko Haram terrorist is redirected to combat civil protesters in the restive English-speaking regions. The case continues to build momentum at the US Congress.

Cameroon's human rights abuses are not limited to military and government excesses. Boko Haram terrorist sect in the Northern regions of Cameroon has since 2014 rained havoc on the local population. The terror group carried out suicide bombings, kidnappings, and

ransom collections, burning of schools and villages.

In the restive Englishspeaking regions, separatist armed groups have carried out kidnappings ofgovernment officials, traditional and municipal authorities, journalists and members of the civil society. Gruesome killings amputation of government and military personnel have equally been attributed to them. The separatist armed groups continue to disrupt the effective resumption of educational institutions and have been accused of burning down schools.

Amnesty International in its 2017/2018 report "dozens of schools were closed in the Englishspeaking regions between November 2016 September 2017, following strikes and boycotts called for by trade unions and members of civil society. Extreme elements within Anglophone pro-secession groups carried out attacks on education facilities that "breached the boycott" ...more than 30 schools were burned and severely damaged."



U.S Department of state in its 2017 Human Rights report on Cameroon highlighted several instances of unlawful killings, torture and other cruel inhumane treatment, arbitral arrest, detention and the denial of fair and public trial among others.

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs said the Anglophone crisis has shifted into an armed conflict, affecting more than 4 million people signaling a need for action.

True-lies of government

Despite reports of violations by the Cameroonian military, the government has regularly maintained that the military exercises professionalism while carrying out its duty. On some occasions, the governments announce investigations into allegations such as the torture of Boko Haram suspects by elements of the elites' force, Rapid Intervention Battalion, BIR.

The results of such investigations are hardly made public, thereby raising doubt on if they were ever opened.

Addressing over 100

country representatives at the 40th Human Rights Council in Geneva on February 25, the Minister of external relations, Leieune Mbella Mbella said Cameroon's defense and security forces have remained professional in executing their duties in the two restive regions. Presenting the government>s side of the Story, the Minister noted that the government is determined to resolve the crisis and had taken considerable efforts to safeguard and ensure that human rights are respected.

Though the government was quick to present its scoresheet on Cameroon's Human rights efforts, it has chosen to remain indifferent to calls from international organizations and pressure groups to free Professor Maurice Kamto former presidential aspirant who was arrested in Douala on January 28 and later ferried to Yaounde where he remains under lock and key with scores of supporters of his party.

The political leader of the Movement for the Renaissance of Cameroon, MRC, was arrested during a peaceful match pass ceremony he organized in protest to irregularities during the justended presidential elections in which he emerged second.

Weeks after his arrest, security forces also picked up Barrister Michèle Ndoki, vice-president of the women's wing of Kamto's Party. Barrister Ndoki who's was injured by a bullet during the MRC organized protest in January was arrested on Tuesday, February 26, 2019, at Idenau-a small town in the South West region.

A spokesman for the MRC, Bibou Nissack confirmed the arrest and observed that she is being held under poor detention conditions in Yaoundé, the nation's capital. As they head to court, pressure continues to mount on the government to release the political leaders and their supporters and guarantee the respect of the peoples' freedom to expression and assembly.

The United State, United Nations and European Union, have all raised worries over Cameroons' human rights record with the E.U. warning that Cameroon risk sliding further into crisis if the administration of Paul Biya doesn't take measures to stop the hate-speech and heavy-handed tactics security officials.



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### Zimbabwe's Currency Crisis is more Political than Economic

By Prince Kurupati

n February 20, 2019, Zimbabwean government through the Reserve Bank Governor introduced a new currency called the Real Time Gross Settlement dollars or in simple terms RTGS Dollars. The new currency is a bit unconventional as in effect, it is just a redenomination of bond notes, coins, and RTGS balances. In simple terms, there aren't any new notes printed.

As briefly alluded to before, Zimbabwe's new currency is in effect a redenomination of bond notes, coins and RTGS balances. Since 2009, Zimbabwe adopted the multicurrency system wherein Zimbabweans could use any currency of their choice to do transactions inside the country with the most used currencies being the US Dollar and the South African Rand

While at its inception the multi-currency system only supported foreign currencies, the Zimbabwean government in November 2016 began to issue bond notes. During the launch of the bond notes, Zimbabwean central bank governor said that the introduction of the bond note was just a catalytic measure meant at boosting the country's export sector as the notes were an incentive for exporters.

While the central bank governor stated that bond notes were nothing but an export incentive, critics at the time argued that the introduction of the bond note was a plot by the government to reintroduce the muchmaligned Zimbabwe Dollar.

The central bank, however, countered that argument by stating that the bond note was not a 'currency' hence it could only be used within the confines of the Zimbabwean borders.

Apart from criticizing bond note as a plot to reintroduce the Zimbabwean dollar, critics also argued that the bond note was not in actual effect an export incentive but rather a stopgap measure to address the country's dire currency crisis which had seen the US Dollar disappear from the streets thereby making the life of the ordinary man unbearable.

While critics acknowledged that a solution was needed address the challenges that were being experienced at the time, they however argued that the introduction of the bond note was not a solution as it paved the way for the reintroduction of a 'currency' while the economic fundamentals which had led to the fall of the previous currency were still to be addressed. As such, the bond note from its inception was a disaster waiting to happen.

Contrary what critics economists and believed in 2016, the bond notes managed to hold its own as it eased the country's problems for liquidity some time. However, the predictions made by critics in 2016 began to surface as the bond note rapidly began to fall in value against the US Dollar, a currency that it was supposed to be on par with.

At first, the government tried to turn a blind eye to



the bond notes' failure to remain on par with the US Dollar insisting even in face of crystal-clear evidence. That however changed on 20 February as the central bank governor Dr. John Mangudya presenting the 2019 Monetary Policy Statement stated that the bond note was no longer trading. With the US Dollar but was now a free-floating currency with an opening trading value of 1:2,5 to the US Dollar.

By redenominating the bond note as a currency and liberalizing the forex rate i.e. removing the 'fictitious' 1:1 valuation, Dr. Mangudya saw it as the perfect solution to the currency crisis which had seen liquidity crunches rise to unprecedented levels.

Dr. Mangudya's 'solution' to some is a step in the right direction in addressing the country's currency Economist Ashok Chakravarti in an interview with The Herald said on the forex rate liberalization, "to me, this is a very significant and important development Reserve Bank Government of Zimbabwe have moved to liberalize the exchange rate, it is a central component of the monetary policy....In my prediction, what we are going to see is a



decline in the rate of inflation going forward."

Others have criticized Dr. Mangudva's solution. Steve H. Hanke, a professor of applied economics Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore says that the latest step is unlikely to solve Zimbabwe's problems because all it does is reflect exchange rates on the black market. In effect, according to Prof Hanke, the government's decision (solution) officially says "we robbed you."

While many critics have had their say in response to the latest development, this writer thinks that a permanent solution to Zimbabwe's currency crisis lies not on the economic side but on the political side.

While there are many examples in the public domain that can be used to support this notion, the writer has decided to support his assertion using a recent development which has seen South African banks cutting ties with their Zimbabwean counterparts.

The fin24 City Press reports that South African banks who principally supply Zimbabwean banks with US Dollar notes have been cutting ties amid fears of being fined by the United States> Office

of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC). Zimbabwe is under United States sanctions and unless otherwise authorized or exempt, transactions involving the greenback are penalized if they involve an entity or individual listed on the Specially Designated Nationals List (a list of individuals and entities under US sanctions).

The nature of the regulations, however, makes it difficult for foreign banks to know whether they are dealing with Specially Designated Nationals or not, hence the decision by most South African banks to de-risk from dealing with Zimbabwean institutions."

The above therefore clearly exposes the close link between economics and politics. Against this background, one can, therefore, note that politics is playing a huge role in 'ruining' the Zimbabwean economy and inversely, politics does also possess the power to change Zimbabwe's economic fortunes. As such, in trying to find a permanent solution to Zimbabwe lifelong currency crisis, it is important for the government not to focus solely on the economic aspect but also to consider the political aspect.

### Israel vows to develop, transform South Sudan via agriculture

By Deng Machol

uba - Jewish State of Israel has vowed to develop and change South Sudan through agriculture sector offers scholarship to South Sudanese student in agricultural fields.

South Sudan is amongst the selected African countries to benefit for the support that will be offered by the government of Israel in numerous fields include; agriculture, economic and social development.

However, government of Israel has introduced 'learns and earns' project for South Sudan only. This project is for students from South Sudan to go for agriculture training in Israel for a year. This project started two years ago, with a group of 20 students. There are currently 80 students, studying agriculture courses in different colleges in Israel.

Ambassador to South Sudan, Hanan Goder says next year, they will increase the number to 100 students so that they can be able to change agriculture production in South Sudan.

He said, his country is determined to support South Sudan in the field of agriculture in order to improve its food production.

Ambassador Goder

described the project as 'good and effective' for Africa>s youngest nation.

"It is a very prestigeous program that gives students the knowledge and knowhow of agriculture in Israel... you have lovely youth in South Sudan, you have creatable and energetic able vouth and I have seen that the ones who returned are doing agriculture. You should be proud of what you have achieved," Amb. Goder told the press in Juba, during the first meeting with students.

He said the project will continue for some years so that his country can achieve its desire to change the face of South Sudan in term of agriculture productivity.

South Sudan's deputy minister for Agriculture, Kornelio Kon Ngu told the students to go and work hard and bring back the knowledge to South Sudan to improve the agriculture sectors.

"We want to change the agriculture productivity in South Sudan so that this country can be self - sufficient in agriculture projects," said

Adding that that South Sudan should not depend on oil as its only source of income but should develop non-oil sectors such as



agriculture.

"I have seen these people in Israel – I see the signs in their eyes - they wish to do agriculture. These young people have a long career of doing agriculture and I have seen in many places, they will do and they will establish many projects and this is why we take young people - they have a long career in front of them and it will take them five years, maybe ten years but in the long run, these are the people that are the future of this country. I know, in five years when they come back, South Sudan can be self-sufficient ...in fifty years, South Sudan can export food to neighboring countries," said Amb. Goder.

Israel and South Sudan have long bilateral relations in term of strong religion diplomatic, political perspectives. The Jewish State of Israel was amongst first countries recognize South Sudan as an independent and sovereign Republic when it got its independence from Sudan on July 9, 2011.

Israel, though the smallest country in the world, is self-sufficient in terms of agriculture. Israel is a major exporter of fresh produce and a world-leader in agricultural technologies despite unfavorable geographical and weather conditions.

South Sudan gained independence from

Sudan in 2011, but the East Africa country returned to another civil war in 2013. Political violence has killed nearly 400,000 people and displaced 4.5 million people from their homes, imperiled civilians to severely starvation and pangs of hunger.

President Kiir and key opposition groups, including Dr. Riek Machar signed the revitalized peace deal on September 2018, promising to end the five-year conflict, which split a country into ethnic lines. The six months old peace deal is facing 'slow pace' of its progress due to lack of funding. Next transitional government is expected to be formed in May 2019.

In its ongoing political violence, Israel had been accused of selling weapons to South Sudan warring parties.

Israel is now coming back to Africa following the visitation of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu Africa in July 2016 and June 2017, in an effort to rebuild its relationship with Africa countries.



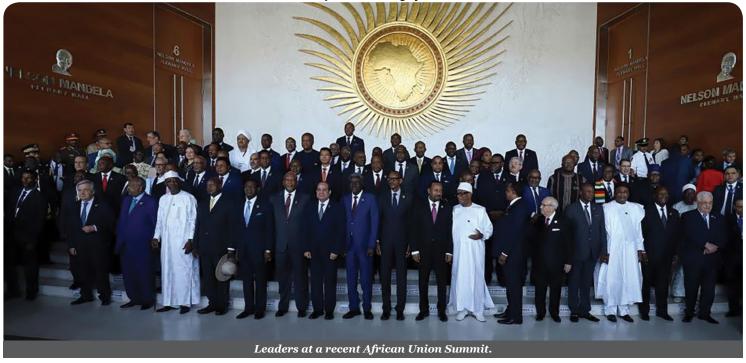


PM Netanyahu of Israel with Salva Kiir President of South Sudan both countries enjoy very fruitful relations.



### Africa's Development in the Nest of Global Challenges

By Nevson Mpofu



FRICA'S total emancipation, liberty, civil rights, Democracy starts with coming up with solutions to politics leading to long-term short-term conflicts. This is the field of all political existing challenges that ignite civil turmoil which drive nations into civil, frontal wars, political displacements, and violence. Africa has had much of these disturbances the beginning the 19th century. Political acrimony still exists with high prevalence rates.

The Economic field follows with its Democracy of the people to get their basic needs. These are food, shelter, and clothing. However, these are far unreachable. Secondly, It is accompanied by the need to get the financial resources to build social Infrastructure like hospitals, clinics, schools, colleges, universities, water

and sanitation, tertiary and commercial infrastructure development.

The political aspect is the strongest force, ever stronger in terms of damage done since the coming of the White people to Africa. However, African countries created themselves poverty for through civil wars caused unresolved conflicts. According to Laura Bailey of the World Bank, some African countries were economically stable before taken over by African Revolutionaries.

GDP Per Capita before and after conflict.

| Country          | Before  | After   |
|------------------|---------|---------|
| Rwanda           | 306 USD | 181USD  |
| Burundi          | 207 USD | 143 USD |
| DRC              | 122 USD | 103 USD |
| Guinea<br>Bissau | 240 USD | 176 USD |
| Sierra<br>Leone  | 214 USD | 150 USD |
|                  | 214 USD | 150 USD |

"Conflicts in Africa have led to economic challenges. Some countries were much better than how they became after civil conflicts. This cause Low Per Capita Income, economic decline and dependency on Primary Commodities." Says Laura Bailey.

Many countries in Africa failed to reach targets of the Millennium Development Goals, MDGs, of the Millennium Declaration launched in 2000. They ended in 2014. From then, the Sustainable Development Goals, SDGs came into effect.

Kofi Annan's comment on the SDGs' impact to the African Region states that "if war is the enemy of development, health and balanced development is the best form of conflict prevention."

The world has turned to a crescendo of un-ending social, economic and political challenges. These U.N. experts and development partners' note will draw back Africa's development Index. This, they prognosticate, will lead to more harm than ever with the coming of the new kid on the block.

AFRICA's New Kid on the Block - Climate Change

Climate Change as the latest phenomenon has its contributions. Africa according to the African Ministerial Conference on Environment will lose USD 7,15 billion yearly by 2020 if mitigation and adaptation measures are not put in place.

The main goal is to maintain the adaptation gap and hold warming from 4 degrees Celsius to below 2 degrees Celsius by 2050. If no adaptation is taken in force, costs will hover around USD 35 billion per year until it reaches US50 billion by 2050. This will be a result of escalating Global Warming and Climate Change.

The political aspect. however, stands between of lines no-mutual agreements between developed and developing nations. Some 1st World countries are not sticking to International Protocols emission reduction. Costs of mitigation and adaptation therefore increases. On the other hand, political conflicts and civil wars cost Africa 18 billion annually. To date, almost 150 billion has been gobbled by the sprouting of civil wars, conflicts, and political displacements. Conflicts shrink African nations economy by 15%.

To those who have been hunters and watchers of what hunters do, maybe through animal movies, witness with me lions ganged by hungry, angry vultures, hyenas and some scavengers for meat. It applies the same to the politics of those who liberate others. After that, there comes those who wait to criticize, scramble and cause suffering of innocent people. This is the phase of modernism.

Professor Patrick Lumumba has for long preached on Pan-Africanism in a bid to make a better Africa. He cherishes democracy like Themba Mliswa, a politician who is a legislator for Norton, 45 kilometers out of Harare. Mliswa early this year in January invited Lumumba from Kenya so that he could be hosted at a breakfast meeting in Harare at a local 5-star hotel.

"A lot of problems faced by Africa have been caused by politics of conflicts. Such are the kind of Political conflicts which turn down African economies to levels of extreme poverty and vulnerability. Colonial Wars have made former colonizers gain but civil ones have made war hosts and vectors gain unscrupulously at the expense of Africa's 300 million vulnerable and poverty-stricken population." Professor Lumumba said, adding that

"Remember that Africa is supper of Western powers on the table. We are still under political and economic siege of the west. Erstwhile colonizers still put a casting an eye on us. The west is the host still sucking Africa's blood. At the same time, we are vectors sucked blood through the opposition parties used by these powers."

Professor Lumumba sees the Pan-African vision taking long to see a new rising sun in the azure blue sky in the clear dawn of a fully liberated continent. Africa, he adds, has intellectuals, experts in every cardinal and ordinal point but brain drain leaves its Labour market still a dark void in its own soil.

"Africa's vision is blurred fate of African politics in the by civil unrests, political conflicts ferments and long down settled after its resources are driven under the subterranean world. In fact, we are still a dumping ground of western powers."

> "Yes, we boast of direct and Zimbabwean representative democracy, but where is presidential democracy? This could be where we have a problem with our revolutionary leaders who have been alleged in graft corruption, but at most opposition has done more harm than good."

> > To Shingi Munveza. Zimbabwean business executive, Africa is still in the hands of revolutionaries who liberated their territories make gain political independence. At the same time, vultures come to feast what the Lions have killed.

> > "It tells more about who does good for the better of Africa and who rescinds and reverse gains Africa gets out of sweat, power, prowess, and struggle. The struggle between two bulls leaves the grass submerged. Those creatures left in the niche are left angry and hungry. These are the people at large. This is the Africa we see today after gaining our Independence."

> > qualitative survey carried by Afro-Barometer poses questions still not yet answered. These were presented after 9 [nine] countries in Africa presented figures with a special focus on ruling parties versus opposition. These opposing parties hunger political power, but do they have the alacrity to turn Africa's fortunes? In what is termed, Perception of Opposition Viability in SADC,

question hovers in the air.



"Do Opposition Parties in your country presents viable alternative vision and plans for the country?"

Although substantial figures side claims to support Opposition, it has been assayed that opposition stands to have little space in transforming the whole of the continent. The opposition failed in countries like Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Kenva and Mozambique and recently in Nigeria. They have failed through elections.

Handed power like in Zambia in 1992, Fredrick Chiluba, failed to turn around fortunes of the country, even though he had financial support and political back-up. The Survey has a suggestive quote, "after losing elections opposition parties must be the watchdogs. They must monitor, criticize transparency and accountability".

Afro-Barometer Survey in 9 SADC Countries Lies in Line with the Question, I repeat "Does opposition in your country presents viable alternative vision and plan for the country?"

Madagascar----62% agree that opposition is capable of New Revolutionary Change.

Malawi-58% Mozambique-52%

Botswana-45% Zambia-44% South Africa-43% Zimbabwe-37% Mauritius-31% Lesotho-28 %.

Although 8 in 10 people support the opposition in Zimbabwe, there has never been a success of any opposition party in the country. In Zimbabwe Opposition has failed since 1980. The first revolutionary leader who led the other party ZAPU PF, which liberated the country together with ZANU PF Joshua Nkomo failed to overthrow Robert Mugabe in 1980 and 1985 elections.

When ZANU PF won the elections, Lord Somme's from Britain who managed the election encouraged peace, unity, reconciliation and hard work to develop the newly independent State.

"I encourage the two parties to remain focused towards peace, unity, and reconciliation. You still have a journey to build your country. Robert Mugabe of ZANU PF has won with 57%, ZAPU PF Joshua Nkomo 20% and UANC Bishop Abel Muzorewa Therefore, Robert Mugabe is here-by sworn in as the Prime Minister of Black Independent Zimbabwe".

The election results caused a bloody civil war which

killed 20,000 civilians in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces. Financial damage was estimated at Millions because of the war. In 1987 the two parties settled down for a peace settlement called for the Unity Accord on 22 December.

Edgar Tekere former of Minister the then Manpower, planning and Economic Development Ministry separated the Government to form Zimbabwe Unity Movement which was defeated elections in 1995. Ndabaningi Sithole was also defeated 5 times the rest of his political life in Zimbabwe until his death while under house arrest after being suspected to have planned to assassinate Mugabe. Another party led by a woman, Zimbabwe Union of Democrats failed in 1995 until MDC was formed in

These political disturbances contributed to the failure of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program, Bernard brainchild of Chidzero in 1985. Chidzero was by then the Minister of Finance. After that several economic frameworks. policies and programs were implemented. They dismally failed in the face of resistance, rile and anger of the people.

Freshly backed events cooked Fredrick, the Late. by MDC since 1999 rose to ascend to challenges which compelled Robert Mugabe to form a Government of National Unity of 2009, ten years down the line. Nothing came out of the Unison between the two parties.

Mugabe would always shout. "MDC will never rule this country. We are not to hand power back to Britain ruled by Blair. The Blair I know is a toilet. Let us keep our sovereignty. Zimbabwe will never be a colony again". BOTSWANA

Botswana a Protectorate was never colonized but just under control of the British Sir Seretse Khama in 1964.

Had to travel to Britain to claim Independence of Botswana from the Queen. He made a first Historic social White lady.

The Revolutionary Party has a motto "There is still alternative". It simply shows the watching eye of political party squints on their country supported several British interests with big businesses in it. However, opposition made it in the past election in 2014. Votes declined to 46,7%. This is the lowest level ever since 1964. Almost 44% supported opposition a sign to show voter indifference. The Umbrella for Democratic Change, UDC, has 3 political parties which are expected to make headway into power in 2019 elections.

The union of the parties reduced voter splitting. Botswana Congress Party is under heavy challenge in 2019 speculation of an opposition victory. Afro-Barometer has much confidence in political opposition now and in the future years.

ZAMBIA under Chiluba retained the confidence of

Kenneth Kaunda who led to Independence Zambia in 1964 from British never fortunes changed of the country until Fredrick Chiluba a Labour Unionist came to power in 1991 with his party MMD. Still, he failed to deliver and transform the economy though Zambia is one of the leading copper producers in the World.

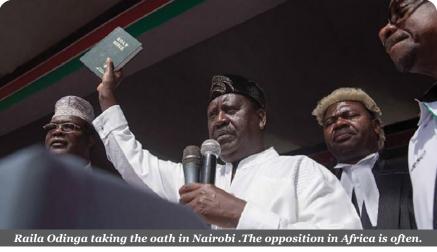
the 1991 elections, there were no military and Revolutionary action. Kaunda showed political participation and mutual understanding by peacefully handing over power to Fredrick Chiluba, the morrow-day after his defeat. Zambia has never experienced a civil war but mismanagement and much control under foreigners has crippled the economy. cohesion when he married a Economic decline was heavily caused by spiraling debt to the IMF. Chiluba faced massive challenges which made people's political perceptions to change suddenly with opposition political and economy servo-mechanism until this very day.

Malawi

The problem with some of our revolutionists is greedy, political avarice which leads to dictatorship in Africa. Political dictatorship heavily opposed presidential, Liberal and in fact at all criticism all forms of democracy. Kamuzu Banda was the first leader in Africa to declare himself a lifetime He, President. however, failed after he was challenged by Chapfukwa Chihana who was overtaken by Bakili Muluzi. Kamuzu was born on elections as there is bright February 15, 1898 and died on 25 November 1997 at a Hospital in South Africa.

> Democratic Republic of Congo

DRC elections have



opposition in Africa, but Felix Tshisekedi must deliver in a new model format to help restore this. Political Analysts blame Joseph Kabila for his long stay in power. This is totalitarianism which is mostly robbed by monarchists who support "ever-lasting power of a leader".

Politicians take Kabila as a Leader who had adopted dictatorship political lifestyles and antics meant to support tyranny. According to Larry Diamond, these are in line with political accountability, transparency in leadership, fairness and civil protection from political insurgency.

Africa as a Whole

The continent from North to South, East to West is in a crescendo of dark shadows as the world watches the activities where Cameron there is a division Englishof the speaking people and the rot fight with the French This speakers. could separate relations between the two countries, Britain and France if at all costs it goes deep down in political ferment and acrimony.

Sudan The issue is elongating suffering of millions of people. The World is looking at it. The same was with Ethiopia and Eritrea. Africa is still in a debt worth US 125 million with corruption costing it 90 million in losses incurred over recent years. Much still needs to be looked at in line and terms of Economic, Infrastructural development, improvement in water and sanitation, Health, Education, Agriculture, food security and humanitarian work.

Still, the wind blows deeper into its center of conflict bringing to date millions

of dead people, maimed, disabled and displaced. Some are foreign political and migrant refugees and workers.

The Nigerian election has gone peacefully but it is the continent's largest populated nation with 165 million people recorded by the last census. South of the Sahara, countries are hard hit by crisis of natural disasters build in by Global Warming leading to climate change, Elnina, low rains, and Lanina high rains. All leads to extreme poverty and hunger. UN Sustainable Development Goals looking at the success of these by 2030.







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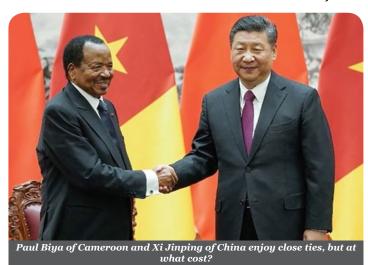




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### **China-Cameroon bromance: In who's interest?**

By Amos Fofung N.



After doing business with Europe for decades, the coming of China ushered in a new era into Africa's international trade dealings.

Many African states quickly dumped their Western trade partners, embracing "mother" China, whose enormous presence in Africa has not been well received by other world powers. Some interpreting China's presence more political than business.

Most African heads of states today rush with their "leaky-begging" bowls to Beijing and return all smiles. The annual forum on China-Africa Cooperation sets the pace for such dealings. In 2018, China promised to provide \$60 billion in financial support to Africa.

The Asian giant has also engaged in a massive cancelation of debts in the continent. But what really bugs most economists is what China's interest is? The secrecy of the economicgiant is perhaps what pushes African heads of states to do business with them. China's loans to Africa are regarded as donations with no clearcut impetus as to what China

stands to benefit. Could Africa be giving blank cheques to China? Economists continue to scrutinize the stakes.

In recent years, the Sino-Africa cooperation continues to grow with China pumping in billions of dollars in Africa with one of its huge benefactors being Cameroon.

Even though diplomatic relations between Cameroon and China dates to 1971, the last two decades witnessed an unprecedented presence of the Asian superpower.

In March 2018 in Beijing, Chinese president, Xi Jinping Called his Cameroonian counterpart «a senior African leader and an old friend of China,» Xi said Cameroon is an important partner of China in Africa.

In about 48 years of cooperation with Cameroon, the Asian giant is among the highest financiers of development ventures, providing funding and expertise for most projects.

Since establishing diplomatic relations on 26 March 1971, cooperation between the Republic of Cameroon and the People's Republic of China is sky rocking and Paul Biya doesn't

fail to rush to China, whom he describes as a "real friend", every now and then.

S i n o C a meroon
cooperation
has been
cemented with
the penning
of several
agreements
consisting
of technical,

cultural. medical. trade and tourism cooperation. Protocols for military training, promotion and mutual protection investments, political consultations as well as the reciprocal exemption from visa requirement for holders of diplomatic or service passports also exist.

Today, China is present everywhere in Cameroon and is determined to be for a very long time. Their investment and aids have won the hearts of many. Talk of China and Cameroonians will quickly think of the imposing Conference Centre and multipurpose Sports Complex in Yaounde, state-of-the-art Kribi Deep Seaport in the South Region, the stadia scattered throughout the nation, the hydroelectricity dams under construction or rehabilitation, improvement in rubber plantations, ongoing construction of express roads and the embellishment of the country>s industrial fabric among others. Cameroonian markets are flooded with Chinese products ranging from fabric to electronics.

According to the statistics from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD, between 2000 and 2014, Cameroon benefitted FCFA 1,850 billion of foreign direct investment from China. Mathematically, this represents about 67 percent of foreign direct investment, making China the first investor in Cameroon.

Most of Cameroon's project directed towards the achievements of its vision 2035, the year which the country aims at becoming a developing economy, is financed by China. But till

date, information as to how much China is benefiting from its direct investments in Cameroon is hard to come by. And though Cameroon is somehow ripping some gains now from their ties, many fear Cameroon, just like many other African states might get hooked-up in a debt-trap in

During Paul Biya's state visit to China in March 2018, Cameroon secured five cooperation agreements. According to the economy minister's statements reported Cameroon by Tribune, thanks to these cooperation agreements, in 2019, Cameroon will be granted donations of CFA334 billion franc. Another CFA84 billion will be granted over the three coming years.

Earlier this year, China wrote off some \$5.2 billion, about 3 trillion Central African CFA franc. Cameroon's debts but preferred to downplay the matter until it was brought to light by a news report forcing the government to speak out. Many have and continue to question why the secrecy?





September Chinese President Xi Jinping is quoted by media reports to have told African leaders that for China's investments on the continent have "no political for "vanity projects". This came about as Beijing is

2018, increasingly criticized over its debt-heavy deals in Africa.

A study by the Center Global Development, US thinktank, found "serious concerns" about the strings attached" and are not sustainability of sovereign debt in eight Asian, European African countries



receiving Belt and Road large is often termed as a funds. An Initiative geared at simplifying and increasing cross-border trade connecting more than 65 countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa.

Though Chinese presence in Cameroon and Africa at

"debt-trap diplomacy" Africa heads of state prefer to regard it as a much-needed investment, catalyst Africa's development.

But to some western powers, the fundamental economic power imbalance between China and African countries is reflective of neocolonialism. But this hasn't stopped China as she continues to dig deep, moving further east, extending its hold of the African economy regarded by economists as tomorrow's market. \_

### South Sudan: Donors need more confidence building to fund peace deal - UN official says

By Deng Machol

- UN officials say the international community or donors need more confidence building measures from Sudanese South warring parties to fund the latest revitalized peace deal signed on September 2018.

President Kiir and the leaders, opposition including Riek Machar inked a deal for the second time last year, aimed to end the five-year old conflict which killed nearly 400,000 people and displaced 4.5 million people from their homes. But the six-month-old deal is handicapped by shortage of funds for implementation. Recently, President Kiir's administration announced that it will start taxing civil servants to secure money for peace implementation.



Ms. Ahunna Eziakonwa, Assistant Secretary General and UNDP Africa Bureau Director, who wrapped up her visit to South Sudan in February, indicated that the international community needs more confidence and trust from South Sudanese leaders to fund a peace accord.

"I think, those who have

funded the war in this country should [also] fund the peace," said Eziakonwa in the press conference in Juba. "So, it is important for us as the international community, but also South Sudan as a nation, to ask the question, where did money come from for the war and if there is a coalition and unified views, then it is a time for peace in South Sudan - we must have the same conversation about where the money comes from to cater for the peace agenda," she added.

national determination for peace," said Eziakonwa. Of course, peace is also the responsibility of the international community which is why we have one of the largest peacekeepers

mission in this country today."

She said the international community has already invested significant amount of money for peace in South Sudan.

"If that peacekeepers mission wasn't there, we will be quite worried, but UNMISS itself is anticipating or demonstrating that the international community is standing by South Sudan in quest for peace," said Eziakonwa.

Eziakonwa further said the international community wants some signals and indications that all the parties to the peace are serious about the peace deal.

"There is irreversibility that is linked to this peace agreement since they had in the past been disappointed in

#### PAN AFRICAN VISIONS

### Inside Africa

the previous initiative," said Eziakonwa said they will be Eziakonwa. She argued that no person can force them, asking for more funds."

Kiir and Dr. Machar signed the peace deal, funded by the international community but it has been violated within some months, something that 'disappointed the donors."

The UNDP Africa Affairs Bureau Director says the donors want to see first a full commitment from South Sudanese warring parties.

"What we are hearing is that they [donors] want more dialogue, first able what is going to come in South Sudan in terms of commitment. What are mechanisms for procession this funds. Many of them [donors] that we spoke to, says not necessary to make a peace agreement about money because that could also come with defiles... become a source of tension between the parties. If it is about money...They [donors] are watching very careful."

with think, more discussions, more conversations, more confidence builds between the two sides in the process, we might see more contribution for this peace agreement implementation from the partners, so I don't think, it is a close-door," Eziakonwa told journalists in Juba.

From the UN side, Ms.

clear as it is the only peace deal on the table so far.

"It may be imperfect but it On August 2015, President is important to acknowledge that step has been taken," said Eziakonwa.

> The international community, particularly troika countries have been detached themselves Khartoum from this backing peace deal.

> The analysts said this peace deal is owned by South Sudanese, so, leaders should render oil cash for peace implementation rather than to solicit from donors.

> The RJMEC had earlier expressed concerns about the slow pace of peace progress, stressing that 'time is fast running out and several targets have been missed' due to lack of funds.

#### Invest in people

Eziakonwa. however unveiled that investing in the people is critical for the sustainable peace process in South Sudan, investing in peace should go beyond funding to include building confidence of the population in the peace process.

She said the UNDP is working with government to improve public finance management ensure to services reach the people as they recover from the political violence.

"In this sense, you will

see us working on the issue democracy and, the issue of justice, and financial management," said Eziakonwa.

Ms. Eziakonwa, who visited Wau and Yambio respectively, said she was very impressed with the strengths of the people at large.

We are really inspired determination the population we meet, to take control of their lives.... heal from the wounds of the past....to reconcile in their communities and collectively build back their lives," said Eziakonwa. So, finding that spirit of willingness to pick up from where they were and move on their own... is something I found very encouraging and something that opens eyes to the fact that, there is opportunity to build in this country and to assist and to bring assistant because there are people to build.... there are South Sudanese who have much, who have knowledge, who want change, who want peace, who are passionate about this.... we found this in women, as well as youth and even ex-combatants who came out of bushes and are hungry for skills that they want now to contribute to building peace rather than war," Eziakonwa said.

On the other hand, Ms. Asako Okai, Assistant



country back on the rails.

Secretary General, and **UNDP Crisis Bureau Director** acknowledged that there are many opportunities for South Sudan to return to normalcy.

"There is still skepticism, however, I feel that it is a role of the UNDP to turn that around and then consolidate peace and help with support," said Okai.

South Sudanese have been traumatized by the political war over the years, which the UNDP officials says they needs to be stabilized by the parties to the peace.

"This population has to be stabilized - the people have suffered mostly in the years of conflict, they deserve stabilization .... They deserve services ... they deserve opportunity to recover ... to go back to their homes and reconstruct their lives," said Eziakonwa.

"I think, it is important for peace to be sustained, so, we must make sure peace agreement has evidence for the population at large, that it is not just agreement between leaders and as well as powersharing arrangement but the impact of the agreement itself is felt in the communities and in the camps," said the UNDP Africa Director.

Nationhood building

Ms. Eziakonwa said the inclusivity of other parties and civilians in the peace process is eminent so that it can yield to nationhood

building.

"Obviously, this country never had chance to build a nation. It is important for conversation around citizenship so that nationhood comes quickly so that the people have a sense of unified South Sudan," said Eziakonwa. Adding "there is not yet a unity in this country, so the 'united South Sudan must be born."

To be a nation, Eziakonwa the leadership said should focus more on the reconciliation aspects that they cannot allow these grievances to continue to dominate in the future.

South Sudan gained her independence in 2011 from Khartoum regimes after two decades of the longest - civil war in Africa. Born with great expectations from the people, these expectations faded away after the country returned to another cycle of political violence in 2013, something that "stunned the world."

In spite of the revitalized peace deal, fighting continues across the country, therefore, the lifecycle of this peace deal is yet to be determined. Due to the new developments in the country, the parties are also witnessing splinters, and wrangling for seats in the next transitional government, due to be formed in May 2019.



PAN AFRICAN VISIONS

### Inside Ufrica

### Just Waiting for the Next Miracle: Pastors and the Phenomenon of Hitting it Big in Africa

By Primus Tazanu\*



Pastor Alph Lukau s church has been called out for performing fake miracles.

tis late February 2019 and any existing standards. a pastor based in South Africa hits it big when he resurrects a dead man. Pastor Alph Lukau brings Elliot (real name: Brighton Moyo) back to life but it does not take long before the pastor admits the resurrected man was, in fact, not dead. But this is not the point I will pursue in this article. I am interested in highlighting the fact that a miraclehungry public in Africa has pushed the narrative of the miraculous which in turn places pastors (mainly male) under enormous pressure to perform miracles by all means necessary.

A pastor hits it big when he attracts attention to himself; a video of his performance is circulated on the media which in turn exposes him to the public. A miracle that hits big is one of the surest ways of gaining more followers and thus, resources. Even as Pentecostal practices of miracles in churches have been normalized in Africa. images such as pastor Lukau's resurrecting a dead man are seen as extreme by

Come to think of the plethora of distractions on social media that are generally ignored and then this: countless comments - supportive and critical on an image when a pastor performs a miracle. These comments indicate that people have deep emotional and psychological investment in what goes on in the churches. They are interested in what the pastors (can) do in a tightly competitive religious market where the leaders gain attention, recognition and contempt by how they succeed in making the unseen ordinary. And the results must be visible to the human eye.

Now, the race is on for them, while competing other pastors, they can venture into the supernatural and seek solutions for people's expectations. Seen from this the contemporary miracle pastors are a product of the society. They are produced because society them to instantly perform the unusual, through

accessing supernatural in ways that are humanly farfetched. Arduous as this task may be, the miracle pastors take the challenge to alter or control the future. It is all about the future, the unknown, and the impossible. Whether they deliver the expected results is a matter of speculation but come to think of the significance of the bodily displays in deliverance and healing scenes as well as the positive (and sometimes, praising) testimonies about a powerful Man of God - a title indicating the pastor's apparent proximity to God.

Staging miracles is one of the ways in which the pastors stay relevant to their followers. We learn from watching the images of miracles and the testimonies that the Men of God are invested with the task of making the ordinary mystical and the mystical ordinary. Images depicting miracles healings, deliverances, resurrections, writhing movements possessed individuals are a demonstration of the pastors' feat in accessing the

supernatural realm. And with this comes the belief that miracle pastors in Africa are the indispensable connectors between the suffering human and a God that must be invoked to serve man.

This is how we can partly explain why the pastors have enormous power within certain religious circles and the society at large. And they do not hesitate in displaying this opportunistically: intruding into their followers' marital life and businesses, frightening politicians by doing political prophesies, engaging in all forms of pleasures ranging extramarital from affairs to sexual harassments and rationalizing wealth they accumulate at the expense of their followers, etc. For anyone familiar with Pentecostal Christians, especially in West Africa, it has become an accepted practice for pastors to act as consultants, validating the activities of dedicated followers from bedroom to the boardroom.

Men of God in Africa operate in spaces that regulated. loosely Whether for fear of God, the churches, the pastors or their followers, the deeds of these Men of God are largely unquestioned and unchecked by most governments in Africa. It is only when controversial practices come to the limelight that these government join the public to voice their opinion as is the case in South Africa where the president wants the churches to be regulated. Because of this lukewarm position of the state, the pastors are emboldened to accumulate enough power to frighten just everyone. And some followers are prepared to defend Men of God at all cost, drawing arguments from an assumed superiority of the sacred.

In the aftermath of the resurrection controversy in South Africa, the activities of Men of God once more became public debate. Particularly in connection to the misconduct of two renowned pastors (one accused of rape and the other for money laundering), some of the clergymen argued that a secular government does not have powers to regulate the church: the sacred is more powerful than the secular, so to speak. In fact, when the two pastors accused of misconduct were facing the law, i.e. at the time they were being tried, many people wrote on social media that they believed only God, not man, could judge these Men

This narrative suggests a different standard of justice for the pastors, the seemingly purer members of the society. The reverse thinking would mean the Men of God should be the ones making judgment on the society. One must thus not doubt why they consider themselves superior and often display traits of insubordination; their claims and practices are partly supported by the society that provides a foundation on which they stand.

It would be enlightening to shed more light on why states in Africa are reluctant in regulating the burgeoning churches/pastors: churches and Men of God



Prophet T.B. Joshua famously predicted the victory of Hillary Clinton in the 2016 U.S elections.

Prophet Shepherd Bushiri was recently arrested in South Africa for fraud and money laundering related charges.

perform palliative roles for citizens within a context of socioeconomic and political downturn. Leaders who are unable or unwilling to provide better conditions of living for their citizens are more than pleased when a large chunk of the population turns to the church and pastors for socioeconomic remedies.

Scholars have generally looked at the narrative and

performance of miracles, deliverances healings and prosperity pastors basically package: individuals any malevolent forces that forestall their socioeconomic advancement. Α large proportion of those who subscribe to the prosperity gospel live in a world where their painful struggle to stay alive is contrasted by, say, the massive wealth and symbols of success that their pastors display. Doesn't it sound logical that such successful men could provide a means for anyone who is desperate to access wealth?

To conclude: new media technologies are changing the ways in which we access miracles performed churches. The technologies and techniques of capturing

disseminating miracles are aplenty and avidly use technologies to reach a wider audience. And because the Men of God are produced by the society and operate in spaces that are hardly regulated, we just have to wait - on social media - to see when one of them hits it big by performing the next (bogus) miracle.

\*Dr Primus M. Tazanu is a senior Guest Researcher at the Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. Some of his key research focus is on the digital transnationalism, Pentecostal representations.

### Coalition deal in DR Congo gives Kabila influence on new government

By Jean-Pierre Afadhali

DR Congo's government deal between president Felix Tshisekedi and former strong man Joseph Kabila's coalition could give Kabila influence in central African country's political affairs, despite his candidate's defeat in the last year's elections.

Many people familiar with DR Congo's politics believe the new coalition government will return Mr. Kabila to power given that his political coalition will play a role in the new administration thus dashing away hopes for change.

Last year Mr. Kabila had several times stated he would not quit politics after



Story 22 Pic 1.The president that I am will not accept being a president who reigns but does not govern says Tshisekedi.jpg

for the third term in office.

Kabila's Common Front for Congo, (FCC), and President

announcing he would not run Tshisekedi's Cap pour le Changement. (CACH). in a letter dated March 6 agreed that current political

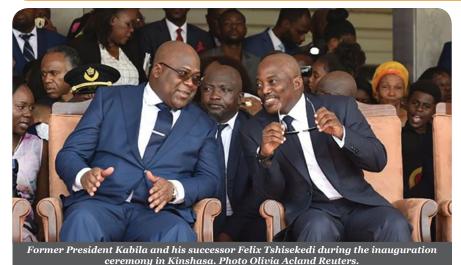
dynamics meant that the two groups" had to jointly agree on the next Premier".

took 342 of the 485 available parliament seats in December election.

This represents the overwhelming majority at 70 percent of the parliamentary vote which would make difficult for Tshisekedi to push for any reform agenda through the parliament.

In a joint statement quoted by AFP, Tshisekedi and Kabila said that although the «FCC holds an absolute majority in the National Assembly» to reflect the will of the people expressed in the poll, the FCC and the CACH are affirming «their common will to govern together as part of a coalition government».

However, some Congolese and other observers believe



the deal will allow former DR in the country. Congo president to return in politics, yet many expected change following the historic peaceful power transfer.

prize winner Denis Mukwege said in a statement that the coalition deal could be a betrayal to the Congolese people, saying Tshisekedi should bring about changes.

Congolese people's desire for real and profound change," noted the famous Congolese gynecologist nicknamed "The man who repairs women".

The medical Doctor who statement that it was not too late to change the governance

"Despite the signing of agreements between your political platform Cap pour le Changement (CACH) and The Congolese Nobel Peace that of the former president, Front Commun pour le Congo (FCC), it is not (too) late for you (...) to recover," Dr. Mukwege was quoted as saving.

One of reforms the new "You must avoid betraying president has announced is the release of political prisoners but some are skeptical saying Tshisekedi will not implement the decision.

The previous administration was rocked is also a pastor added in his by insecurity in many parts of the country, corruption, infrastructure gaps and

human rights violation.

However, in his last major speech in the National Assembly, former president presented impressive an various performance in sectors. However, the achievements cited and numbers used to back them have not been independently verified.

The Nobel Peace prize winner further urged Tshisekedi to establish a political partnership that would allow him "to fully assume the prerogatives of the office of President of the Republic (...) without constraint from those who managed poorly yesterday". This was an apparent reference to Kabila's



Do not betray the people Dr Denis Mukwege is warning . President Tshisekedi

some observers.

Meanwhile, the runner-up presidential elections Martin Fayulu still claims he won the highly disputed polls. Fayulu was credited with 34.8 per cent of the vote against 38.5 per cent for Tshisekedi.

analysts Some have previously said before the announced deal that Joseph Kabila was the real "victor" of last year's elections.

According to AFP, the statement about the coalition deal followed a visit to Namibia when Tshisekedi expressed his frustration at "being unable to assemble a majority to back his choice for prime minister".

«The president that I

administration, according to am will not accept being a president who reigns but doesn>t govern.» he said.

> According to DR Congo's constitution, the Prime Minister comes from the majority in Parliament but the President has the final say over the candidate chosen.

In early March the United States of America, one of DR Congo's largest partner sanctioned top electoral officials including Corneille Nanga, the chairman of the country's electoral commission.

Joseph Kabila ruled the DRC for 18 years following the assassination of his father in 2001.





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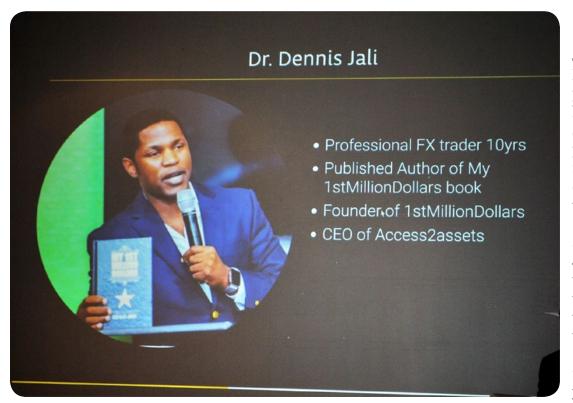
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## Growing In Confidence, Growing In Ambition: 1st Million Dollars Hits The Fast Lane



s the membership grows. does ambition. 1st Million Dollars, a smart partners LLC recently held a hugely successful session with to unveil projections for the year and new business plans. The event which took place at the National Plaza in Oxon Hill, MD, USA, was heavily attended. Led by Dennis Jali, the management of the company is looking at the future with confidence with eyes set for expansion to a \$ 300 million value. PAV shares pictures of the momentous event with you. \_









PAN AFRICAN VISIONS

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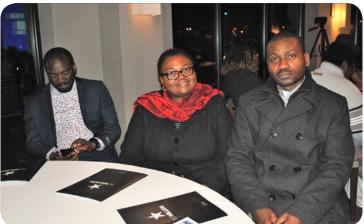




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